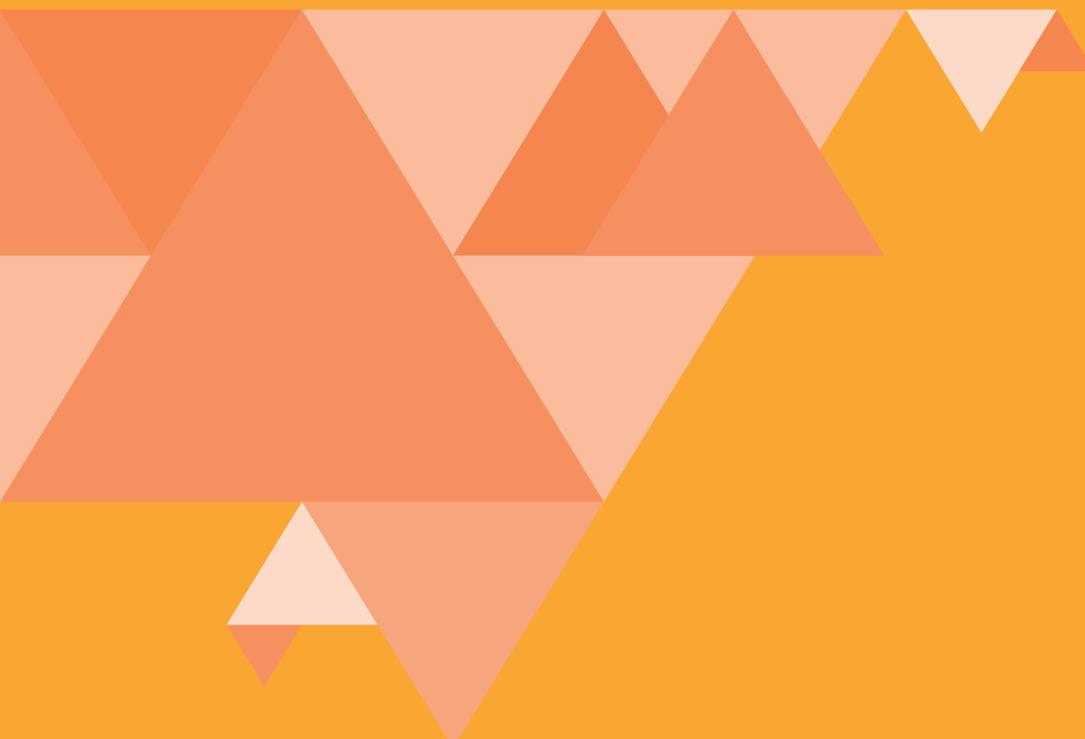


Multi-Annual Plan 2016-2020
Stronger parties.
Deeper democracy.



Multi-Annual Plan 2016-2020

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Deeper democracy.**

Table of contents

Key highlights	3		
Chapter 1		Chapter 6	
Introduction	5	Partners	21
1.1 NIMD's goal: Contribute to the deepening of democracy	5	6.1 Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy	21
1.2 NIMD's niche: Linking politics and development	5	6.2 Strategic partners	21
1.3 NIMD approach and unique selling points	5	Chapter 7	
1.4 MAP 2016-2020: strategic priorities	6	Organization, communications and fundraising	23
Chapter 2		7.1 Organization	23
Context: NIMD in a changing world	7	7.2 Positioning and communications strategy	24
2.1 Geo-political trends	7	7.3 Fundraising	24
2.2 Donor trends	8	Chapter 8	
Chapter 3		Strategic Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation	26
Theory of Change: Theoretical underpinning and rationale for NIMD's approach	10	8.1 Measuring strategic results	26
3.1 Democratization and its challenges	10	8.2 Monitoring tools	27
3.2 Political parties in developing democracies	11	8.3 Review and evaluation approach	27
3.3 The case for support to political parties	11	8.4 Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)	28
Chapter 4		Chapter 9	
Applying the Theory of Change: NIMD's approach	12	Budget estimate	30
4.1 Unique approach	12	Annex 1	
4.2 Vision and objectives	13	Entry, reset and exit criteria	31
4.3 Strategies	14	Annex 2	
4.4 NIMD intervention logic	16	NIMD's track record 2002-2013	33
4.5 Applying the Theory of Change in different contexts	16		
Chapter 5			
Programmes	17		
5.1 NIMD's knowledge base on political systems, actor and culture change	17		
5.2 Thematic learning: gender and diversity, and political innovation	18		
5.3 Embedding country programmes in a regional context	19		
5.4 Programme portfolio	20		

Key highlights

The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) is a democracy-assistance organization that promotes the deepening of democracy through inter-party dialogue and strengthening the capacity of political parties. It was established in 2000 by the seven Dutch political parties represented in the Dutch Parliament.

Based in the Netherlands, NIMD works with over 200 political parties in more than 20 countries in Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe. Together with these parties and our local implementing partners, we contribute to inclusive, accessible and representative democratic systems in these countries. In other words: to deeper democracies.

NIMD's approach is characterized by interparty dialogue: we facilitate both formal and informal dialogue processes between parties and encourage them to cooperate on political issues. Furthermore, we support individual political parties in assuming their democratic roles and becoming constructive competitors, focused on the public good rather than on narrow party politics. To foster the democratic culture in a country, NIMD provides political education programmes for (aspiring) politicians. These programmes focus on democratic values, knowledge and skills.

The global environment in which NIMD works is changing rapidly. Since its start in 2000, power relations have shifted significantly; new actors dominate the geo-political outlook; new global security threats have emerged; intra-state fragility has increased, posing new security challenges; a scarcity of natural resources has led to further conflicts; popular movements have become more prominent; and demand for more direct forms of democracy and political participation, greatly helped by new technology and regionalization trends, have further increased. These dynamic political developments demand an in-depth analysis and adjustment of NIMD's focus and strategies.

Another reason for readjustment is the fact that the funding basis for organizations like NIMD has become less secure compared to fifteen years ago. Aid volumes are eroding as a result of the financial crisis and dwindling

public support for international development cooperation. At the same time, however, also a new trend is visible that reconfirms the importance of domestic political processes and calls for a better link between politics and development. This increases the demand for the services provided by NIMD.

To ensure programmatic impact and organizational sustainability, NIMD has prepared a distinctive strategy and an organizational vision for the future, with well-defined unique selling points, a sound programme framework and a smart branding strategy. This has culminated in this multi-annual plan (MAP) entitled: *Stronger parties, deeper democracy*, which covers the period 2016-2020.

The MAP 2016-2020 defines four priorities:

- **Focus on NIMD's core business** (interparty dialogue and capacity strengthening) and primary target group (political parties) to safeguard that the (often) nascent results achieved in programme countries are further deepened and consolidated;
- **Specialization to further deepen NIMD's knowledge and skills base** regarding interparty dialogue and capacity strengthening and gradually evolve into a lead centre for political practitioners specialized in political system, actor and culture change;
- **Networking** with southern partners and other strategic partners to further build and sustain relations and alliances in order to enlarge the scope, impact and effectiveness of NIMD's work;
- **Diversification of the funding base** to safeguard programmatic and organizational sustainability.

The backbone of the MAP 2016-2020 remains NIMD's country programmes because NIMD is convinced that transformational change processes can only be realized and sustained through country programmes. That is, programmes based on strong local political networks and local implementing partners, informed by an in-depth political economy analysis.

To realize the priorities, the MAP 2016-2020 introduces four important new strategies:

- **Introduction of a Knowledge and Innovation Unit** that enables NIMD to further invest in its knowledge and skills base by producing knowledge products and practical tools and instruments for its core target group.
- **A regional approach** to be able to respond to regional trends and cross-border themes and issues that impact on NIMD's country programmes. It will stimulate knowledge-sharing and exchange but also offer opportunities for positioning and fundraising at a regional level.
- **Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy**, which brings all NIMD's local implementing partners and strategic partners into an institutionalized network to enhance the opportunities for sharing knowledge, positioning and joint fundraising.
- **Thematic focus** on political innovation and gender and diversity as two lead themes in NIMD's work.

1 Introduction

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Based in the Netherlands, NIMD works with over 200 political parties in more than 20 countries in Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe. Together with these parties and our local implementing partners, we contribute to inclusive, accessible and representative democratic systems in these countries. In other words: NIMD contributes to deeper democracies.

NIMD's approach is characterized by interparty dialogue: we facilitate both formal and informal dialogue processes between parties and encourage them to cooperate on political issues. Furthermore, we support individual political parties in assuming their democratic roles and becoming constructive competitors, focused on the public good rather than on narrow party politics. To foster the democratic culture in a country, NIMD provides political education programmes for (aspiring) politicians. These programmes focus on democratic values, knowledge and skills.

1.1 NIMD's goal: Contribute to the deepening of democracy

NIMD believes that, as a system of governance, democracy has an intrinsic value that holds great potential. Democracies help to foster decision-making processes in an inclusive, participatory, transparent and accountable way, broadly representative of the different needs in society. For NIMD, democracy is more than a set of values. A stable and functioning democracy has a positive effect on society as a whole. Peace, security, political stability, respect for human rights and the rule of law and the prevention of conflicts all start with democracy. There is a growing body of evidence that underpins the positive connection between politics, policy and sustainable and inclusive development.

If the full development potential of democracy is to be nurtured, building open and stable democracies will be

one of the major challenges in the coming decade. This includes 'deep democracy' – understood as the need to complement formal democratic arrangements (the hardware) with substantive elements (the software), such as human rights, inclusion, equality and positive behavioural change. The challenge is not simply to be able to change government through the ballot box, but also to put in place the right democratic institutions, norms and attitudes among the various domestic actors. In most countries, this will most likely be an uphill struggle of a highly political nature.

1.2 NIMD's niche: Linking politics and development

Over the past years, there has been a growing recognition of the need to further politicize the development agenda by acknowledging that the quality of politics is central to achieving sustainable development outcomes in a given country. This growing trend to think and act politically fully matches NIMD's core business and opens up new possibilities for strategic positioning and fundraising. As an organization specialized in both interparty dialogue and strengthening the capacity of political parties, NIMD acts as the linchpin, connecting political parties and wider stakeholders to development and governance agendas.

1.3 NIMD approach and unique selling points

NIMD has a unique mandate and core business: it supports inclusive, informal spaces for political parties in developing democracies to meet in a safe environment, reduce political tensions, foster mutual trust and discuss issues of national concern, including those that can bring about a level political playing field. Furthermore, NIMD helps political parties individually to:

1. strengthen themselves organizationally and enhance their capacity to formulate viable, alternative policy agendas;
2. enable them to effectively survey and represent citizens' interests;
3. make a meaningful contribution to the national policy debate as well as to the discourse in the interparty dialogue.

NIMD works inclusively with all parties, supports their home grown agendas, takes an impartial, non-partisan

approach and engages in long-term partnerships with them. NIMD's demand-driven approach, its multiparty identity, vast political networks and in-depth practice-oriented experience are highly valued by all its partners. Over the years, NIMD has developed a unique set of tools. But there is never a standard solution to a problem. The political system, culture and actors differ in every country. Moreover, the political situation in countries can vary from relatively stable to a conflict situation. NIMD therefore develops context-specific and tailor-made approaches informed by an in-depth political economy analysis and the knowledge of its local implementing partners. In our approach we seek to impact on three levels:

- **Political systems level:**
Creating a conducive environment for political parties
- **Political actor level:**
Strengthening the programmatic and organizational capacities of political parties
- **Political culture level:**
Improving the democratic values and behaviour of political actors

1.4 MAP 2016-2020: strategic priorities

The multi-annual strategy for 2016-2020 builds on NIMD's strengths, past results and existing partnerships. It furthermore expounds on four strategic priorities aimed at contributing to further sustaining NIMD's focus, niche and relevance. These are the need to:

- **Focus:** deepen and consolidate NIMD's programmes on the basis of sharper objectives and strategies tailored to its primary target group: political parties.
- **Specialize:** deepen its niche and relevance by gradually transforming into a lead centre for political practitioners specialized in political system, actor and culture change.
- **Network:** further build and sustain networks and alliances with NIMD's southern and strategic partners.
- **Diversify:** broaden NIMD's funding base to safeguard its programmatic and organizational sustainability.

