



WESTMINSTER
FOUNDATION FOR
DEMOCRACY

WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK 2015-2020

TRADITIONS AND TRANSITIONS:

USING BRITAIN'S DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE TO SUPPORT
OVERSEAS PARLIAMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

“No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.”

Sir Winston Churchill,
Hansard, November 11, 1947

“In a democracy, every one of us has the power to transform our own lives and the lives of the people around us. That is what democracy means.”

Cyril Ramaphosa,
Deputy President of the African National Congress
(speaking to Common Purpose)

SUMMARY

WFD's vision is the universal establishment of legitimate and effective, multi-party, representative democracy.

WFD's mission is to contribute to this long-term vision by supporting inclusive and effective governance that strengthens **Policy-making, Accountability, Representation and Citizen Participation** in our partner countries. WFD believes that democracy is strengthened through peaceful political competition between representative, mass-membership parties, leading to legitimately elected governments whose executive power is held in check by parliaments that represent citizens and scrutinise government, and civil society and media that demand fairness and effectiveness. WFD's capacity is focused on political parties and parliaments. Both play critical roles in well-functioning democratic systems. Where they are weak and ineffectual, democratic systems wither. When functioning properly, they can initiate citizen-driven policy processes, ensure transparent and effective governance, and resolve conflicts among competing interests through non-violent electoral processes.

WFD'S STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES ARE:

A - To support developing and transition countries in establishing or strengthening inclusive and effective democratic governance for their citizens by delivering political party, parliamentary and integrated (Parties in parliament) programmes.

B - To contribute to public knowledge about effective democracy strengthening, including democracy assistance for parliaments and political parties, in developing and transition countries.

C - To improve the sustainability, public accountability and value for money of WFD's programmes through strengthening our structures, skills, and systems.

WFD HELPS TO DELIVER THE UK'S INTERNATIONAL PRIORITIES.

Increased democratic accountability will contribute to the UK's international priorities of promoting prosperity and stability and ending absolute poverty. In many countries, sustained progress on these priorities will only be possible if politics serves citizens more effectively.

WFD BELIEVES THAT THE RICHNESS OF THE BRITISH DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE AND THE DEPTH OF BRITISH EXPERTISE SHOULD ENABLE THE UK TO PLAY A MORE PROMINENT ROLE IN THIS AREA.

WFD will strengthen its position as one of the leading democracy strengthening organisations by becoming the most effective provider of British Parliamentary and political party expertise to partners in developing and transition countries - clear in our political analysis, responsive to local context and demands, professional in delivery of programmes, and generating evidence of what works in this field so that our collective impact can improve over time. The Westminster model of parliamentary democracy is at the heart of our democratic culture, and the adaptability,

responsiveness and stability of Britain's political system are its most valuable characteristics when sharing experiences with other countries. WFD will also continue to help share experiences from other systems, in particular from other developing or transition countries, to enable partners to compare a wide range of experiences from different historical, political, economic, and social environments.

WFD'S PROGRAMMES WILL BUILD ON OUR UNIQUE STRUCTURE, INCORPORATING SISTER PARTY LINKS AS WELL AS PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTHENING EXPERTISE.

WFD's programmes will focus on three complementary areas:

- **Parliamentary assistance**
- **Political party strengthening**
- **Supporting the work of parties in parliaments**

Our unique structure enables us to combine the long-term relationships established by the political parties with their counterparts around the world with our work to address the behaviours and political culture that determine the effectiveness of parliament as the key institution of democracy, including their empowerment of women and engagement of youth. Political party and parliamentary work will remain the fundamental pillars of the organisation and over the period of this framework we will gradually increase the scope of work which integrates the two in different ways. WFD will also engage with other institutions whose activities are closely linked to WFD's core work with parliaments and parties, including the executive and judicial branches of government, civil society, the media, regional and international actors, and the private sector.

WFD WILL INCREASE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO GLOBAL DEBATES AND POLICIES ON DEMOCRACY STRENGTHENING THROUGH DOCUMENTATION OF ITS WORK AND NEW RESEARCH.

WFD will ensure more systematic documentation and publication of its work. We will also identify a limited number of issues where more knowledge about what works would contribute to the effectiveness of democracy assistance and be relevant to our programming. We will partner with one or more research institutions to investigate these issues by enabling greater access to information from our work.

WFD WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE ITS OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS IN ORDER TO MAXIMISE THE IMPACT OF OUR PROGRAMMES AND PROVIDE ASSURANCE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR RESOURCES.

WFD's internal management will take forward work on our governance, programme management, information systems, communications and staffing structures and skills.

I. INTRODUCTION

This framework sets out the vision, purpose and operating model for the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD). It describes what makes WFD unique in terms of its institutional characteristics, technical expertise and experience, and overall approach. By providing this information, we can help those interested in working with the Foundation better understand what it is we offer and how this differs from other democracy assistance organisations. The framework also explains how the Foundation intends to accomplish its mission and objectives, in general and in the three areas which we have prioritised: parliamentary strengthening, political party assistance, and supporting the work of parties in parliament to deliver on their policy objectives.

This strategic framework covers the period 2015-2020. We will review this framework in 2017. More specific programming information will be set out in WFD's Annual Business Plans.

II. CONTEXT ANALYSIS

DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS?

Building on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a range of international commitments have been made and actions taken in recent years to promote open economies, open societies and democratic accountability, both as values in themselves and in order to help deliver sustainable development¹ (see box). It is clear that, in many countries, further progress is needed in these areas so that politics serves citizens more effectively, ensuring that governments are accountable to their people through regular elections and that state institutions function effectively and responsibly.

Since the wave of post-Cold War democratisation, progress in establishing or deepening democracy has been mixed. As Francis Fukuyama says, "... we have since 2005 witnessed what Dr. Diamond calls a global 'democratic recession.' According to Freedom House, which publishes widely used measures of political and civil liberties, there has been a decline in both the number and the quality of democracies (integrity of elections, freedom of the press, etc.) over the past eight consecutive years." (reported in WSJ, 6 June 2014).

In the 2000 Millennium Declaration, World leaders agreed "To strengthen the capacity of all our countries to implement the principles and practices of democracy and respect for human rights, including minority rights" and to "work collectively for more inclusive political processes, allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all our countries."

