WESTMINSTER
FOUNDATION FOR
DEMOCRACY

Programme Completion Report

April 2012 - March 2015

Accountable Grant and Grant in Aid

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List of Acronyms

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ALN	African Liberal Network
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BMD	Botswana Movement for Democracy
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CEE	Central and Eastern European Network for Gender Issues
D66	Democrats 66 (Netherlands)
DA	Democratic Alliance (South Africa)
DUA	Democrat Union of Africa
DFID	Department for International Development
DKO	Dar al Khibra (Iraq Research Centre)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EALA	East Africa Legislative Assembly
ECA	Europe and Central Asia
EET	External Evaluation Team
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development (Zambia)
FDP	Free Democratic Party (Germany)
FER	Final Evaluation Report
GTU	Gender Technical Unit
IPA	Instruments for Pre-Accession
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender
M&E	Monitoring & Evaluation
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NABRO	National Assembly Budget and Research Office (Nigeria)
NCA	National Constituent Assembly (Tunisia)
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PFM	Public Finance Management
PCR	Programme Completion Report
SDA	Stranka Demokrastske Akcije (Party of Democratic Action – Bosnia)
VFM	Value for Money
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy - Netherlands)
WFD	Westminster Foundation for Democracy

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1. Introduction

1.1 Overview of programme

The Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) is an independent public body sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and established in 1992. Working with and through partner organizations, WFD strengthens institutions of democracy, principally political parties (through UK political parties), parliaments and citizens' engagement in democratic processes.

The UK government provided up to £16.5 million[1] over 3 years, between 2012/13 and 2014/15 comprising up to £6 million of Accountable Grant from DFID and grant-in-aid of £3.5 per annum from FCO. This provided an average fund per annum of £5.0 million for programmes, staff and overheads and up to £500k for capacity building and innovative programmes. As part of the FCO and DFID's Structural Reform Plans, the UK Government committed to using the aid budget to support the development of local democratic institutions and civil society groups, enhance links with democratic political parties overseas, and improve the impact of the UK's promotion of human rights. FCO and DFID grants supported the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) to contribute to the strengthening of democratic governance, through building capable, accountable and responsive institutions.

Programme funds were allocated 50:50 to the political parties (including party staff costs) and parliamentary programmes.[2] By agreement with FCO and DFID, funding for sister party projects were funded by FCO's grant-in-aid. In June 2012, WFD's Board of Governors approved long-term strategic programmes operated by the regional teams in countries/regions with an overall three-year budget of £4,524,429. The Board also approved political party projects, a number of which were designed as multi-year interventions.

12[3] parliamentary programmes, focusing on improving democratic representation in 9 countries as well as 3 regional interventions, were funded under this grant. Many of these programmes built on previous WFD projects, with interventions focusing on post-conflict countries and weak or emerging democracies. Country and project selection were done in consultation with DFID and FCO, as well as the WFD Board. WFD political party projects were determined by political party officers based on sister party relationships and requests for assistance, with feedback solicited from DFID and FCO, and approval required by the WFD Board. In many instances, party projects built on previously established party relationships, allowing for a strong partnership during the intervention.

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[1] Actual final cost to DFID/FCO was £15,715,988, see Annex 2 for details.
[2] This includes programmes working with a) parliaments only, b) civil society, and c) integrated work with both parties and parliament.
[3] This number was adjusted to 11 projects in October 2013 following a review of the effectiveness of the Ukraine Project 'Strengthening Citizens' Capacity for Democratic Participation'.

1.2 Summary of key achievements

- As a result of WFD's work with the Arab Women's Network for Parity and Solidarity, parliaments in both Tunisia and Morocco have passed legislation that protects and promotes women's rights.

- Space has been created for citizens to participate in the budgeting process at the local level in Kenya and budgets have been adjusted to reflect local concerns and interests.

- A government coalition has been formed in Bosnia-Herzegovina more quickly, resulting in less political dysfunction, as a result of the efforts of WFD.

- The Botswana political system is the most competitive it has ever been through the support provided to political parties in that country.

- Parliaments in Jordan and Kurdistan have the capacity to produce evidence-based legislative analysis for the first time.

- Through a network fostered by WFD, parliamentary committees in the Western Balkans are using their authority to monitor their respective governments and to press for allocation of Instruments for Pre-Accession (IPA) funding.

- Two committees in Kurdistan held hearings on Kurdistan regional government performance, representing the first instances of the Kurdish parliament using this type of oversight powers.

- Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), a small party in Zambia, developed its membership and policy messaging to the extent that it was able to secure third position in a snap presidential by-election, securing the psychologically important victory of pushing the old ruling party into fourth place.

- Following a regional committee hearing supported by WFD, the Kyrgyz government agreed to finance the rebuilding of the water and sewage system of the town of Naryn, potentially improving water services for over 40,000 people.

- The African Liberal Network General Assembly adopted a human rights framework, committing the network to clear policy positions regarding free and compulsory primary and secondary education for all children and laws prohibiting any discrimination on the basis of sexuality.

- Five pieces of anti-corruption legislation were passed by the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2014 following sustained engagement by WFD with political party officials.

2. Final Outcome Assessment

2.1 Discussion of logframe

The final, DFID-approved corporate logframe was completed in September 2012; several months after the WFD Board had approved the initial programmes plans for parliamentary and political party activities. The logframe itself was created in the absence of any in-house monitoring and evaluation (M&E) expertise and with little to no input from DFID. The result was more an aggregation of WFD's constituent parts than a strategic representation of WFD's intended contribution.

As early as January 2013, once WFD had recruited an M&E Advisor, it became clear that the logframe would need revision. The new M&E Advisor spent the next 15 months mapping the organisation's activities and fashioning a new logframe that she felt would better reflect the work the Foundation was undertaking. Email correspondence from the period suggests that this was done with full DFID knowledge and support. Upon her departure in April 2014, the M&E Advisor left instructions with the M&E officer that the new, 'approved[4]' logframe should be reported against in the upcoming second WFD Annual Report (June 2014).

Preparations for the second Annual Review, conducted by the external evaluation team (EET), exposed the variance between the formal DFID logframe and the new WFD logframe. WFD's new DFID contact (the three previous contacts had all left their posts) noted that DFID had no official record of approving a new logframe and advised WFD and the EET to work against the original logframe, as obtaining approval for changes at that stage would be near impossible.

Nevertheless, the new DFID Governance Advisor acknowledged the deficiencies in the September 2012 logframe and agreed to a logframe review at the end of 2014 within the constraints of DFID's approval policies. This meant that while indicator language, milestones, and targets could be adjusted within reason, no significant changes at impact or outcome level were allowed. The resulting logframe (attached as annex) therefore remains a compromise document. The recent Final Evaluation report (FER) argues that "DFID's hesitancy to revisit outcome statements may also inadvertently reduce the incentives [for WFD] to specify what institutional change looks like and to unpack the binding constraints that limit reform."[5] This Programme Completion Report (PCR) will articulate the specific areas in which the various statements and indicators do not sufficiently capture the depth of WFD's contribution to strengthening democracies in the countries in which it operates and attempt to provide a far richer picture of the accomplishments of WFD's work over these past three years.

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[4] In email exchanges, WFD's DFID contact never formally approves the logframe but offers no resistance to the implication from the WFD M&E Advisor that the new logframe should be viewed as final.
[5] DFID. "Impact Evaluation of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD). May 2015. p. 26.

2.2 Final outcome assessment

Impact: *Strengthened democracy, stability and good governance and improved citizen engagement, focused particularly in emerging/developing democracies and post-conflict countries and fragile states.*

Indicator		Target 2015 (cumulative)	Actual 2015 (cumulative)
1	Number of instances where WFD-supported parliaments in which elected representatives are able to carry out representative, oversight or legislative roles.	10 instances that demonstrate open, accountable and transparent parliamentary processes improve the quality of government policy, legislation and its implementation.	**Total = 8** Kyrgyzstan x 1 Western Balkans x5 Iraq x 1 Kenya x 1
2	Number of WFD-supported political parties which are demonstrating policy-based messaging and campaigning that reflects the electorates' views and offers them a credible choice.	20 political parties with defined policy choices; which reflect electorates' views; offering them a credible choice and communicating this effectively.	21
3	Number of instances where WFD-supported civil society organisations with capacity to advocate, form effective coalitions, develop evidence-based policy recommendations, represent interest groups and contributing effectively to the policy making process	11 instances that demonstrate civil society organisations contributing to legislation and legislatures opening the policy making process up to citizens	**Total = 10** Kyrgyzstan x 2 Iraq x 1 Kenya x 3 DRC x 1 MENA Policy x 2

Impact Commentary

By consequence of the process of its creation, the corporate logframe has levels within it that are differentiated more by degrees than by distinct, measurable achievements. In essence, each of the three levels (Impact, Outcome, and Output) contains restatements of the same underlying outcomes that WFD aimed to achieve. What changes as one ascends the tiers is the complexity of the description, not the scope or nature of the result being captured. Even with the edits agreed

at the end of 2014, there remain areas of overlap where the prospect of double-counting or even triple-counting is apparent.