In order to continue designing effective strategies that respond to complex and rapidly changing political landscapes and embrace new thinking about and approaches to increasing citizens' participation in democracy, NIMD recognizes the need to further invest in deepening its knowledge base, skills-set, tools and instruments relevant to its primary target group: political parties and political actors in developing democracies. To achieve this, a *Knowledge and Innovation Unit* will be established in The Hague, tasked with collecting, analyzing and packaging practical knowledge and experiences from programmes and systematically generating new, applied and user-friendly tools and methodologies.

A second key element in the new approach will be the establishment of a *Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy* that will further strengthen NIMD's relationship with existing national partners and likeminded organizations in order to collectively enhance the network's knowledge base and increase its strategic positioning and fundraising opportunities.

Furthermore, NIMD acknowledges that local democratization agendas are often affected by regional trends and developments. To ensure that NIMD has a solid understanding of the cross-border themes, obstacles and opportunities for democratization in the various regions, the organization has opted for a *regional focus* that clusters its country programmes into geographical units to stimulate cross-fertilization and mutual learning and enhance the opportunities for positioning and fundraising.

This document outlines NIMD's policy direction and organizational strategy aimed at meeting its strategic objectives for the period 2016-2020. It takes global trends and changes in the policy directions of major donors into account and has firmly embedded the programme framework on NIMD's *Theory of Change* in order to demonstrate the causal links between NIMD's strategies and expected outputs and outcomes.

2 Context: NIMD in a changing world

NIMD seeks to systematically respond to new global trends in order to remain ahead of the curve and inform its strategic positioning, programme-management decisions and funding opportunities. Since NIMD's establishment, there have been profound global changes with far-reaching implications for its work. These trends need to be factored into our programming and positioning and should inform strategic choices about the organization's focus and direction.

2.1 Geo-political trends

- **Contradictory signals from the democracy arena.**

Both the international and the local contexts have become more democratic in a formal sense. This has resulted in an increased demand for NIMD's operational services and an expansion of NIMD programme countries and geographical coverage. At the same time, a *de-democratization* trend is visible and steadily gaining ground, characterized by a devaluation of the rule of law, political freedom, equality, substantive citizenship and an eroding state capacity. These developments require an enhanced capacity to read the context, liaise with all the relevant political actors and design appropriate implementation strategies.

- **New actors with different values.** Power relations have shifted quite dramatically. China, India, Brazil, Turkey and South Africa have become important players in the world economy; the MENA region is experiencing (to different degrees) attempts to open up politically; Southeast Asia continues to be an economic success while opening up to democracy; Africa has become the fastest growing continent in economic terms; many Latin American countries are demonstrating steady economic development and Europe has been hit hard by the continuing financial crisis. The new global economic players now have a more prominent role in the political economy of emerging democracies. Some of these new players use a different definition of democracy, attaching less importance to political reforms and the protection of human rights in their economic relations. In this context, it is important to protect the space for local political actors to make their own choices and develop home grown agendas for democratic reform.

- **Increasingly vocal and empowered citizens.** The impressive rise of popular democratic movements in a growing number of countries, inspired by the Arab Spring, is also an important trend that affects NIMD's global outlook and work. One of the strongest global trends today is the empowerment of citizens and their desire for dignity and freedom. As part of this trend, there is an increasing group of politically aware citizens who do not feel represented by the existing political elite organized in political parties and who are demanding more direct participation and influence in political affairs. Political parties need to respond to this demand and find new, more direct ways of civic participation in order to remain meaningful and effective.
- **Inequality as a major global risk.** In addition, there is an increasing demand for service delivery, accountable governance and a fair socio-economic distribution of growth (many formal democracies continue to be characterized by high – and sometimes growing – levels of internal inequality). If not adequately attended to, this can lead to social exclusion, marginalization and rising political tensions. Addressing this challenge will entail power sharing beyond the political elites to engage such marginalized groups as the rising middle classes and the youth cohort. These trends are aggravated by rapidly increasing urbanization, a youth bulge and improved exposure and civil awareness – often facilitated by easier access to social media and communication tools. Political parties need to become more demand-driven by defining programmatic agendas that resonate with their constituents and link up with new civil actors and leaders.
- **Natural resources conflicts.** A further major trend is the potential conflict over natural resources (in Africa, but also in Latin America) that can disrupt peace and stability not only in the countries concerned, but also in a regional context. The discovery of new oil and gas reserves, for instance, while holding great potential for shared economic growth, can also exacerbate tensions as elites struggle to gain control of these resources and divert them from their wider social impact, thus creating more inequality and

discontent. And water, a natural resource that is often taken for granted, is predicted to become a major source of conflict as it becomes scarcer. The Global Policy Forum predicts that more than 50 countries on five continents might soon be caught up in water disputes on trans-boundary freshwater reserves. In order to adequately respond to this challenge, NIMD will need to undertake and provide sharper in-depth political economy analyses of both the countries and the regions in which it operates.

- **New developments with global destabilizing effects.** The destabilization of the Ukraine, the rise of ISIS and the outbreak of Ebola are three developments that occurred in 2014 with far-reaching global effects. The invasion of Crimea and the outbreak of violence in the Ukraine in the summer had serious spin-off effects in the region that significantly impacted global political and economic stability and aggravated the international relations between NATO and Russia. Secondly, the rapid advance of jihadism, epitomized by the rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria in addition to other radicalised groups in the Middle East, poses significant military and terrorists threats as well as threats to the cultural and religious heritage and values of the region and beyond. Thirdly, the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa triggered a global panic, left over 6,300 people dead and completely shattered the economies of the affected countries. These three developments affect NIMD's work, both directly and indirectly, and require an in-depth political economy analysis and a careful assessment of NIMD's impact on the countries and the regions in which it operates as well as the tools and strategies it uses.
- **Technology-driven change.** Greatly helped by modern technology, citizens are increasingly questioning traditional forms of governance and demanding transformational change. Unimaginable only two decades ago, new technology is rapidly pervading all sectors of society and it is profoundly changing the world's outlook on democracy. Open source software is increasingly accessible, enabling citizens to participate more directly in democratic processes and to influence policymaking. NIMD closely follows these new developments and wishes to be at the forefront when it comes to creating new ways of deepening democracy and shaping our democratic future.
- **Regional dimension.** Finally, the regional dimension takes on increasing importance as decisions made at the regional level impact on the economy and politics of individual countries. Countries in a region typically share similar challenges and opportunities. Regional bodies provide a platform for member states to adopt a common approach to these challenges and to take

better advantage of opportunities through the economies of scale that common approaches and shared mechanisms can offer. Because of the increasing influence and impact of regional blocs and events on NIMD's country programmes, NIMD cannot afford to ignore these in its programmatic activities if it is to more effectively meet its strategic objectives in programme countries. The organization needs to be in a position to both exert influence and effect positioning at this level.

2.2 Donor trends

- **New thoughts on development.** These are exciting times for development, as the international community has embraced the 'Busan principles' (focused on democratic ownership, multi-actor approaches and development effectiveness) and is currently preparing a post-2015 agenda to succeed the Millennium Development Goals paradigm. The new framework will embrace a much broader agenda encompassing a wide range of global and regional challenges and public goods and, in principle, focus much more on the political dimensions of development, including 'deep democracy' (see chapter 1). The challenge is not simply to change governments through the ballot box but to put in place the right institutions, norms and attitudes among the various domestic actors. This politicization of development processes creates major windows of opportunities for institutions like NIMD (see box 1).

Box 1: The relevance of the NIMD mandate in the Busan and post-2015 context

The outcome of the post-2015 agenda is not yet known. However, there is a clear push from several corners to put politics at the centre of the new framework. This may, in turn, facilitate the positioning of NIMD:

- By linking development outcomes much more strongly to the quality of politics in a given society, strengthening the capacities of political actors and institutions and underlining the importance of gender and diversity, the new framework would upgrade the type of work NIMD is doing to contribute to pluralistic political systems that harness human rights and democracy values and positively influence inclusive development.
- It would also reconfirm the importance of effective bargaining processes between domestic actors to create better policies and the crucial role of political parties therein (as intermediaries who can help translate and articulate citizen interests).
- The NIMD network has a lot of *savoir-faire* to offer to development actors who are now keen to enter more forcefully into the political arena to achieve better outcomes.

- **Pressing donor concerns.** Due to both the continuing financial crisis and dwindling public support for international development cooperation, financial aid from donors is decreasing. By contrast, there is increasing pressure to show cost efficiency and tangible results. Most donors have become more focused and thematically oriented (for example, on fragile and conflict-affected settings, LGBT rights and women's rights), inclined to work with more agile and pragmatic actors and concerned with promoting national interests (for example by channelling aid through private actors or public-private partnerships and involving the Dutch business sector in development initiatives). On the positive side, international relations have become more explicitly political; there is a growing incentive to think and act politically. A case in point is the recently created Dutch Knowledge Platform Security and Rule of Law focusing on political developments in fragile and conflict-affected settings. It builds on the New Deal for Fragile States, which highlights legitimate politics as one of the pillars of international engagement. To work on the strengthening of political systems, actors and culture in fragile and conflict-affected settings requires specific strategies, skills and expertise tailored to such sensitive contexts.

The message coming out of these various global trends is clear: the new landscape for international cooperation and democratization is increasingly complex but also promising for the core business of NIMD. The unique features NIMD has been able to develop over the last decade can now fall on more fertile soil, as the development sector embraces a much more explicit political agenda and needs specialist expertise to make progress along these lines. NIMD is keen to further refine its strategic focus and operating capacity so that it can deliver a concrete added value and appeal to a larger group of potential funders than its traditional partner (the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

3 Theory of Change: theoretical underpinning and rationale for NIMD's approach

Democracy assistance starts from the premise that democracy is a system of governance with a clear intrinsic value. It gives voice and basic freedoms to all people to pursue the goals, interests and aspirations that they value and to seek to redress a perceived injustice. Yet democracy is more than a set of values; it also increasingly responds to the expectations of citizens across the globe regarding preferred forms of governance.

Democracies help to foster decision-making processes in an inclusive, participatory, transparent and accountable way, representing the different needs and interests in society. In line with this, there is a growing body of evidence that demonstrates the positive link between democracy and development. On average, citizens of a democratic state, for instance, live longer, have lower infant mortality rates and are more likely to attend institutes for secondary education. When comparing all of the social indicators used, we see that democracies clearly outperform their autocratic counterparts. At the same time, a democracy should not be expected to produce better socio-economic development outcomes that benefit every citizen simply because it is a democracy. It is democratic processes that facilitate development rather than the system itself.

Encouragingly, we have witnessed a steady rise in the number of formal democracies over the past decades. Today, 122 countries are elected democracies and nearly 61% of the world's population lives under elected governments with universal suffrage, compared to only 31% in 1980 (Freedom House 2013). Democracy, at least as a formal system of rule, has thus become almost universal.

But most citizens in developing countries want more than just being able to vote. The rise of social movements and civil society demonstrate that an increasing number of citizens would like to see politics conducted in a different way, with less corruption, less personalization of issues and less monopolization of powers. They seek direct influence and 'deeper' democracy: they want politicians to listen and adequately represent their needs, desires and interests, including those of marginalized and minority groups. They expect politics to be

about the public good, not about power play, personal interests or partisan politics. Deeper democracies also entail freedom of speech, the rule of law, an independent judiciary and administration, non-discriminatory processes and social justice. The existence of such strong demands on democratic forms of governance lends legitimacy and pertinence to NIMD's work.

3.1 Democratization and its challenges

Democracy is indeed a powerful idea, but it is certainly not a self-fulfilling prophecy. Optimism regarding democracy and its potential should not stand in the way of recognizing the serious challenges to democratization around the world. Over the last decade, it has become increasingly clear that democratic transition often does not result in democratic consolidation. Many countries have entered what Thomas Carothers calls "a political grey zone." According to Carothers, these countries present some attributes of democratic political life, including at least limited political space for opposition parties and independent civil society, as well as regular elections and democratic constitutions. Yet they suffer from serious democratic deficits, often including poor representation of citizens' interests, discriminatory and exclusionary practices and regulations towards marginalized groups, low levels of political participation beyond voting, frequent abuse of the law by government officials, elections of uncertain legitimacy, very low levels of public confidence in state institutions, and persistently poor institutional performance by the state.

