



WESTMINSTER
FOUNDATION FOR
DEMOCRACY

Strategic Framework

2017-2022





**WESTMINSTER
FOUNDATION FOR
DEMOCRACY**

Strategic Framework

2017-2022



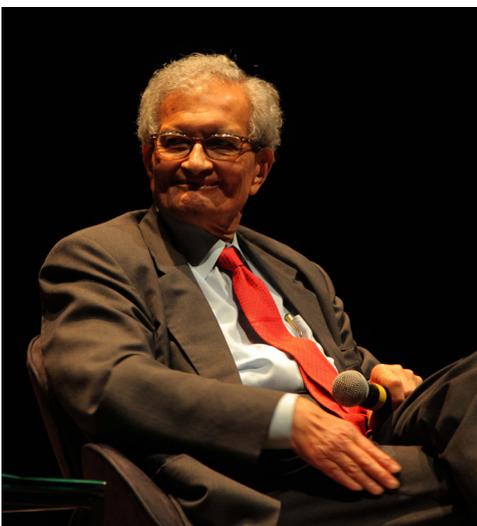
"No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time"

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



"A country does not have to be deemed fit for democracy; rather, it has to become fit through democracy. This is indeed a momentous change, extending the potential reach of democracy to cover billions of people, with their varying histories and cultures and disparate levels of affluence."

Amartya Sen
Democracy is a Universal Value, Journal of Democracy

MESSAGE FROM THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE



The three quotes that start WFD’s strategy bring together three key beliefs that underpin our commitment to democracy. Winston Churchill’s famous quote is as relevant today as ever. Democracy is often slow to secure, and permanent consolidation is far from guaranteed. It can be difficult to get things done since most decisions must be negotiated among a wide range of stakeholders with different ideologies, priorities, and strategies. While electoral competition is normally positive, it can sometimes divide society and spur violence. However, Churchill recognised that no matter how messy democracy is, only by making the people sovereign can we prevent the abuse of power by autocrats and dictators. Such abuse was common in the last century and risks a revival in this one.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the Deputy President of South Africa and the former chief negotiator of the African National Congress during the country’s transition from apartheid to democracy, speaks to the freedom that democracy brings and the power it has to change lives for the better. That freedom is ultimately personal – the right of each one of us to take decisions about our own futures – but it is also political. Under a democracy, policies can compete and people can take political decisions about their collective future in a way that is impossible in an autocracy. Of course, bad policies and bad decisions are also made in democracies but democracy ensures we have the freedom to make things right. Ramaphosa’s words are backed by the evidence that, in the long run, democracies are wealthier, more peaceful, and better at guaranteeing freedom, the rule of law, and the protection of human rights than any other system of government.

Amartya Sen, the influential Indian scholar and economist, revolutionised how people came to think of development, from a predominantly economic concept to one revolving around enhancing people’s freedom, well-being, and political and human rights. His view is that development can only truly be achieved through democracy, not instead of or despite it, as some economists and scholars would advocate. Economic gains can raise standards of living, yet development is only truly meaningful if people are more free and able to participate in the political life of their country. He also argued democracy is more than a philosophy or system of government, it is a human right which should be available to all peoples of the world. It is not a “Western” concept: democracy has thrived in every corner of the globe, from Japan, South Korea, Indonesia and India to Kenya, South Africa, Ghana, Tunisia, Mexico and Chile. Democracy is universal and WFD’s commitment to supporting democratic government is, like our three quotes, relevant to people in all countries.

Anthony Smith CMG,
Chief Executive

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since our establishment in 1992, the primary aim of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) 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. Our vision remains the universal establishment of legitimate and effective, multi-party, representative democracy.

Delivering on this vision is beyond the scope of any individual organisation or government. A wide range of actors take part in democratic processes, including government (executive, legislative, and judicial), independent institutions (electoral commissions, audit authorities, anti-corruption and human rights commissions), political parties, civil society organisations, universities, media, private sector actors, traditional authorities, and citizens (including individuals and social movements).

WFD's traditional focus – supporting more effective political parties and parliaments – will remain central to our mission: WFD is now delivering parliamentary programmes in over 30 countries across Africa, Europe, MENA,

**OUR VISION REMAINS
THE UNIVERSAL
ESTABLISHMENT
OF LEGITIMATE
AND EFFECTIVE,
MULTI-PARTY,
REPRESENTATIVE
DEMOCRACY**

Asia, and Latin America, and political party programmes in dozens more.

There is great potential for WFD to do more: institutional strengthening of parliaments and political parties is critical but rarely sufficient to transform political systems. Lasting change requires a wide range of reform-minded actors to overcome significant obstacles – political, institutional, technical, logistical, and financial – to achieve their goals. New political settlements must be negotiated, requiring multi-stakeholder agreement and sustained effort to break old patterns, overcome opposition, and embed new, more democratic and effective systems.

To achieve our organisational mission, we must build on our track record in parliamentary assistance and sister party support and incorporate other methods to have an impact on the political system. By working across a wider range of institutions, processes, and themes, WFD can more effectively support reform-minded actors and institutions in developing countries to transform their own democratic practices. As part of our new strategy, we intend to engage more directly with civil society, electoral and other independent institutions. We will support these by strengthening their skills and by increasing their coordination with other institutions in order to ensure greater transparency and accountability; more credible elections; improved policy making and delivery; increased citizen participation and empowerment; and more inclusive representation.

