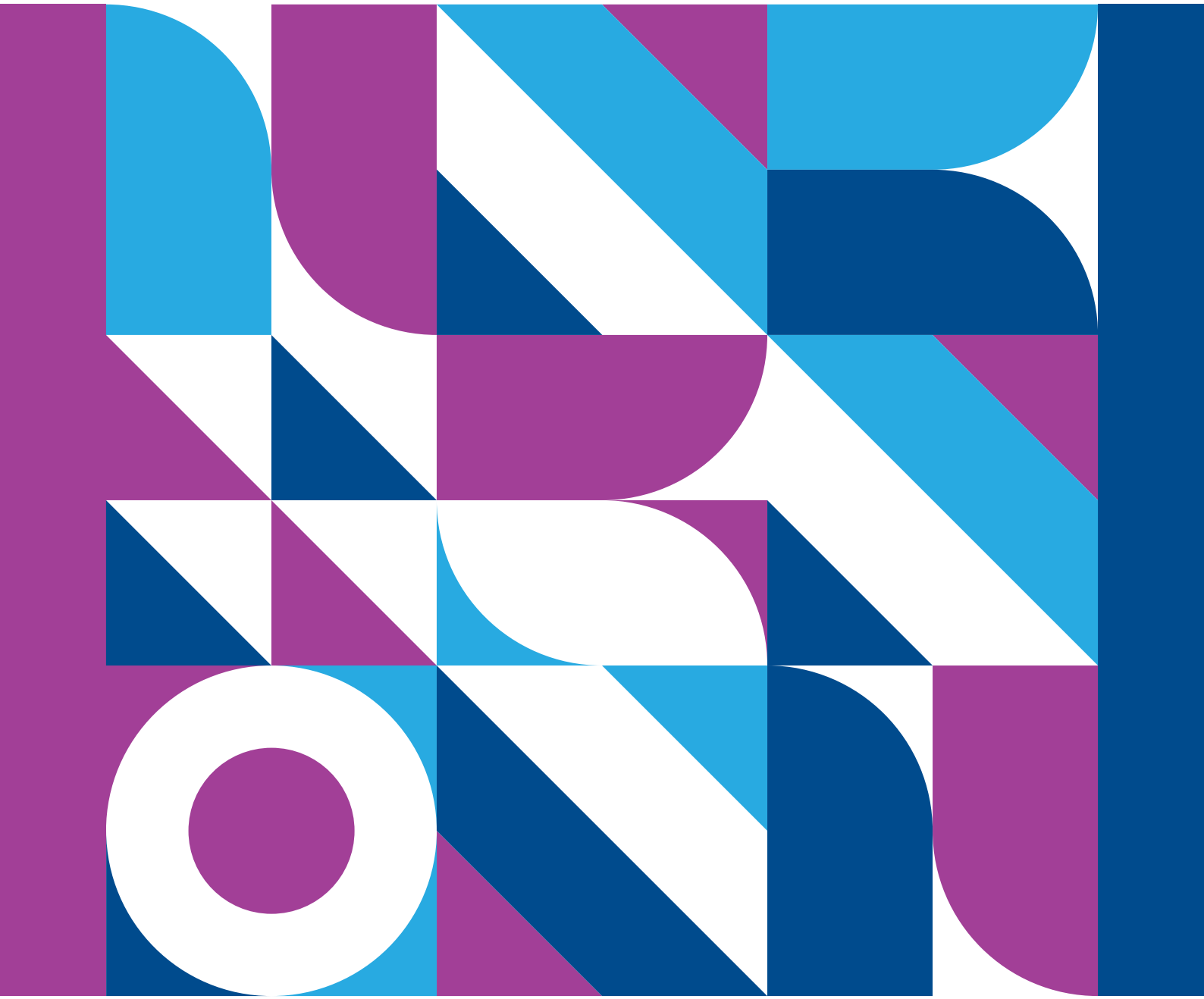
INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S ANNUAL OUTCOME REPORT 2022



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FOREWORD

In the last year, democracy faced severe challenges globally. Political polarization and inequalities strained democratic communities. Corruption and its perception threatened the credibility of institutions and leaders. The continued political ramifications of the Covid-19 pandemic and Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine stressed democratic systems. And across these challenges, we saw an erosion of public trust in the ability of democratic institutions to provide key public goods and meet social expectations.

These problematic trends are truly global: they are not to be found only or even primarily in young and underdeveloped democracies, as we used to believe. The sustained and broad nature of this democratic crisis reinforces the value of a multilateral and pluralist response. In other words, it reinforces the value of International IDEA.

This report tells the stories of how, in the face of these challenges, International IDEA responded to support, promote, and protect democracy worldwide. In the last year, we expanded our efforts in terms of country presence, programs, visibility, and resources. We helped design and implement inclusive constitution-building processes in The Gambia, Barbados, Armenia, and Belize. We encouraged women's political participation through training and mentorship initiatives in Sudan, Paraguay, and Nepal, to name just a few examples. We worked with the electoral commission of Albania to launch a reporting mechanism to improve transparency in political finance. Authorities in Canada, Israel, and the United Nations used International IDEA's research to develop guiding documents for pandemic-era elections. Our 2022 Global State of Democracy report explored the intersections between democracy and social contracts – suggesting ways to reinforce governance mechanisms and social infrastructure to improve both public welfare and public confidence in democracy.

I am tremendously proud of these contributions, and of International IDEA's additional work to make and strengthen democracy's case for the future. I

firmly believe that among all governance models, it is democracy that provides the tools to solve today's problems and forge better social contracts for the 21st century. Democracy's capacity for self-correction gives it a unique ability to adjust policies and procedures in nuanced ways; to meet emerging challenges while protecting fundamental rights. Indeed, this report reflects that democratic spirit of constant balance and continued improvement, telling not just our success stories but also what we learned along the way.

Yet if I am convinced that democracy has a key role in securing a sustainable and just future, I am also convinced that such a future is not foreordained. It must be earned by shoring up democracy's ability to solve real problems for real people. International IDEA has helped our Member States and partner countries do this in the past year. I am delighted to share some of these stories of success and learning with you. I look forward to continuing our progress together in the years ahead.