Democratization is also not an irreversible process. In fact, its counterpart, de-democratization has occurred in numerous countries previously envisaged as being firmly on the path of democracy. The logic that underpins personalized and patrimonial politics has transgressed to the formal system of electoral competition. Authoritarianism and populism have never completely disappeared and, according to many analyses, are currently on the rise. Over the last decade, NIMD has experienced these developments first-hand in some of its country programmes. If the full development potential of democracy is to be nurtured, building deep and stable democracies will be one of the major challenges in the coming decade. In most countries, this will be an uphill struggle of

a highly political nature. Whether democracy deepens or is further manipulated by incumbent elites to their benefit will largely depend on the existence of strong domestic coalitions that can challenge the existing system.

3.2 Political parties in developing democracies

Political parties are the primary institutions linking the state to society and are essential to the everyday life of a democracy. They are also instrumental in enabling democratic transitions and the process of democratic consolidation. In fact, it is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine a functioning democracy without political parties. Although many organizations seek influence over public affairs, political parties are uniquely organized around winning elections and using the power of the state to further their interests. Worldwide, political parties are the dominant and accepted players in representative democracies. In Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa, broad-based social movements have taken a leading role in the call for transformational change, often challenging established political parties to better listen to societal demands and adapt their way of working.

In principle, parties fulfil many core functions, as summarized in Box 2. But political parties do not develop and mature automatically; the picture presented in the box describes an ideal picture of what a good party might look like based on Western conceptions. This ideal picture is far removed from the local reality in which political parties operate in developing democracies. Therefore, this list should not be understood as a checklist of requirements, but rather a guide to important functions carried out by political parties in healthy democracies.

Box 2: Key roles and functions of political parties:

- Identify and represent citizens' interests;
- Mediate the interests of different groups;
- Formulate viable policy agendas and frame political choices;
- Educate citizens about political issues;
- Recruit, train, socialise and screen potential leaders;
- Form governments and take responsibility or, when not in power, hold governments accountable.

In developing democracies, political parties and movements clearly struggle to fulfil the roles and functions presented above. Their structures are often weak and, due to a discriminatory, masculine and male-dominated model of politics, parties tend to structurally exclude marginalized groups. Formal rules of the game, such as internal democracy regulations and government legislation can generally pose serious constraints for members of marginalized groups to pursue a political career and participate in the policy-making process. Furthermore,

the more informal and unwritten rules of the game in the political arena not only facilitate incentives for the political (male) elite but also constrain others from accessing political power, resources such as party finances and networks, leadership and decision-making. Examples of unwritten rules are moral codes of conduct, social norms, taboos and gender stereotypes.

Another factor that hinders the effective functioning of political parties is the fact that the resource base of political parties is not sufficiently transparent and their structures are often not firmly rooted in society. Also, their political agendas often do not fully connect to what the citizens consider the key national and local development issues. In general, politicians are primarily engaged in a personal struggle for power and access to state resources and mainly preoccupied with winning elections rather than advocating and attending to the public good. Consequently, political parties suffer from a bad reputation and tend to be one of the least trusted institutions in the eyes of the population; they are considered the weakest link in the democratic governance chain. Concurrently, there is a growing group of well-educated, empowered and articulate (often middle-class) citizens who demand access to and more direct influence on political affairs, further decreasing popular support for political parties and a representative democracy.

3.3 The case for support to political parties

The above illustrates that, although political parties are the primary institutions that link the state to society, parties in developing countries struggle to effectively perform their democratic roles due to systemic impediments and organizational weaknesses. Furthermore, in most countries where NIMD works, high levels of polarization and tension exist between parties, politicians and the population. Outside the formal structure of parliament, which is often polarized and dominated by the ruling party, there is little space for open dialogue and an acknowledgement of the parties' shared responsibilities to society. At the same time, it is important to recognize that democracies do thrive on political competition. But when this competition is not guided by clear and accepted rules of the game, this can cause critical instabilities within the system, like civil conflict or political repression. Adherence to democratic practice and respect for democratic principles are therefore essential in achieving a stable and mature democracy.

4 Applying the Theory of Change: NIMD's approach

NIMD was founded with a clear mission to assist developing democracies and, in particular, to strengthen their political parties. This mandate is specified in our founding statutes. With more than 15 years of experience and programmes in over 20 countries, NIMD is at the forefront of democracy assistance. With its extensive political knowledge and experience, its vast local and international network of political actors and its strong network of dedicated implementing partners in all of its programme countries, NIMD is well placed to foster deep democracies and strengthen their political parties, bringing these parties together and enabling them to function more effectively within the political system of their country.

4.1 Unique approach

NIMD works with all parties across the political spectrum, ruling and opposition parties alike, to build trust and confidence, invest in the ground rules for political participation to prevent a relapse into violence and to ensure that fair and equally accessible democratic systems are put in place to guarantee that politicians observe democratic values and compete respectfully on the basis of their programmatic policies and positions. As an organization with roots in Dutch politics, with the seven founding parties representing the width of the Dutch political spectrum, NIMD espouses the very notion of multiparty democracy in its DNA.

Box 3: NIMD's strategic assets:

- Multiparty identity;
- High-level political networks in over 20 programme countries, in the EU and in the Netherlands;
- Dedicated operational staff and partner implementation networks;
- Demonstrable track record;
- Validated approaches towards building democratic systems, actors and culture.

The NIMD approach furthermore distinguishes it from other democracy-support providers, not in terms of the formulated end goals, but in how it provides support to these objectives. Rather than ad-hoc, short-term support, NIMD is geared towards long-term equal partnerships with all key – usually at least all parliamentary – political parties. By engaging parties in a process of dialogue (or creating the preconditions for an effective dialogue in countries coming out of conflict), combined with strengthening the organizational capacity of parties in specific areas, and with an overall fostering of democratic capital aimed at ensuring that the rules of the game are put into practice and adhered to, NIMD has a holistic approach within its niche and has over the years invested in highly qualified practitioners and staff that implement the programmes (see box 3).

Ingrained in the NIMD approach are clear guiding principles (outlined in box 4 below) that relate to the process of working with political parties. At the same time they safeguard the organization's identity and are used to manage risks.

Box 4: Guiding Principles

Impartiality – Our approach is non-partisan. We are not affiliated with any specific political denomination and work with all parties across the political spectrum.

Inclusiveness – We provide a platform for discussion for both ruling and opposition parties. All parties take part in the dialogue on issues of national interest with an equal voice.

Diversity – We encourage the equal participation and representation of marginalized groups. We empower representatives of these groups to take part in the policy-making process.

Local ownership – Our programmes are locally set and owned and reflect local demands. We work with our partners on an equal basis.

Long-term commitment – Political transformation, building trust and strengthening political parties takes time. Therefore, we invest in long-lasting relationships with our local partners and political parties.

4.2 Vision and objectives

NIMD whole-heartedly supports the notion that multiparty democracies create the best conditions to safeguard the protection of human rights, the adherence to the rule of law, the establishment of peace and security and the enhancement of political stability. The key principle of democracy is that the legitimacy of the power to make decisions about the future of people's lives and communities derives from the voice and influence of those whose lives it affects. Put differently, functioning and effective democracies partly depend on accountable leaders who not only represent the interests of the electorate and translate their needs and aspirations into (policy) action, but who also actively shape a political culture in which no one fears to speak or is excluded and where a diversity of voices is heard and accommodated.

Box 5: NIMD Vision

NIMD believes in bringing about transparent and inclusive democracies in which:

- Trust and confidence are built and democratic values prevail;
- Public power is balanced and separated;
- Political parties compete for power through free and fair elections with peaceful alternations of power;
- Political parties take decisions on the basis of informed and reasoned choices and programmatic positions that serve the public good;
- Citizens' interests are kept at heart during public decision-making, and accountability is guaranteed.

NIMD programmes aim to achieve these objectives by assisting developing democracies to ensure that the voices of people count, governments are accountable and policies create basic and equal conditions for sustainable socio-economic development that benefit the common good and all citizens. Moreover, NIMD believes that multiparty democracies can create favourable conditions for peace and security by accommodating divergent views and interests and by settling differences non-violently. As strong democracies also create political stability, this allows for more foreign and domestic investment and overall equitable economic development.

This is the vision that NIMD strives for in its work. In order to arrive at this vision, NIMD believes that there needs to be continuous development and positive change on three interrelated outcome levels: system, culture and actor. Therefore, the following three strategic objectives guide NIMD's work:

Objective I- Political systems level:

NIMD facilitates enabling political environments with clear, transparent and inclusive rules of engagement that foster diversity and create a level playing field for all political parties.

In the developing democracies where NIMD works, the formal political system is not conducive to substantial democratic practice. Official rules and regulations need to take core democratic principles into account, such as a level playing field for political actors, free, fair and frequent elections, transparency and accountability. In some contexts, reforms are not even on the agenda yet. Here the focus lies on reducing tension and conflict through mediation and creating the pre-conditions for dialogue by establishing the ground rules for political participation. As political parties are the key target group for NIMD, this level specifically focuses on creating an enabling environment for political parties to thrive. This may involve reforms to the constitution or other legislation and regulations (e.g. the electoral system, party laws and codes).

The *change needed* is to move from closed, elite and discriminatory political systems to open and enabling environments that foster diversity in which parties can function effectively and take up their roles and fulfil their responsibilities to society.

Objective II- Political actor level:

NIMD strengthens the organizational and programmatic capacities of political parties and their members to become responsive, accountable actors who are policy-based and who foster diversity.

Parties that operate within the formal political arena need to have the political programming skills and capacities to act as the primary institutions that provide a link between the public and the state. Based on the analysis in the previous chapter, the *change needed* at the actor level is a shift from internally weakly organized parties with little analytical capacity that act mainly on personality-driven decisions to parties that are well-structured and driven by an internal democracy that fosters diversity, internal coherence and accountability, thus facilitating the formulation of viable policies benefitting the common good. In other words, the aim is to have parties that consult with and represent their support base and compete on the basis of these programmes.

Objective III- Political culture level:

NIMD promotes democratic values and behaviour among political actors.

For a democracy to function, it is essential to acknowledge the quality and features of the prevailing culture within the democratic practice. At a cultural level, the political system and its actors operate and interact, translating both the formal and informal rules of engagement into practice that guide the specific behaviour of individuals in both elite and general populations. It is difficult to standardize the democratic culture in the countries where NIMD works, but in general there is a *need*

for change from personalized, predatory and antagonistic political behaviour to political interaction and engagement characterized by a willingness to accommodate a diversity of views and interests, promote tolerance and respect for human rights and engage in political cooperation aimed at the common good. In addition, there is a need to politically empower individuals from marginalized groups so they can become equal participants and active leaders in the political arena.

At all three levels, strategic links and interactions with relevant stakeholders in society need to be established in order to ensure that citizens are more involved in politics and the support base for the political and policy reform agenda is further strengthened. Similarly, relations with relevant democratic institutions, such as Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and parliamentary committees, are essential to ensure ownership and a buy-in to the agenda for political and policy change.

In addition to the three strategic objectives, NIMD and its local implementing partners have selected two themes that are of particular interest to the organization and are relevant to all NIMD programmes. These two cross-cutting themes are 'political innovation' and 'gender and diversity'. Chapter 5 further elaborates upon both themes.

4.3 Strategies

NIMD has developed four distinctive strategies and related tools and instruments to contribute to its three strategic objectives. These strategies are flexibly deployed depending on the specific political system, culture and actors' context in each country and regional setting. NIMD does not apply a specific model, but follows a participatory process to develop context-specific and tailor-made approaches informed by an in-depth political economy analysis and the knowledge of its local implementing partners. This tailor-made approach employs a coherent, phased and sequenced mix of strategies targeted at one or more strategic objectives.

Strategy 1: Facilitate interparty dialogue and cooperation

NIMD supports and facilitates the setup of (informal) dialogue consultations or safe spaces for politicians from all parties to meet, get to know each other and gradually overcome any barriers between them. Once basic levels of trust and confidence have been established, NIMD facilitates the formulation of an agreement on a political reform agenda between the parties participating in the dialogue process. As the window of opportunity for political reforms is often limited to the timeframe in between elections and the next pre-campaign period, NIMD aligns its programme activities to the electoral cycle to ensure maximum impact.

Constructive debate on critical reforms is particularly difficult in highly informal political systems with a single dominant party. In these systems, the legislature cannot always play its role effectively. NIMD's experience has demonstrated that there is merit in investing in an informal or formal interparty dialogue process outside of the parliamentary limelight. A critical element of success is the formulation and acceptance of clear rules of engagement for the political actors participating in the dialogue platforms to help shape and guide the development of a shared national agenda for political and policy change.