This has significant implications for how WFD, and its external evaluators, can assess progress against our stated indicators. Particularly in the indicators at Impact level, one is confronted by a proverbial laundry list of actions that WFD's interventions will inspire, ranging from the general to the specific. To counter this, we have decided to develop a typology, consistent with our new 2015 corporate logframe, for interpreting the language contained within the indicators presented here. It seeks to adhere to the spirit of the 2012-14 logframe while demonstrating some discernible distinctions between the result levels. To do otherwise risks allowing the limitations of the logframe to mask the significant achievements that WFD has been able to catalyse with a relatively small investment of HMG funds.

In practice, we have chosen to interpret Impact level 'instances' as examples where WFD's interventions have secured a tangible change in people's experience with democracy; such as budget reallocations, electoral changes, improved services, more competitive democratic systems etc. This restrictive typology means that over the course of the grant WFD, as a whole, narrowly missed achieving its stated targets at this level. Despite this, we feel that the instances included in this calculation more genuinely reflect the depth and breadth of WFD's programming and offer DFID and FCO a better representation of how their investment in parliaments and political parties over the last three years has helped to improve democratic governance and strengthen citizen engagement.

Over the grant period, a selection of instances where WFD demonstrated a significant impact includes:

> In the Balkans, WFD's support of transparent oversight by parliaments across the region has enabled Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) to hold effective public hearings on Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) funds. The hearing in BiH was the first joint hearing by the country's three parliamentary entities and represented a significant step forward following the European Union suspension of IPA funds in October 2013. The EU used the opportunity of the hearing to announce the lifting of the suspension of IPA funding (mainly towards flood relief) and reinforce the need to ensure that a mechanism is established to facilitate the coordination between the entities to manage the effective utilisation of the funds.

> In Iraq, DKO policy papers have contributed to significant legislative and policy changes (6 of which contributed to legislation and a further 4 which resulted in internal parliamentary or ministerial policy changes).

> WFD's regional policy work has built greater acceptance and demand for public policy analysis in the MENA region based on evidence, and increased the quality of the analysis available to MPs, committees and other policy-makers (including blocs/parties). The project has already resulted in recommendations being adopted by MPs in Tunisia and the constitutional committee in Egypt.

Following a regional committee hearing supported by WFD, the Kyrgyz government agreed to finance the rebuilding of the water and sewage system of the town of Naryn, potentially improving water services for over 40,000 people.

70 public hearings were held in Kenya where citizens voiced their priorities to the 10 pilot County Assemblies. Further, 49 CSO petitions, memoranda, letters and four legal suits were initiated by CSOs during November 2013 – September 2014.   In addition, budget reallocations of £11,163,819.15 were made towards development sectors such as health, education, water, agriculture, roads, children, youth and social services amongst others for the benefit of citizens.

In Zambia, in constituencies where FDD have undertaken trainings as part of the FDD Provincial Support Programme average vote increased by 542% on average between the 2011 presidential election and the 2015 presidential by-election. This compares to a national average vote increase of 124% for FDD.

In June 2014, the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted five pieces of anti-corruption laws authorising the creation of specialised anti-crime and anti-corruption units. According to Transparency International, about 35 percent of citizens in BiH said corruption has increased over the past two years, and 70 percent said authorities are ineffective in combatting corruption. Officials in Brussels have made it clear that the EU expects stronger efforts in prosecuting corruption in BiH, noting that citizens' demands expressed during the February protests mirror those of the EU. These laws were a direct result of a project supported by the Labour Party that raised awareness of the importance of tackling corruption.

At the 2013 ALN General Assembly Conference, the membership unanimously accepted the 'Zanzibar Declaration on Jobs and Growth in Africa', a liberal policy on trade for Africa promoting free markets, crafted by ALN delegates. The ALN is subsequently working with individual parties in the network to help them incorporate this policy into their own party manifestos. At the 2014 General Assembly, the ALN will support all 35 member parties in adopting a human rights framework seeking to address issues surrounding women, youth and the lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender (LGBT) communities.

Outcome: *More effective accountable and representative parliaments and political parties in the countries in which WFD works.*

	Indicator	Target 2015 (cumulative)	Actual 2015 (cumulative)
1	Number of instances where WFD-supported legislatures demonstrate more open, accountable and transparent conduct of parliamentary processes evidenced by improvements to the quality of policy, legislation and its implementation.	10 instances where WFD-supported legislatures demonstrate the political will, structures, systems and procedures that allow for effective legislative, oversight and representative processes.	**Total = 10** Kyrgyzstan x 1 Western Balkans x1 Jordan x 2 Iraq x 2 Kenya x 3 Nigeria x 1 Pakistan x 1
2	Number of WFD-supported political parties who have strengthened their policy-development, messaging, communication and campaigning capabilities.	20 political parties with policy development processes in place and who are communicating and campaigning on these with the electorate.	21
3	Number of examples of WFD-supported civil society, including women's groups having a demonstrable influence on legislation, e.g. through advocacy, and policy recommendations.	11 examples where CSOs advocate, form effective coalitions, develop evidence-based policy recommendations, represent constituency interests and/or contribute to the policy making process effectively.	**Total = 10** Jordan x 1 Iraq x 2 MENA Policy x 2 Kenya x 3 DRC x 1 Pakistan x 1
4	WFD demonstrates improved strategic focus, internal coordination, improved analysis and M&E and VFM frameworks.	As demonstrated by independent evaluation, WFD is a more effective, strategic, coherent organisation focused on transparency, VFM, results and generation and dissemination of quality evidence to deliver democracy goals in support of HMG	"WFD has developed relatively robust delivery mechanisms for achieving its strategic outputs efficiently, utilizing the higher levels of grant funding to operationalize a larger programme using a mix of network and bi-lateral relationship modalities. There is clear evidence of improved coordination with FCO, DFID and

			international democracy assistance actors in the countries visited."[6]

Outcome Commentary

It is at Outcome level that the indicators in our logframe best reflect the results of our work. This is not to say that they adequately encompass the full breadth and depth of the changes we have been able to facilitate but they do enable us to present a representative sample of our programme results. In keeping with the typology described in the section above, we have defined specific criteria for the inclusion of certain results in the table above.

The logframe at this level is chiefly interested in catalysing institutional reform both in our partner parliaments and parties and in WFD itself. We have therefore defined our outcomes to be instances where WFD secured institutional change within parliaments, political parties or civil society (in policy, behaviour, practice, etc.). This distinction results in our achieving our targets in three of the four outcomes, while slightly missing our target in the remaining area: civil society. In some ways, this is to be expected, given the attempts WFD made in 2013/4 to subsume this area of our work into the parliamentary programme when it became clear that civil society was not as substantial a focus of our activities as had initially been envisaged.

Over the grant period, some of the ways in which WFD has facilitated institutional change include:

In Kyrgyzstan, WFD has supported the Kyrgz Parliament's development and successful adoption of regulations on engagement with constituents and mechanisms for their interaction. The principles have been captured in a handbook providing MPs and parliamentary staff guidance on the committee inquiry process and will guide all committees on how to conduct effective committee inquiries.

Before the intervention by the Kenya programme in FY 2013/14, the County Assemblies passed the FY2013/14 budgets without the benefit of public participation. After training and mentoring by the programme the 10 pilot County Assemblies all passed their FY 2014/15 budgets having held public hearings, considered the views of the citizens and followed the formats required by law. Their considerations included the aforementioned re-allocations to the said sectors in Annex 4. Even after the completion of programme activities the Assemblies continue to hold systematic and institutionalized public hearings.

In Jordan, the new Integrity Committee established its mandate and approach with WFD's support, and has subsequently held at least 2 fact-finding missions and submitted a position paper on the Judiciary Independence bill. 75 MPs (50%) were engaged in evidence-based policy-making and oversight as demonstrated by the requests received

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[6] Impact Evaluation, 2015: 26.

from individual MPs and groups (committees/blocs) and the 36 research products delivered by the Research Centre established by WFD in June 2014.

In December 2014, the first non-budget related edict was submitted to the Provincial Assembly of Province Orientale in DRC. The edict, which seeks to grant equal rights for men and women to become chiefs, was presented by members from the women's MP and civil society representative group, Dyfcoside. It was the first time an edict had been submitted by a woman and had been jointly developed by MPs and civil society. The edict is currently undergoing parliamentary process before adoption.