In their July 2014 report, the UN Open Working Group proposed a new target - to "ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels.

The UN SG's report on 4 December 2014 said that "participatory democracy, free, safe, and peaceful societies are both enablers and outcomes of development."

The 2011 Declaration of the Open Government Partnership commits its member governments to "foster a global culture of open government that empowers and delivers for citizens, and advances the ideals of open and participatory 21st century government."

PARLIAMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES – THE MISSING PIECE(S)?

WFD believes that democracy is strengthened through peaceful political competition between representative, mass-membership parties, leading to legitimately elected governments whose executive power is held in check by parliaments that represent citizens and scrutinise government, and civil society and media that demand fairness and effectiveness. Democratic accountability therefore strengthens the demand for rule of law.

¹ A study of more than 150 countries by Daniel Kaufmann et al finds a strong causal relationship between accountability and higher levels of income. Similarly, William Easterly finds a strong correlation between accountability and service delivery. Paul Collier suggests that elections induce a government to adopt beneficial policies for its citizens. In *Why Nations Fail*, Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson convincingly show that the most successful and prosperous nations have developed inclusive political and economic institutions.

Within that spectrum of institutions, WFD focuses on two critical groups that must operate effectively for democracy to be a reality: political parties and parliaments. Both may be weak in newly democratising countries. This should not be surprising. In many countries coming out of conflict or dictatorship, this will be the first time in generations – possibly ever – that decisions around power, wealth, identity, and ideology are meant to be debated and agreed upon in a transparent, peaceful, rule-based manner. Those that lose these arguments must learn to wait for their next opportunity or election to make their case, while winners must respect their opponents while in power and eventually cede that power when they lose the public's support. In this fundamental contest – in which many of the rules of the game are new and unfamiliar (and often still up for grabs) – parliaments and political parties are the arenas where many of these battles take place.

Yet both institutions play critical roles in well-functioning democratic systems. When functioning properly, these two sets of institutions can initiate citizen-driven policy processes, ensure transparent and effective governance, and resolve conflicts among competing interests through non-violent electoral processes. Where they are weak and ineffectual, democratic systems wither – executive institutions grow distant and unresponsive to the needs of their people, people disengage from political and electoral processes, and the interests of the few, rich and powerful dominate. Those groups that believe they have no possibility of reaching their goals through parties or parliaments end up either completely disengaged, or look for other ways to exercise power, often through violence.

THE ROLE OF DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE

Since the end of the Cold War, many members of the international community have provided significant support – moral, diplomatic, technical, and financial – to spreading and strengthening democratic principles and practices around the world. Multi-lateral and bi-lateral donors have funded thousands of programmes to support free and fair elections, improved governance, civil society strengthening, rule of law projects, and other related programmes.

Among these programmes, two areas have received relatively less support: strengthening legislative institutions and political parties. Though both sets of institutions serve as critical intermediaries between citizens and the state and can counterbalance the power of executive institutions, donors have been wary of becoming too embroiled in countries' national politics and being accused of undue interference. Others believe that it is more efficient to engage and support executive institutions, providing them with the technical skills needed to improve their efficiency and capacity to deliver services. In the past, some donors may also have been concerned that support for Parliaments and political parties might risk undermining the very executive institutions responsible for implementing policies and delivering services.

However, it is clear that increased technical capacity of government institutions does not automatically result in positive results for average citizens². A stronger government, unchecked by legitimate political processes, can more effectively repress its citizens and empower its patrons. Only functioning political party systems that offer citizens a number of choices of political leadership and policy options can help ensure that governments are responsive to voters and serve the greater interest. And effective legislative bodies can act as a crucial arena for political debate, serve as direct points of contact for constituents

to address their concerns, and oversee executive bodies to ensure transparency, efficiency, and fairness in their implementation of policies and programmes.

MORE EFFECTIVE PARLIAMENTARY AND POLITICAL PARTY ASSISTANCE

While the elements for securing accountable democracy and inclusive decision-making are well known, both the specific pathway for each country to take and the most effective support to provide are often highly contested. In effect, the clearest area of consensus is that the interaction between political institutions and political reform is very context-specific. A series of lessons have also been learned which are now widely accepted: "respect local political context, treat governance "systems" holistically rather than focusing on parliament alone, focus on citizen demand rather than being donor-driven, and coordinate with the many other bilateral and multilateral programs that tend to also be engaging parliamentarians at the same time."³

Not enough implementers undertake context analysis to understand the challenges, opportunities, and incentives of local actors to reform. Even when they do, they can fail to make the appropriate modifications to programming methodologies and tools in order to take advantage of their improved awareness. Parliamentary assistance programmes in particular have suffered due to a desire to inoculate them from the reality of politics. The result has been generic capacity building programmes focusing on legislative drafting, basic skills building, and provision of expensive equipment; projects that rarely lead to significant changes in parliamentary behaviour, efficiency, or influence.

Meanwhile, few programmes have been implemented that help parties perform in parliament, despite the fact that parties quite often wield much more power in representative bodies than individual MPs or non-partisan professional staff. Helping parties deliver on their campaign promises by performing effectively in parliament should be a critical objective of democracy assistance.

Finally, inflexible monitoring frameworks often lead implementers to focus on compliance with pre-determined milestones instead of pursuing actions that could result in the most meaningful change.

We now need both to apply these lessons and go beyond them to generate more evidence about what actions work best to strengthen the contribution of parliaments and political parties to building democratic accountability. Better analysis is needed to determine exactly what type of assistance works best in which circumstances, when is the best time to act and in what sequence, and which actors are best placed to provide specific types of assistance. And we need to develop monitoring frameworks that encourage adaptation and responsiveness in order to maximise impact.

² "Development Aid Confronts Politics: The Almost Revolution" (Carothers and de Gramont, 2014)

³ Rachel Kleinfeld, from her October 2014 submission to the House of Commons International Development Committee inquiry on parliamentary assistance.