In addition to expanding who we work with and which processes and themes we are looking to improve, we will also continue to transform how we undertake our work. That means improving how we analyse the context in which we work and how we design, deliver, monitor, evaluate, and learn from our programmes.

Examples include:

- Utilising the peer-to-peer approach, bringing together practitioners who share similar experiences and challenges to learn from each other and develop new approaches and solutions to complex problems, with particular focus on sharing the UK experience.
- Using new tools and techniques for conducting political economy analysis (PEA) and using participatory, stakeholder-driven approaches throughout our programming processes, starting with programme conceptualisation and design and updated on a continual basis as the political context changes.
- Adopting increasingly flexible approaches to our programming, using Problem Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) to enable local stakeholders to solve concrete policy problems through their own institutions, processes and democratic practice.
- Transforming our training offer, moving fully to a robust model of learner-led design that includes interactive workshops, simulations, mentoring and coaching, secondments, hands-on support, and other forms of tactile problem-solving and learning by doing. Online and mobile learning and collaboration tools are also under development.
- Leading on innovative regional and network approaches, using the power of peer learning to generate new, context-relevant solutions while also building solidarity, critical for establishing “race to the top” dynamics as beneficiaries look to become reform leaders.
- Adopting new approaches to monitoring, evaluation, and learning – including process tracing and outcome matrices – designed for more adaptive, iterative programme methodologies.

WFD must continue to improve how it collaborates and coordinates with others if it is to help generate systemic change. Though

we do not focus our assistance on executive institutions, judicial and education systems, or the media, each is critical for democracy, good governance, and the rule of law to thrive. We will increasingly collaborate with other institutions with different skills, methodologies, and approaches, working together to find ways our programmes can complement one another and address the same issues from different angles. This includes a particular focus on collaborating with other UK-based organisations, including NGOs, for-profits, think tanks, universities, and other like-minded organisations.

As a leading member of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD), we remain committed to working closely with members of the network and other European institutions, enhancing collaboration with leading European democracy assistance stakeholders. We will also expand our partnership with institutions from the Commonwealth and around the world, in particular from the global South.



I. CONTEXT

The third wave of democratisation (originating in Portugal and Spain in the 1970s) swept through Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa through the 1990s, leading to widespread hope of a rapid and irreversible consolidation of democratic governance across the globe. This initial optimism has faded. Only a small number of the democracies that have emerged over the past three decades have become deeply rooted, while the democratic institutions in some other countries are sometimes hollow, weak or ineffective.

The commitment by the international community to supporting democratic freedom is also weaker, reflecting the growing influence of countries that have become more autocratic and assert that rapid economic development is more important than democracy. Such arguments can be used to justify repression and undermine democratic reforms and civil society engagement, especially when economic and social progress is too slow.

However, there are reasons for optimism in the face of these challenges. Countries in every region of the world have made remarkable transitions to democracy over the past decade. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recognise that social, economic and environmental progress depends on effective and inclusive governance. When adopting the SDGs in 2015, the UN General Assembly declared:

“The new Agenda recognizes the need to build peaceful, just and inclusive

societies that provide equal access to justice and that are based on respect for human rights (including the right to development), on effective rule of law and good governance at all levels and on transparent, effective and accountable institutions.” (Paragraph 35)

Goal 16 of the SDGs is most directly relevant to democracy, including parliaments and political parties, with a commitment to:

“Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.”

Democracy may be under increased pressure, but its defenders are deeply committed and increasingly capable of supporting countries in making the transition to democracy, improving governance, and defending human rights. Over 75% of people around the globe are still in favour of democracy as the best form of government¹. Much has been learned over nearly forty years of democracy assistance, and development programmes are more sophisticated, tailored, and grounded in high-quality research. WFD intends to make the strongest contribution it can to the advancement of democracy.

¹ WIN/Gallup International Poll 2015. 60,190 people were interviewed in 62 countries across the globe.



THE GLOBAL GOALS For Sustainable Development

WFD's Vision and Ambition

Since our establishment in 1992, the primary aim of Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) 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. Our vision remains 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, electoral processes, transparency and accountability, representation and citizen participation – at local, national, regional, and global levels. Inclusive and effective governance depends on a democratic culture where public institutions, political parties, civil society, social movements, the private sector, and traditional authorities constantly collaborate and compete in a peaceful struggle for power and influence. This must happen within a framework of formal and informal

OVER 75% OF PEOPLE AROUND THE GLOBE ARE STILL IN FAVOUR OF DEMOCRACY AS THE BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT

rules that helps ensure the greater will of the citizenry is served, while simultaneously protecting the rights of both individuals and vulnerable groups.

To achieve this mission, WFD strengthens the capacity of key democratic institutions – including parliaments, political parties, civil society organisations, and electoral bodies – helping ensure they have the systems, knowledge, and skills to perform effectively. WFD is also fostering improved democratic processes, bringing together individuals and institutions and encouraging them to work together to solve concrete problems, applying democratic values and practices.



WFD's work is based on values – that all people are equal and that the protection of their human and democratic rights is essential for fair, safe and prosperous societies. WFD also believes in political inclusion of all people, including women, youth, and vulnerable groups such as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT+) community and persons living with disabilities. This means working with the full range of democratic institutions in the United Kingdom, and with those in other countries that represent different ideologies and beliefs. Britain's diverse democratic institutions and rich democratic history encompass a wide range of experiences which can be relevant to the present context in other countries. WFD will continue to work with the UK's democratic institutions – including in Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales – with the aim of being the most effective organisation sharing the UK democratic experience with partners in developing and transition countries.