Kevin Casas-Zamora
Secretary-General

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Acronyms and abbreviations

AWA	International IDEA's Africa and West Asia Programme
BOCONGO	Botswana Council of NGOs
CAWE	International IDEA's Constitution Assessment of Women's Equality tool
CBP	Constitution-building processes
CDM	Civil Disobedience Movement (Myanmar)
CRC	Constitutional Review Commission (The Gambia)
CRPH	Committee Representing the Parliament (Myanmar)
CSO	civil society organization
DA	Democracy assessment
DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the OECD
EAO	ethnic armed organization
EBA	Swedish Expert Group for Aid Studies
EFPML	Political School for Women Leaders (Paraguay)
EP	Electoral processes
ERM	electoral risk management
GIPD	Democratic Parity Driving Group (Paraguay)
GIZ	German Agency for International Cooperation
GSoD	Global State of Democracy
ICT	information and communication technology
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission (Kenya)
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission (Botswana, South Africa, The Gambia)
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission (Nigeria)
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
LFA	logical framework approach
MoFUA	Ministry of Federal Union Affairs (Myanmar)
MoHR	Ministry of Human Rights (Myanmar)
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission (The Gambia)
NUCC	National Unity Consultative Council (Myanmar)
NUG	National Unity Government (Myanmar)

NZEC	New Zealand Electoral Commission
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIF	*Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (Kenya)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PPLC	Political Parties Liaison Committee (Kenya)
PPR	Political participation and representation
R-ARCSS	Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
Sitra	Finnish Innovation Fund
TRRC	Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission (The Gambia)
TSJE	Superior Tribunal for Electoral Justice (Paraguay)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S RESULTS FRAMEWORK

A study by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD[1] showed that the way in which results-based management has been implemented in the development sector has undermined its potential and has led to negative, unintended effects. According to the study, there has been a tendency to: (a) prioritize what can be measured easily; (b) pursue the purpose of accountability at the expense of learning and policy direction; and (c) become overly bureaucratic and rigid, thereby increasing transaction costs and hampering innovation.

Some of these challenges derive from a rigid application of the Logical Framework Approach (LFA). These challenges include:

- *A causality and accountability challenge*. This is the assumption that development processes are linear with clear causal relationships between project activities and societal changes.

- *A validity and measurability challenge*. The LFA favours quantitative indicators. The problem is that it is not possible to quantify all development processes, in particular processes that are tied to changes of behaviours, relationships and practices in societies.

International IDEA's results framework, which was approved by the Council of Member States in 2017, is developed as a response to these challenges. It is informed by the latest thinking and understanding of complex social and democratic change and is inspired by theory of change[2] and outcome

[1] For reference, see Vähämäki, J. and Verger, C., 'Learning from Results-Based Management Evaluations and Reviews', OECD Development Cooperation Paper 53, OECD, 2019.

[2] *Theory of change* is a comprehensive yet somewhat simplified description and illustration of how and why a desired change is expected to happen in a context. Through this approach, the link between activities and the achievement of long-term goals are more fully understood. This leads to better planning because activities are linked to a detailed understanding of how change happens. For more information, see <http://www.theoryofchange.org>.

mapping[3] methodologies. The results framework identifies three levels of results management:

1. The first level relates to *performance*—that is, the products and services (or *outputs*) that International IDEA delivers.

2. The second level relates to *outcomes*. Outcomes are defined as the changes in behaviours, relationships and practices by the institutions and actors that International IDEA interacts with. These 'target groups' are referred to as *boundary partners* in the results framework. The boundary partner concept comes from the Outcome Mapping methodology and is crucial in the framework.

3. The third level relates to changes in *democratic practices* to which International IDEA contributes.[4]

To assess and report on performance, International IDEA has grouped its activities into eight output categories and developed a set of 15 standardized key performance indicators (KPIs), which measure the quantity of products and services delivered and how many men and women have been reached by International IDEA's activities across projects. These categories and indicators are listed in Table 1 and are reported on in International IDEA's biannual activity reports.

Key performance indicators are important from an accountability perspective, but to assess whether the activities yield results, one needs to know whether boundary partners are changing behaviours, relationships and practices in response to the activities. To facilitate this process, International IDEA has identified 17 categories of boundary partners that the Institute aims to influence. For each of these, a standardized outcome objective has been formulated, as listed in Table 2. The outcome objectives describe how behaviours, relationships and practices of a boundary partner will change if activities achieve their full potential as a facilitator of change.

To clarify what the Institute aims to contribute to at an overarching level, the outcome objectives shall be complemented by *impact objectives*. For International IDEA, impact objectives are high-level changes within the Institute's three impact areas—electoral processes, constitution-building processes, and political participation and representation. International IDEA has predefined impact objectives and impact indicators, as listed in Table 2. The impact indicators consist of a mix of attributes, subattributes and indicators from International IDEA's Global State of Democracy (GSoD) indices.[5]

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[3] Outcome mapping is a methodology for planning, monitoring and evaluating development initiatives designed by the International Development Research Centre (Canada). As the name suggests, its niche is understanding outcomes—the so-called 'missing middle' or 'black box' of results that emerge downstream from a project's activities but upstream from longer-term societal changes. For more information, see <https://www.outcomemapping.ca>.

[4] Annex A illustrates the full framework in a theory of change model.

[5] International IDEA, 'Overview of indicators and sources', [n.d.], <https://www.idea.int/gsod-indices/sites/default/files/gsod-indicators-and-sources.pdf>, accessed 19 February 2023.