As a result of WFD's implementation of the pilot module, Accounting for Gender in Nigeria – gender budget module, parliamentary staff from the five committees and staff from the National Assembly Budget and Research Office (NABRO) were able to apply the gender analysis knowledge to committee work. NABRO staff examined and analysed the gender allocations in the 2014 budget following the WFD-led training. NABRO plan to undertake this gender budget analysis exercise on an annual basis.

In Montenegro for the first time, the partner of the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru, the Socialist People's Party, has developed a structured youth academy with two developed training modules enhancing the knowledge and skill-base of their young activists.

In Zambia, FDD have promoted a campaign based on the party's policy platform rather than the personalities or traits of individual candidates. This was recognised externally when Media Monitoring Africa concluded "FDD's is the only [campaign] that does not feature the party prominently…FDD was concerned with the country and the people."

In Botswana, the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) believed campaigning efforts had been more effective as a result of earlier support in leadership, voter research, polling processes as well as close mentoring from Democratic Alliance from South Africa and the UK Lib-Dems campaign strategists in the period immediately preceding the 2014 elections. As a result the BMD has succeeded in becoming the main opposition party in the country.

The Labour Party worked closely with social democrats to help them organise and engage in regional networks such as the Arab Women's Network for Parity and Solidarity, specifically targeting aspirational women from across the region, offering training and mentoring from sitting women parliamentarians, trainers and activists. As a result of this work, the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) of Tunisia agreed an amendment to an article in the draft constitution which protects women's rights and guarantees gender parity in all elected bodies. The network also includes women from one of the major parties in the Moroccan Parliament which itself passed ground breaking legislation in 2014 which revised the criminal penal code so that rapists could no longer escape prosecution by

marrying their victim. These developments in Tunisia and Morocco were only possible because women were represented, active and capable in the two parliaments.

3. Detailed Output Performance

3.1 Output summaries

Output 1: *Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertake their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.*

Indicator		Target 2015 (cumulative)	Actual 2015 (cumulative)
1.1	Number of instances where parliamentarians, individually or through a committee, conduct oversight, scrutinise budgets, or develop legislation in an inclusive and consultative manner	10 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where parliamentarians conduct effective oversight, financial scrutiny through consultation with citizens and interest groups on policy and legislation.	**Total = 31** Kyrgyzstan x 17 Western Balkans x 6 Pakistan x 1 Punjab Assembly Kenya x 7
1.2	Number of parliamentary services (e.g.. resource centres) supported by WFD that provide impartial and professional parliamentary support to elected representatives.	10 legislatures address structural, procedural issues and strengthen human resources capacity improving support to elected representatives	**Total = 17** Kyrgyzstan x 1 Western Balkans x 8 Jordan x 1 Iraq x 1 Pakistan x 1 EALA x 1 Nigeria x 1 DRC x 1 Tunisia x 1
1.3	Number of instances where women's political representation and participation is advanced through parliamentary engagement or reform.	6 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where women's political representation and participation is advanced.	**Total = 6** Jordan x 1 Iraq x 1 MENA Women x 2 DRC x 1 BiH x 1

Output Commentary

At Output level, the logframe for this programme suffers from overreach in terms of attempting to secure outcome level changes at the Output level. This was agreed by the DFID evaluation officer who was consulted during the logframe review in the autumn of 2014. However, as previous DFID

Annual Reviews had used these indicators, it seemed inappropriate to alter them substantially only three months prior to programme closure.

In interpreting these indicators, we have therefore taken a broad view, taking the language less at face value and instead approaching it from a more output-level perspective. In practice, this means we are essentially counting intermediate outcomes. What is aggregated in the table above and discussed in the examples below goes beyond standard output measurements but does not yet approach the level of sustained institutional change. We have defined these as instances where WFD secured specific applications of lessons from our support.

Examples of these from our parliamentary work include:

> WFD's Enhancing Women's Leadership in the MENA region programme has supported the successful establishment of a Coalition of Arab Women MPs against Domestic Violence. The coalition works on a regional framework that embraces initiatives on domestic violence legislation, thereby overseeing and coordinating national level progress in a more structured manner. Momentum from the Coalition has triggered domestic violence legislative initiatives in Lebanon, Tunisia and reform of Jordan's current legislation.

> In Kyrgyzstan, regional committee hearings (RCHs) were held in Osh and Naryn oblasts by the Human Rights Committee on labour migrants and the Agrarian Committee on water supply. These hearings enabled interactions and discussions on specific policies and pieces of legislation between parliamentary committees and regional CSOs.

> WFD, in collaboration with National Institute of Legislative Studies (NILS), has developed a module on gender budgeting titled "Accounting for Gender in Nigeria". It was piloted with parliamentary staff and will be available for the National Assembly as part of the induction for new MPs following the 2015 parliamentary elections.

> In Pakistan, secretariat staff within the Punjab Assembly was trained on report writing and minute taking, as well as on committee preparations, in advance of a newly elected assembly. In conducting these trainings, WFD partnered with the Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services (PIPS) to ensure that the skills and processes follow Pakistan's parliamentary practices.

> Faced with a difficult political situation within the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA), WFD focused its efforts on building the capacity of the technical and professional staff of the legislature. While much of the Assembly's work is conducted through committees, WFD's baseline assessment revealed that the staff had little experience or expertise in this area. Tailored trainings on the function and responsibilities of staff within committee systems were delivered to over 80% of the Assembly's staff.

> In the DRC, WFD helped the regional assembly of Province Orientale understand and adapt to the requirements of the country's decentralisation and devolution programme. The WFD programme worked with the professional staff of the senate and national parliament through the   Réseau   Congolais   des   Personnels   des   Parlements

(RCPP) to share their experiences and expertise with the staff of Province Orientale. This has included training on roles and responsibilities within the system and additional work on building IT skills to facilitate communication with partners in Kinshasa and elsewhere.

The Kenya programme finalized 3 national laws on devolution and Standing Orders currently utilized by more than 2,500 Members of the 47 County Assemblies. This was achieved in collaboration with the Departmental Committee on Local Authorities of the 10th Parliament, Transition Authority and the Parliamentary Centre of Canada. The 3 devolution laws and Assembly standing orders established institutional frameworks and practice that will be sustained in Kenya.

In Jordan, 3 constituencies saw the first ever constituency visits from their MPs who are among 17 women MPs in Parliament who are more effectively organised as part of a Women's Caucus.

The formation of a coalition of women MPs to combat violence against women in MENA – the only such coalition in the region, which gained rapid momentum throughout 2014 securing membership from eleven countries (Libya, Jordan, Sudan, Lebanon, Egypt, Bahrain, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Iraq, and Djibouti). The coalition is recognised by the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU) and hosted inside the premises of the Jordanian Parliament.

The coalition introduced an *Arab Day to Combat Violence against Women (12th of January)*, a day of remembrance for those who are victims of gender based violence. Additionally, the coalition called for the adoption of an Arab Convention on preventing and combating violence against women (similar to the Istanbul Convention adopted by the Council of Europe) as well as to activate the role of the Arab Court for Human Rights in protection of women from gender based violence. These are innovative ideas that helped put the coalition at the forefront of improving legislation and operational frameworks to combat violence against women on regional and national level.

An integrated training was held in Bosnia for women bloggers who intend to be politically active. This training has resulted in over 70% of the candidates who attended our workshop actively blogging on a variety of political issues. Buka has also launch a competition for best political blogger, which has received more than 1,000 entries.

In Tunisia, the establishment of a Public Accounts Committee (PAC) in the new rules of procedures was the direct result of WFD's induction programme and the advice provided by WFD experts.

Output 2: *Minimum of 20 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, have strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.*

Indicator		Target 2015 (cumulative)	Actual 2015 (cumulative)
2.1	Number of political parties developing and delivering coherent policy-based messages to citizens.	Minimum of 20 political parties are communicating policy-based messages to citizens.	21
2.2	Number of parties who have developed their organisational structures, and have the skills and/or techniques to campaign and communicate with the electorate.	Minimum of 20 political parties have developed their organisational structures and are campaigning and communicating with the electorate.	30
2.3	Political parties accessing and sharing experiences in regional and international networks of like-minded parties.	20 instances of how best-practice is used to develop parties' capacity, with a focus on women & youth. 15 regional events with representatives from political parties from a selection of countries.	50 24

Output Commentary

WFD-funded political party work demonstrates numerous examples of their sister parties and networks applying lessons from British and international experience:

> In South Africa, the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) have modernised their internal communications systems, allowing for the first time the National Headquarters to communicate directly with party members rather than having information trickle down through the party's provincial and local structures.

> As a result of two of our programmes in Uganda and Zambia, the UK Small Parties Office's partners have developed their own in-house database systems allowing them to manage their membership more effectively and use data to inform strategy for their respective election campaigns.