At the same time, WFD also intends to serve as a valued facilitator of exchanges among other emerging democracies, creating a growing network of practitioners, experts, and activists willing and able to support others from their own region, across the Commonwealth, and worldwide. This approach is both instrumental and ideological. Practically, sharing experiences among countries experiencing similar challenges makes it easier to identify solutions appropriate for their particular contexts.

UK's international engagement and its commitment to democracy, open societies and open economies are of fundamental importance to the UK's own future and to continued global progress towards an equitable and sustainable future. WFD has been a core part of UK's work to support democracy around the world since 1992. With support from across the British political spectrum, WFD has built relationships with parties, parliaments, civil society organisations, and increasingly electoral institutions across the world. Between 2014 and 2017, our programmes have reached more people than ever before, and we have deepened our work to include applied research, election observation, and targeted programming

to empower women, youth, and other vulnerable groups.

Our ambition over the next five years is to increase our impact even further by responding to the growing demand for partnership with us and with the UK's democracy institutions. We want to increase the size, scale, and ambition of our programmes, expand our reach geographically, particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, work in new ways that are more flexible and adaptive, and increase our research and outreach for even greater impact. To achieve this, we will work to secure additional resources and expand our collaboration with UK and international partners. Our strongest partnerships are with other European organisations and with those in North America, but our newest partnerships with Asian and African organisations offer opportunities for improving the quality of our collaboration.



II. THEORY OF CHANGE

Consolidating and securing democratic government is difficult and development scholars have struggled to describe how states can reliably move from poor governance to improved governance, and from autocratic or chaotic political systems to democratic ones. Heated debates going back decades have argued which must come first – economic development and state building, or strengthening democratic and accountability systems – without reaching consensus.

WFD believes that, as Harvard University’s Pippa Norris² has shown, there is strong evidence that supporting democratic accountability at the same time as supporting the establishment of a strong state is the best way to support sustainable development. Together they contribute to economic prosperity, improved social welfare and human development, and reduce violent conflict inside and between countries. In the best case there is a healthy balance between the “supply” of government (“top-down”) and the “demand” from citizens to hold their institutions accountable (“bottom up”). However, more evidence is needed on how development actors can best support this process, and to what degree alternative approaches are needed in different contexts.

WFD’s Theory of Change outlines our understanding of how improved governance and strengthening accountability together contribute to the achievement of our ultimate vision: the universal establishment of legitimate, resilient democratic governance, capable of delivering on behalf of all people, protecting their freedoms and rights, and representing their interests.

In order to reach this goal, we believe that a number of critical outcomes must be achieved:

Long-term outcomes

- Enhanced transparency, inclusiveness, public engagement, accountability, and representation

Intermediate outcomes

- Political parties increasingly provide issue-based platforms for aggregating and responding to interests of citizens
- Parliaments increasingly serve as venues for debate, negotiation and scrutiny
- Policy-making is more open, consultative and evidence-based
- Elections are held in a more credible, inclusive and peaceful manner
- Citizens, particularly underrepresented groups, engage more actively in political processes
- Women have greater influence in political processes

Each of these outcomes is critical to the achievement of effective and legitimate democratic governance; missing just one would result in the eventual breakdown of the system.

For example, if elections are flawed, they can lead to a breakdown of the ultimate accountability mechanism in democratic systems: the removal of representatives that are incapable of performing their duties. The entrenchment of political elites inevitably leads to the abuse of power, including state capture, corruption, and repression of their potential competition.

Another example is effective, citizen-responsive policy making. If government action is taken without collecting the input

² Pippa Norris. Making Democratic Governance Work: How Regimes Shape Prosperity, Welfare, and Peace. 2012.

and views of citizens, then officials will lack the feedback mechanisms necessary to understand if policies are succeeding or failing. Citizens will also grow disengaged from their own institutions, leading to frustration and potential violence when people's needs are not being met.

Inactive, repressed, or incapable legislatures, civil society, and political parties will inevitably lead to fewer mechanisms for providing input into public policy making and remove a critical source of accountability, as alternative ideas and leadership are unavailable to replace those failing to deliver effective public services.

How and when does change happen?

Democracy and good governance is not an inevitable destination. It is difficult to achieve as well as maintain, particularly when external or internal shocks occur and leave people looking for quick and easy fixes, including strong (even autocratic) leadership. Numerous factors beyond the control of WFD, or any international actor, have the greatest influence on any country's democratic journey, including structural factors such as geography, resources, demographics, history, and culture, that are slow to shift and can create constraints on what reforms are possible and at what speed.

However, we believe that we have the potential to positively influence the process of democratisation and good governance - usually on an incremental basis but sometimes, when opportunities present themselves, with more catalytic, transformational impact. As described by World Bank economist Brian Levy in "Working with the Grain", supporting democracy and governance reform often requires working towards small changes. This is especially the case in countries with political systems that are open and competitive but where power is fragmented and contested and coherent policy-making is challenging. Creating "islands of effectiveness within a broader sea of dysfunction" can contribute in the longer term to improvements in governance and wider developmental outcomes.

Why politics matters in development

A revolution in the way development programmes are designed and delivered is taking root, with UK scholars, donors, and implementers often leading the way.