In pursuing this strategy, NIMD focuses on both facilitating the political dialogue process and strengthening the local support structures (e.g. secretariats) that are essential to consolidate the dialogue process. NIMD invests in establishing these physical safe spaces; they can be located at an existing local organization, within a newly founded platform organization or as part of an NIMD country office. NIMD encourages diversity in the formation and composition of these spaces so that they are representative of and can accommodate the different views, interests and needs of all citizens, including those of marginalized groups.

Strategy 2: Build party capacity on organizational development and political programming

The main aim of the strategy to build organizational and programmatic capacity is to support parties as an institution to better understand, aggregate and articulate the needs and interests of their constituencies. In this way, they can effectively formulate coherent and viable policy alternatives and frame political choices for citizens. Consequently, parties will be enabled to take up their role as interlocutor between citizens and the state. NIMD support in this regard can be provided both bilaterally or in a cross-party setting. It includes, for instance, policy-analysis skills for politicians on how to assess key and relevant development issues or more capacity-strengthening on political programming, such as long-term strategic planning of party programmes on the basis of a professional SWOT analysis. In addition, NIMD builds the capacity of parties to assess and reform formal and informal barriers within both their internal party structures and the broader political system to the equitable political participation, leadership and representation of minority and marginalized groups.

NIMD aligns its support to the electoral cycle in the programme country. In the first half of the electoral cycle, activities are primarily focused on policy analysis, programme development, constituency consultation, communication and organizational development, including internal party democracy. In the second half of the electoral cycle, activities concentrate largely on the packaging of

policy messages, cross-party radio and TV debates, candidate training and constituency consultations. Activities in both phases are geared towards enabling the electorate to get to know the parties and programmes better so they can make an informed political choice.

Strategy 3: Foster democratic capital and behaviour

A key component of this strategy is tailor-made political education and training programmes for (aspiring) politicians so they can enhance their knowledge and skills. As part of this strategy, NIMD empowers political practitioners who represent marginalized groups to become effective leaders, campaigners and fundraisers. NIMD builds the capacity of female, young and indigenous candidates as well as male and female politicians who work on issues of diversity and gender equality. Political schools or training centres foster the development and practice of basic democratic skills and behaviour, including methods for speaking, listening, debating and conducting politics in a mutually respectful manner with a focus on programmatic argumentation. NIMD encourages diversity in the teachers, trainers and participants in its democracy education programmes.

NIMD trainings come in different shapes, forms and durations and serve a dual purpose. Firstly, they strengthen the parties' professional cadres and leadership. Secondly, they allow politicians to build common ground, meaningfully participate in interparty dialogue and cooperative activities and articulate clear party political positions.

Cross-cutting strategy 4: Share knowledge and link programme experiences

A fourth key strategy, best seen as cutting across the other strategies and activities, is focused on enhancing impact by facilitating peer-learning, regional and international exchanges and knowledge-sharing through networking. NIMD links politicians in its regions to allow them to learn and be exposed to different settings and solutions. Originally founded by the Dutch political parties, NIMD has always acknowledged the importance of the messenger: politicians are much more interested in learning from fellow politicians than from scholars or project managers.

For the complete version of the Theory of Change, you can contact NIMD.

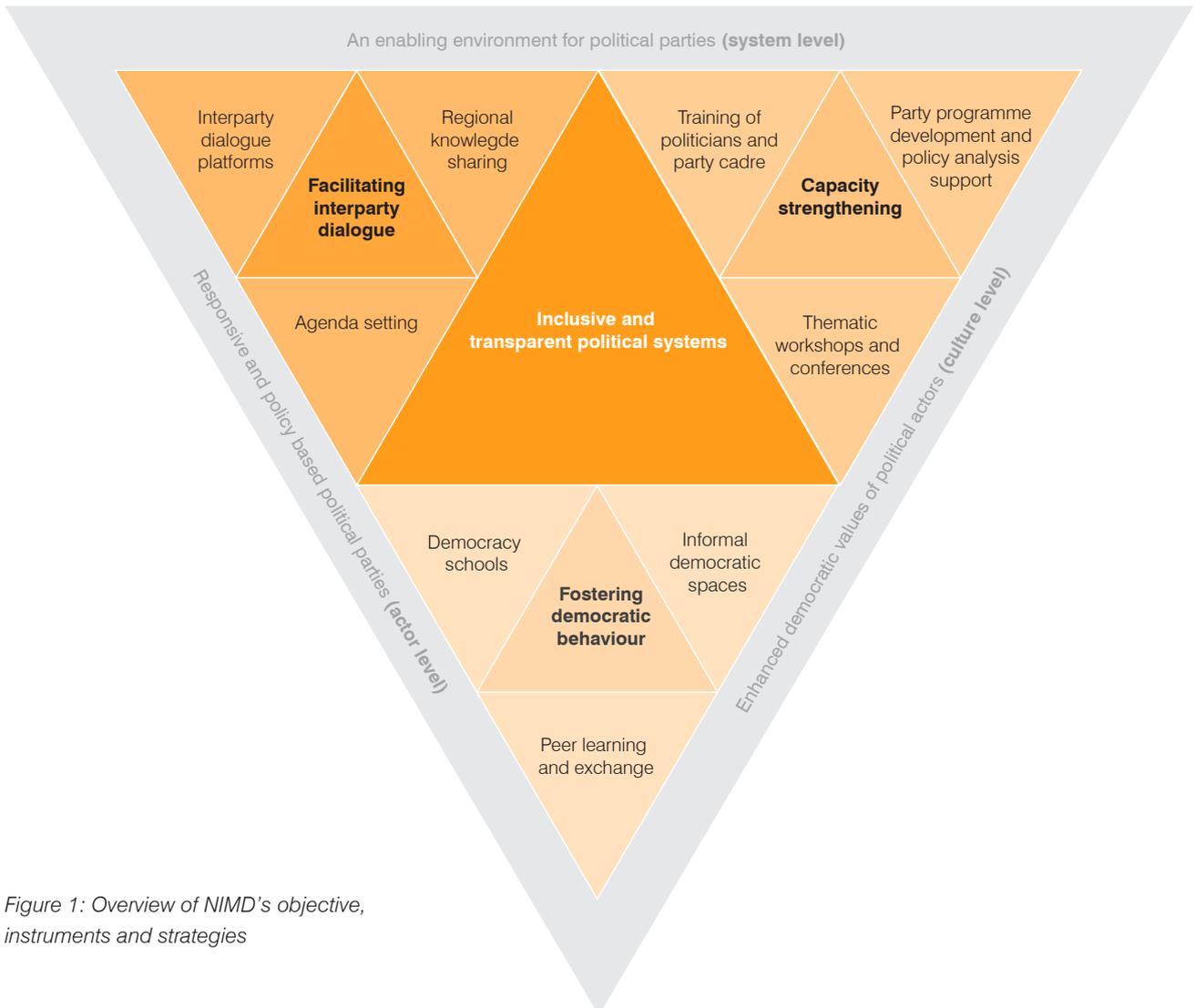


Figure 1: Overview of NIMD's objective, instruments and strategies

Bringing together politicians to discuss issues of national and regional interest creates a valuable exchange of knowledge, experiences and lessons learned and also provides valuable networking opportunities with regional and international peers. This can take the form of south-south exchange visits, peer-to-peer learning, regional round tables and regional conferences. Increasingly, peer exchanges are also used in starting new interparty dialogue platforms, whereby politicians with experience in facilitating dialogue processes in their own country guide and support the setup of these dialogue spaces. NIMD's work in previous years has demonstrated that best practices shared by politicians with other politicians through peer exchanges is an excellent way to stimulate debate on democratic reforms, gain new insights into ongoing national discussions and reinforce the institutions and networks in charge of tackling issues confronting a region, such as conflict.

4.4 NIMD intervention logic

Figure 1 gives a schematic overview of NIMD's objective, instruments and strategies to progress towards deeper democracies.

4.5 Applying the Theory of Change in different contexts

The ToC outlined above presents the framework that generically underpins NIMD's approach and programmatic interventions. To operationalize the ToC and adapt it to the specific country and/or regional context for each programme, NIMD conducts a thorough political economy analysis that enhances its capacity to develop effective programmes in complex political settings. It has developed a 'Baseline And Review Toolkit (BART)', which starts with a political context analysis and stimulates ongoing learning and the systematic collection of data that forms NIMD's evidence base (see chapter 8).

This political economy approach ensures that all programmes are based on a deep understanding of the local political system, its key actors and stakeholders and the main drivers, incentives for and obstacles to change. On the basis of this analysis, a tailor-made multi-annual strategy is developed that displays focus and realistic goals and objectives for each programme, streamlined to NIMD's three core objectives. These goals and objectives are then translated into a country-specific intervention logic that reflects the overall institutional goals and objectives and facilitates the measurement and analysis of organization-wide outcomes and impact. For each country, specific targets on the key objectives' indicators are thus defined to assess progress, steering on strategies and managing the programmes' portfolios. These will help to determine whether the conditions for potential impact exist (entry criteria), whether the programme should be reset as it moves into another phase (reset

criteria) or whether there is sufficient added value in NIMD's intervention (exit criteria). Annex 1 further elaborates on these entry, reset and exit criteria.

A specific context in which NIMD has increasingly been involved is that of fragile and conflict-affected settings. NIMD's strategies on political party dialogue and capacity-building are often highly valued in these settings, where strengthening political legitimacy is viewed as a pre-condition for sustainable peace, stability and development. Political distrust and polarization between political groups, characteristic of such contexts, often have their origins in violent conflict. Generic political party assistance intervention strategies alone cannot deal with the challenges of working in these sensitive environments. Therefore, to increase its effectiveness, NIMD is developing specific skills, tools and expertise that complement its intervention strategies for fragile and conflict-affected settings.

The tools and instruments developed by NIMD over the years to conduct its political analysis will be reassessed and complemented by existing tools employed by other organizations (such as DFID's note on Political Systems: Parliamentary and Political Parties Strengthening) to ensure that programme managers are equipped with a comprehensive but user-friendly political economy analysis tool. Moreover, as the wider development sector begins to embrace a much more explicit political agenda, specialist expertise will be needed to make progress along these lines. NIMD will be well placed to support this international agenda.

5 Programmes

In the period 2016-2020, the NIMD country programmes will remain at the heart of NIMD's work. In order to further strengthen its intervention strategies and proactively respond to the complex and changing environments in which it operates, NIMD will pursue three strategic choices:

- NIMD will strategically invest in and position itself as a lead organization with expertise, knowledge of and experience with political systems, actor and culture change;
- NIMD will invest in learning on two cross-cutting themes: political innovation, and gender and diversity;
- NIMD will invest in a more comprehensive regional knowledge base by adopting a regional approach.

5.1 NIMD's knowledge base on political systems, actor and culture change

To sharpen its competitive niche and to gradually evolve into a lead institute for political practitioners, NIMD has refined and redefined its strategic objectives and intervention strategies, as described in chapter 4. We have also developed a unique set of tools and instruments for each of our core objective areas. Table 1 below outlines the result areas per strategic objective, illustrating the scope and depth of NIMD's work.

Table 1: Result areas

Strategic Objectives	Outcomes
Enabling environments for political parties (Objective 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe and sustainable dialogue space for political parties where all parties are allowed to speak and interact on an equal basis. • Organizational capacity of local implementing partners facilitating interparty dialogue processes strengthened. • Trust and confidence between party leaders and between parties improved. • High level representation and participation in the interparty dialogue secured. • Consensus-based reform agenda developed and adopted by the dialogue platform. • Number and quality of proposed, negotiated and/or adopted proposals. • Trust and confidence between political parties and other democratic actors improved (e.g. electoral management bodies, parliamentary groups, etc). • Contribution made to reduce interparty tensions and conflicts through mediation.
Organizational and programmatic capacity strengthening of political parties (Objective 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of parties that develop and utilize an ideology, vision, strategy and manifestos. • Number of parties that define an articulate set of positions on important policy issues. • Degree to which parties translate democratic values and principles into their internal procedures. • Extent to which parties communicate clearly and consistently on issues of national concern. • Intraparty measures taken to secure increased women's participation in leadership positions.
Enhanced democratic values and behaviour among political actors (Objective 3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and implementation of Codes of Conduct for political parties. • Number of political actors successfully completing democratic values and behaviour trainings and exchanges. • Strategic alliances with organizations that work on the "demand-side" of democracy. • Politicians display enhanced democratic values and skills in their behaviour. • Reduction of interparty violence, personal insults or calls for violence by individual politicians.