Table 1. **International IDEA's output categories and key performance indicators**

#	Output category	Key performance indicators
01	Publications	01. Number of released publications 02. Number of copies distributed 03. Number of downloads from International IDEA's websites
02	Communication products	04. Number of released communication products 05. Number of visits to individual webpages
03	Digital tools and platforms	06. Number of visits via International IDEA's websites 07. Number of countries where visitors come from
04	Databases	08. Number of visits via International IDEA's websites 09. Number of external media mentions
05	Events	10. Number of events convened 11. Number of participants disaggregated by gender
06	Training	12. Number of trainings held 13. Number of participants disaggregated by gender
07	Advisory services	14. Number of boundary partners that receive advice from International IDEA
08	Capacity development	15. Number of projects with restricted funding

Importantly, the ultimate achievement of the impact objectives lies beyond International IDEA's capabilities or sphere of direct influence. Therefore, this Annual Outcome Report is focused on reporting on outcomes or results within the Institute's sphere of influence: that is, changes of behaviours, relationships and practices among the 16 democratic institutions and actors that International IDEA is targeting with its activities.

As these changes are complex, the Report includes *qualitative* outcome stories, where a description is given of how International IDEA has influenced each of these boundary partners' relationships, behaviours and practices with knowledge products and capacity development projects. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results, but they are representative examples of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence the stories are to be regarded as indications or *qualitative indicators* of International IDEA's results. To mirror the wide range of work that the Institute does, each of the stories is linked to a boundary partner and thereby one of the 17 outcome objectives of International IDEA. The Report also includes stories with lessons learned from activities that have not led to expected results.

Table 2. **International IDEA's impact objectives, boundary partners and outcome objectives**

Impact objectives—constitution-building processes (CBP)	**Impact indicators**
An inclusive constitution-building process informed by international knowledge and experiences on constitutional design and process.	There are no suitable impact indicators for constitution-building *processes*.
The constitution is implemented under agreed constitutional frameworks and contributes to reduced tensions and conflicts.	2.2.23 Internal conflict 2.3.6 Religious tensions 2.3.7 Ethnic tensions 4.2 Predictable enforcement
Boundary partners in constitution-building processes	**Outcome objective**
Advisors to constitution-makers[1]	Advisors to constitution-makers utilize International IDEA's knowledge and networks to give high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.
Constitution makers[2]	Constitution makers apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process.
Civil society (CBP)[3]	Civil society holds constitution-makers accountable and promotes inclusive public participation in constitution-building processes.
Constitutional implementers[4]	Constitutional implementers promote respect for rule of law and constitutionalism under agreed constitutional frameworks.
Impact objective—democracy assessment (DA)	**Impact indicators**
Policies and practices that safeguard and promote democracy.	There are no suitable impact indicators for democracy assessment.
Boundary partners in democracy assessment	**Outcome objective**
(Governmental and non-governmental) policymakers[5]	Policymakers utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to develop evidence-based democratic policies and reforms.
(Governmental and non-governmental) advisors to policymakers[6]	Advisors to policymakers utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to influence evidence-based democratic policies and reforms.

1 Advisors to constitution-makers are organizations and individuals who provide technical assistance and capacity development on how to undertake constitutional reforms.
2 Constitution makers are usually a body that has been mandated by a government to lead a process of constitutional reform and draft a constitution. However, it can also refer to an informal group that develops a draft constitution for a country without an official mandate.
3 Civil society refers to organizations and associations that serve the public's needs but operate outside of governmental and corporate spheres. The most recognizable actors in civil society are CSOs operating at the domestic and international levels.
4 Constitutional implementers are the various bodies in a state that are responsible for upholding and implementing constitutional reforms, most notably the judiciary.
5 Governmental policymakers are strategic decision makers within parliaments and government agencies, whereas non-governmental policymakers are strategic decision makers in civil society.
6 Governmental advisors to policymakers are advisors to strategic decision makers within parliaments and government agencies, such as parliamentary staff members and public servants. Non-governmental advisors to policymakers are advisors to strategic decision makers in civil society, such as thematic experts.

Table 2. **International IDEA's impact objectives, boundary partners and outcome objectives (cont.)**

Policy influencers (including civil society)[7]	Policy influencers utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to promote democracy and advocate for evidence-based democratic reforms.
Media[8]	Utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to inform the public about the state of democracy and hold decision makers to account.
Impact objective—electoral processes (EP)	**Impact indicators**
Credible and well-run elections	1.1 Clean Elections 1.2 Inclusive Suffrage 3.1.30 Election and other electoral violence
Boundary partners in electoral processes	**Outcome objective**
Electoral assistance practitioners[9]	Electoral assistance practitioners provide contextualized support informed by norms, good practices and research.
Electoral policymakers[10]	Electoral policymakers consider risks and support practices which foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.
Electoral management bodies[11]	Electoral management bodies recognize and respond to complexities and risks and effectively implement the electoral cycle approach.
Civil society (EP)[12]	Civil society promotes public participation in electoral processes and demands accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies.
Impact objectives—political participation and representation (PPR)	**Impact indicators**
Public administration is inclusive, impartial and rigorous.	3.8.7 Rigorous and impartial public administration 4.2 Predictable enforcement
Civil society engages freely with representative institutions in a democratic and effective way.	2.2.10 Freedom of Association and Assembly 3.6.6 Engaged society 3.10.3 CSO repression 5.1 Civil Society Participation
The parliament exercises its legislative, oversight and representation functions effectively.	3.1 Effective Parliament 1. Representative government

7 Policy influencers are organizations and individuals that attempt to influence public policy through advocacy and lobbying. The most recognizable policy influencers are CSOs operating at the domestic and international levels as well as academia.

8 Media refers to both traditional and non-traditional media.

9 Electoral assistance practitioners are organizations and individuals who provide technical assistance and capacity development on how to plan for and organize credible and well-run elections. The most recognizable electoral assistance practitioners are organizations such as International IDEA, IFES and UNDP.

10 Electoral policymakers are the legal entities and individuals who prepare and take decisions on the legal frameworks for electoral processes.

11 Electoral management bodies are organizations or bodies that have the sole purpose of, and are legally responsible for, managing some or all of the elements that are essential for the conduct of elections and direct democracy instruments—such as referendums, citizens' initiatives and recall votes—if those are part of the legal framework.