The late Sue Unsworth was a leading voice in DFID's "Drivers of Change" work, which stressed the inescapably political aspects of development work and the need for donors and practitioners to account for these dynamics. More recently, Oxfam's Duncan Green, author of "How Change Happens" (2016), describes the complexity of social systems and the difficulty of defining in advance patterns and mechanisms for change.

Evidence from decades of development programmes, particularly in democracy and governance, has shown that exporting a set of formal systems, laws, or policies from one context to another is unlikely to create positive change, and in fact could cause harm.

However, new approaches in delivering development assistance are gaining ground, often referred to as "thinking and working politically" or "doing development differently". ODI's report, "The SAVI programme in Nigeria: Towards politically smart, locally led development", highlighted the transformative power of working with coalitions, using facilitated multi-stakeholder engagement, to build support for positive change.

Meanwhile, investment over the long term can lay the groundwork for major reform when the moment is ripe, which ends up being critically important if change is to be sustained and chaos and violence is to be avoided.

Opportunities for significant political change often arise, perhaps unsurprisingly, around a country's electoral cycle. Elections provide an opportunity for active debate around a country's direction as well as serving as a legitimate and peaceful mechanism for replacing one's leaders. Governing parties have incentives to respond to challenges put forward by the opposition, especially those citizens are embracing, and may implement reform in the run-up to elections. There is also impetus for action following elections, as unkept promises from the campaign risk haunting parties at the next elections. The period between elections is often when the hard work of passing legislation and conducting oversight takes place in parliaments; and when political parties can build stronger relationships with voters and improve their internal capacity to develop policies ideas that address citizen needs. This is therefore the time to embed reform and ensure its impact and sustainability.

WFD's focus is therefore on the key political institutions, in particular political parties and parliaments since they play a unique "hybrid" role, combining supply and demand dynamics that bridge the gap between citizens and civil society and executive institutions. Through our programmes, we focus on:

- Supporting agents for democratic reform within the political sphere
- Fostering constructive dialogue for long-term relationships of trust among stakeholders
- Strengthening networks for information exchange and mutual support
- Empowering individuals and groups to exercise their democratic rights

- Encouraging commitment to democratic processes and values.

Our party assistance – led by the UK political parties and primarily using a sister party methodology – has strengthened scores of political parties over the last 25 years, from individual parties to party networks, both regionally and internationally. We have supported political parties to develop and present platforms and policies with coherent ideological underpinnings, responsive to the challenges that societies face and voter priorities. We have worked with parties to adopt more inclusive practices; women, youth, and vulnerable groups such as minorities, the LGBT+ community, and people living with disabilities have become more empowered and their needs served as a result of the reforms our party partners have made. The UK parties continue to be the critical engines of international party networks, as well as leading the way in developing party networks in Africa, the Caribbean, Europe and MENA.

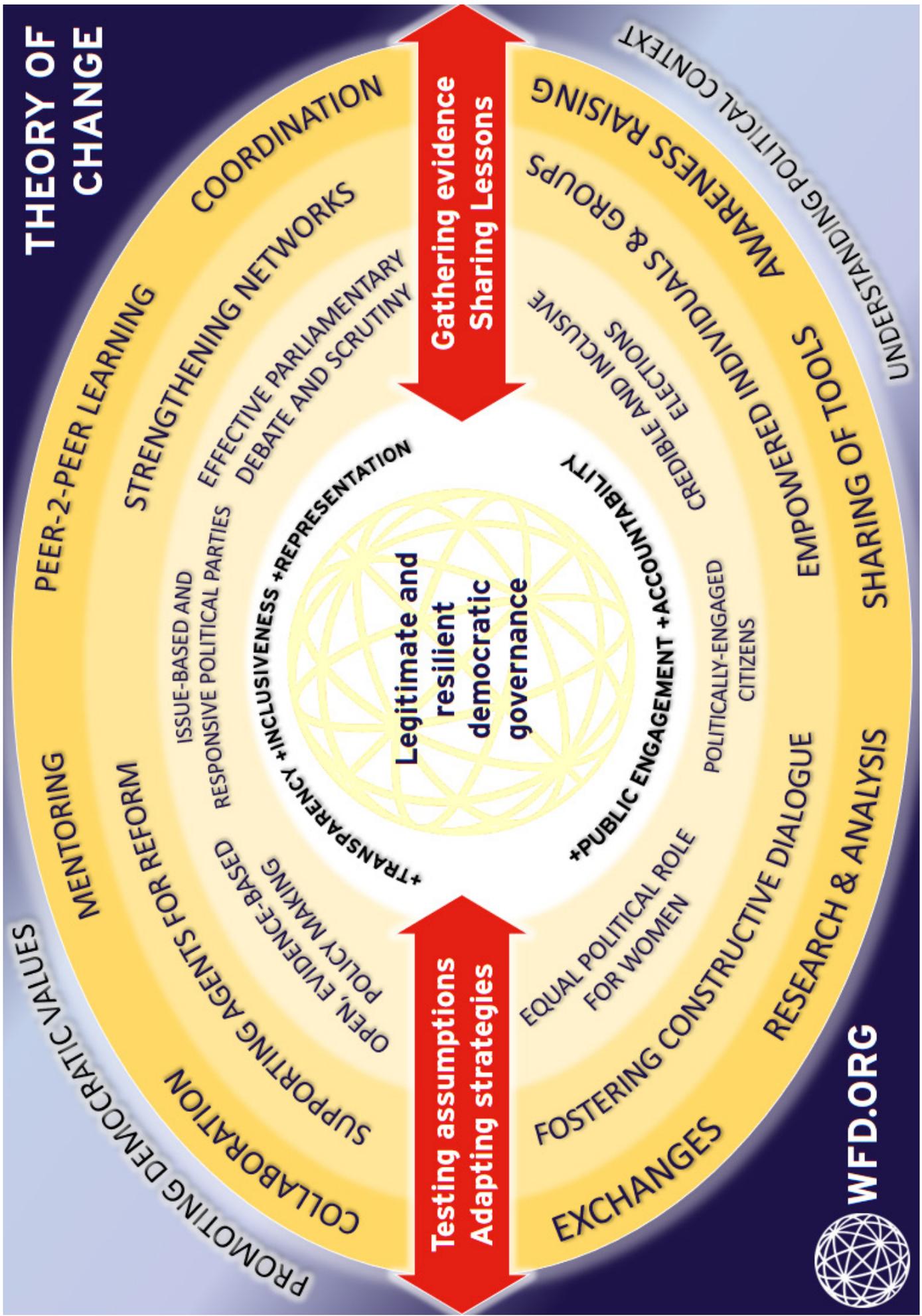
By supporting parliaments to develop better legislation, scrutinise the executive, approve and oversee implementation of state budgets, and engage citizens in the policy making process, WFD has enhanced accountability and served as a venue for citizens to influence government decision-making. In the case of fragile and post-conflict contexts, we have supported parliaments serve as critical venues for formerly warring factions to engage in dialogue and resolve their disagreements through debate and negotiation instead of violence. We have also worked with women MPs to transform the norms that prevent them from readily moving into their rightful places in leadership. This work has also included advancing vital policy priorities, such as ending violence against women and girls.