The strategic objectives of the organization merit a focused study and analysis, not as abstract goals but as themes of consistent reflection. To this end, NIMD will establish a new Knowledge and Innovation Unit at its headquarters that will sharpen NIMD's analysis and programming along the three strategic objectives of political systems, actor and culture. The unit will be tasked with collecting, analyzing and packaging practical knowledge and experiences from NIMD's programmes and systematically generating new, applied and user-friendly tools and methodologies.

The Knowledge and Innovation Unit will be comprised of NIMD staff taking the lead in each of the five thematic priority areas, namely: political systems, political actors, political culture, political innovation, and gender and diversity (see 5.2). The leads will assume leadership over knowledge development processes in their respective areas, together with a number of colleagues who commit themselves to the joint production of knowledge products and tools within their specific area of expertise. The outcomes will feed back into the organization and country programmes. Other members of the NIMD staff, either from Headquarters or partners, will also be eligible to join the thematic direction of the group and contribute to it. NIMD will also closely interact with the Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (see chapter 6) to ensure that the tools, instruments and strategies developed in the three core objective areas respond to demands from NIMD's partner network and to stimulate a process of mutual learning and cross-fertilization between different country and regional contexts. Furthermore, a pool of associate experts will be created with specific skills and expertise in the five thematic areas to complement the knowledge and skills base of NIMD and keep the workload of the Knowledge and Innovation Unit manageable.

The outputs created by the Knowledge and Innovation Unit will include handbooks, articles, opinion pieces and toolkits. It will also develop recommendations and advise on programme design frameworks and implementation methodologies.

5.2 Thematic learning: gender and diversity, and political innovation

Important issues constantly arise in one country programme that are relevant to other country programmes or that require a specific approach. In order to ensure that the organization will be able to respond to those issues, two cross-cutting themes have been selected that will support and compliment the realization of the three NIMD strategic objectives and help NIMD to respond to some of the strategic priorities. The two themes are 'gender and diversity' and 'political innovation'.

Gender and diversity

By including gender and diversity as a cross-cutting theme, NIMD recognizes that the key principle of democracy is that the legitimacy of the power to make decisions about the future of people's lives and communities derives from the voice and influence of those whose lives it affects (see box 6). In the past, a number of influential currents of thought have positively informed the democratization agenda across the world. Gender equality and the empowerment of women, equal participation of minorities in the political life of societies and the need for qualitatively higher accountability standards of the elected towards the electorate have increasingly come to the fore. An increasing volume of research on democracy and development has begun to point to well-established links between gender equality and the empowerment of minorities and welfare and stability.

NIMD is learning and exploring ways to mainstream issues of gender and diversity into its organization and programmatic work. In the coming years, policy pathways, strategies and instruments that promote and encourage gender equality and diversity will be further explored. This will include new methods for NIMD to incorporate gender and diversity into its work, effective strategies and instruments to politically empower marginalized groups and the assurance that these tools will re-enforce NIMD's main goal. As a democracy practitioner, NIMD will also explore ways to maintain a balance between local ownership, controversial messages and a good working relationship with key partners, monitor the results and impact of women's political empowerment at the outcome level by applying a gender perspective in political party assistance and apply the 'Do-No-Harm' principle in its work.

Box 6: Gender and diversity mainstreaming

NIMD fosters the principle of diversity and has mainstreamed it as a strategy in its work to ensure that both women and men, regardless of their political beliefs, gender, age, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, ethnicity, health status, life style, religion or cultural background, can benefit from its support. NIMD uses the concept of diversity as an analytical tool to explore and understand the contexts and opportunities for change in which it works.

The different qualities, identities and behaviours expected from the multiple identities and characteristics assigned to men and women are dynamic and historically determined through a process of socialization. Moving beyond simple tolerance, we understand diversity both as a means and an end. The principle of diversity encompasses respect and the understanding that each individual or group is unique. Their different needs, experiences, perspectives, rights and desires need to be represented at the political

level and taken into account, ensuring that all groups have equal conditions for realizing their potential to contribute to and influence political, social, cultural and economic developments and to benefit from the results.

Political innovation

The importance of including political innovation as another cross-cutting theme is almost self-evident. The modern era calls for reflecting on and incorporating new openings for deepening and enhancing democratic societies and expanding democratic spaces. A number of technological innovations have opened up new avenues for making political parties and their leaders more accountable and transparent and allowing politicians and citizens alike to organize faster and better as well as to engage each other in a more open, regular and real-time dialogue and in open democratic spaces on the internet or mainstream media. These technologies provide unprecedented capacity to individuals and groups, including political parties and governments, to influence each other and shape policies. These opportunities are multiplying via the global growth of internet penetration, the use of mobile technologies and their ever-increasing processing capacities.

NIMD is aware that, over the past two decades and despite the increase in the number of formal democracies, traditional forms of governance have come under pressure. Vocal and empowered citizens increasingly express their frustration in public and demand more direct forms of democracy and participation, all this greatly helped by modern technology. As an organization directly supporting political parties, NIMD will therefore have to carefully follow, analyze and anticipate these developments. Not to replace representative forms of democracy, but to complement, strengthen and deepen them to ensure that political parties remain relevant and effective actors in democracy. NIMD's ambition is to be at the forefront of this debate. Accordingly, NIMD will create space to invest in a programme that will:

- (i) analyze and interpret new trends and developments;
- (ii) explore new modalities for deepening political processes through a selected number of pilot initiatives;
- (iii) assess the policy implications with regard to democracy assistance support on the basis of the outcomes of a selected number of pilot projects;
- (iv) contribute to the public debate on political change and innovation. NIMD plans to achieve this in partnership with a limited number of like-minded organizations (political party assistance providers, local implementing partners, etc.).

In addition to research and pilots on new forms of citizen participation in democracy, also other subjects and themes from country and regional programmes

will be researched by the Knowledge and Innovation Unit. These could include, for example, work on refining NIMD's approach in fragile and post-conflict countries and security and democracy issues.

5.3 Embedding country programmes in a regional context

NIMD acknowledges that local democratization agendas are often affected by regional trends and developments. Interdependencies have expanded, elevating the importance of regional knowledge and regional action. Trends towards regionalization are increasing: countries tend to join forces in trade unions and political alliances to leverage economies of scale, political association and the benefits of transparent borders; and the EU is increasingly adopting a regional approach to lending its support to economic development, good governance and safety and security issues. From the vantage point of a political development organization, understanding regional dynamics and political developments is crucial and gives premium to regional postures.

To ensure that NIMD has a solid understanding of the cross-border themes, obstacles and opportunities for democratization in the regions, NIMD will adopt a regional approach. In doing so, NIMD aims to flexibly, innovatively and timely complement the country programmes with relevant regional interventions that focus on those common challenges and are informed by a regional political economy analysis and are anchored in a regional strategy.

NIMD expects that a regional approach will facilitate learning, the exchange of experiences and cross-fertilization between country programmes, while enhancing possibilities for positioning and fundraising at a regional level. With this regional approach, NIMD's programming will be in a position to cautiously and systematically take into account other common challenges such as post-conflict dynamics, challenges related to natural resource management, safety and security issues and other matters that may dominate a particular region and may impact on the realization of the strategic objectives at a country level.

The exact shape and form of NIMD's regional approach and the extent to which it will reinforce its regional presence is yet to be determined. In working out modes and modalities, NIMD will take an organic approach that reflects its organizational principle of subsidiarity (see chapter 7), local demands and its regional knowledge base. As part of this strategic trajectory, NIMD will make sure that a responsive structure exists at NIMD Headquarters to be able to meet the demand for specific services and products from the regions.

5.4 Programme portfolio

Over the past 15 years, NIMD has carefully built up its programme portfolio. This portfolio was developed in response to local demands, a thorough assessment of the local country context, an appraisal of NIMD's niche and intervention strategy and the careful observation of NIMD's guiding principles. In addition, country choices have also been influenced by the policy of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the availability of funding and potential partnerships with other donors and organizations.

The current programme portfolio contains over 20 country and regional programmes, most of which have been running for over five years. For the period 2016-2020, NIMD's ambition is to firmly consolidate its current country and regional portfolio by further strengthening and deepening its programmes, securing tangible outcomes and safeguarding sustainability. This is reflected in the multi-annual budget estimate presented in chapter 9.

To meet this ambition, the country and regional programmes need to be fully aligned to the strategic choices made in this multi-annual plan (focus, specialization, networking and diversification of funds) and ensure that all programmes follow a more integrated approach in terms of the key strategic objectives. In other words, no programme should in the long-run focus solely on one of the NIMD objectives, but should contribute to all three strategic objectives by using a variety of instruments and methodologies that mutually reinforce one another. Also, all programmes need to be firmly embedded in a regional approach.

In order for NIMD to consolidate its programme portfolio along the above-mentioned lines the current country programmes will have to be properly assessed and reviewed. In 2015, each country and regional programme will apply the Baseline and Review Toolkit (BART), as explained in chapter 8. On the basis of this review, a decision will be taken to continue, review or end NIMD's engagement in the programme before the start of this multi-annual plan. If the programme is to be continued, a multi-annual country programme will be drafted. If, after a careful review, no added value from NIMD's engagement is foreseen in continuing a particular programme or no financial means will be available within a reasonable time span, then an exit strategy will be drafted intended to sustain programme results and hand them over to a local partner, if possible and appropriate.

In addition to consolidating its current programme portfolio (see table 2) and ensuring that these programmes are more firmly embedded in a regional strategy that takes account of the specific regional challenges and relevant cross-border themes and issues, NIMD remains open to starting three to five new programmes in countries where there is a clear request for NIMD's approach during the period of this MAP. In general, these new country programmes should fit into NIMD's regional approach and follow the strategic and programmatic choices made in this multi-annual plan. The initiation of new programmes will be directed from NIMD Headquarters, as the NIMD approach and mandate generally play an important role in setting up the programmes and initial fundraising will most likely be done from there. Increasingly though, and parallel to the ambition reflected in this multi-annual plan to further decentralize programme management on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity, partners from the region will also be involved in these programmes.

Table 2: NIMD's country portfolio 2015

Regions in which NIMD operates	NIMD country portfolio
East Africa	Burundi, Kenya, Uganda
West Africa	Benin, Ghana, Mali
Southern Africa	Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe
Northern Africa	Egypt, Tunisia
South Caucasus	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia
Southeast Asia	Indonesia, Myanmar
Andean Region	Colombia, Ecuador
Central America	El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras

6 Partners

NIMD is a relatively small organization that is embedded in a large network of political practitioners in both Western countries and the developing world. NIMD is fully aware that it cannot pursue the ambitious objectives laid out in the previous chapters by itself. It is against this background that NIMD aims to further strengthen its existing network of partner organizations and explore new forms of collaboration in order to meet its objectives.

NIMD seeks to deepen its existing partnerships with its implementing partners in the countries in which it is active. This includes further decentralizing the responsibilities and support needed to consolidate these partners as self-standing domestic organizations. The relationship with these implementing partners and other like-minded organizations will be further intensified and developed into a Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (GPMD). In addition, NIMD will engage in a number of strategic partnerships with international partner organizations that have a shared vision and relevant and complementary skills and capacities.

6.1 Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy

In general, NIMD implements its country programmes through a single partner organization in each programme country. In the last 15 years, NIMD has built up strong relations with its local partner organizations and worked with them to strengthen their organizational and administrative capacities and work modalities. Through peer-exchanges and conferences, these institutes have linked up to form an active network of likeminded political practitioners organizations. This network is identified as one of NIMD's main assets by the NIMD management, staff, partners and donors.

Together with Demo Finland¹ and its local partners, NIMD will establish the Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (GPMD). The GPMD sets out to:

- achieve conducive conditions (recognition and visibility) for political party support within the international community;
- provide its members a communication and coordination channel to continuously improve its approaches through active knowledge sharing activities and joined management and implementation of programmes.

The concept of the GPMD will be presented to all the partners in 2015 and will be operational as of 2016.