III. WFD'S VISION AND MISSION

Since our establishment in 1992, WFD's primary aim has been to assist, support and encourage the peaceable establishment and development of pluralistic democratic practice and political institutions. We continue to believe that stronger democracy is the best way of safeguarding human rights and ensuring sustained prosperity and stability. As the international community prepares to renew its commitment to universal sustainable development goals, **WFD's vision is the universal establishment of legitimate and effective, multi-party, representative democracy.**

Delivering this is beyond the scope of any individual organisation or government. WFD's mission is to contribute to this long-term vision by supporting inclusive and effective governance that strengthens policy-making, accountability, representation and citizen participation – at local, national and regional levels. We recognise the importance of a wider spectrum of institutions, but with relatively limited resources, will focus our capacity on parties and parliaments in order to build on our core strengths.

In order to achieve this, WFD will strengthen its position as one of the leading democracy strengthening organisations by working to become the most effective organisation providing British Parliamentary and political party expertise to partners in developing and transition countries, clear in our political analysis, responsive to local context and demands, professional in delivery of programmes, and generating evidence of what works in this field so that our collective impact can improve over time.

IV. OBJECTIVES

In the period ahead, WFD will have three strategic objectives:

A - TO SUPPORT DEVELOPING AND TRANSITION COUNTRIES IN ESTABLISHING OR STRENGTHENING INCLUSIVE AND EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE FOR THEIR CITIZENS BY DELIVERING POLITICAL PARTY, PARLIAMENTARY AND INTEGRATED (PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT) PROGRAMMES.

The main outcomes will be:

Policy - Public policies are formulated, drafted, and scrutinised by parliaments and political parties based on evidence, through an open, transparent and consultative process.

Accountability - Parliaments and political parties hold other government institutions to account while enhancing their own accountability to their constituents and stakeholders.

Representation - Parliaments and political parties represent effectively their specific constituencies and are representative of the interests and needs of their citizens as a whole.

Citizen participation - Citizens, particularly women, youth and other marginalised groups, have greater access to and a more active role in parliamentary and political processes.

In order to enable maximum effectiveness, the programming process will respond to demand and opportunities as they arise and will not try to pre-determine the outcomes of all WFD programmes at the outset of the funding cycle. However, the Board will ensure that:

- **There is an integrated framework for all WFD programming with a common approval, monitoring and reporting system, and political analysis drawing on knowledge from across the organisation**
- **The objectives of all WFD programmes are focused on the four outcomes**
- **There is an adequate balance among the four outcomes**
- **Indicators are adopted in the Business Plan that reflect current knowledge in the sector and enable effective monitoring of programme performance**
- **The relative effectiveness of programmes in delivering outcomes is monitored and there is lesson learning across WFD's portfolio**

B - TO CONTRIBUTE TO PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE ABOUT EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY STRENGTHENING, INCLUDING DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE FOR PARLIAMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN DEVELOPING AND TRANSITION COUNTRIES.

The main outcomes will be:

Generation of evidence from WFD programmes - Data about the full range of WFD programmes and publication of assessment and evaluation material will be collected systematically and made available on the WFD website to contribute to knowledge on parliamentary and political party strengthening.

Publication of research and policy papers - Investigation of agreed research topics through WFD programmes, and publication of policy papers by WFD staff will contribute to understanding of what works in democracy strengthening.

It would be inappropriate to try to pre-determine the result of future research and policy papers but the Board will ensure that indicators are adopted in the Business Plan for intermediate outputs related to:

- **Systems for collection and publication of material on WFD’s programmes**
- **Establishment and outputs of a research programme and a policy papers publication series**
- **Perceptions among key stakeholders of WFD’s policy contribution**

C - TO IMPROVE THE SUSTAINABILITY, PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY AND VALUE FOR MONEY OF WFD’S PROGRAMMES THROUGH STRENGTHENING OUR STRUCTURES, SKILLS, AND SYSTEMS.

The main outcomes will be:

Professional capability - Strengthened management and operating systems and staff skills that ensure effective and efficient programme delivery and safeguarding of resources.

Overheads - Operating costs that are in line with leading good practice in the field and reduce as a percentage of programme costs during the funding period.

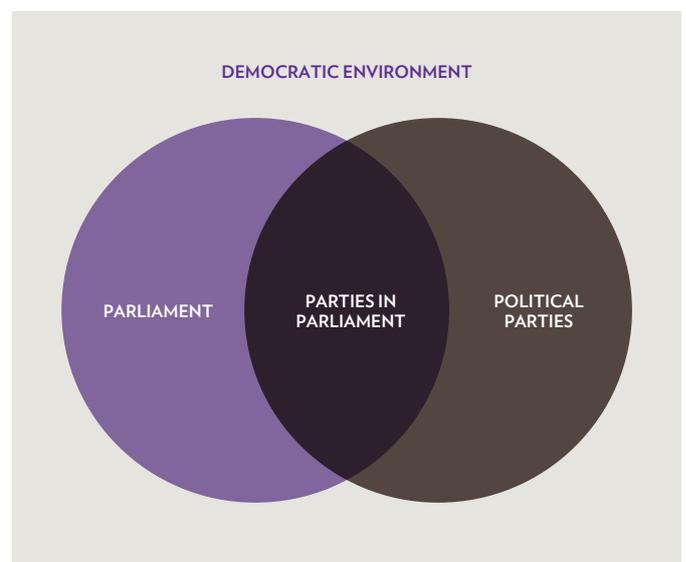
Revenues - funders will retain confidence in WFD’s delivery and we will maintain our core grant and secure an increasing level of funding from other donors.

Indicators for these objectives will be included in the WFD business plan, including on VFM, additional funding, and staffing, as well as improvement plans for:

- **Management systems**
- **Information systems**
- **Staff skills**

V. WFD’S AREAS OF FOCUS

WFD’s unique structure, incorporating sister party links as well as parliamentary strengthening expertise⁴, enables us to provide support in three main areas: parliamentary assistance, political party strengthening, and integrating the two, notably by supporting the work of parties in parliaments. At the same time, WFD is aware that its work in these areas influences and is influenced by the democratic environment, which includes other formal institutions (executive and judiciary, civil society, media regional and international actors, the private sector, and citizens in general) as well as informal factors (culture, history, religion, and traditions).



By focusing on these three areas, while encouraging the development of a democratic environment, WFD is able to engage elected representatives across all of the major contexts in which they operate: their party, the parliaments to which they are elected, the parliamentary groupings/ caucuses in which they undertake parliamentary business, as well as their relationships with constituents.