We have generated increased evidence through our programmes of the benefits of people to people exchanges, while also increasingly recognising the unique power of regional networks and "south-south" exchanges. The power of regional solidarity

– developed by sharing experiences and building institutional and personal relationships

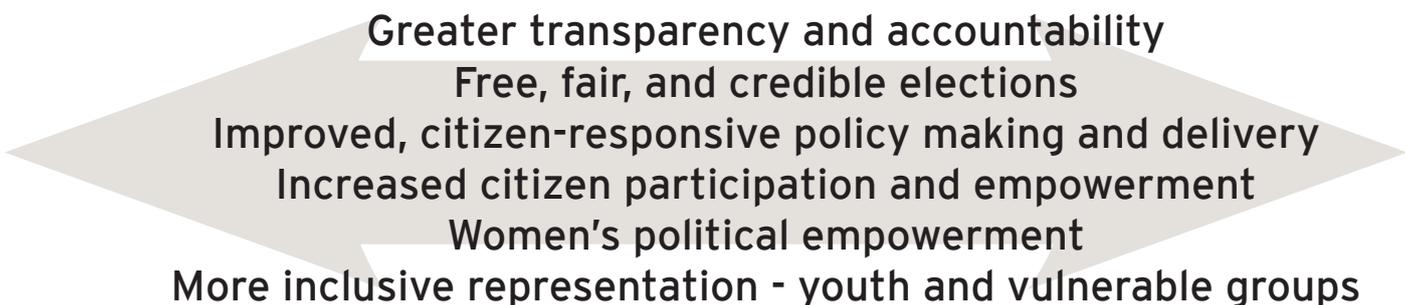
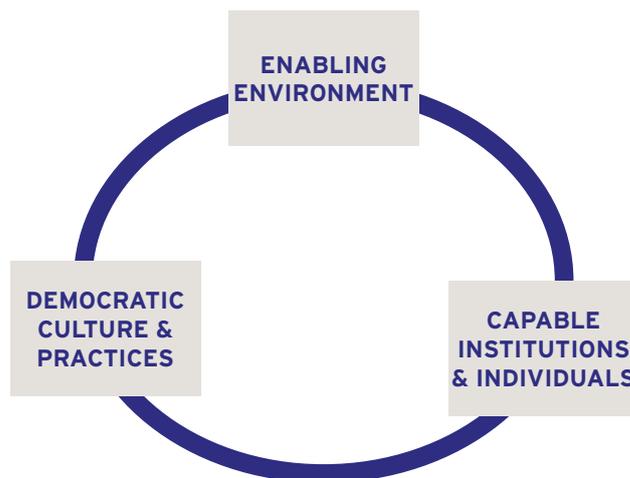
– has proven particularly effective at encouraging partners to pursue reforms. For example, the Liberal Democrats’ support to the African Liberal Network led to significant reform in party platforms as a result of peer pressure to adopt more progressive policies towards LGBT+ rights; similarly, the Labour Party also ensures LGBT+ rights and representation is on the agenda of progressive parties encouraging them to advocate for a political and cultural shift through a series of programmes. The parliaments of the MENA and Western Balkans regions continue to challenge each other, in a spirit of benevolent competition, in an effort to be seen as the most influential and effective legislature in their respective regions.

THEORY OF CHANGE



III. METHODOLOGY

Moving towards a new WFD methodology to achieve our organisational mission, we must build on our track record in parliamentary assistance and sister party support and incorporate other methods to impact the wider political system. These methods will include our recent support to electoral processes, multi-party assistance, and civil society strengthening, while also investing more resources in women and youth empowerment. We have also increased our capacity to undertake formal political economy analysis and experiment with new forms of adaptive



programming and more flexible monitoring and evaluation tools. The graphic above captures our expanded areas of focus, in terms of institutional partners and desired outcomes.