6.2 Strategic partners

Besides the implementing partners in the GPMD, NIMD needs other strategic partners to complement its work. A partner qualifies as a strategic partner if the partnership is on an institutional level. Put differently, when there is regular contact and integration between the organizations, beyond mere programme level cooperation. In an institutional partnership, NIMD and its partner work together on multiple programmes and integrate their approaches to actively seek to expand their cooperation. The outline of the partnership is determined by the NIMD Board in conjunction with the strategic partner, and the resonance of such a partnership is felt throughout the entire organization. Ideally, the strategic partner brings expertise that is strategically important and complementary to that of NIMD.

NIMD is continually seeking to deepen its existing partnerships and find new partners who can complement its niche. Yet NIMD also realizes that a strategic partnership brings institutional strain and that working together effectively costs effort. Moreover, NIMD believes that strategic partnerships can become more effective as partners further integrate over time and deepen their relationship. Keeping these principles in mind, NIMD will focus on the following strategic partnerships in the coming years:

Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs – funding alliance partner

At the end of 2015, the current Ministry of Foreign Affairs subsidy framework, Political Parties II (PPII), will come to an end. From 2016-2020 there will be a new framework, the Ministry's Strategic Partnerships. To be eligible for funding under this subsidy framework, NIMD has extended its strategic partnership with AWEPA.

The Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA)

The strategic partnership with AWEPA started in 2011 and has recently been extended to jointly apply under the Dialogue and Dissent Strategic Partnerships policy framework from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Although,

¹ As a similar organization focusing on political parties in developing democracies, Demo Finland was asked to jointly develop the GPMD. See more on the cooperation with Demo Finland under 6.2: NIMD's strategic partners.

due to AWEPA's mandate, the partnership is limited to the African continent, NIMD is cognisant of the increasing funding opportunities for a comprehensive approach on combining political party assistance and parliamentary support. This will help to effectively mainstream and implement the political and policy reform agendas developed in the interparty dialogue process into national policy and budget processes. To this effect, NIMD and AWEPA will further explore how lessons learned in the African context can also enrich programmes in other continents.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

NIMD has been in a partnership with International IDEA since 2011 for the purpose of joint programme planning and development, joint fundraising and thematic cooperation. This partnership evolved out of the successful cooperation in the Andean region that has been ongoing since 2006. Where NIMD's focus on working with political parties is firmly rooted in praxis, IDEA has a wider focus on knowledge creation and publication for the democracy assistance field. This makes our organizations highly complementary to one another, and together we produce tools and knowledge products and we organize knowledge dissemination activities. Furthermore, NIMD and IDEA work closely together on the Human Rights programme that will run until 2017 and within the framework of the Political Party Peer Network (PPP network). This network consists of leading political party support organizations and donors from across the world. In 2011, NIMD and IDEA jointly applied for the PPII funding from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Although NIMD and IDEA will not apply together to become the Ministry's strategic partners, the organizations will continue to work closely together and jointly explore new possibilities to fund their programmes and cooperation.

Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (DIPD)

DIPD is a relatively new likeminded organization. Together with Demo Finland and NIMD, DIPD is the only European non-partisan organization established by political parties and geared at political party support. Currently, NIMD and DIPD work together to share costs, partners and human resource capacity in a number of their programmes. In addition, the similar vision on political party support gives reason for further integrating joint positioning in the future. Because of economies of scale and complementary views, NIMD and DIPD shall continue to search for new modes of cooperation.

Political Parties of Finland for Democracy (Demo Finland)

Demo Finland is a sister organization of NIMD and DIPD based in Finland that increasingly works together with

NIMD. Demo Finland's focus on including women and youth in politics makes it an interesting complementary strategic partner for NIMD to assist in deepening NIMD's knowledge of the cross-cutting themes of diversity and inclusiveness. Besides successfully running joint programmes, NIMD and Demo have decided to collaborate on the Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (GPMD) and combine their networks into a single partnership. Demo is also an active partner of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) so there is also collaboration at the EU level. Because of the fast growing collaboration on different levels, Demo will remain an important partner for NIMD; with the creation of the GPMD this cooperation will undoubtedly intensify in the coming years.

European Partnership for Democracy (EPD)

EPD is the first community of practice on democracy assistance at the EU level, bringing together the community of democracy assistance organizations and the EU institutions. EPD is financially dependent on the financial contribution that its member organizations make to be part of this community of practice. Because of the need to diversify its funding and an increased opportunity to gain funding for democracy assistance at an EU level, NIMD will increasingly make use of EPD's services to gain access to the right resources in Brussels. In return, NIMD will feed its knowledge and experience into the community of practice for dissemination to the other EPD partners. As a founding partner and member of the EPD Board, NIMD will continue to play an active role within EPD's community of practice.

7 Organization, communications and fundraising

NIMD is an ambitious organization not only in terms of achieving its strategic goals and objectives, but also in terms of the standards it sets for itself with regard to the quality of organizational processes, structures and staff. Over the past 15 years, NIMD has evolved from a small pioneering organization into a professional organization with experienced staff, adequate programme management and administrative systems, and an institutionalized planning, monitoring and evaluation cycle.

7.1 Organization

Ambitions and organizational principles

NIMD's organizational structure and values need to support the core work of NIMD: the country programmes and the three strategic objectives. This means that in the coming years a lot of emphasis will be put on making sure that the programme staff working for NIMD (at headquarter/regional/country office level) possess the relevant knowledge and skills and are able to translate it in their work. NIMD will invest in an inspiring and motivating environment that supports a professional attitude. This will be done through linking & learning weeks, internal events, shared goals and off course a good physical working environment.

And NIMD will continue to organize knowledge and innovation in a systematic way with a focus on sharing and continuous learning and improvement.

Another focal point in the coming years will be the gradual decentralization of responsibilities and tasks to the country offices or partner organizations. More and more, our partners have the capacity to fundraise by themselves and take the lead in fundraising.

NIMD will further professionalize its organization, financial administration and quality management systems according to the following operational principles:

- **Subsidiarity:** responsibilities will be placed at the level where they are most effectively and efficiently dealt with. In practice this means that tasks and responsibilities will be decentralized as far as possible and performed centrally when unavoidable or needed.

- **Cost-effectiveness:** the implementation of the mandate and mission of the organization is done in the most cost-effective manner.
- **Flexibility:** the organizational structure of NIMD allows for flexibility to adapt to the various country and regional contexts, as well as flexibility to respond to funding and positioning opportunities.
- **Results orientation:** the organization steers its programmes on strategy and results. The responsibility and necessary means and competencies for the organization's outcomes and results are delegated to responsible teams
- **Sustainability:** NIMD makes a deliberative effort to strengthen the capacities and abilities of its local implementing partners to secure future organizational, programmatic and financial sustainability.

Organizational structure

Currently, NIMD operates from its office in The Hague and is headed by an Executive Director with a team of professionals and support staff, including directly contracted local staff at NIMD country offices in Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Georgia, Guatemala, Mozambique and Uganda.

The Executive Director is responsible for the management and strategic development of the organization and reports to the Supervisory Board, which consists of a number of independent professionals. The Supervisory Board is responsible for the general supervision of the management of the organization and the work of the Executive Director. An Advisory Council, consisting of representatives of the Dutch founding political parties, provides strategic advice on key policy issues.

As part of the multi-annual transition plan, NIMD will adjust where necessary. Among other things, the organization will optimize the roles and functions of its country offices by bringing them closer to NIMD Headquarters in terms of strategy and by gradually decentralizing tasks and responsibilities where possible and cost-effective. NIMD will also assess the possibility of regional representation in each of the regions in which it is currently active, also taking into account the roles that country offices can play in that regard.

Quality Management

NIMD is working towards ISO-certification before the end of 2015. ISO certification is the start of a process for further development and improvement of the quality assurance cycle (internal audits, risk analysis and improvements). NIMD is aiming for an integral quality management system that will form the basis for control and improvement.

The organization will also implement IATI, an open data system aimed at improving the availability, access and redistribution of information on programme implementation and activities. IATI is a voluntary, multi-stakeholder initiative that seeks to improve the transparency of aid by visualizing project information. IATI provides an opportunity to inform the general public about NIMD's ambitions and the successes of its interventions while simultaneously helping to identify quality issues within the organization's data, and provide the entire organization with a better understanding of this information.

7.2 Positioning and communications strategy

Key communications message

Over the past years, NIMD has built up a solid track record and a good reputation in the field of democracy and political party assistance. The focus in 2016 and onwards will be on maintaining and further strengthening NIMD's good name and image in the sector. Just like everything else, the organization's image requires constant attention.

The starting point for any communication strategy is the organization's core business and organizational positioning: how does NIMD want to be perceived in the sector? The previous chapters give a detailed insight into NIMD's objectives and approach. Based on that, the position statement of NIMD can be formulated as follows:

Position statement:

NIMD wants to be perceived as an expert organization with a unique and effective approach in the field of political party assistance in developing democracies. When policymakers and donors wish to set up programmes around political parties and good governance, NIMD should be one of the first organizations they think of (top-of-mind awareness).

This position statement leads to the following key communication message containing NIMD's USPs:

Key message:

With more than 15 years of experience and programmes in over 20 countries NIMD is at the forefront of democracy assistance. With our knowledge, experience and international network we take up the challenge of strengthening political parties and bringing them together, enabling them to function effectively and make their democracy transparent and inclusive.

Where many organizations focus on one-on-one activities with political parties, we go one step further: in addition to strengthening the capacities of parties we encourage and facilitate dialogue between them by providing safe environments for them to meet, overcome distrust and work together on political issues. Furthermore, we provide education programmes for (potential) politicians to foster the democratic culture in their countries.

Our unique and demand-driven approach is possible because of our multiparty background and focus on inclusion. We believe that all voices should be heard in a democracy, including the voice of the opposition and marginalized groups.

Target audiences and communications strategy

NIMD does not aim at the general public. That approach would be too broad because of the specific niche work and the fact that NIMD does not rely on donations from consumers. For NIMD it is important to specifically reach policymakers, donors, political parties and peer organizations in the field of democracy assistance.

The purpose of NIMD's communication is to engage effectively with stakeholders and make sure that they understand and appreciate what NIMD does. NIMD wants to achieve this by actively participating in networks, events and debates around democracy and democracy assistance. No big campaigns, but a more direct and personal communications approach. The choice for this strategy fits with NIMD's ambition to be seen as a leading expert and a hands-on practitioners organization. Being present at events and actively participating in debates provides NIMD with the opportunity to showcase its approach and results and be visible on a regular basis. The latter is particularly important for fundraising. Fundraising requires visibility before the actual fundraising proposals are discussed. That will make talks about collaboration and donations a lot easier because then the donors will already have an idea of what NIMD does.

7.3 Fundraising

The main fundraising target is diversification towards 40% non-Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs funding by 2020. The focus of fundraising will be on securing flexible institutional funding that contributes to NIMD's core business instead of a more project-driven approach. The current donor portfolio consists for a large part (80%) of a substantial subsidy from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a small number of recurring donors like the EU (EIDHR instrument), Dutch embassies abroad and other government funding like DfID (UK), DFAIT (Canada) and multi-donor funding through the Democratic Governance Facility in Uganda. There are therefore many new donors to explore and reach out to, like multilaterals (the UN and the World Bank) and private foundations and funds (OSI, Ford and 'Nationale Postcode Loterij'). Also, the EU can become a more frequent partner and a larger donor to NIMD's work. Other opportunities for NIMD in the course of diversifying its funding base are:

- **Politicization of development:** The Busan principals have pushed for a more political approach in international development agendas. This will most likely open up new fundraising opportunities for working on the political side of development like NIMD does. It remains to be seen, however, how quickly this will be realized and translated into concrete funding windows.
 - **Shift from government to private funding:** Although more difficult to secure, private funding is more flexible and often more substantial than government funding. A shift from government to private funds as described in chapter 2 is therefore a possible opportunity for NIMD to secure more institutional and multi-year funding.
 - **Legitimate politics in fragile and conflict-affected settings:** The New Deal on Fragile States brought to the forefront a strong international push for a more political approach to peace, stability and development in fragile and conflict-affected settings. Without strong investments in political systems, actors and culture in such contexts, the sustainability of other international interventions becomes doubtful. Therefore, NIMD has increasingly been asked to use its experience and positioning to contribute to strengthening legitimate politics in such sensitive settings. To respond to such demands, NIMD is developing specific skills, tools and expertise, complementing its intervention strategies.
 - **Global Partnership for Democracy:** The coming into existence of a Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (GPMD), in which NIMD's implementing partners in the south and other like-minded organizations are united, will also enable NIMD to strengthen fundraising efforts on a more local level.
- **Regionalization of funding:** Finally, the regionalization of available funding and the increasing focus on cross-border themes fits well with the very local character of NIMD work. The output of NIMD's work is seen on a national level, but democratic development or the prevention of a relapse into conflict through sustainable dialogue has, of course, a more cross-border effect. This match between NIMD's level of output and regional availability of funds along a number of themes will be a main driver for the renewed fundraising strategy.