POLITICAL PARTY ASSISTANCE

British political parties have long-term sister party relationships with many counterparts around the world, built up, in some cases, over decades. These relationships give WFD an entry point for engagement with parties from across the political spectrum based on mutual trust and commitment. No other actor is able to mobilise British political party expertise to the same degree as WFD.⁵

Unlike most other organisations that conduct political party assistance, WFD is able to conduct both single-party and cross-party assistance under the same roof. We can operate on a cross-party basis where there are reasons or opportunities to bring parties together in joint activities, or work with individual parties when they want specific support from their British sister party. This enables us to undertake a range of activities focused either on generic democratic practices or on specific groups or themes, for example bringing together youth and women on a cross-party basis to break down barriers and share ideas.

⁴ Sister party support is carried out by the British political parties in line with WFD’s strategy. WFD’s own staff manage parliamentary strengthening programmes and corporate responsibilities.

⁵ The Foundation’s recent Mid-Term Evaluation (MTE), conducted on behalf of the FCO and DFID in mid-2014, noted that our most effective programmes built upon these long term relationships to encourage parties in emerging democracies to become more policy-focused, better functioning, more internally democratic, and able to manage conflicts with competing parties more peacefully.

PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANCE

WFD's parliamentary programmes support efforts to strengthen the functioning of national and regional assemblies, working in areas such as improved parliamentary research capacity; enhanced leadership on policy issues including women's rights, human rights, and devolution of power; and strengthening oversight and budgetary involvement at the national and sub-national levels. As with the sister party work, the foundation of WFD's parliamentary work is the British democratic experience. We mobilise and deploy primarily British experts – MPs, parliamentary staff (non-partisan and partisan), and academics. We draw on the Westminster Parliament as well as on the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh and Northern Irish Assemblies. However our programmes also promote South-South cooperation, sharing learning from counterparts within and between regions so that partners can determine what will work best in their unique contexts.

PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT

The third way in which WFD can support democratic accountability is by addressing one of the major gaps in international assistance: strengthening the performance of parties in parliament. Despite the obvious influence of parliamentary groupings inside virtually every parliament, little direct assistance has gone to helping parties to operate effectively and in a way that supports democratic accountability inside parliament. This is because international organisations and donors that support parliamentary assistance have often resisted engaging party groupings/caucuses in their work in an attempt to insulate themselves from charges of being too involved in domestic politics⁶. In reality, however, the relationship between parties and parliament is inextricably linked through its elected representatives. The vast majority of MPs are affiliated with parties, are dependent on party leadership for their positions and influence in parliament, and act at the direction of (or are at least significantly influenced by) party leadership. By helping improve the ability of parties to operate in parliaments, WFD can also support the efforts of parties to deliver on their electoral promises and actually govern.

A NOTE ON THE DEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT

The Foundation recognises that other factors influence the degree to which countries are democratic beyond the role of parties and parliaments. Executive and judicial institutions clearly play a significant role, as do civil society, the media, regional and international actors, the private sector, and the citizenry in general. Other factors such as culture, history, religion, and traditions also have significant influence. WFD helps parties and parliaments develop strategies and implement plans for interacting with other groups in a way that benefits the entire democratic system. While WFD will not focus on developing stand-alone programmes that strengthen these other groups, it will ensure that its primary partners – parties and parliaments – take them into account and engage them productively.

VI. WFD'S APPROACH

In implementing programmes in the three focus areas of parliaments, political parties, and parties in parliament, WFD will adopt a number of approaches to our work that (i) ensure that we add value to the work of other organisations, (ii) apply the lessons from assessments of past democracy assistance programmes and (iii) implement specific recommendations in recent reviews of WFD's work by DFID, the FCO, and the House of Commons International Development Committee.

1 - SHARING BRITISH EXPERIENCES AND EXPERTISE, COMPLEMENTED BY FACILITATING INCREASED SOUTH-SOUTH ENGAGEMENT

Britain's profile and, arguably, its impact, in the area of democracy assistance is lower than that of some comparable countries despite having a knowledge base and depth of experience that is as strong as any other country in the world⁷. However, the richness of the British democratic experience and the depth of British expertise should enable the UK to play a more prominent role in this area. While the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy is clearly at the heart of our democratic culture, the adaptability, responsiveness and stability of Britain's political system are its most valuable characteristics when sharing experiences with other countries (see box). With strong practices of representation, oversight of the executive and responsiveness to the aspirations of its four nations, Britain's political system continues to evolve and its practitioners continue to provide critically important experience in managing parliamentary and political party responsibilities effectively.

WHY IS THE BRITISH DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE VALUABLE?

As one of the oldest democracies, where many of the principles and practices now considered universal characteristics of democratic systems were first developed, the UK represents an inclusive, responsive and stable system of governance. The UK has some of the oldest, most well-established, policy based political parties in the world. In Parliament, there is strong oversight of government and close connections between MPs and constituents. The UK has a history of managing the devolution of political powers to the regional and local level via a variety of mechanisms (legislation, referenda, and regulations), primarily peacefully but not without some serious episodes of violence. The British political system is also a dynamic one, with open debate, legislation, and national referenda on a number of fundamental issues over the past decade and a half, such as a new electoral system, the role of the House of Lords, Scottish independence, and the creation of a Supreme Court. The UK also has a remarkably affordable democratic model; for example, the 2012 US elections cost about £3.7 billion in terms of political spending, compared to £31 million total spent by parties in the 2010 UK election (23 times less per potential voter).

⁶ As stated in written evidence provided to the House of Commons International Development Committee in October 2014, the World Bank requires the design and delivery of parliamentary assistance programmes to be "strictly non-partisan" while the Parliamentary Centre in Canada noted most parliamentary programmes are most successful when they are non-partisan.

⁷ As a percentage of its ODA budget, the UK Government's support for parliamentary strengthening and political party development is relatively low in comparison to some other leading aid providers, such as the US, Norway, and Sweden, and British democracy strengthening organisations such as WFD, CPA UK, BGIPU, Global Partners and the House of Commons are smaller and their programmes have therefore tended to be more fragmented than the larger organisations in other countries.