Building upon the work conducted with sister-parties in Georgia and Moldova on political communication tools, the Liberal Democrats developed a peer-to-peer exchange programme. This enabled the Georgian Republican Party and Free Democrats, and the Moldovan Liberal Reformist Party and Liberal Party to liaise with key decision makers on coalition matters within respective liberal parties. This was their first experience of working with sister-parties internationally, and involved building political linkages with the Dutch VVD and D66, the German FDP and the Danish Venstre and Radikale Ventre parties. Through providing expert briefings, the programme strengthened the parties' knowledge of coalition government, and led to the publication of a booklet on best practice for coalition building in transitional democracies. By providing ongoing mentorship, the programme allowed the Moldovan Liberal Reformist Party to gain membership in the Liberal International.

Labour's sister party in Moldova recorded a 20 per cent increase in support in Chisinau which they credit to the improved capacity of party activists who had the skills to organise an extensive door-to-door campaign. The party now recognises the importance of face-to-face contact with voters and is developing a database recording citizens' voting intentions which will be updated year round and not just at election time.

In 2001 the Liberal Democrats founded the Africa Liberal Network (ALN), a group of 35 ideologically aligned parties of which 32% are in government, 40% are in opposition and 26% are still embryonic. The ALN has facilitated the development of long-term projects and trust relationships with parties, thereby providing far greater access and influence on decision makers than ad hoc or cross-party work.

The use of South-South and peer-to-peer interventions is also a crucial step towards a sustainable network. The Director of the LibDems International Office noted that the network does not rely wholly on technical expertise from the UK. A technical expert from the DA had been engaged in the support provided to the BMD in Botswana. That expert stated that the knowledge of the DA with regard to the Southern African context and the use of scientific campaign techniques allowed him to provide context specific advice to the BMD in a timely manner.

The Labour party's African network demonstrates political acumen betting on longer-term returns as women move into stronger leadership positions, noting 'the Women's Academy for Africa is currently a network of 11 Labour, Socialist, and Social Democratic parties from 9 countries that seek to promote gender equality, empowerment and political advancement of women in Africa'.

Stranka Demokrastske Akcije (Party of Democratic Action – Bosnia, or SDA) party activists in Bosnia noted that as a result of applying campaigning techniques learnt from the Conservatives they had increased their party membership in key local branches. This had contributed in 2014 to maintaining the SDA in power.

In Ghana, the NPP accredited its electoral capacity to the Democrat Union of Africa (DUA) support in campaign techniques and post-campaign reviews, arguing that the relationship had enabled it to become more effective at voter contact techniques.

Output 3: *Civil society organisations in 5 countries, and women's groups in 3 countries, engage effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.*

Indicator	Target 2015 (cumulative)	Actual 2015 (cumulative)
3.1 Number of instances that demonstrate evidence-based advocacy by CSOs on relevant policy issues within legislatures	5 instances where WFD-supported CSOs have developed skills to produce policy-relevant evidence and/or engage with parliaments on their issues.	**Total = 17** MENA Policy x 3 Jordan x 1 Iraq x 1 Kenya x 10 (petitions) Nigeria x 1 (tracking tool) DRC x 1
3.2 Number of instances that demonstrate increased access to and engagement with legislatures and other stakeholders by women or other marginalised groups	3 instances where women's group or other marginalised groups have increased capacity and access to engage with parliaments, political parties and other stakeholders effectively.	**Total = 5** MENA Women x 1 Nigeria x 1 DRC x 1 BiH x 1

Output Commentary

While civil society work emerged as less of a priority than originally envisaged, those countries where WFD engaged on these issues were able to show some strong results. WFD is developing something of a niche in facilitating linkages between MPs, parliaments, and issue-based CSOs. Some examples are as follows:

DKO, a WFD supported research centre in Iraq, produced 41 policy papers. Moreover, DKO's education expert has been invited by the chair of the education committee to sit on a sub-committee and to provide regular expertise.

WFD is working at the regional level to build greater acceptance and demand for public policy analysis in the MENA region based on evidence, and to increase the quality of the analysis available to MPs, committees and other policy-makers (including blocs/parties). The project has already resulted in recommendations being adopted by MPs in Tunisia and the constitutional committee in Egypt, and our partner in Yemen has become a key source of expertise and analysis for the parliament.

The Kenya programme capacitated citizens' representatives who have been able to demand, influence and engage at a substantive level with high quality input and evidence with the County Assemblies, County Executives and Judiciary in Kenya. This is evident in

the reallocations they have influenced on behalf of fellow county citizens and legal suits instituted to enhance compliance PFM Act 2012.

In Jordan, 3 youth leaders led 100 youth in advocating for changes to the elections law with several MPs.

In Tunisia, one of WFD's partners received an official request from UNAIDS to join his action and to partner to organize the workshop where the policy recommendations he developed on tackling drug use in the country will be presented to representatives and other stakeholders; this shows that the capacity of our trainees has been enhanced. This was demonstrated by the interest his work has been generating amongst MPs and key actors, including highly credible international organisations (UNAIDS).

In Egypt, our local partner the Arab Forum for Alternatives (AFA) provided support with policy recommendations to the Committee responsible for drafting the constitution.

The Yemeni Parliament requested from WFD's local partner (Tamkeen) the development of two manuals on Legislative Analysis and Policy Making; these have been developed by experts from Tamkeen and overseen by an internal commission formed by the parliament and composed of MPs.

Development of a Model Law protecting women against domestic violence, that contains the provisions that Parliaments are required or recommended to introduce into their domestic legislation and designed to be adaptable to the needs of each country in the region. It facilitates and helps systematize provision of legislative assistance by the coalition as well as facilitates review and amendment of existing legislation and adoption of new legislation by parliaments themselves. The Model Law was submitted to the Arab League at the 35th Session of the Committee of Women in Cairo.

WFD established a women's group in DRC's Province Orientale composed of women MPs and civil society representatives. In overcoming local and hierarchical barriers, the members formally named the group Dyfcoside and worked together to advance issues on social justice and gender equality. With policy development and presentation skills gained through WFD trainings the members submitted an edict on women's chieftaincy to the provincial assembly and are working on two further edicts.

In Nigeria, local organisation BudgIT developed an online gender budget-tracking tool. CSOs and communities from across the six geopolitical zones were able to track expenditure of gender budgets by applying the online tracker tool. CSOs gained the requisite skills to identify gender projects within their communities and loaded the information onto the BudgIT website. The programme supported CSOs with the skills from the six geo-political zones with tools and skills to obtain evidence of gender budget expenditure and hold elected leaders to account.

WFD facilitated a forum to enable Nigerian women MPs to identify solutions and opportunities on how CSOs are able to provide critical evidenced based analysis in the

legislative process. MPs advocated for the re-establishment of the Gender Technical Unit (GTU) as one solution (see MPs action plan, June 2013).

Output 4: *Enhanced WFD's strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepened WFD's technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and development, improved programme management, communication tools etc.); reformed WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD's Change Agenda (December 2011).*

Indicator		Target 2015 (cumulative)	Actual 2015 (cumulative)
4.1	The extent to which the organisation demonstrates results, value for money, and sustainability of outcomes through improved M&E, VFM and communications frameworks and processes.	As evidenced by independent evaluation, M&E/VFM frameworks and communication tools enable WFD to demonstrate results of parliamentary, cross-party and party to party programmes, feeding back into improved innovative programmes in future and contributing to best practice internationally.	"WFD has benefitted from implementing a more coherent M&E strategy and plan and is seeing tangible returns to reporting and learning as a result of stronger output monitoring. Country teams all commented on the noticeably higher quality of M&E support offered by HO in the past year and it was clear that many field staff were beginning to see M&E more as a benefit than a burden."[7]
4.2	The extent to which the organisation integrates improved strategic planning and coordination between its parliamentary and political party programming to promote democratic, transparent, and	As evidenced by independent evaluation, 10 strategic programmes (parliamentary, cross-party and party-to-party) evidence strengthened democratic, transparent and	"Greater collaboration within WFD is a good thing but WFD is acutely aware that integrated programming presents stiff coordination challenges Even if both parts of WFD are doing

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[7] Impact Evaluation, 2015: 26.

	accountable political processes.	accountable political processes.	the same thing with the same results in mind there are no guarantees the results will be greater than the sum of the parts."[8]

Output Commentary

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 in the following ways:

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 knowledge and 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

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[8] Impact Evaluation, 2015: 46.

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, with 2015-16 seen as an important first step in securing changes both in practice and in organisational culture.