12 Civil society refers to organizations and associations that serve the public's needs but operate outside of governmental and corporate spheres. The most recognizable actors in civil society are civil society organizations (CSOs) operating at the domestic and international levels.

Table 2. **International IDEA's impact objectives, boundary partners and outcome objectives (cont.)**

Political parties and movements contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.	There are no suitable impact indicators for this impact objective. Progress needs to be tracked with qualitative methods.
Oversight agencies monitor, prevent and mitigate threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics.	3.1.3 Disclosure of campaign donations 3.1.4 Public campaign financing
Boundary partners in political participation and representation	**Outcome objective**
Political parties and movements[13]	Political parties and movements exercise their functions so that they contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.
Public interest groups[14]	Public interest groups engage with representative institutions in an inclusive and effective way to improve public policy and practice, and to hold political decision makers to account.
Oversight agencies[15]	Oversight agencies monitor, prevent and mitigate threats to democracy, and threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics.
(National and subnational) parliaments	Parliaments exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.
(National and subnational) government/public administration[16]	Public administration exercises practices and decision-making processes to become more transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

[13] Political parties are registered political parties, whereas political movements are more informal political groups that may or may not participate in elections. Many political movements have aimed to establish or broaden the rights of subordinate groups, such as abolitionism, the women's suffrage movement and the civil rights movement.

[14] Public interest groups are organizations and associations that serve the public's needs but operate outside of governmental and corporate spheres. The most recognizable public interest groups are CSOs operating at the domestic and international levels.

[15] Oversight agencies are governmental agencies or bodies that are mandated to provide oversight of the government's legislative and/or executive branches. The most recognizable oversight agencies are ombudsmen and national audit offices.

[16] National and subnational government/public administration refers to the executive branch of government.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S INPUTS AND OUTPUTS IN 2022

In 2022 International IDEA invested EUR 23.7 million in activities aimed at inspiring and supporting the Institute's boundary partners to undertake their democratic functions more effectively. Figure 1 lists these investments per boundary partner.

These investments have been delivered through 54 restricted projects as well as core funded activities. International IDEA has grouped the core funded activities into eight output categories and developed a set of 15 standardized key performance indicators. The outputs in 2022 are listed in Table 3.

Figure 1. **International IDEA's investments per boundary partner in 2022 (EUR)**

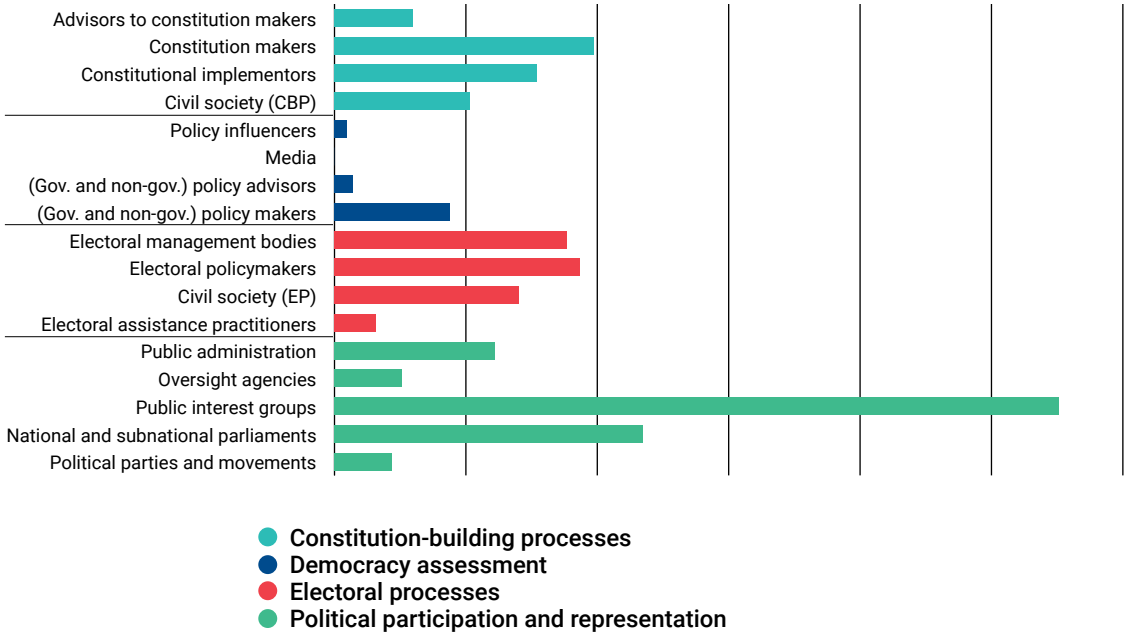

Table 3. **International IDEA's performance in core funded projects in 2022**

Output category	Key performance indicators	Total
01. Publications	01. Number of released publications (incl. translations)	68
	02. Number of copies distributed*	1,740
	03. Number of downloads from International IDEA's website (https://www.idea.int)	177,139
02. Communication products	04. Number of released communications products (including externally published articles)	1,821
	05. Number of visits to the International IDEA website	2,171,522
03. Digital tools and platforms	06. Number of visits via International IDEA's website	52,071
	07. Number of countries where visitors come from	172
04. Databases	08. Number of visits via International IDEA's websites	315,591
	09. Number of external media mentions	243
05. Events	10. Number of events convened	231
	11. Number of participants	3,555
06. Training	12. Number of trainings held	85
	13. Number of participants	769
07. Advisory services	14. Number of boundary partners (organizations and individuals) that receive advice from International IDEA	1,032
08. Capacity development	15. Number of projects with restricted funding	54

** In 2020 IDEA's Management Committee decided to move away from printed publications and instead focus on digital first.*

OUTCOMES IN CONSTITUTION-BUILDING PROCESSES

By working with *advisors to constitution-makers* International IDEA aims to support *constitution-makers* and *civil society* to design inclusive constitution-building processes and legitimate constitutions, and *constitution implementers* to operationalize constitutions under agreed frameworks. The Institute does so by providing non-prescriptive comparative knowledge and options, and by facilitating processes that help stakeholders to explore solutions that suit their context. The theory of change underpinning the approach is that:

- if advisors to constitution-makers utilize International IDEA's knowledge and networks to expand coordination and collaboration to advance good practices in constitution-building processes, they can effectively inspire and support constitution-makers and civil society to constructively engage in inclusive constitution-building processes, and constitution implementers to implement the constitution under agreed constitutional frameworks; and

- if constitution-makers increase their knowledge and skills on constitution-building and apply these competencies to design a well-informed inclusive constitution-making process; and

- if civil society increases knowledge and skills on constitution-building and applies these competencies to hold constitution-makers accountable, inform the public on constitution-building processes, and promote public participation in the process; then ...

... responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making (SDG 16.7) is ensured in the constitution-building process. And then the likelihood of overall success and legitimacy of the constitutional reforms increases and:

- if the constitution-building process and reforms are considered as legitimate;

- and if constitution implementers increase their knowledge and skills and apply these competencies to interpret and operationalize constitutional provisions following ratification in a manner that respects fundamental democratic principles and human rights, and if they promote respect for rule of law and constitutionalism under agreed constitutional frameworks; then ...

... tensions and conflicts in society are likely to reduce.[6]

This Report focuses on reporting results among the four boundary partners that International IDEA is targeting in constitution-building processes. As these changes are complex, the Report includes qualitative outcome stories, where a description is given of how International IDEA has influenced each of these boundary partners' relationships, behaviours and practices. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results within the area of constitution-building processes, but they are *representative examples* of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence the stories are to be regarded as *qualitative indicators* of International IDEA's results. The stories also include lessons learned from activities that have not led to expected results.

International IDEA supports *advisors to constitution-makers* to utilize International IDEA's knowledge and networks to give high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.

THE EDINBURGH DIALOGUES ADVANCE BEST PRACTICES IN CONSTITUTION-BUILDING PROCESSES

International IDEA supports *advisors to constitution-makers* to utilize International IDEA's knowledge and networks to give high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.
Since 2014, International IDEA has been closely collaborating with the University of Edinburgh Law School and the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law in conceptualizing and organizing an annual series of workshops called

[6] This theory of change is illustrated in Annex C.

the 'Edinburgh Dialogues on Constitution Building in Fragile Settings'. This annual series generally takes the form of a two-day closed workshop bringing together high-level experts and practitioners from the fields of constitution-building, peacebuilding and conflict mediation for discussions on issues relating to the role of constitution-building in conflict-to-peace transitions.

After nine consecutive Edinburgh Dialogues, International IDEA has successfully managed to build and maintain a solid network of members of both the constitution-making and peace-mediation communities. Increasingly, users and other website visitors download the Edinburgh Dialogue reports, something that International IDEA regularly monitors as a key performance indicator.

But beyond downloads, International IDEA itself and its boundary partners—particularly constitutional advisors, but also constitution-makers—have in the past used these knowledge resources to inform their work. Some specific examples of the latter include the policy paper on *Interim Constitutions: Peacekeeping and Democracy-Building Tool*, which informed the Myanmar National Unity Government in its thinking around drafting a constitutional framework for the future transition from military rule to democracy. Partners in the project also used the latter paper, and the policy paper *Sequencing Peace Agreements and Constitutions in the Political Settlement Process*, to advise the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office on precedents for transitional constitutional arrangements to inform the Vienna Process on Syria. This advice made 'a major contribution to shaping the UK approach to this matter', according to a senior UK official.

Additionally, the paper was used by one of the partners to inform regular briefings with the United Nations team in South Sudan with reference to the implementation of the Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS). Moreover, the policy paper *Substate Constitutions in Fragile and Conflict-affected Settings* was translated and used to inform trainings provided to Myanmar state and regional authorities, civil society, as well as ethnic armed organizations (EAOs), both before the February 2021 coup d'état and after. Prior to the coup d'état, it informed negotiations between the Myanmar Government, the armed forces and EAOs.

The work on constitution-building processes in fragile settings motivated International IDEA to start developing a database on this topic, building on the data set on constitution writing and conflict resolution (1975–2003) developed by Professor Jennifer Widner of Princeton University, which International IDEA has updated and expanded. The database became live at the end of 2022.

International IDEA supports *advisors to constitution-makers* **to utilize International IDEA's knowledge and networks to give high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.**

INTERNATIONAL IDEA CONVENES CONSTITUTION-BUILDING EXPERTS TO ADVISE ADVISORS

International IDEA supports *advisors to constitution-makers* **to utilize International IDEA's knowledge and networks to give high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.**
International IDEA's Constitution-Building Programme supports constitution advisors through convening experts and practitioners together to share experiences on key issues, as well as developing guidance materials and policy papers. In 2022, International IDEA held several events where experts were brought together with practitioners from the constitution-building and mediation fields. One objective of these meetings is to better understand current challenges raised by constitution-building processes, and to improve the level of assistance provided.

The events included partnerships with the Africa and West Asia and Regional Europe Programmes, bringing together mediators and special envoys from West Africa and experts and practitioners from the European Eastern Partnership countries respectively. With regards to the former, the meeting concluded with agreement to provide more structured mediation support to the Economic Community of West African States in the field of constitutional transitions. For the Eastern Partnership countries, it concluded with the launch of a network to safeguard constitutionalism.

Other themes which were on the agenda in 2022 were a discussion of the role of the political opposition in constitution-building processes and another on why processes fail, a theme that was included in the Edinburgh Dialogues on Post-Conflict Constitution Building—an annual series which brings together experts and practitioners from the fields of constitution-building, conflict mediation and peacebuilding.

In addition, in 2022 the United Nations Department for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs published the Guidance Note, *Advice on Applying Mediation Fundamentals in UN Constitutional Assistance*, authored by the International IDEA Head of Constitution-Building Programme. This note provides guidance for advisors across the UN who are engaged in providing assistance to constitution-building processes.