WFD will use its access to the widest range of British parliamentary and political party experts in the world to share British democratic experiences in ways that respect local traditions and bring the greatest value to local stakeholders.

WFD will continue to help share experiences from other systems, in particular partners from other developing or transition countries. Regional and wider South-South learning enables partners to compare a wide range of experiences from different historical, political, economic, and social environments. This will build on recent experience of the British political parties⁸ and WFD parliamentary staff⁹.

2 - WFD ENGAGES ONLY WHERE AND WHEN THERE ARE CLEAR OPPORTUNITIES FOR SIGNIFICANT IMPACT

The windows for reform are rarely open for long periods of time, so reform-minded individuals and institutions must often react quickly. WFD views its role as a catalyst for reform, using its knowledge and experience to help identify the appropriate people, reforms, pathways, and implementation plans and assist in bringing them together to work collaboratively to bring about the reforms they desire.

WFD must target its resources on programmes where we can have the most impact. We will therefore strengthen our political context analysis to ensure the best possible judgements about likely impact before investing in programmes. We will draw on information available throughout the organisation, including both parliamentary and political party staff. We will also work more closely with the FCO and DFID to review our analyses and identify opportunities, and reach out to other organisations in conducting this analysis.

Country Trackers (CTs) will be generated for each country in which we work that summarise which international organisations are active and describe their activities. CTs will help WFD staff identify gaps and ensure our activities are not duplicative; they will be reviewed and updated on a quarterly basis.

WFD will also create an organisational guide to conducting context analysis, including guidance on: what resources to access, what types of questions to ask, and how to format Context Analysis Reports (CARs) to ensure all the important information is captured and readily understandable to WFD staff and partners. Our guide will be vetted internally and externally to ensure it captures the information needed to guide programmatic decision-making. Once completed, CARs will also need to be reviewed and updated on a regular basis to ensure they reflect current contextual dynamics.

3 - WFD IS COMMITTED TO DEVELOPING PROGRAMMING THAT IS DEMAND-DRIVEN, PARTICIPATORY, AND FLEXIBLE IN ITS APPROACH

Much parliamentary and political party assistance tends to be supply-driven, based on donor priorities and timelines. Interventions typically follow standard approaches instead of being developed for the specific time and context. Programmes and their associated logframes are often designed at implementers' headquarters and not in the field, and are rarely developed in a collaborative effort with eventual beneficiaries. The result can be poorly designed programmes with little ownership by local actors, and which do not adapt to a changing context. Their implementation may actually cause harm in the new context, but continue anyway due to requirements to meet predetermined indicators and targets.

WFD's approach will be to develop programmes only when there is local demand, where our analysis shows that the projects will have sufficient positive impact, where no other implementer is already meeting the demand, and when we have the capacity to implement them in a timely fashion and provide value for money. In particular, we will aim to respond to requests for assistance around the role of parliaments and parties on particular current substantive issues of national importance rather than relying on generic support to the development of procedures and capabilities of these institutions.

In designing our projects we will use a fully participatory approach, engaging those who will eventually benefit from the programme. Using our core grant resources, WFD will invest the time needed to both conduct thorough context analysis but also work hand-in-hand with key stakeholders to develop programme concepts, plans, timelines, evaluation frameworks, and other programmatic aspects collaboratively. By engaging partners from the beginning of the process, and including them throughout the projects in conducting monitoring and evaluation, WFD can not only secure much greater buy-in to its programmes, but is also much more likely to identify shifts in the local context and be able to take advantage of new opportunities for reform.

4 - WFD WILL EXPLORE MORE INTEGRATED APPROACHES TO POLITICAL PARTY AND PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANCE THAT TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE UNIQUE STRUCTURES AND STRENGTHS OF WFD AND ITS UK PARTIES

Recent reviews and evaluations of WFD have noted the potential from our unique structure to combine the long-term relationships established through sister party links with work to address the effectiveness of parliament as a key democratic institution. We want political party and parliamentary work to remain fundamental pillars of the organisation while gradually increasing the scope of work which combines the two in different ways. The two areas with the greatest potential are: 1) strengthening the performance of parties in parliaments; and 2) cross-party work that encourages negotiation and compromise on major public policy issues.

Other major democracy assistance implementers have different models for their work. The largest political party assistance providers tend to either work exclusively on a cross-party basis (NDI and IRI) or on a sister-party basis (German Stiftungen). Most political parties are not interested in discussing policy issues on a cross-party basis given their inherently competitive nature, making the NDI or IRI model less suited for helping parties advance policy goals in parliament. Meanwhile, the German Stiftungen operate nearly completely independently of each other, making it extremely difficult to coordinate their activities and address larger, systemic issues in a political system.

WFD believes that by undertaking non-partisan parliamentary assistance, sister-party support, and cross-party programming simultaneously, we can provide a range of support that is different to other major organisations.

⁸ UK parties have helped establish a number of active regional and global networks of like-minded parties, through which innovative practices are shared and consensus is built to embrace policy-based, ideologically coherent political movements.

⁹ WFD has helped create issue-based networks in the Western Balkans and Middle East and North Africa region that have encouraged its members to work together to address common concerns such as EU integration, energy policy, and domestic violence.

A typical integrated programme might include non-partisan parliamentary work, parliament in parties, sister-party assistance (involving all four UK party offices) and cross party policy negotiation.

- **Non-partisan parliamentary work:** WFD parliamentary staff would help bolster the ability of parliaments to undertake their core functions: research, scrutinise, and draft legislation; conduct oversight and actively participate in the budgetary process; and engage with and address the concerns of constituents.
- **Sister-party assistance:** UK political party offices would help their sister-parties widen their bases of support, become more transparent and internally democratic, adopt manifestos and policy platforms that appeal to their constituents and address significant socio-economic and governance challenges, and win elections.
- **Parties in Parliament:** WFD parliamentary staff would provide general, cross-party training on the basic principles and practices of how parties operate effectively inside parliament. Meanwhile, the U.K. parties would mentor their sister-parties in one-on-one sessions to help them strategize how to best organise themselves in parliament, hire and train effective partisan parliamentary staff, and determine when and in what ways to engage party headquarters and rank and file members on policy issues.
- **Cross-party policy negotiation:** WFD would organise cross-party workshops that bring together opposing parties to discuss and debate critical policy issues (including political reform) where compromise is needed to find resolution. The UK parties would then advise their sister-parties as they considered these issues internally, helping them work out their positions and negotiating strategies and giving them the confidence to make potentially tough compromises.