Experience has shown us that our programming is most effective when we can help establish a more enabling environment for reform; build the capabilities of institutions and individuals; and encourage changes in democratic practices and culture. To create these dynamics, we have been transforming how we conceptualise, design, implement, measure, analyse, and learn from our programming, including:

- Expanding and deepening our use of the peer-to-peer approach, sharing a wider range of experiences – from all parts of the UK including Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales, as well as Europe and the global South – for longer periods of time, expanding exchanges to include longer-term secondments.
- Using new tools and techniques for conducting political economy analysis and using participatory, stakeholder-driven approaches throughout our programming processes, starting with programme conceptualisation and design and updated on a continual basis as the political context

changes.

- Adopting increasingly flexible approaches to our programming, using Problem Driven Iterative Adaptation to support local stakeholders to form “coalitions for change” capable of generating pressure in order to solve concrete problems while reinforcing democratic practices and institutions.
- An increased focus on the financial dimensions of democratic governance, including a greater focus on financial oversight, transparency, anti-corruption, gender budgeting and auditing, and reducing the cost of politics.

New ways of learning

In late 2016 WFD initiated a project with **FutureGov** – a UK-based technology company focused on improving public services through better design and user engagement – to identify new and better ways to engage programme beneficiaries in learning, networking, and longer-term remote mentoring.

Using experience supporting UK local authorities among others, FutureGov is helping us use existing technology and social media such as Trello, Coursera, DuoLingo, DropBox, and edXshow to transform how we enable people learn and grow as professionals.

We will be able to reach a wider selection of beneficiaries – politicians, civil servants, civil society organisations, universities, etc. – with unique learning styles and diverse schedules through online courses, remote mentoring, sharing, and networking, allowing us to better utilise the skills and availability of UK expertise for programmes across the globe.

- Transforming our learning experiences, moving fully to a robust model of learner-led design that includes interactive workshops, simulations, mentoring and coaching, secondments, hands-on support, and other forms of tactile problem-solving and learning by doing. Online and mobile learning and collaboration tools are also under development.
- Leading on innovative regional and network approaches, utilising the power of peer learning to generate new, context-relevant solutions while also building solidarity, critical for establishing “race to the top” dynamics as beneficiaries look to become reform leaders.
- Utilising our access to prominent political leaders and experts in mediation to support conflict transformation and peace-building processes between groups and factions in conflict in order to broker agreements and advance reforms.
- Adopting new approaches to monitoring, evaluation, and learning – including process tracing and outcome matrices – designed for more adaptive, iterative programme methodologies and to ensure the organisation (and the wider democracy assistance community) constantly learns from our programme successes and failures.

While our theory of change makes clear that executive, judicial, and media institutions are critical to the achievement of our overall vision, other implementers that are better placed to build their capacity directly. However, transforming the wider environment and democratic culture involves supporting our beneficiaries to improve how they engage and influence these other institutions. As such, we will be investing additional time and energy towards coordinating and collaborating with other actors – national and international – to share analysis, brainstorm, and identify opportunities where our work can mutually reinforce each other.

IV. PROGRAMMES

WFD will implement four broad types of programme at country, regional and international level in pursuit of our mission: political party assistance, parliamentary strengthening, elections programming, and civil society support. Our programming will also cover three cross-cutting themes: women’s empowerment, inclusive politics and research.

Political party assistance

We will continue to support political parties across the globe, expanding the reach of our work to new countries and utilising new delivery approaches. The UK parties will continue building relationships of trust with parties that are in the same political family, as well as with other parties that want to tap into UK party skills even if ideological positions do not coincide. These are usually long-term relationships that use personal as well as institutional links, and that create a joint sense of purpose, particularly when working with regional and international networks.

In addition to support provided directly by UK political parties, WFD will utilise multi-party models to improve the wider political system, stimulate multi-party political competition based on policies rather than identity or patronage, and encourage reform on difficult issues such as campaign finance and reform of political party laws. Using multi-party, non-partisan models ensures wider coverage of parties, including working with those unlikely to be targeted for sister party support (such as Islamist parties, former rebel movements, and parties with authoritarian histories).

Specific areas of assistance will include:

- Organisational strengthening
- Advice on legal reform and internal party democracy
- Training and mentoring individual members

- Policy development
- Membership development
- Election training
- Mentoring to parties entering government and opposition
- Strengthening national and regional party networks

Parliamentary strengthening

Supporting parliaments will remain a fundamental pillar of WFD’s programming, supporting national and sub-national legislatures to be more representative, improve the quality of their legislation, and exercise adequate oversight of government policymaking, delivery, and financial management. Areas of assistance will include:

- Improving parliamentary leadership
- Support to parliamentary committees
- Sectoral support through the sharing of policy expertise
- Capacity building for MPs, staff, and party caucuses
- Strengthening parliamentary services
- Supporting gender-sensitive parliaments



- Bolstering citizen engagement
- Encouraging sharing of experiences and expertise among parliaments