International IDEA supports *constitution-makers* **to apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process.**

BUILDING FEDERAL DEMOCRACY IN POST-COUP MYANMAR

International IDEA supports *constitution-makers* **to apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process.**
December 2022 marked the end of International IDEA's MyConstitution programme, which started in 2018 and which the military coup on 1 February 2021 fundamentally changed. The coup caused upheaval in Myanmar's political landscape as democratic actors joined the Civil Disobedience

Movement (CDM) and new interim governance institutions were formed, including the Committee Representing the Parliament (CRPH), the National Unity Government (NUG) and the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC). Other actors, particularly EAOs, have partially aligned themselves with the CDM or endorsed the newly formed institutions. These actors, many of whom are in hiding or in exile, have embarked on a process of constitution- and state-building under extremely difficult conditions with little capacity and expertise to navigate fundamental challenges related to achieving genuine democracy.

In response to these challenges, International IDEA increased its political advocacy and outreach with timely and user-friendly analysis. These efforts have increased awareness of political and constitutional developments in Myanmar among the international community and have contributed to increased support to Myanmar's post-coup legitimate democratic actors and the building of a genuine federal constitutional democracy in Myanmar.

In 2022, under the MyConstitution programme, International IDEA supported and reached 5,315 democratic stakeholders in Myanmar and conducted 295 webinars, trainings and briefings. In its work, International IDEA has sought to be inclusive and engage with a broad set of Myanmar's democratic post-coup stakeholders with targeted assistance provided to the NUG, CRPH and actors within the NUCC. The Institute has provided expertise to key NUG ministries involved in the constitutional transition, including the NUG Ministries of Federal Union Affairs (MoFUA), Human Rights (MoHR), Justice, and Women, Youths and Children Affairs.

In cooperation with partners such as the Folke Bernadotte Academy, the Hanns Seidl Foundation and the Forum of Federations, International IDEA provided advisory support to the MoFUA upon request as the lead ministry driving the post-coup transitional constitutional reform process, contributing to the development of a strategic roadmap by the ministry to guide and support the negotiations in the Joint Coordination Committee (Federal) and within the NUCC towards an interim transitional constitution.

With the support of the programme, the MoHR published and aired a series of human rights talks on PVTV and via the ministry's YouTube channel, Twitter and Facebook pages, developed 60 infographics and published two whiteboard cartoons on UN Human Rights Day to increase public awareness of the links between constitutions and human rights in post-coup Myanmar and of mechanisms to report human rights violations—this reached over 100,000 people.

The programme's outreach to state and regional parliamentary committees and councils led to a series of discussions on the federal democracy charter principles and their implications for the states and regions, raising these actors' awareness of the need to define their priorities and increase coordination among themselves and their engagement with the union-level interim government institutions.

International IDEA's MyConstitution knowledge products have been used by interim government institutions as part of their official engagement and outreach efforts with the broader public, particularly by the NUG ministries. The NUG Ministry of Education included MyConstitution resources in its teacher training manual and to inform its social studies curriculum reform, while the NUG Ministry for Natural Resource and Environmental Conservation shared links to International IDEA knowledge products on constitution-building with the 7,000 subscribers of its telegram channel.

The programme's key partnerships with Spring University Myanmar, the German-Southeast Asian Center of Excellence for Public Policy and Good Governance (CPG), and Thammasat and Chiang Mai University in Thailand contributed to increased access by the public and Myanmar's educational community of students, scholars and researchers to MyConstitution knowledge products and to knowledge on federal and constitutional issues, enabling them to engage in a more informed manner in constitutional reform processes.

International IDEA's Constitution Academy was first piloted in June 2018, bringing together professionals from civil society, academia, political parties, CSOs, religious organizations and the judiciary. The Constitution Academy in-person and online training courses have contributed to a homegrown knowledge base and network of pro-democracy individuals capable of providing meaningful contribution to the debate on constitutional reforms in Myanmar. The Constitution Academy formed a permanent feature of the MyConstitution programme, enabling International IDEA to build capacities of people wishing to learn about the fundamentals of constitutions, tailored to the context of Myanmar. 2022 saw 710 users register on the platform and enrol for the course, with 200 completing the course with a certificate in December 2022.

Starting in January 2023, International IDEA will maintain its support to legitimate democratic actors of Myanmar through its new Myanmar programme, 'Building Federal Democracy: Roadmap and Capacity Development for a New Democracy in Myanmar'. The new programme aims to contribute to building genuine and inclusive democracy in Myanmar by supporting legitimate democratic actors in Myanmar to design and develop a new constitutional framework and form effective and accountable institutions that ensure inclusive and participatory governance at all levels.

SUPPORTING CONSTITUTION-MAKERS TO MAKE INFORMED CHOICES REGARDING CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND PROCESS

International IDEA supports *constitution-makers* to apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process.

Countries are increasingly using small commissions to consult with the public, conduct research and develop draft constitutions. Almost always, the members of such commissions have never been involved in constitution-building before, and International IDEA supports them through providing comparative information and experiences to help them navigate their path through the reform process.

For example, in 2022 International IDEA supported the constitutional review commissions of Barbados, Belize and the Republic of Armenia. In a letter to International IDEA, Davit Hakobyan, a member of the Armenia Constitutional Review Commission, writes:

> Over the last years, [International] IDEA has produced well-structured and thorough guidelines on Non-Executive Presidents in Parliamentary Democracies, Dissolution of Parliaments, Government Formation and Removal Mechanisms and other vital constitutional topics. The mentioned guidelines were extremely helpful to draw out and conceptualise best practices, applicable models and challenges the states have been facing.

He continues: 'While drafting my concept note, I had in mind the discussions we had during our conference on the role of the opposition, its emancipation and tried to create a model where the opposition's powers in a parliamentary democracy can be exercised in tandem with the Office of the President,' and notes that 'the composition of my concept note has been largely influenced from the structures given in the [International] IDEA guidelines'.

In the letter, Mr Hakobyan also mentions that he finds the conferences organized by International IDEA on constitutional issues an important 'platform where the representatives of all legal systems can share their views'.