During the period of this framework, WFD will begin to implement these types of intensive, integrated programmes as a core part of our work, monitoring and evaluating them closely to maximise their impact. WFD will also look for opportunities to coordinate and collaborate with those working in related sectors (rule of law, media, human rights, transparency, election administration), which are also critical to strengthening democratic governance but outside of WFD's scope to pursue independently.

5 - WFD WILL INCREASE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO GLOBAL DEBATES AND POLICIES ON DEMOCRACY STRENGTHENING THROUGH DOCUMENTATION OF ITS WORK AND NEW RESEARCH

Greater knowledge about what works well in democracy assistance is a priority for the international community - the evidence base on the effectiveness of different approaches is thin. Although WFD has published a number of useful reports and manuals in the past¹⁰, knowledge generated from our programmes has not been systematically shared. We therefore intend to support more bespoke research that fills critical gaps in the evidence base; enhance our monitoring and evaluation (M&E) so that our programming generates clear evidence of impact; and disseminate more information and learning generated by our programme work.

In order to make a bigger contribution to policy-focused research, WFD will work with the FCO and DFID to identify a limited number of issues that are important for the effectiveness of democracy assistance and relevant to our programming. We will then partner with one or more research institutions to investigate these issues by enabling greater access to information from our work and, if possible, working in collaboration with other democracy assistance organisations.

In terms of WFD's M&E systems, WFD will draw on relevant publications to establish a typology of its work in order to enable us to track our experiences and impact more systematically. We will also work to develop a more appropriate set of indicators of the effectiveness of parliaments and parties to enable us to improve the way in which we monitor progress. In taking this work forward we will consult and collaborate with other relevant democracy assistance organisations. In line with HMG policies on transparency, we will also publish on the WFD website more comprehensive assessment and evaluation material about our programmes, as well as make accessible aggregate information about WFD programmes using these common definitions and indicators.

WFD will share our information and learning more widely in a number of ways. We will publish our non-confidential data, research, manuals, guides, presentations, and other materials for the benefit of practitioners, partners, and the general public. By providing this analysis, information, and tools, we can help support the work of others interested in strengthening democratic institutions. We will also publish occasional policy papers created by WFD staff, drawing on experience of recent or current WFD activities. We will also convene more public lesson-sharing workshops and conferences – up to three workshops or conferences per year – focused on specific and practical aspects of political party or parliamentary support derived from our own programming.

¹⁰ The Westminster Consortium; 2011. Human Rights and Parliaments: Handbook for Members and Staff <http://www.wfd.org/upload/docs/Parliamentary%20Handbook%20-%20FULL%20VERSION%20-%20FINAL%20-%20lo%20res.pdf>
 Power, Greg; n.d. Handbook on Parliamentary Ethics and Conduct: A Guide for Parliamentarians - Global Task Force on Parliamentary Ethics http://www.wfd.org/upload/docs/political_guidebook_20100630.pdf
 Burnell, Peter; 2004. Better Democracies: Why political parties matter (WFD) http://www.wfd.org/upload/docs/WFDBBDS_noprice.pdf

6 - WFD WILL SUPPORT THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, REPRESENTATION, AND EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND YOUTH IN EMERGING DEMOCRACIES

The DFID/FCO note on working with political systems sets out a powerful case for addressing gender inequality as part of parliamentary and political party assistance:

“When women leaders have influence in politics they contribute to changes in laws, regulations, policies and institutions on behalf of women and children^{11,12}. In Pakistan, women entering the national parliament on a gender quota were able to work successfully across party lines on legislation relating to honour killing and acid crime control. In Rwanda, where women represent 56.3% of members of the lower House of Parliament, their caucus introduced amendments to discriminatory legislation including the revoking of laws that prohibited women from inheriting land in 1999¹³.

There is very strong evidence that higher numbers of women in local politics can result in a better focus on, and funding for, basic services, including for women and girls [...].¹⁴ Women’s greater representation in local political office, such as the panchayats in India, results in greater budget allocations towards infrastructure and services serving women’s and children’s needs¹⁵. It was also found that having female political representation at the local government level induces a strong positive effect on reporting of crimes by women and responsiveness of law enforcement officials to crimes against women.¹⁶

Linked to the above, there is evidence that higher numbers of women in parliament increases public health spending and positively influence the number of doctors and the percentage of women who receive pre-natal care.¹⁷

[...]There is evidence that higher numbers of women in local politics can result in better developmental outcomes. [A] study in India found the gender gap in adolescent educational attainment was erased, and girls spent less time on household chores.¹⁸

There is very strong evidence that higher numbers of women in local politics can help change social norms and institutions. Data from a randomised control trial in West Bengal indicates that exposure to women leaders as a result of local level quotas leads to changes in men’s stereotypes of women. Being exposed to women political leaders also positively influences voters’ opinion of women leaders¹⁹. Analysis of the impact of local level gender quotas in India further shows that the gap between the aspirations of adolescent boys and girls decreases in villages where a female leader has been elected, with the gender gap in aspirations closed by 25% in parents and 32% in adolescents in villages assigned a female leader for two election cycles.²⁰

There is evidence that higher numbers of women in local politics tends to raise women’s political engagement, with the number of women who attend and actively participate in local meetings significantly higher where the local political leader position is reserved for a woman.^{21,22,23}

WFD has a long history of supporting women’s representation in political parties and parliaments, as well as supporting issues, processes, and budgeting that properly reflect the priorities of women. Examples include:

- Gender budgeting in Nigeria and Uganda
- Women’s representation and empowerment in Bosnia – Herzegovina
- Regional support in MENA on the issue of domestic violence
- Campaign assistance to women candidates from UK political parties

In addition to supporting women in politics, WFD understands that substantial reform in parties and parliaments is a long-term, often multi-generational effort; as such, youth are a critical target of our support. WFD is committed to continuing to help expand the role of women and youth in democratic politics, and will endeavour to include components of both in its programming.