Election programming

The legitimacy of political institutions is closely related to the credibility of the electoral system of a country. WFD will build on its existing work identifying, training, and deploying UK election observers and experts to EU and OSCE election observation missions and undertake programmes to strengthen electoral institutions, including election management bodies, civil society organisations, domestic observation networks, political parties, legislatures, and when appropriate media. WFD will aim to work long-term through at least a series of electoral cycles, implementing a range of different activities including:

- Building capacity within institutions undertaking non-partisan election observation
- Participating in the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors and creating linkages between electoral institutions
- Support to electoral reform
- Support to electoral management bodies
- Candidate training for independents, women, youth, and underrepresented groups
- Sponsoring public debates between candidates and parties during campaign periods
- Addressing physical and verbal violence and intimidation that limits women’s political participation

Civil society support

The ability of citizens to interact with political institutions is critical to the effectiveness of democratic systems. That is why engagement with civil society has been an element of many WFD political party and parliamentary programmes. The challenges of closing civil society space are often seen in parallel to challenges of closing political space. WFD will therefore look for opportunities to support civil society capacity to contribute to strengthening

inclusion and accountability in political systems. Activities will include:

- Support to ensuring an enabling environment for civil society
- Capacity building for civil society organisations³
- Technical assistance to civil society

Women’s empowerment

Women’s equal representation and participation in politics and public life is not simply desirable for fully-functioning democratic systems; it is essential. Women’s political leadership results in better outcomes for women and girls, as well as for society as a whole, and delivers progress in policy areas vital for economic growth and development, such as health, education and infrastructure. Even without these quantifiable dividends, the argument for women’s empowerment is irrefutable – democracy cannot be said to exist if half of the population is not wholly engaged equally in decision-making.

WFD’s work will take into consideration the social, cultural, economic and political norms that inhibit women’s full participation in politics and governance, and work with partners to develop systems and strategies that challenge and transform these. Parliamentary assistance will include efforts to embed gender throughout all aspects of parliamentary business, including introducing innovations in gender budgeting and auditing, and incorporating gender analysis into post-legislative scrutiny processes. Work with political parties will link systems for recruitment and advancement of women candidates with organisational development and strategies for higher levels of performance and competitiveness in elections. WFD’s work on women’s empowerment will include stakeholder-wide programming that involves all those – including men – who have an impact on women’s opportunities to exercise influence, as well as offering women-

³ Civil society incorporates a wide range of actors, including: NGOs, social movements, the private sector, think tanks, traditional authorities, community groups, labour and trade unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, youth and women’s groups, professional associations, and foundations.

only engagements that allow emerging women leaders to further develop their skills in a supportive environment.

Inclusive politics

Inclusion is a core objective of any national political system and can be crucial in promoting resilience and preventing conflict. However, many people, either as part of a group or individually, are under-represented or unable to participate in political life. Young people have repeatedly shown their appetite for political engagement and their ability to make critically important contributions to political debate, yet rarely get to do this through formal political organisations. People with disabilities have been actively discriminated against and remain significantly under-represented in the political systems in most countries. Sexuality is often the basis for persecution and marginalisation of people in many countries. WFD will support efforts to ensure that human and political rights of all people are respected and government representation is increasingly diverse.

Increasing transparency through the Open Government Partnership (OGP)

The United Kingdom is one of the eight founding members of the OGP, a joint effort between government and civil society to increase government transparency and encourage greater citizen participation in the work of government. Lord Francis Maude was one of the founding members of the OGP Steering Committee, and the UK is still seen as a critical driver of the initiative, including launching the Legislative Openness Working Group at the OGP summit in London in 2013.

In May 2017, WFD co-sponsored the Global Legislative Openness Conference in Kiev, during which the drive to increase legislative engagement in OGP processes was one of the key themes. Parliaments are able to advance open government through OGP by: 1) enacting, resourcing and implementing open government reform; 2) providing sustainability of open government reforms across administrations; 3) overseeing National Action Plans; 4) and advancing legislative openness. Yet more often than not parliaments are minimally involved in OGP, which is both a missed opportunity and a threat if legislatures feel side-lined and grow hostile.

In each country where it is deemed feasible, WFD looks to bring together government, civil society, and parliaments in multi-stakeholder forums to discuss how to further advance openness and embed additional commitments in National Action Plans. The OGP points of contact from the UK and Scottish Government will be mobilised to help support these processes as well.



Research

Knowledge and evidence are critical to the effectiveness of democracy-support programmes, especially since the baseline of evidence about effectiveness in this field is thin. WFD will maintain two strands of research activity and seek to add a third. The first strand will be an academic partnership and will enable an independent researcher to draw out broad lessons from past WFD programmes and to test the assumptions behind our Theory of Change. The second strand will be applied research led by WFD staff and linked to specific themes of relevance to current programmes. These applied research projects will be tailored to themes that WFD programmes have been addressing or to topical themes that could affect the design of future programmes. WFD will also continue to support the Westminster Community of Practice on parliamentary strengthening that helps to share knowledge among organisations that work in this field. WFD will continue to improve how we collaborate and coordinate to generate systemic change. This starts by improving our communication with our donors, as well as other embassies, to understand and influence the direction of democratic governance support based on our own context analysis and experience, and to adapt our plans to minimise overlap and enhance complementarity. Kleinfeld has highlighted the power of diplomacy and “enmeshment” – the creation of bilateral, regional or international ties (such as with NATO, the EU, the Commonwealth, Arab Interparliamentary Union, Southern African Development Community, party internationals) that create formal and informal obligations for reform – as vehicles for driving change. The more WFD can align efforts with those of embassies and international bodies, the greater the chances of success.