8 Strategic Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation

NIMD attaches great value to Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (PME) and continues to invest in developing and refining tools and innovative approaches to improve its ability to measure results. Trial-and-error is needed to strengthen the measurement of our results because the work of NIMD is not easily planned or measured. Many programme managers have found their own, workable and effective ways of guiding the programmes in their portfolio. To use all of their insights, various instruments and tools were tried and tested in the previous MAP period. Based on this practice, a more streamlined, widely applicable model for PME has been developed, the Baseline and Review Toolkit (BART). This is the starting point for a more uniform way of doing PME.

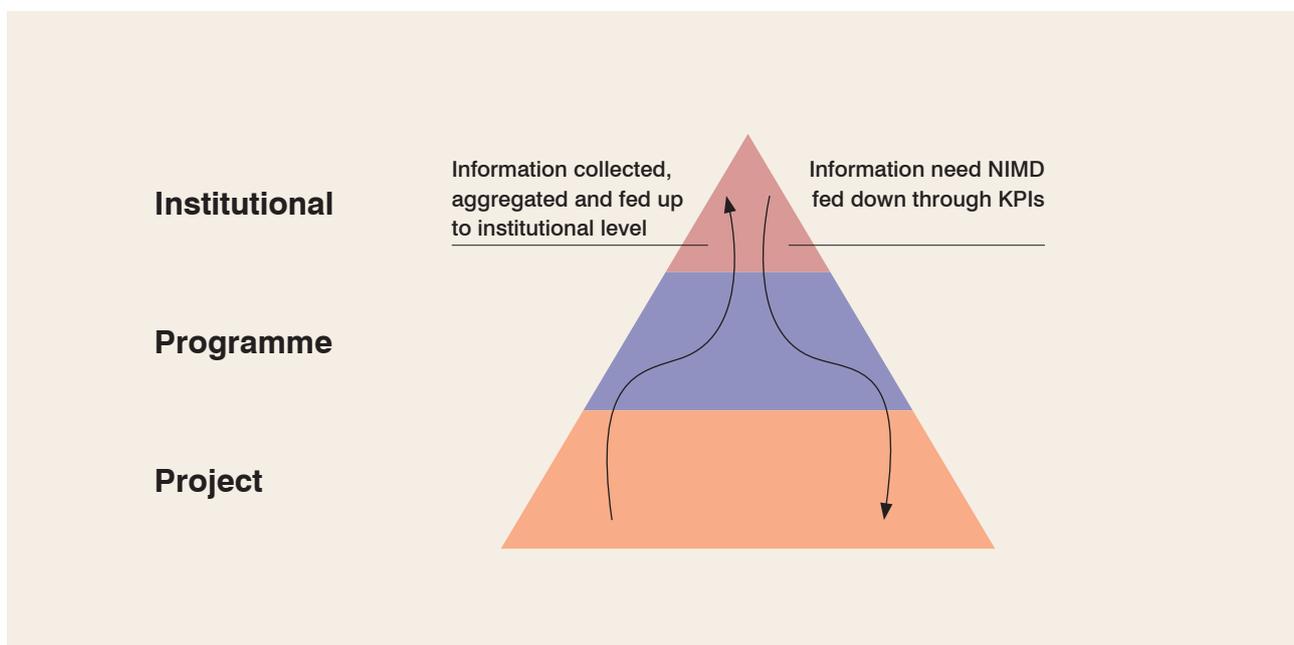
In the period 2016-2020, the BART is the core PME tool and will be further developed to uniformly support programme managers in designing their programmes and steering them for the best results possible.

8.1 Measuring strategic results

The Theory of Change and the strategic objectives for the entire organization are described in chapters 3 and 4. These objectives will be specified in indicators and will be measured to ascertain to what extent results are achieved during the MAP period.

The strategic results are at the heart of the institutional cycle and are further operationalized in programmes at the country level. In turn, programmes are further detailed and worked out in specific contracts or projects per country. All projects in a country should fit under the programme umbrella, whereas the programmes are expected to be in line with the institutional goals. As such, the institutional goals are guiding for operationalization down to the level of the projects, while the implementation at project level assures that goals at the institutional level are reached. In addition, information collected on field/project level is compiled and fed up to the institutional level (see figure 2). Again, the type of information collected is guided through the programme level by the institutional level indicators.

Figure 2: flow of information within NIMD



A well-functioning internal organization is a prerequisite for the strong strategic results of NIMD. At the end of 2015 the organization will introduce ISO as its quality system. This will also help the organization to plan and implement its programmes so that the strategic objectives of NIMD can be better achieved.

8.2 Monitoring tools

Components of BART² that were piloted and ready for implementation by late 2014 are the political context scan and the organizational scan. Both tools are used at different moments in the programme cycle (see figure 3). During identification, the tools are used to set a baseline for new programmes or starting point for existing programmes running into a new phase; during monitoring, both tools are used to measure progress (trends and development). The tools focus on aspects that are key to the success of the NIMD programmes:

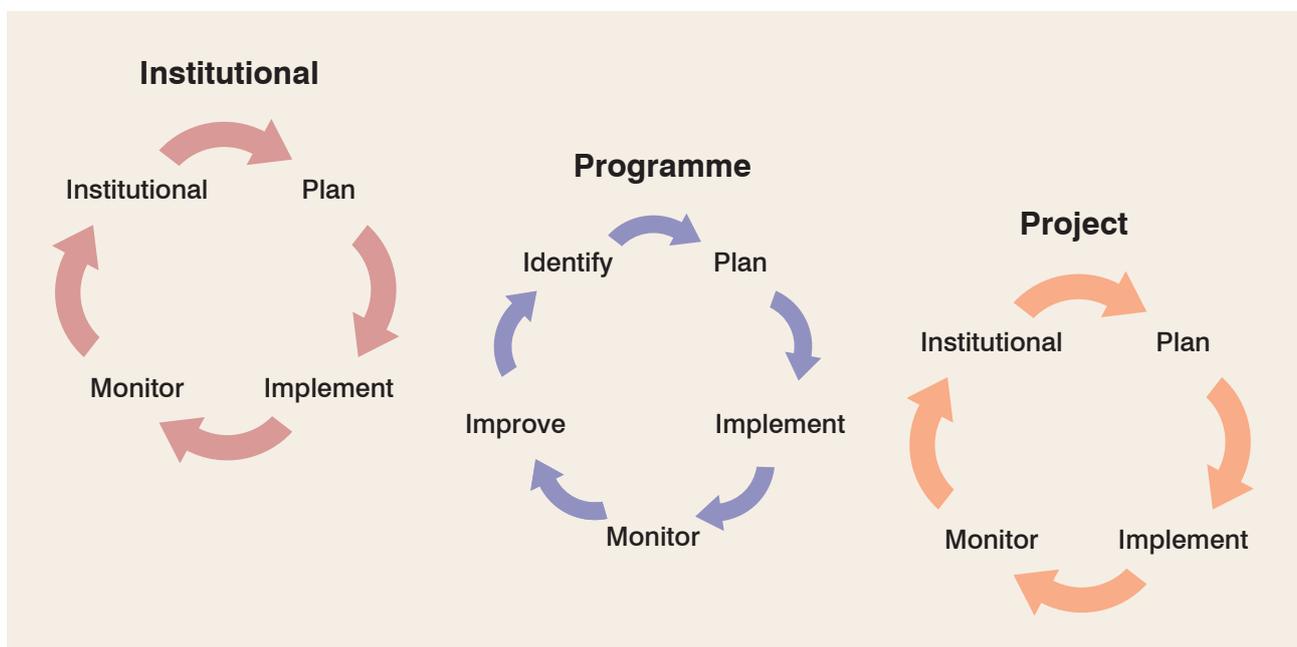
- The political context: at the heart of the work, changes in this context will be influenced by both external and internal programme factors that need to be known by programme staff.
- The capacity of the partner organizations: as NIMD implements its programmes via partners in the various countries, the capacity of those partners is the focus of the programme staff in the Netherlands. Secondly, the strength of the partner organization determines the level of implementation in the countries where NIMD works.

During the writing of this multi-annual plan (MAP), other tools, such as a framework for programme review and a political party assessment tool, were still under development. These will be rolled out in the MAP in an integrated fashion starting in the second half of 2015. The tools described in this MAP focus on the programme level, as this level provides crucial information for management on the institutional level. The project information collected on the programme level is added to the management information on NIMD's progress at the institutional level.

8.3 Review and evaluation approach

The new MAP period will see a further development in the approach to evaluating programmes. NIMD recognizes that, in the coming years, better understanding and evaluating the impact of its programmes – and especially attributing effectiveness to specific interventions – will be an increasingly pressing concern. Tight budgets, greater demands for accountability from donors and their parliaments and a cultural shift to evidence-based policy mean that measurement and evaluation has come to the forefront in democracy and governance programming.

Figure 3: PME cycles on institutional, programme and project level



² For detailed information on BART readers are referred to the BART Guidelines (available upon request). These also include a set of optional data-collection tools for programme PME.

The focus for NIMD will lie on conducting both innovative and rigorous evaluation approaches in order to better gather programming evidence and improve its results-based management practices. In this light, NIMD will build on its methodology of storytelling and expand its use to programmes in fragile and conflict-affected settings. Peer reviews supported by external evaluations by professionals will also be conducted to ensure that learning from evaluations is optimized for the organization and to help develop evaluation skills for NIMD staff and partners. In addition, in 2015 NIMD will start to further examine the possibilities of including impact (attribution) evaluations as part of its evaluation approach through qualitative approaches such as Contribution Analysis and Process Tracing where interventions have been ongoing, complexity is high, interventions are aimed at the system level or ethical or political considerations limit the use of comparison groups. Quantitative, quasi-experimental designs for interventions that are less complex and for which setting up a counterfactual is possible and practical, for example for NIMD's democracy school intervention, will also be piloted.

Besides the fact that PME tools and approaches should enable NIMD's management and programme managers to take evidence-based decisions, there are three principles that shape NIMD's approach to PME:

- Transparency for all partners, which creates trust.
- Learning by all parties involved in implementing the programme.
- Flexibility, so that tools can be adapted to the context, where possible.

8.4 Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)

A number of indicators for the strategic objectives and organizational objectives are measured to keep track of the progress made during the entire MAP period (see tables 3 and 4). These Key Performance Indicators will be used for strategic decision-making and will therefore give information on the performance of the organization related to the key objectives identified and the immediate outcomes of NIMD strategies. If possible, the programme KPIs will be applied across country programmes wherever a key objective has been programmed and will be linked to components and outcomes covered by the BART so that change can be determined across time. It should, however, be stressed that the operationalization of these KPIs may differ per country programme context.

In the second half of 2015, when NIMD's funding position for the MAP period 2016-2020 has become clear, the list of KPIs presented below will be refined and finalized. In addition to the quantitative indicators presented in the tables below, a set of process indicators will be developed for each programme and regional context. Setting programme targets for the multi-annual period 2016-2020 is not yet realistic, but will be done before the MAP period commences.