¹¹ Pathways of Women’s Empowerment, 2011. Op.Cit ¹² Mariz Tadros, 2011, Women Engaging Politically: Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways, Pathways Policy Paper ¹³ Powley, Elizabeth, 2003 ¹⁴ Chen, L. J., 2010, ‘Do Gender Quotas Influence Women’s Representation and Policies?’, The European Journal of Comparative Economics, vol. 7, no.1, pp. 13-60 ¹⁵ The World Bank, 2012, World Development Report: Gender Equality and Development, Washington DC: World Bank ¹⁶ Iyer, L. et al. 2011, ‘The Power of Political Voice: Women’s Political Representation and Crime in India’

¹⁷ Knack, S. and Sanyal, P. (2000) ‘Making a Difference: How Women In Politics Affect Health and Education Outcome’ ¹⁸ Beaman, L., Duflo, E., Pande, R., and Topalova, P., Female leadership raises aspirations and educational attainment for girls: a policy experiment in India. Science 3 Feb 2012. 582-586 ¹⁹ Beaman et al (2009). ‘Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?’ The Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol 124 ²⁰ Beaman, L et al , Female leadership raises aspirations and educational attainment for girls’ Science 3 Feb 2012. 582-586 ²¹ Chattopadhyay, R. and Duflo, E., 2004, Op. Cit. ²² Beaman, L., Duflo, E., Pande, R., and Topalova, P., ‘Op. Cit.

²³ Deininger, K., Jin, S., Nagarajan, H. K., Fang, X., 2011

7 - WFD WILL OFFER DFID/FCO THE ABILITY TO RESPOND QUICKLY TO EMERGING OPPORTUNITIES AND TO PILOT SMALLER SCALE PARLIAMENTARY AND POLITICAL PARTY WORK

WFD will use its core grant funding to maintain capacity to conduct short term and pilot projects identified as priorities by the Government. WFD has a proven capability to conduct short-term projects; medium-term, remotely-managed programmes; or long-term programmes with field offices staffed by qualified national staff. Each of these programming models offers different advantages, but all three models offer the ability to generate results at significantly lower cost than most democracy assistance implementers. While the majority of our funding will continue to be invested in multi-year programmes decided through our business planning process, we will reserve a proportion of our core grant each year for rapid response projects or projects that are intended to test the scope for wider support.

8 - WFD WILL COLLABORATE WITH OTHER ACTORS MORE EFFECTIVELY IN ORDER TO GENERATE WIDER DEMOCRATIC REFORM AND HELP ADDRESS THE FULL RANGE OF GOVERNANCE ISSUES IN COUNTRIES WHERE WE OPERATE

While strengthening parliaments and political parties will make an important contribution to building a democratic culture, complex and long-term democratic reform depends on a wide range of changes taking place. On their own, WFD's programmes can deal only with a fraction of the governance issues in a country. In many cases, it is important to address other issues simultaneously, or to sequence them, in order to promote reinforcing reforms and build momentum.

WFD will enhance its coordination and collaboration with other organisations that have complementary skills and missions, for example in rule of law, civil society, media, transparency and accountability. In countries where we have long-term programmes we will monitor the activities of international and local implementing agencies in the field of democracy and governance in order to prevent duplication and generate ideas for collaboration.

In addition to conducting thorough assessments at the country (and where possible regional) level of active implementers, WFD will work to establish partnerships with a range of UK based organisations, building on the experience of The Westminster Consortium (TWC). We believe the TWC model offers an innovative and unique way for UK institutions to join forces in support of democratic governance across a range of sectors.

VII. SCOPE OF WFD PROGRAMMES

In order to be effective, we must match the scope of our programme work to our capacity, and focus our work where it will have the most impact.

WFD will consider the following criteria in determining the location of our programmes:

- **Consistency with UK regional priorities**
- **Possibility of worthwhile improvement in democratic environment**
- **Demand for engagement from parliament and political parties**
- **Strength of existing WFD relationships**
- **Openness to sharing British democratic experience**
- **Level of respect for human rights/democratic legitimacy in the relevant partner institutions**

We intend to focus the majority of our activities in Sub-Saharan Africa, MENA, Eastern Europe/Eurasia, South and Southeast Asia, and the eastern Caribbean. Latin America and the Pacific will generally be of lower priority for WFD unless clear opportunities arise for which WFD is particularly suited to address, and within Sub-Saharan Africa our priorities will normally be Commonwealth countries. Our process for determining the location of our programmes will include regular consultation with the FCO and DFID to share analysis of potential opportunities for improvement in the democratic environment and consistency with UK priorities.

WFD will pursue a phased approach to managing the transition from its current core grant with FCO/DFID to a new grant for the period 2015 to 2018. By April 2015, WFD will have grouped its existing programmes into one of three categories:

- **Closed programmes will end by 31 March 2015 and no new funding will be allocated from the FCO/DFID core grant (though WFD may look for separate funding to continue supporting these or similar programmes).**
- **Transitioning programmes are expected to end sometime in the fiscal year 2015/2016; again, funding may be pursued for some of these programmes from other sources.**
- **Core programmes will consist of multi-year activity, most likely with full-time in-country staff. The bulk of the programme activities will be parliamentary support or integrated parliamentary and political party support.**

During 2015/16, WFD will also launch a number of new programmes where WFD does not currently have parliamentary or integrated programmes. Their launch will take account of the local political timing and we will prepare them through robust context analysis, relationship-building, programme planning, and baseline measurement.

The political party work will take place on a wider scale, engaging a large number of sister parties and party networks and typically operating on shorter time scales. This approach reflects the ability of the UK political parties to respond more flexibly and quickly to demands for engagement (they rarely require the support of WFD field offices to operate). It also helps ensure the parties are able to maintain the long-term relationships they have invested in over the past few decades.

Finally, in order to quickly assess new reform opportunities and to be responsive to FCO/DFID requests for short term assistance, WFD is proposing the creation of a flexible fund that will allow WFD to respond to these types of opportunities. The budget for flexible funds will be determined in light of the funding agreement with HMG but would normally be a maximum of 10% of WFD's core funding, though there could also be additional funding from non-core resources.