3.2 Output Self-Assessment Scoring

Score	Output Description
A++	Outputs substantially exceeded expectation
A+	Outputs moderately exceeded expectation
A	Outputs met expectation
B	Outputs moderately did not meet expectation
C	Outputs substantially did not meet expectation

Output	Self-Assessment Score
Output 1	A+
Output 2	A+
Output 3	A+
Output 4	A

4. Assumptions and Risks

4.1 Assumptions from Logframe

Assumption	Discussion
OUTCOME	
1. Political will exists to embed the development of capacity, skills and systems into the country's political processes	The WFD Final Evaluation has rightly identified the concept of 'political will' as little more than "shorthand"[9] for a huge variety of issues and challenges. Moreover, the idea that such a statement could hold across the huge number of countries where WFD has worked during this grant period is unlikely. The reality is that WFD's experience has been mixed. There have been countries and partner institutions where the 'political will' for reform and change has been high and the successes outlined in the sections above are testament to that cooperation. Likewise, there have been circumstances where the level of commitment from partners and beneficiaries has been insufficient. WFD has worked to mitigate these instances but ultimately we are in these countries to support democratic transition, not to unilaterally instigate it.
2. That evidence of DFID's contribution, through the use of the Westminster model, can be attributed clearly in states undergoing complex changes post conflict.	This is a similarly complex assumption to test. In most of the contexts where WFD has worked during this grant period, our interventions have been targeted at political parties, parliaments, or civil society organisations working with parliament. This focus enables us to readily define our niche within even complex donor environments, avoiding some of the attribution problems endemic to governance interventions. That said, WFD could do more through its M&E to articulate clearly how its unique contribution, and hence DFID's, can be traced through from inputs through to outcomes.

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[9] Impact Evaluation, 2015: 47.

3. All major stakeholders need to be engaged in the process in order to achieve the outcomes. Working with just parliaments, for example, is not sufficient to achieve the outcomes.	This is more of a principle than an assumption but it has certainly held true. Our work in Kenya for instance demonstrated that our focus on the County Assemblies alone will only take us so far down the reform path. Engaging the executive branch is critical to long-term success, but must be done thoughtfully, considering our trust-based relationships with parliaments as well as the amount of resources available to engage and/or include executive actors in our programmes. Likewise, in sensitive contexts like Iraq and Pakistan, WFD has built a reputation as a neutral convenor, capable of bringing together the stakeholders necessary for reform to proceed.
OUTPUT 1	
4. Politicians understand and act on responsibilities towards citizens.	This is very broad and cannot be definitively analysed across all the contexts where WFD works. Politicians, like everyone else, are a mixed bag. Some are excellent, motivated by the public interest; others are uninterested and motivated principally by private gain. WFD has made every effort to work with the former and strategically neutralise the latter.
5. Parliamentarians play a key function in legislation, oversight and scrutiny.	A somewhat fundamental assumption in our organisational theory of change is supported by evidence. However, in some instances, this assumption has not been true and WFD has been working to make it the reality. In the Punjab for instance, the parliamentary rules of procedure give the institution, and particularly its committees, very little remit for legislation, oversight, or scrutiny. The WFD programme was designed to support efforts to change this state of affairs and afford the Assembly more of a role.
OUTPUT 2	

6. Parties / politicians understand and act on responsibilities towards citizens.	This is similar to the assumption under Output 1. Political parties clearly have a vested interest in citizens perceiving them to be representative and acting responsibly. The UK political parties establish criteria for their sister party relationships to prioritise working with those political parties that have the citizens' best interests in mind.
OUTPUT 3	
7. The political structure permits for civil society to engage with political actors and institutions	We would argue that this assumption is principally focused on the legal framework to enable civil society interaction. The past three years have seen efforts to both expand and restrict CSO activities across WFD's portfolio. Those programmes working with CSOs have always sought to establish the relationships between politicians, political institutions, and civil society that would facilitate greater consultation.
OUTPUT 4	
8. Capacity development leads to behavioural change and improves core functions of parliament	This assumption responds to the need for this Output to generate benefits outside of WFD. It encompasses the assumption that a more effective, integrated WFD will implement better programming that will in turn generate better outcomes. Without a counterfactual, it is difficult to determine whether this has held. WFD has made improvements to its organisational management and programme implementation and monitoring. Evidence from the FER suggests that initial results from these changes have been positive, but that WFD still has improvements to make.
9. Westminster model is desirable/valid for target audience	Another important assumption within our organisational theory of change. It is to a certain extent, however, a self-fulfilling assumption. WFD tends to engage parliaments and parties who express an interest in learning from the UK experience. WFD does not impose its programming on countries without consultation. Even in those countries/regions (like MENA) without a Westminster connection, WFD has demonstrated how lessons on parliamentary practice can still be shared successfully.

10. Agreement within WFD on the terms of integrated programming and subsequent agreement of terms with FCO/DFID.	There is a theme running through the Triennial Review and other reviews over the past three years that WFD's internal divisions are an issue with a clear and uncontroversial solution. This is not true. The political parties are separate from the Foundation not through lack of central leadership or communication but because that is the way the Foundation was designed. While communication can be improved and other steps taken to build consensus, there is no getting around the fact that WFD is composed of five separate entities that, while they may cooperate, will never merge. This should be viewed as a strength of the organisation, not a weakness and any attempt to integrate programming must be an alliance of equals.

4.2 Risk management

WFD's risk management strategies have been under review throughout the grant period. An audit report produced in March 2013 assessed WFD's design and operational effectiveness in risk management as moderate. Efforts taken in the latter half of 2014-15 were designed to improve this result. The Foundation now has a Risk Management Framework as follows:

- The Board of Governors appoints the Chief Executive and Accounting Officer as Risk Director to ensure effective risk management. The Board's Audit and Risk Assurance Committee have responsibility for oversight of WFD's risk management.

- WFD's Risk Policy is reviewed regularly. An internal Risk Management Group chaired by the CEO is responsible for ensuring implementation of the risk policy at programme level, and for lesson learning. All corporate risks have assigned risk owners. Risk management is undertaken in accordance with best corporate practice.

- WFD's corporate Risk Register is incorporated into the annual Business Plan. The register is organised in line with WFD's three Strategic Objectives and monitored through quarterly reports to the Board on the Business Plan. The Audit and Risk Assurance Committee reviews WFD's approach to risk management at each meeting, and the Board undertakes an in-depth review of risk annually.

A future step will be ensuring that programme risk registers, which have heretofore existed somewhat independently of the corporate risk structure, are better integrated into overall risk management, with standardised guidance and oversight up and down the Foundation. Assumptions in future logframes will also be more explicitly linked to intervention-level risks, highlighting the relationship between the two in programme implementation.

5.   Value for Money

Like many organisations, WFD is still finding its way on the concept of value for money. While the organisation's innate instinct is to ensure the most efficient and effective use of our limited resources, tracking the data and generating the evidence to support our analysis remains a work in progress. The three sections below illustrate how WFD has and is addressing the three 'E's' of value for money.

5.1   Economy Analysis

Perhaps the easiest of the three concepts to explain and to track, economy refers to WFD's ability to deliver its inputs as cost-effectively as possible. To reduce its input costs, WFD of course follows standard practice with respect to procurement, ensuring that we access services at competitive or better than competitive rates. Moreover, we operate a travel and expenses policy in line with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office that requires all travel under 10 hours to be in economy class, except in specified circumstances. Strong financial controls ensure that costs incurred are verified and that potential for fraud is mitigated.

In addition to these standard practices, WFD also leverages its unique position and relationship with the UK Parliament and political parties to drive further cost efficiencies. For instance, WFD daily rates are 50% lower than prevailing commercial rates for parliamentary consultants, as much of WFD expert input is from parliamentary staff and political party members and MPs at below market rates. Likewise, WFD is able to secure function rooms within the Houses of Parliament for certain events, precluding the need for expensive London meeting space.

WFD's relationships with overseas parliaments and political parties also yield tangible benefits in the shape of cost-sharing arrangements and in-kind contributions. In March 2015, WFD secured the agreement of the Serbia parliament to host a WFD programme office within the parliamentary building for the upcoming three-year programme; an arrangement that will save WFD over £30,000 over the life of the grant, equivalent to roughly 5% of the programme budget. Other WFD programmes have received similar contributions from partners in the form of free programme office space (EALA), meeting space within parliamentary/assembly offices (Tunisia, Kyrgyzstan, DRC), and free staff time for programme activities.

To date, however, WFD has not instituted a systematic means of tracking and quantifying the benefits of its relationship with parliaments and political parties in the UK and elsewhere. As a result, WFD's recent business case to DFID could only confidently claim that the monetary value of time and services received for free would constitute 1% of our total DFID and FCO funding. This vastly underestimates our ability to generate cost savings. WFD is prioritising a new VfM framework to ensure that in future it can more adequately express its value for money case.

5.2   Efficiency Analysis

WFD's capacity to convert inputs into outputs is generally strong across the Foundation. On the one hand, our model relies heavily on fly-in technical assistance from UK experts, carrying with it the high cost of flights, accommodation, and subsistence. Nevertheless, independent evaluations, including the recent FER, finds that WFD as a whole, and the political parties in particular, have developed very efficient means for ensuring that these costs translate into tangible outputs for our partners. Assumptions that dilute the efficacy of other organisations' technical assistance models are outweighed by other, sometimes WFD-specific, factors that mitigate any concerns associated with this UK-centric model.