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CONTRIBUTING TO TRUST IN YEMEN'S PEACE PROCESS

International IDEA supports *constitution-makers* to apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process.

International IDEA is one of the few organizations that have been present in Yemen since 2014 without interruption and that maintains an active role in the peace process. It also plays a very important role in maintaining institutional memory within the international community. International IDEA has been working with key Yemeni groups since the start of the conflict and has built

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deep relationships with many of the main actors. Among other things, the Institute is one of the few organizations (if not the only organization) to host detailed discussions with key stakeholders on post-war governance. This year, International IDEA has leveraged all these relationships by expanding the scope of its work to include new actors on the ground in the national discussion on how to resolve the conflict.

The main factor placing International IDEA as the major player in the peace process is *trust*. The Institute's constant support to stakeholders in Yemen enabled the building of personal connections that are founded in trust. This facilitated the possibility to implement International IDEA's mission inside Yemen, which is rooted in principles of participation and inclusion. Early on, the programme team led preparation meetings ahead of implementation with all relevant boundary partners. This helped clarify the needs from the onset and install ownership in the process. As a result of this, inputs from different and opposing boundary partners (opposing political directions) were taken into consideration to ensure inclusiveness and limit the risk of divergence. Bringing all parties to the same table without the risk of exclusion is a priority of International IDEA's vision for Yemen and is also a significant outcome of the work undertaken there.

At this initial phase of implementation, it remains early to formulate any clear expectation of the project's long-term impact, especially as this is connected to the complex peace process. In addition, the extremely volatile nature of the context can easily shift the project's direction and progress. However, International IDEA's focus revolves around the process of strengthening relationships among the local stakeholders, thinking beyond quantifiable outcomes and results and more about the singularity and importance of International IDEA's participatory approach and inclusiveness, all rooted in *trust*.

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LESSONS LEARNED FROM CHILE'S CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PROCESS

International IDEA supports *constitution-makers* to apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process.

Even though International IDEA has worked with constitutional reform in Chile since 2015 and had a formal cooperation agreement with the Constitutional Convention for the latest (and failed) attempt to amend the Constitution, the Institute's impact has been limited. The lesson learned is that international expertise on the ground is a factor for success.

While Chile's 1980 Constitution has been amended several times since the transition to democracy in 1988, a significant part of Chilean society has demanded a complete replacement of a constitutional dispensation marked by its undemocratic origins. However, the two most significant attempts to

replace the Constitution, which started in 2015 and 2019 respectively, failed at different stages of the constitutional negotiations. The latest attempt paved the way for a constitution-making process that started with a referendum on 25 October 2020. The process ended when the new constitutional draft was rejected in a referendum held on 4 September 2022.

In 2020, International IDEA was able to leverage its past collaboration with Chilean constitution-makers to receive an invitation from a civil society network—the *Observatorio de la Nueva Constitución*—to assist future constitution-makers and advisors with relevant comparative knowledge on constitutional reform. As a result of this engagement, International IDEA signed a formal cooperation agreement with the Constitutional Convention and was invited to deliver presentations for public audiences on various substantive issues.

Despite the cooperation agreement, it was initially difficult to formally engage with the Convention's thematic committees. In the meantime, International IDEA organized open webinars and started to develop comparative briefs or memorandums on issues that the Convention appeared to struggle to reach consensus on. These written memorandums opened the door for the Institute to receive additional requests for memorandums.

All in all, though, International IDEA's impact on the drafting of the new Constitution was limited. Reasons can be varied, but lack of continuous access to key decision makers within the Convention looms large. According to members of the Constitutional Convention, this was partly due to the Convention's composition, and the fact that a significant part of its membership included independents that fundamentally distrusted any form of external intervention.

At the same time, International IDEA observed that a number of Chilean academics directly, though informally, advised members of the Convention throughout the negotiations. According to representatives of the Constitutional Convention, International IDEA could have had better access to the work of the Convention if it had had an international constitutional advisor to the Convention on the ground. This recommendation is in line with observations International IDEA has made in other constitutional processes, as it is key to develop trust and strong relationships with key stakeholders in such sensitive political processes.

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RESULTS AND LESSONS LEARNED FROM RECENT CONSTITUTION-BUILDING PROCESSES IN AFRICA

International IDEA supports *constitution-makers* to apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process.

Constitutional changes have been at the heart of many political transitions in countries across Africa. Reasons for these changes have varied. In Sudan and The Gambia, for example, transitions from authoritarian to democratic regimes have driven demand for constitutional changes, while in South Sudan these changes have been central to peace. Other reasons for constitutional changes have included unconstitutional changes of government through military coups, which, in some cases, were supported by youth and other marginalized groups, as witnessed in some countries in West Africa and Sahel.

Common to these different contexts has been their fierce contestation. Beyond setting the rules for access to and exercise of public power, constitutional negotiations are increasingly platforms for minority groups to claim recognition for and protection of their group identity. Such issues are often central to the resolution of armed conflict and the development of inclusive politics.

Since 2018, International IDEA's Africa and West Asia (AWA) Programme has embarked on an intense and sustained programme of work, including trainings, technical support as well as advisory services to key constitutional decision makers in South Sudan, Sudan, Tunisia, Chad, Mali, Yemen and The Gambia, among others. This work, which was conducted jointly with the Institute's constitutional experts in The Hague, has been aimed at developing the capacities of boundary partners to contribute more effectively to shaping social contracts and addressing governance and accountability challenges. Politically, close collaboration with the African Union and Regional Economic Communities in Africa has been crucial to the legitimacy of these projects and has also contributed to a more coordinated approach to constitutional transitions.

While many projects and processes are still ongoing, results have thus far been mixed. In some countries, such as The Gambia, there have been successes, but more often than not these processes have been characterized by disagreements and power struggles that have contributed to peaceful negotiations breaking down.