Using Post-Legislative Scrutiny to realise equality commitments

Post-Legislative Scrutiny (PLS) is a parliamentary process that allows legislators to examine the effectiveness, impact and value for money of legislation after its passage and, depending on the circumstances, during stages of its implementation. WFD is currently leading research on global good practice and principles for PLS processes. Aspects of this research have exposed a worrying trend: while legislation to advance gender equality and protect the rights of women and girls – such as laws to address gender-based and domestic violence or to end child marriage – is being passed at an increasing rate, it is not necessarily being implemented or funded.

WFD is investigating and testing methodologies that would allow parliaments to combine gender analysis and PLS for early identification of inequalities in the funding, roll out and/or implementation of legislation designed to address gender inequalities. This will require the collection and analysis of evidence, such as sex-disaggregated data or qualitative assessments of government services. It will also require policy makers to challenge assumptions about how a government programme or service should be structured, and to ask detailed questions about who is affected by a problem or issue and how they would be impacted by proposed solutions.

V. PARTNERSHIPS

We will also engage more often and systematically with other leading international and national implementers, sharing updates on our programmes, offering insights and advice to others, listening and learning from others. We will give particular consideration to how we can better complement the work of those supporting executive institutions, judicial and education institutions, and the media, as they are critical actors in our theory of change but are rarely direct recipients of our assistance.

As a UK-based organisation that looks to share the UK experience, we will place particular focus on enhancing our partnerships with other leading UK institutions, including the UK parliaments and assemblies, other key independent institutions and the UK's academic institutions and think tanks.

The Commonwealth will continue to be a strong focus for WFD in the coming years, and we will build on our previous collaboration with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (international and UK branch), while also liaising with Commonwealth Secretariat and its networks. We will establish relationships with institutions based throughout the Commonwealth, including parliaments, electoral management bodies, parliamentary training centres.

WFD remains a committed partner and collaborator with other European institutions. We implement many programmes on behalf of the EU, and will continue working on EU projects to the greatest extent possible following the UK's planned exit from the EU. We are a leading member of the European Partnership for Democracy (www.epd.org), a network of like-minded European NGOs supporting democracy and good governance around the world.

WFD intends to expand its collaboration with actors based in the US, including USAID, the State Department, the National Endowment

Promoting respect for human rights and responsible business

The UK has been a global leader in promoting responsible business practice and respect for human rights by the private sector. The UK was the first country to publish a Business and Human Rights National Action Plan in 2013; the 2016 update noted the importance of dialogue between business, parliament and civil society and tackling negative aspects of business activity on women, minorities and children. Scotland and Northern Ireland have added their own business and human rights frameworks. The UK Parliament's Joint Committee of Human Rights continues to scrutinise Government performance in this area.

The UK has also engaged internationally, working with the Government of Colombia to develop a National Action Plan while also supporting the 'Nairobi Process' initiative and the Myanmar Centre for Responsible Business.

WFD has long supported parliaments and political parties to play an active role in the defence of human rights, strengthening human rights committees, promoting legislative reform, and working with parties to formulate progressive human rights policies. WFD plans to engage parliaments, political parties, civil society, national human rights institutions, businesses and government agencies to adhere to core business and human rights principles and adopt associated frameworks. WFD will explore partnerships, regional approaches, and opportunities to participate in business and human rights networks and forums and integrate activities on business and human rights into its programming.

for Democracy, NGOs such as the National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute, and IFES, for profits, universities, and think tanks such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

VII. ORGANISATIONAL CAPABILITY

As an executive Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB) sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), WFD's engagement and direct links with UK parliaments and political parties will remain critical to our work. WFD will remain a UK-based organisation with a growing network of country offices. We will continue to strengthen the capabilities that allow us to deliver effective programmes that respond to local contexts and adapt to changing circumstances.

The unique role of UK political parties at WFD

The UK parties have been an integral part of WFD since its founding in 1992. In fact, the organisation was initially created at the initiative of the UK parties, who felt they could best support the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe at the end of the Cold War through an independent, multi-party foundation.

Six representatives of the UK parties sit on WFD's Board of Governors alongside four independent, non-partisan members. Party governors represent all UK political parties engaged in WFD programming, and are represented based on the number of MPs they have in the House of Commons and their national vote totals.

Key advisory and programme support functions, including a technical advisory unit, dedicated monitoring and evaluation, finance, communications, business development, and operations departments will remain based in the UK. They will support streamlined country offices, managed primarily by local staff with strong relevant networks and skills. We will rely on our local staff to develop their invaluable country knowledge, relationships, and cultural and linguistic skills in order to ensure a strong understanding of the local political context. We will also aim to

collaborate with our partners to formulate and test new approaches, encourage local stakeholders who might not otherwise come together to meet, break down misconceptions and distrust, and join together to advance reform. The mixture of international and local, in-house and external expertise, drawn from WFD's cadre of Associates, will give us flexibility and credibility in our programming.

A dedicated M&E unit advises and guides programme teams on designing, monitoring, and evaluating their work using innovative approaches, like our outcome matrix tool, tailored to specific programme contexts. The research unit undertakes original research and collaborates with external experts to produce and share knowledge that informs our programme decision-making. In combination with our internal and external audit functions, these units ensure that we continue to adapt and strengthen our programme delivery and our reputation as a learning organisation.