The parliamentary programmes, in addition to adopting the mentoring approach to technical assistance, have the added benefit of in-country presence that brings with it lower costs and often deeper understanding of the local political context. This arrangement is relatively new to WFD as an organisation and we cannot claim that we have yet perfected the model. Some flaws in programme management practice have led to duplication of efforts and reduced efficiency of delivery. WFD, however, has recognised this weakness and has developed a new staffing structure and new programme manual to address these concerns.

Both the parliamentary and the political party programmes make consistent use of the network approach in its programming, on the assumption that in certain contexts problems may be best addressed at regional or ideological levels rather than in national programming. While the DFID-funded midterm review expressed initial reservations with respect to this approach, the FER comes out strongly in favour of the network model, asserting: "The evaluators note that the network model appears to provide a relatively cost-efficient model to deliver outputs though this evaluation is not able to back up this claim with tangible costs. Regional networks appear to have helped WFD parliamentary programmes reduce their recurrent country costs enabling portfolio consolidation while broadening capacity to respond to strategically relevant opportunities as they arise."[10]

It is also worth noting that the deficiencies of the logframes at both corporate and programme levels also handicap WFD's VfM analysis here. As the FER has noted, WFD produces significantly more outputs than its logframe suggests in the form of strengthened relationships, new political spaces, and more engaged political actors that were not captured in our M&E systems. This distorts the level of efficiency we are able to achieve as we are essentially assessing our progress with one hand tied behind our back. It is hoped that the new VfM framework coupled with new M&E processes will enable WFD to present a more compelling case for the efficiency of its work.

5.3   Effectiveness Analysis

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[10] Impact Evaluation, 2015: 25.

Over the course of this three-year grant period, WFD's effectiveness has been the subject of intense scrutiny by both the FCO and DFID. The Triennial Review and DFID's external evaluation team have investigated and tested our reputation as a Foundation and our capacity to deliver results. We would suggest that the tone in which these reviews have been commissioned has been one of scepticism, particularly from the side of DFID. Both sets of reviews appear to have started from the premise that WFD is not effective, requiring us to convince them of our merits. Given the degree of change and turnover in the Foundation over that period, this has been a challenge.

Ultimately, however, we feel that, while we still have distance to travel, these reviews have found us to be a largely effective organisation that suffers principally from an inability to express its contribution rather than an inability to make one. The FER, which surveyed only a handful of our programming, found several significant examples of WFD making an effective contribution to the democratic development of the countries in which we worked. That WFD has been able to accomplish and evidence these results in the absence of systematic programming and M&E systems augurs well for the Foundation's ability to be more effective once the recent reforms have had time to bed into organisational culture and practice.

There is recognition also that WFD has certain specific reputational and programmatic characteristics that directly influence our ability to deliver effective programmes. For instance, the recent DFID Business Case acknowledges: "First, by virtue of its position in relation to the UK parliament and political parties, WFD has a unique convening power, which may enhance its effectiveness compared to other potential providers. Second, WFD work has in the past delivered some spill over effects via party and parliamentary networks, and generated worthwhile reforms in countries in which there is no physical programming presence (although these are not always DFID priority countries)."

All this being said, the FER notes that WFD, particularly the parliamentary side, would benefit from more outcome focused programme design and implementation practices. It suggests that the political parties enjoy a natural advantage in possessing an inherent overarching objective (i.e. winning elections) that helps to guide their sister party work. Going forward, the parliamentary programmes will aim to be more problem-driven to enable teams to focus tightly on outcomes rather than worrying principally about the delivery of outputs.

6. Sustainability and Learning

6.1 Prospects for Sustainability

Given the breadth of the interventions funded under this grant, ranging from sister party work in the eastern Caribbean to strengthening a sub-national Assembly in Pakistan, it is impossible to pass a definitive judgment on the prospects for sustainability of the results highlighted in this report. Each of the parliamentary programmes and each of the political party offices have produced reports in 2015 that speak to the specifics of sustainability within their own programming.[11] At corporate level, it is perhaps more apt to address the general factors that influence the likelihood of WFD programmes remaining sustainable beyond this grant period.

For one, WFD's preference for long-term engagement, particularly through the UK political parties, creates relationships that are conducive for programme outcomes being sustained. As the FER notes "WFD has, in some cases, provided lasting results that will most likely be sustainable beyond the life of the current programme. Where sustainable results have been achieved it is primarily the result of the following reasons: ownership, long-term relationships, empowered field staff, focus on outcomes, and exit strategies."[12] That these relationships have the added benefit of being ideologically grounded rather than abstract technocratic attachments only increases the incentives for change to be embedded.

The size of WFD's programmes also acts as factor in favour of sustainability. Contrary to other democracy assistance providers, we do not bring pre-packaged, comprehensive reform agendas that are costly both to implement and to maintain. Our lower financial and programmatic profile, a disadvantage when trying to demonstrate our impact, is an advantage when we exit, as partners never grow overly dependent on the financial inputs we provide.

Lastly, WFD's ability to be flexible within the boundaries of this grant was a significant contributor to the sustainability of several programme's results. As the FER states: "WFD is clearly focused on trying to ensure the sustainability of its capacity development interventions, negotiating with partners to ensure interventions are institutionally embedded and nationally resourced often as part of a replication plan or tacit exit strategy. At times such approaches have even led teams to become less pre-occupied with organising capacity-development interventions and meeting annual output milestones and targets and more interested in surfacing some of the real problems that are impeding institutional performance in their particular context." In Jordan, our ability to respond to the emerging interests of the Speaker has produced a new research centre that, while not without its detractors, has become accepted as an integral part of the parliament's reform agenda. The UK political parties, likewise, are able to tailor their activities directly to their sister parties, basing their interventions on sound, political judgment rather than textbook approaches.

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[11] Available on request.
[12] Impact Evaluation, 2015: iv.

6.2   Lessons learned through the programme

1. **WFD has a strong, enduring reputation:** In spite of WFD's programmatic transition and leadership turnover during this grant period, the Foundation remains a respected and sought after partner for parliaments and political parties across the world. WFD will aim to build on these relationships to achieve its objectives over the coming years.

2. **Better integration across WFD is necessary but complex:** There is a certain naivety that pervades the external reviews of WFD over this grant period that suggests that the integration issues within the Foundation are soluble by communication and better processes alone. This ignores the fact that WFD is in fact five separate entities working under one umbrella, a historical legacy that nevertheless has both positive and negative implications to our work. Efforts to bridge our divisions are inherently political and must accommodate the existing structures as opposed to challenging them.

3. **Relationships are where WFD makes its mark:** Unlike other development assistance actors who have the resources to buy influence, WFD must negotiate its place at the table, earning the trust and respect of our partners in parliaments and political parties. While this means that our impact is often less immediate, it also means that our influence is more pervasive and our successes more enduring.

4. **Networks are potent avenues for change:** Contrary to the findings of the mid-term review, WFD's focus on building peer-to-peer networks among MPs and/or parliamentary staff has delivered impressive results. Both the political parties and the parliamentary programmes have shown how difficult issues can be addressed at regional level and filtered down into national legislatures.

5. **It's important to address problems not just deliver outputs:** We recognize that WFD's approach comes across as overly procedural and too focused on delivering outputs at the expense of the big picture outcomes. While we would argue some of this has resulted from incomplete application of M&E, WFD as a whole acknowledges that we must be more explicit in articulating the problem we are addressing with our work to ensure that we provide the right mix of activities to yield credible, long-lasting solutions.

6. **Too narrow a focus on specific partners can restrict ability to deliver outcomes:** WFD's historical focus on parliaments and political parties provides us with a unique identity that distinguishes us from other democracy assistance actors. However, in certain contexts, we should be prepared to expand our partnerships to ensure that we can support tangible change, going beyond our comfort zone to link parliaments and political parties with other local and international actors who may have a role in facilitating impact.

7. **Monitoring and evaluation is essential and must create the right incentives for programme design and implementation:** WFD's 2012 logframe did not guide programme teams to monitor their work effectively. On the parliamentary side, it set up incentives for output-driven programming that paid little attention to the nuances of different variations of outcomes across our portfolio. On the political party side, it whitewashed outstanding

examples of achievement, distorting the ability of parties to articulate fully the contribution they were making.

8. **Having a good value for money argument is fundamental to making our case to our funders and our partners:** The anecdotal evidence suggests that WFD programmatically delivers outstanding value for money relative to other democracy assistance providers with similar models. Without the data to back this up, however, the conversation invariably centres on the costs of our overheads and the potential inefficiencies of our corporate governance structures.