VIII. OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

External evaluations and the Triennial Review have provided important constructive recommendations on WFD's operational effectiveness. WFD will continue to strengthen its structures and processes:

Governance – the decisions taken by the Board in 2014 to improve its functioning, in particular to strengthen its strategic level oversight of WFD, will be rolled out. These include delegating project decision-making to the WFD CEO and establishing a new sub-committee of the Board to review programme quality; holding fewer but longer meetings with attendance beyond Governors by invitation to specific agenda items only; and rebalancing its engagement to cover the full range of Board roles.

Programme management – a new programming manual has been developed that tailors established best practice methods to specific WFD requirements. This will be rolled out as programmes for the new funding cycle are designed, approved and begin to be implemented. Standardisation of terminology for WFD programmes will improve the aggregation of data for both M&E and research. New guidance will be introduced to improve the way that staff from the political parties and the rest of WFD share analysis and work on specific programmes.

Information systems – updated IT systems will enable improved programming practices, including strengthening forecasting and improving internal communications. A new information policy will improve the storage of and access to WFD data.

Communications – a new communications strategy is under preparation, building on best practice of the Government Communications Service. This aims to identify more clearly how communications tools can support delivery of WFD's strategic objectives.

Staffing – a Staffing Review will recommend adjustments to WFD structures and roles that would help prevent duplication and increase our effectiveness. This will enable our corporate services team to better support our programme implementation. Our staffing structures will also ensure that WFD is able to engage properly with our key stakeholders, including in parliament and regional assemblies, and with external funders.

Strengthening WFD staff skills will be important for the success of most of these areas, in particular for the implementation of the new programme manual. Implementation plans for all these areas will be set out in the annual business plans.

IX. VALUE FOR MONEY

WFD's funding is from public sources and we owe taxpayers a duty to provide the best possible value for money. We will at all times strive for:

Economy – our overheads (accommodation, IT, salaries, travel) are in line with or more economical than our public sector counterparts.

Efficiency – we use delivery partners that are mainly drawn from linked organisations with commitments to the same goal as WFD and who provide their services at no cost beyond expenses.

Effectiveness – we will increase our commitment to generating evidence, assessing our results and learning from our experiences so that we can continue to improve the effectiveness of our programmes.

WFD will monitor our overheads in line with international good practice. The vast majority of WFD programme funds are spent on capacity-building through direct engagement between experts from the UK or elsewhere and interlocutors in the programme countries.

X. RISKS

The main programme level risks for WFD are political, ie they are risks of changing political commitment to the actions that our partners need to take to deliver the change that they want. There are also important security risks in some locations, and risks related to WFD's own management.

At corporate level, there are three main types of risk for WFD in continuing to carry out its core work as a Non-Departmental Public Body:

- **First, there are finance risks related mainly to the budget climate affecting government that would impact on WFD's core grant. However, similar risks can affect other potential WFD funders.**
- **Second, there are risks related to WFD's programme quality. At corporate level these risks would arise from a failure to deliver – and demonstrate that we deliver – high quality programmes. Related to this, there are risks relating to WFD's policy capability. WFD needs to be able to demonstrate that it has a strong understanding of the policy context for democracy assistance, particularly assistance related to parliaments and political parties, in order to maintain the confidence of partners and funders.**
- **Third, there are risks related to WFD's operational effectiveness. WFD needs to be able to manage its staff and funds in a way that ensures value for money in our operations, and that provides assurance of sound financial management of public funds.**

WFD's risk management framework is overseen by an internal risk management group and reported to the WFD Board's Audit and Risk Assurance Committee.

XI. MONITORING

More detailed implementation arrangements for this Strategic Framework will be through annual Business Plans to be submitted to the WFD Board. Each Business Plan will include a more detailed budget as well as key management actions needed for successful implementation of the strategic framework.

Governance arrangements for WFD are set out in WFD's 1992 Articles of Association and Memorandum of Association, the 2013 Management Statement and in the guide to Board functioning. The guide incorporates decisions taken by the Board in 2014 aimed at strengthening their contribution to WFD's strategic direction. We have also agreed a framework for WFD engagement with the FCO and DFID as our two main institutional funders.

The analysis in this strategy will be reviewed regularly. The Board will undertake a full review of the Strategic Framework after two years, ie during 2017.

ANNEX – BRITISH PARTY AND PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTHS

PARTY SYSTEM

- Longest tradition of political parties in the world
- Relatively large mass membership and policy-based political parties
- Parties with good, transparent internal governance
- Parties that have established processes for researching and formulating policies and platforms and supporting their implementation
- Parties that have strong culture of citizen engagement at the local level and have strong constituency based structures
- Regular, peaceful turnover of party leadership and senior-level positions offering opportunities for youth empowerment
- A history of support for women's involvement, representation, and empowerment among the political parties
- Parties that have strong campaigning, communications and messaging skills (during and between election cycles)
- Parties that have mutual respect for each other (including towards leading opposition parties and smaller parties) and can negotiate political compromise through peaceful dialogue
- Strong capacity at the national, regional, and local levels

PARLIAMENTS AND DEVOLVED ASSEMBLIES

- Strong tradition of effective parliamentary oversight
- Capable, non-partisan professional parliamentary service and committee system
- Pioneers in innovative practices of expenditure oversight (Public Accounts Committee), human rights, and question time (including Prime Minister's question time) among others
- Extensive skills in evidence-based research and analysis
- Experience in devolved assemblies with varying levels of power and establishing new parliaments, including in areas with a history of violent conflict
- Experience in running a Bicameral system, while debating institutional reform and modification of legal powers and membership
- Examples of building good links between parliament, government, civil society, media and the public, including the creation of active, inclusive issue-based fora such as All-Party Parliamentary Groups (APPGs)
- Robust pre-and post-legislation scrutiny practices

PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT

- Established system of shadow cabinet/ministers within Parties
- Ability to prepare and transition smoothly from government to opposition and vice versa
- Strong research and policy support to parties within parliament from partisan parliamentary staff
- Well-established whip systems and support to government ministers through Parliamentary Private Secretaries (PPSs)
- Well established practices to debate and agree on the business of Parliament between the parties
- Provision of adequate support and time for the opposition within Parliament
- Procedure and practices to ensure transparency and accountability of MPs to their constituents

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