Table 3: Organizational indicators

Outcomes	Outcome indicators
Annual income received	Minimum annual budget of 11 mln euro
NIMD's funding sources are diversified	% income of that year from other donors beside MFA (every year a higher percentage up to 40% non-MFA funding by 2020)
NIMD has established itself as a lead centre for political practitioners	50% of the relevant stakeholders ask (and pay) NIMD for its work and knowledge by 2020
NIMD has operationalized its regional approach	NIMD's regional approach is a process KPI which means that we set KPI's every year to get the concept clear and start a plan of action
There is an inspiring and motivating environment that supports the professional attitude	Employee Satisfaction Survey shows an overall employee satisfaction of a minimum of 7,5 in 2016 and 8 in 2018
NIMD's donor base is reflected in the contribution to NIMD's overhead/programme management	At the end of 2020, the % income from other donors is the same as their % contribution to overhead and programme management costs

Table 4: Programme indicators

Impact level: open and stable political systems		
Outcome level		
Enabling environments for political parties	Organizational and programmatic capacity strengthening of political parties	Enhanced democratic values and behaviour among political actors
% of women and of minorities running for local and national office	# and % of parties that have a distinctive party profile in the party landscape	% of respondent citizens that express trust in political parties
# of policies jointly formulated and submitted to parliament by the ruling and opposition parties taking part in the dialogue platforms	# and % of parties that base their political and policy proposals on a distinctive profile	# of interparty dialogue events attended by relevant party leadership
% of parliamentary political parties that have proportional access to state media	# of parties with increased scores on their five Core Capabilities (ECDPM)	# of independently reported incidents of political violence
% of parliamentary political parties that have proportional access to state funding for political parties	# of party documents (manifestos, election programmes, internal position papers) that are based on inputs from a defined support base	# of violations by political actors of formally recognized rules, regulations and codes of conduct governing political behaviour
# and % percentage of public electoral events conducted by political parties without harassment by security agencies	# of media statements and policy debates in which parties pro-actively display a distinctive position to the electorate	# of incidents of insults, fights and personal attacks in public political debates
Output level		
Enabling environments for political parties	Organizational and programmatic capacity strengthening of political parties	Enhanced democratic values and behaviour among political actors
# of functional interparty dialogue platforms	# of political parties with strategic plans developed or updated	# of graduates from democracy and political education schools
# of multiparty dialogue issue reports	# of policy reports produced by political party policy officers	# of aspiring political actors participating in debate cycles
# of informal meetings supporting interparty dialogue	# of party programmes and manifestos with distinctive party messages	# of party cadre with increased knowledge of political ethics and democratic behaviour and leadership skills
# of Codes of Conduct for political parties adopted	# of best practices incorporated by parties after peer exchanges	# of political party delegates with improved dialogue and mediation skills
# of practical tools and instruments on interparty dialogue applied	# of research plans and communication plans implemented by parties	% of increase of youth engaged in political parties
Score on five Core Capabilities of NIMD partner organizations	# of party leaders participating in multiparty debates on radio and TV	# of political actors with increased political practitioner's skills in facilitation, negotiation, and media

9 Budget estimate

The multi-annual budget reflects the ambitions described in this multi-annual plan.

The deepening and consolidation of NIMD's core business – one of NIMD's four strategic priorities – will generate an increased spending under the budget for Country and Regional programmes. Secondly, the introduction of a Knowledge and Innovation Unit (see chapter 5) is expected to require an investment of 1 mln euro annually. Lastly, the realisation of a regional approach that will enable NIMD to respond to regional trends and cross-border themes will account for a total investment of 600,000 euros over the first years (2016 – 2018).

Further budget explanations:

- In 2018, 200,000 euros is budgeted for a midterm evaluation of the multi-annual plan.
- Overhead costs, including indirect staff salaries, accommodation and IT are expected to decrease due to a decline in, among others, accommodation costs.
- The flexible fund will allow orientation and development of possible programmes in new countries.

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Regional & Country Programmes	8,000,000	8,250,000	8,500,000	9,000,000	10,000,000
Knowledge & Innovation	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,200,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Programme management costs	1,400,000	1,425,000	1,450,000	1,450,000	1,450,000
Overhead costs	1,200,000	1,100,000	1,050,000	1,000,000	950,000
Regional approach	350,000	150,000	100,000		
Flexible Fund	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Total (in €)	12,000,000	11,975,000	12,350,000	12,500,000	13,450,000

Annex 1

Entry, reset and exit criteria

Over the past 15 years, NIMD has built up programmes in more than 20 countries. Although expanding its portfolio is not a goal in itself, NIMD wants to be able to react to changing environments and other developments and therefore has a set of criteria in place that help guide the decision to start work in a new country, reconsider the focus of an existing programme or, in some cases, close a programme or withdraw from a country.

Criteria

Decisions about starting a new programme in a country and ending a programme are based on two main criteria:

- NIMD's approach and intervention logic should add value to the process of democratization in the country in question;
- The political parties and groups in the country in question should have an explicit interest in working with NIMD and are willing to work with one another.

Entry

The decision to start a programme and a partnership with a specific country will be based on an initial assessment of the applicability of NIMD's intervention logic (part of the Theory of Change) to a country's situation. The motivation for considering a new programme often lies in momentous developments in the country in question. There are a number of situations that can initiate decision-making on the start of new programmes:

- Countries in which armed conflicts have ended peacefully and in which free elections have taken place (if this does not impede the formation of political parties);
- Countries with a tradition of authoritarian rule but with increasingly more political room for the institutional development and further democratization of political parties;
- Countries that have recently undergone a political 'earthquake', leading to an opening for a democratic form of government.

Further decision-making will take the following criteria into consideration (in no particular order):

- *The geostrategic position of the country;*
 - Whether in the framework of the NIMD programme the political parties in the country have access to an existing regional network or if there is the potential for such a network;
 - Whether the country is situated in a region that is of strategic importance to NIMD, the Netherlands government and/or the European Union;
 - Whether the country is listed on the 'DAC list of recipients of Official Development Assistance (ODA)'. Motivated exceptions are possible in specific circumstances.
- *Possible strategic cooperation with multilateral and bilateral donors in the country.*

Advantages lie in strategically cooperating with multilateral organizations in a given country, and NIMD will thus consider such requests. Considerations in deciding on such requests are the extent to which the collaborative efforts could enlarge the impact, the extent to which the political parties agree with such an approach and whether there is a financial basis to expand these collaborative efforts.

- *NIMD and local capacity*

A tailor-made approach to implementing its three main objectives remains NIMD's trademark. The management and implementation of such an integrated approach requires sufficient resources, both human and financial. It is essential to have this capacity both at NIMD and with the local partner.

Reset

The long-term approach to democracy assistance and the institutional development of political parties as followed by NIMD has resulted in trusted and strong partnerships with political parties in programme countries and with the implementing partners facilitating the institutionalizing of the interparty dialogues. As time passes, partnerships need to be critically assessed to ensure that they continue to deliver on the agreed objectives. Such assessments are aimed at strengthening the partnership, but they may also result in a re-design of the partnership, or even in changing partners and the on-going programme. A reset of the programme

strategy can also be triggered by changes in the political context (e.g. change of the governing party/coalition) or in the programme (e.g. a party decides to break with the dialogue process).

NIMD is currently developing an assessment tool (now in the pilot phase) that will help to evaluate programmes through regular reporting (Baseline & Review Toolkit). Decisions on reconsidering and resetting programmes may be informed by this reporting mechanism.

Exit

Given the political character of NIMD's activities, it is possible that, despite thorough and considered preparation, problems arise in carrying out a programme to such an extent that closing a programme becomes an option. An exit can also be considered if, due to its success, a programme cycle comes to an end. Needless to say, exiting – unless if the exit is due to a success – is a last resort and is not preferable. The decision to end a programme can be taken in one of the following situations:

- Political parties or NIMD's implementing partners do not fulfil their contractual agreements and exclude themselves from working with NIMD;
- Political parties or NIMD's implementing partners do not show sufficient interest in working with NIMD or the political will to implement strategic reforms is lacking;
- If a dictatorship is reinstated or if armed conflict erupts. In such cases, continuing a partnership with the opposing democratic parties can be considered if that is still possible and if continued cooperation with the democratic opposition is considered useful from a political and/or regional geostrategic point of view;
- If NIMD's approach no longer adds value to democratic reform other than consolidating the established relations;
- If the available financial resources do not permit a continuation of a programme.

Procedure

Decisions on starting, reconsidering and ending a programme require diligent documentation and thorough preparation by NIMD country teams and management and require the explicit approval of the NIMD Board. This decision needs to be endorsed by the Supervisory Board. Decision-making is prepared and informed by the programme manager and overseen by the Director of Programmes. Decisions regarding entry and exit are taken with due consideration, based on a clear set of criteria and in consultation with relevant parties and donors.

Annex 2

NIMD's track record 2002-2013

Over the past decade, NIMD has worked in over 20 different countries, engaging with more than 200 political parties and other political actors to consolidate democracy, improve cooperation and relations between parties, strengthen party operations and better link political

society to civil society actors. A selection of these key achievements is presented below to sketch the work and track record of NIMD. For more details please see some key evaluations and research papers³.

Interparty Dialogue: Interparty dialogue continues to be one of NIMD's key themes as it brings political actors together to cooperate on issues of common concern for the national good and, in so doing, fosters greater levels of trust between parties.

Some highlights:

- The establishment and operation of over 15 interparty dialogue platforms (Centres for Multiparty Democracy or less institutionalized multiparty collaborations) focused on discussing issues of national concern and democratic reform.
- Concrete results of these interparty dialogues that have led to improvements in the formal democracy system include:

Guatemala: successful advocacy has led to legislation on strengthening political party capacity, amendments to the electoral law and changes to the internal law of congress.

Kenya: improved legislation governing political parties and coordinated and high-quality contributions to the constitutional reform process.

Ghana: the production of a Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP), outlining democratic gaps and the subsequent drafting of improved legislation to fill these. Parliament has adopted the programme's Presidential Transition Bill, and a significant number of its inputs were included in the new Political Party Bill and guided the constitutional review process.

Mali: during the recent conflict and coup d'état, the interparty platform facilitated all political parties, including a broader alliance of civil actors, to agree on the roadmap towards reinstating the constitution and democratic rule.

Georgia: special legislative measures and financial incentives to political parties to promote women in politics and their greater representation in parliament have been adopted.



³ IOB Evaluation 2011, ECDPM 2005, SIDA paper 2012, DFID note 2014, ODI research 2013.

Democracy Education: This has been one of the key instruments employed by NIMD in its quest to impact upon political culture and to root democratic tradition in local political culture. An additional advantage of democracy education is that it is also a means of achieving interparty cooperation, especially in contexts where a formal dialogue platform has not yet been feasible due to high tensions or post-conflict environments. Such cooperation paves the way for a formal dialogue further down the line and can even create the conditions for this dialogue.

Some 3000 alumni worldwide have benefited from courses on democratic skills, knowledge and praxis. Many of these alumni are now active in politics. Democracy schools or dedicated democracy education/training courses exist in the following NIMD country programmes: Georgia, Tunisia, Indonesia, Egypt, Mozambique, Burundi, Myanmar and Guatemala.



Peer exchanges: These are geared towards political peers sharing experiences on the challenges confronting them (and so avoid 're-inventing the wheel') as well as providing them with the opportunity to connect with sister parties.

Over 30 regional peer exchanges have been facilitated between programme countries based on a particular theme, including constitutional reform, party financing and electoral systems. Noteworthy exchanges have included:

A visit by **Ghana & Zimbabwe** to Kenya on the theme: Working Together for Constitutional Reform.

Egypt's exchange to **Indonesia** on the theme: Post-popular Revolution and Democratization.

An exchange by **Malawi** to **Mozambique** on the theme: Overcoming Distrust Between Electoral Actors.

Uganda's inaugural exchange to **Ghana**, which examined the prospects for an inclusive dialogue process and was instrumental in the setup of Uganda's interparty dialogue platform.

A joint visit by **Uganda, Kenya** and **Burundi** to **Tanzania** on the theme: Enhancing Women's Participation.

An exchange took place between the Andean region: **Colombia, Ecuador, Peru** and **Central America** (**Honduras** and **Guatemala**) on policy reactions to illicit networks and political parties, in cooperation with IDEA.

A series of exchanges on the theme of constitutional reform were organized between **Bolivia** and **Ecuador**.

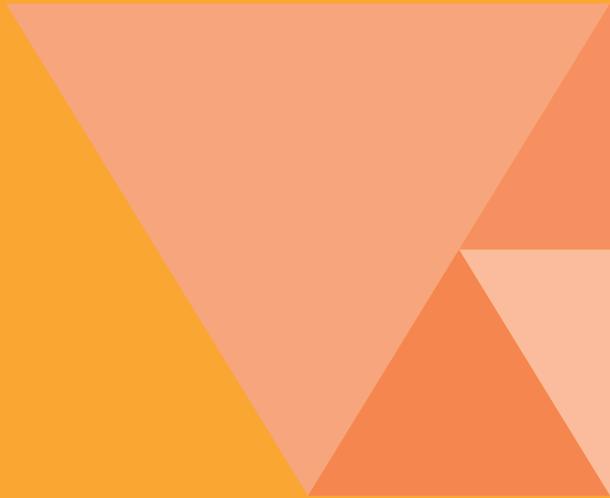


Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

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