7. Conclusions

Although the original logframe design was flawed, WFD believes the DFID Accountable Grant secured progress in three areas.

First, there was worthwhile impact on political governance in a significant number of developing and transition countries. Both the mid-term and the final evaluations were able to document a range of examples of political change that could be attributed to WFD's work. The long-term impact on the development of each of the countries concerned will vary significantly because of the differing political circumstances but it is an encouraging conclusion that such modest funding, when applied in a politically intelligent way, could lead to change.

A common thread running through the results was the need to respond flexibly to evolving political events in each location and to use our relationships to both understand the context and to improve our delivery mechanisms. On the other hand, an area which clearly needs to be strengthened is the quality of our documentation of our programmes. This is important not only to give a better account of progress but, just as importantly, to enable WFD to contribute credible evidence to the field of democracy-strengthening. Even two thorough evaluations in the course of 12 months ended up providing evidence that was more anecdotal than systemic. It might be that this is an inevitable feature of work on political reform, but without more consistently good quality programme information it is difficult to tell. This weakness is now being addressed in WFD programme management.

This leads to the second area of progress, namely the transformation of WFD into an organisation that is capable of playing a much more important part in the UK's efforts to support political stability and democratic accountability in developing and transition countries. Until the provision of the DFID accountable grant, WFD had limited experience and expertise in programme management and parliamentary strengthening, with much of its delivery having been through grant-making to the UK political parties. The DFID grant provided the oversight and incentives required to develop those skills and expand our horizons.

WFD now has a good track record of implementation of parliamentary strengthening programmes, has some emerging specialisms, has developed a good theory of change for its work, and is launching a research and policy programme that aims to make a worthwhile contribution to global knowledge about this field. WFD's internal structures and procedures are also in the process of being strengthened to embed a more professional approach. Finally, there is a strong and unified vision of WFD's operating model that brings the work of the political parties together with the work of the parliamentary teams. This does not mean integration into a single organisation, but it does mean a shared understanding of the benefits of leveraging the work of each in order to deliver bigger impact against our corporate objectives.

The third area of progress is, we believe, in the understanding between DFID and WFD. Much of the friction in the WFD-DFID relationship during the grant period was the result of poor understanding on each side of either what was needed or what could be expected of the other organisation. By the end of the grant period the understanding was strong on both sides. While

this improvement is desirable, the more important feature is the evolving analysis within DFID of the ways in which its programmes can address challenges of political reform. We strongly welcome the decision by DFID for the new grant to get rid of the firewall between funding for parliamentary strengthening and for political party development. This change in approach went hand-in-hand with an evolution in the wider development community's thinking about the ways in which to address politics in development. Our assessment is that the UK is now at the leading edge of thinking about this and that, if WFD can continue to improve its programme management, then together with DFID and the FCO, the UK can have a bigger impact on democracy-strengthening than it has had in the past.

Annexes

Annex 1 – Logical framework (final)

IMPACT	Impact Indicator 1	Baseline	Milestone YEAR 1 – 2012-13	Milestone YEAR 2 – 2013-14	Target YEAR 3 – 2014-15	Assumptions
Strengthened democracy, stability and good governance and improved citizen engagement, focused particularly in emerging/developing democracies and post-conflict countries and fragile states.	Number of WFD-supported parliaments in which elected representatives are able to carry out representative, oversight or legislative roles.	In the legislatures WFD will focus on, the level of accountability and transparency in parliamentary processes is low. Parliamentarians have limited impact on the quality of legislation and its implementation.	3 instances that demonstrate open, accountable and transparent parliamentary processes improve the quality of government policy, legislation and its implementation.	7 instances that demonstrate open, accountable and transparent parliamentary processes improve the quality of government policy, legislation and its implementation.	10 instances that demonstrate open, accountable and transparent parliamentary processes improve the quality of government policy, legislation and its implementation.	
	Impact Indicator 2	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of WFD-supported political parties which are demonstrating policy-based messaging and campaigning that reflects the electorates' views and offers them a credible choice.	Political parties have limited capacity to define policy that is representative of citizens' views.	10 political parties are strengthening their structures and processes so they can engage with the electorate to identify their issues and concerns.	15 political parties are engaging with their electorates; addressing their issues and concerns in policy-based messages.	20 political parties with defined policy choices; which reflect electorates' views; offering them a credible choice and communicating this effectively.	
	Impact Indicator 3	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of WFD-supported civil society organisations with capacity to advocate, form effective coalitions, develop evidence-based policy recommendations, represent interest groups and contributing effectively to the policy making process	CSOs contribution to legislation and advocating for effective implementation is limited. The policy making process is not always inclusive.	4 instances that demonstrate civil society organisations contributing to legislation and legislatures opening the policy making process up to citizens	7 instances that demonstrate civil society organisations contributing to legislation and legislatures opening the policy making process up to citizens	11 instances that demonstrate civil society organisations contributing to legislation and legislatures opening the policy making process up to citizens	

OUTCOME	Outcome Indicator 1	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	Assumptions
More effective accountable and representative parliaments and political parties in the countries in which WFD works.	Number of instances where WFD-supported legislatures demonstrate more open, accountable and transparent conduct of parliamentary processes evidenced by improvements to the quality of policy, legislation and its implementation.	Lack of political will, structures, systems and procedures prevents effective representative, oversight or legislative roles in 11 legislatures from being carried out.	3 instances where WFD-supported legislatures demonstrate the political will, structures, systems and procedures that allow for effective legislative, oversight and representative processes.	7 instances where WFD-supported legislatures demonstrate the political will, structures, systems and procedures that allow for effective legislative, oversight and representative processes.	10 instances where WFD-supported legislatures demonstrate the political will, structures, systems and procedures that allow for effective legislative, oversight and representative processes.	1. Political will exists to embed the development of capacity, skills and systems into the country's political processes;

2. That evidence of DFID's contribution, through the use of the Westminster model, can be attributed clearly in states undergoing complex changes post conflict.

3. All major stakeholders need to be engaged in the process in order to achieve the outcomes. Working with just parliaments, for example, is not sufficient to achieve the outcomes. |
		Source: Parliamentary Self-Assessments, International monitoring reports. International Indices. Parliamentary Union reports, European Union progress reports, National parliamentary monitoring reports. Progress against the Strategic Plans of the Parliaments.				
	Outcome Indicator 2	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of WFD-supported political parties who have strengthened their policy-development, messaging, communication and campaigning capabilities.	Political parties need to further develop their structures and processes on policy-led messaging.	Minimum of 10 political parties are identifying how to improve policy development, messaging, campaigning and communication.	15 political parties are strengthening their policy development capabilities and messaging and are communicating with the electorate.	20 political parties with policy development processes in place and who are communicating and campaigning on these with the electorate	
		Source: Policy Papers on Key Development Issues				
	Outcome Indicator 3	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of examples of WFD-supported civil society, including women's groups having a demonstrable influence on legislation, e.g. through advocacy, and policy recommendations.	Capacity of CSOs to advocate, form effective coalitions, develop evidence-based policy recommendations and represent interest groups is weak. Their contribution to policy-making is limited.	4 examples where CSOs advocate, form effective coalitions, develop evidence-based policy recommendations, represent constituency interests and/or contribute to the policy making process effectively.	7 examples where CSOs advocate, form effective coalitions, develop evidence-based policy recommendations, represent constituency interests and/or contribute to the policy making process effectively.	11 examples where CSOs advocate, form effective coalitions, develop evidence-based policy recommendations, represent constituency interests and/or contribute to the policy making process effectively.	

		Source: Civicus Civil Society Index, Evidence of Adoption of Submissions in Parliamentary Legislature and Oversight Reports			
	Outcome Indicator 4	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3
	WFD demonstrates improved strategic focus, internal coordination, improved analysis and M&E and VFM frameworks.	Limited coordination between programme staff and party staff, particularly in the field; monitoring systems weak.	Better coordinated strategies between political party and parliamentary programmes; M&E and VFM frameworks developed. At least 3 joined-up, multi-year programmes developed and tested.	Examples of improved coordination and implementation across WFD's parliamentary, cross-party and party to party programmes. Analysis tools developed and in use.	As demonstrated by independent evaluation, WFD is a more effective, strategic, coherent organisation focused on transparency, VFM, results and generation and dissemination of quality evidence to deliver democracy goals in support of HMG
	Source: Mid-term Review and Final Review comparing effectiveness of new approach				

OUTPUT 1	Output Indicator 1.1	Baseline	Milestone YEAR 1 – 2012-13	Milestone YEAR 2 – 2013-14	Target YEAR 3 – 2014-15	Assumptions
Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertake their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.	Number of instances where parliamentarians, individually or through a committee, conduct oversight, scrutinise budgets, or develop legislation in an inclusive and consultative manner	Parliamentarians in 10 legislatures conducting oversight, scrutiny and consultation with citizens ineffectively.	3 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where parliamentarians conduct effective oversight, financial scrutiny through consultation with citizens and interest groups on policy and legislation.	7 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where parliamentarians conduct effective oversight, financial scrutiny through consultation with citizens and interest groups on policy and legislation.	10 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where parliamentarians conduct effective oversight, financial scrutiny through consultation with citizens and interest groups on policy and legislation.	1. Politicians understand and act on responsibilities towards citizens. 2. Parliamentarians play a key function in legislation, oversight and scrutiny.
	Source: Parliamentary Self-Assessment ; Perception Surveys					
	Output Indicator 1.2	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of parliamentary services (e.g.. Resource centres) supported by WFD that provide impartial and professional parliamentary support to elected representatives.	Parliamentary services do not demonstrate impartiality, professionalism and capacity to support elected representatives to a high standard	3 legislatures address structural, procedural issues and strengthen human resources capacity improving support to elected representatives	7 legislatures address structural, procedural issues and strengthen human resources capacity improving support to elected representatives	10 legislatures address structural, procedural issues and strengthen human resources capacity improving support to elected representatives	
	Source: Comparison of Quality of Parliamentary Products against Previous Years					
	Output Indicator 1.3	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of instances where women's political representation and participation is advanced through parliamentary engagement or reform.	Women often marginalised within parliament.	2 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where women's political representation and participation is advanced.	4 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where women's political representation and participation is advanced.	6 instances across WFD-supported legislatures where women's political representation and participation is advanced.	
	Source: Comparison Against Committee Business Plans					Risk Rating **MEDIUM**

OUTPUT 2	Output Indicator 2.1	Baseline	Milestone YEAR 1 – 2012-13	Milestone YEAR 2 – 2013-14	Target YEAR 3 – 2014-15	Assumptions
Minimum of 20 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, have strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.	Number of political parties developing and delivering coherent policy-based messages to citizens.	Political parties need to further develop their capacity to produce policies and communicate policy messages to citizens.	Minimum of 10 political parties strengthen their processes to produce policy-based commitments.	Minimum of 15 political parties who have developed their policy-based commitments and messages.	Minimum of 20 political parties are communicating policy-based messages to citizens.	1. Parties / politicians understand and act on responsibilities towards citizens.
		Source:				
	Output Indicator 2.2	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of parties who have developed their organisational structures, and have the skills and/or techniques to campaign and communicate with the electorate.	Political parties need to further develop their organisational structures, and their campaigning and communication skills/techniques.	Minimum of 10 political parties are developing their organisational structures and their campaign and communication skills/techniques.	Minimum of 15 political parties have developed their organisational structures and are campaigning and communicating with the electorate.	Minimum of 20 political parties have developed their organisational structures and are campaigning and communicating with the electorate.	
		Source: Internal stakeholder networks /groups; party structures; communication and consultation strategies (internal/external)				
	Output Indicator 2.2	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Political parties accessing and sharing experiences in regional and international networks of like-minded parties.	Political parties need to further develop & sustain their international networks to exchange mutual best-practice, with a focus on women and youth.	8 instances of how best-practice is used to develop parties' capacity, with a focus on women and youth. 5 regional events with representatives from political parties from a selection of countries.	16 instances of how best-practice is used to develop parties' capacity, with a focus on women & youth. 10 regional events with representatives from political parties from a selection of countries.	20 instances of how best-practice is used to develop parties' capacity, with a focus on women & youth. 15 regional events with representatives from political parties from a selection of countries.	
		Source: Participation at conferences; evidence of regional contact; evidence of participation/attendance by women /youth.				Risk Rating

OUTPUT 3	Output Indicator 3.1	Baseline	Milestone YEAR 1 – 2012-13	Milestone YEAR 2 – 2013-14	Target YEAR 3 – 2014-15	Assumptions
Civil society organisations in 5 countries, and women's groups in 3 countries, engage effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.	Number of instances that demonstrate evidence-based advocacy by CSOs on relevant policy issues within legislatures	CSOs in 5 countries have limited skills to engage with parliaments and political parties effectively.	2 instances where WFD-supported CSOs have developed skills to produce policy-relevant evidence and/or engage with parliaments on their issues.	3 instances where WFD-supported CSOs have developed skills to produce policy-relevant evidence and/or engage with parliaments on their issues.	5 instances where WFD-supported CSOs have developed skills to produce policy-relevant evidence and/or engage with parliaments on their issues.	1.The political structure permits for civil society to engage with political actors and institutions
		Source: Position Papers, Parliamentary Submissions, Roundtable Reports, Case Studies				
	Output Indicator 3.2	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	Number of instances that demonstrate increased access to and engagement with legislatures and other stakeholders by women or other marginalised groups	Women's groups and other marginalised groups in 3 countries have limited skills to engage with parliaments, political parties and other stakeholders effectively.	1 instance where women's group or other marginalised groups have increased capacity and access to engage with parliaments, political parties and other stakeholders effectively.	2 instances where women's group or other marginalised groups have increased capacity and access to engage with parliaments, political parties and other stakeholders effectively.	3 instances where women's group or other marginalised groups have increased capacity and access to engage with parliaments, political parties and other stakeholders effectively.	
		Source: Broadcast Media, Case Studies, Analysis of Articles on Parliamentary Performance				Risk Rating **MEDIUM**

OUTPUT 4	Output Indicator 4.1	Baseline	Milestone YEAR 1 – 2012-13	Milestone YEAR 2 – 2013-14	Target YEAR 3 – 2014-15	Assumptions
Enhanced WFD's strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepened WFD's technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and development, improved programme management, communication tools etc.); reformed WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD's Change Agenda (December 2011).	The extent to which the organisation demonstrates results, value for money, and sustainability of outcomes through improved M&E, VFM and communications frameworks and processes.	WFD lacks M&E framework to evidence impact across the organisation as a whole. VFM framework not yet developed. Internal communication lacks coherence; lack of information sharing.	Programme advisor appointed to develop M&E framework in consultation with programme staff and parties and to develop VFM framework for the organisation as a whole. M&E and VFM framework tested on at least 3 parliamentary, cross-party and party to party programmes; improved method/tool of internal communication is developed).	M&E and VFM framework evidencing results across 6 country / regional programmes including impact of joined up programmes. WFD staff reporting improved internal communication/consultation is leading to better engagement/quality of work/information sharing.	As evidenced by independent evaluation, M&E/VFM frameworks and communication tools enable WFD to demonstrate results of parliamentary, cross-party and party to party programmes, feeding back into improved innovative programmes in future and contributing to best practice internationally.	1. Capacity development leads to behavioural change and improves core functions of parliament; 2. Westminster model is desirable/valid for target audience. 3. Agreement within WFD on the terms of integrated programming and subsequent agreement of terms with FCO/DFID.
		Source: VFM Results, M&E Framework, Advisor in Place; staff surveys				
	Output Indicator 4.2	Baseline	Milestone Y1	Milestone Y2	Target Y3	
	The extent to which the organisation integrates improved strategic planning and coordination between its parliamentary and political party programming to promote democratic, transparent, and accountable political processes.	Many programmes short-term, few programmes integrate parliamentary, cross-party and party-to-party work. Analytical tools and materials weak.	WFD's processes strengthened to ensure programmes are strategic and joined-up, with clear criteria for country selection and intervention; and database of experts, local partners, parliamentary professionals etc. is developed and adding value.	At least 3 independent evaluations of innovative, joined-up programmes evidencing impact. Partnerships developed similar to Westminster Consortium evidencing wider impact.	As evidenced by independent evaluation, 10 strategic programmes (parliamentary, cross-party and party-to-party) evidence strengthened democratic, transparent and accountable political processes.	
		Source: Programme Evaluations, Programme Planning				Risk Rating

Annex 2 – Financial reports

Expenditure since start of Programme

Agreed Budget Lines	Original Agreed Budget for Period	Actual Expenditure for Period	Variance	Variance %
Year 1	£5,500,000	£4,561,534	£-938,466	17.06%
Year 2	£5,500,000	£5,406,882	£-93,118	1.69%
Year 3	£5,500,000	£5,747,572	£247,572	-4.50%
Total for Period	**£16,500,000**	**£15,715,988**	**£-784,012**	**4.75%**

Comments:
Year 1 suffered from implementation delays due to both internal (WFD staffing) and external (DFID funding delays) factors. This was compounded by an inability of WFD's management to respond quickly enough to the large raft of corporate reform measures envisioned under the Capacity and Innovation Fund. WFD recovered in Year 2 but still struggled to implement fully its organisational development strategy due to staff turnover and ongoing uncertainty over the Triennial Review process. Year 3 saw the full introduction of corporate M&E systems and other organisational changes that responded to the requirements of Output 4 in the corporate logframe.