Maurice Engueleguele, Senior Programme Officer at AWA, has expressed the view that, from his previous experiences, the success or failure of these processes depends largely on the political willingness of stakeholders to seek peaceful solutions. He has thus gradually become convinced that the role of an international actor such as International IDEA is to provide a safe and neutral space for the stakeholders to discuss and develop solutions that work for them. Reflecting on his experiences of supporting such processes, he states:

> I think we have sometimes been a bit too eager to drive the process and present options or even solutions to the stakeholders. In South Sudan, for example, the international community were pushing a bit too hard for federalism and the constitutional talks broke down. One reason for this was a lack of consensus among stakeholders on how to organize the state—including on key issues such as the number and boundaries of states, sharing of responsibilities and national revenue and resources and generally a renewed social contract between political leaders on the one hand and between the citizens and their government on the other.

The importance of local ownership is often highlighted as a key success factor in development projects. Feedback from the stakeholders in this project confirms that the project became both relevant for them and effective because of the highly participatory project planning and implementation process.

In contrast, regarding International IDEA's work in Mali, where one of the main objectives has been to support national stakeholders to develop trust with each other, Mr Engueleguele states:

> Our main achievement in Mali is that we contributed to efforts to restore trust between the Constitutional Court and citizens. We did this by organizing meetings between the Court and CSOs, as well as the Court and political parties' stakeholders, and by supporting the Constitutional Court in developing a communication strategy.

As an outcome of these meetings and implementation of this communication strategy, the solid wall of perception of illegitimacy and distrust between CSOs, political parties and the Constitutional Court of Mali is beginning to break down. At the end of the consultations, participants agreed to institutionalize these forums into consultative platforms between the Constitutional Court and CSOs as well as the Constitutional Court and political parties. Mr Engueleguele continues:

> One innovation in the draft constitution which has been informed by these consultations is that Malian citizens can now refer directly before the Constitutional Court. This is a big change in a Francophone country, and I think it is a cornerstone for the upcoming work to finalize drafting a legitimate new constitution and ensuring a sustainable return to constitutional order.

Lessons learned from project design, implementation and related processes of International IDEA interventions in The Gambia, South Sudan and Mali, among others, will inform AWA's approach in responding to requests for support to constitutional transitions in such countries moving forward.

International IDEA supports *civil society* to hold constitution-makers accountable and promote inclusive public participation in constitution-building processes.

CIVIL SOCIETY IN CHILE, BOTSWANA AND ETHIOPIA HOLD CONSTITUTION-MAKERS ACCOUNTABLE AND PROMOTE INCLUSIVE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN CONSTITUTION-BUILDING PROCESSES

International IDEA supports *civil society* to hold constitution-makers accountable and promote inclusive public participation in constitution-building processes.

International IDEA supports civil society to hold constitution-makers accountable and promote inclusive public participation in constitution-building processes. In 2022 this work included support to CSOs in Chile, Botswana and Ethiopia to develop more-informed proposals for constitutional reform and engage constitution-makers.

In Botswana, International IDEA supported the Botswana Council of NGOs (BOCONGO), which represents a wide range of organizations, in developing ideas on constitutional reforms to the Constitutional Review Commission of Botswana. The Institute also supported BOCONGO in developing a proposal for an EU grant to support the constitutional reform process. In testimony to the collaboration, BOCONGO wrote that International IDEA 'has been very instrumental to us as a council regarding the Constitutional Review process'. They continued: 'Your expertise, technical support and advice are the few things you have accorded us with no reservation.'

In Botswana, women's groups used International IDEA's Constitution Assessment of Women's Equality (CAWE) tool, which assists constitution-makers and civil society to analyse a constitution or draft constitution from an equality perspective. In Ethiopia, women's organizations also relied on the CAWE tool in preparing their agenda for constitutional and legislative reform. The document will provide a basis for policy advocacy, particularly in engaging in the planned national dialogue process. The Ethiopian women's organizations discovered the CAWE and used the tool, without direct engagement with International IDEA, which is an indication on how knowledge resources are utilized outside of International IDEA ecosystems.

In Chile, International IDEA was able to leverage its past collaboration with Chilean constitution-makers to receive an invitation from a civil society network—the *Observatorio de la Nueva Constitución*—to assist constitution-makers and advisors with relevant comparative knowledge on constitutional reform.

SUPPORTING THE TRANSITION FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY IN THE GAMBIA

International IDEA supports *constitutional implementers* **to promote respect for rule of law and constitutionalism under agreed constitutional frameworks.**

International IDEA's *Global State of Democracy Report* for 2022 notes that The Gambia is Africa's democratic success story over the past five years. Since Yahya Jammeh was defeated in the 2016 presidential election, the country has improved on almost every indicator measured by the GSoD Indices.

The Gambia has been one of International IDEA's longest standing, and most fruitful, projects in Africa, with consistent support being provided to key institutions throughout its democratic transition. Initial engagement began in 2016, just before the first democratic elections, in the form of support to the African Union Election Observation Mission. However, the foundations for the current portfolio of programming were laid in November 2017 when International IDEA convened a meeting on 'Constitution Building and Revision Processes in Transitional, Fragile, Post-Conflict and Conflict Environments' in Dakar, Senegal, attended by senior officials from The Gambia, Mali and South Sudan. The timing of this meeting was crucial, as in December 2017 the Gambian Government passed a series of legislation setting up a Constitutional Review Commission (CRC), a Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission (TRRC), as well as a National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). These instruments and institutions are interlinked and are within the broader framework of a transitional justice process intended to enable the country to transition from a long-standing dictatorship to a democratic dispensation.

Following the Dakar meeting, International IDEA received official requests to support The Gambia's transitional justice process. A series of in-country workshops and consultations were subsequently convened, primarily to map priorities, establish partnerships with boundary partners and identify the specific areas where International IDEA could provide the most effective support. To meet boundary partners' expectations and to ensure that there was no significant gap in support during the transitional process, an innovative and flexible approach to programming was adopted. As a starting point, this meant that core funding had to be utilized as a short-term investment in the process.

Efforts to provide more predictable and long-term support included outreach to other stakeholders supporting Gambian institutions and to the donor community. At the programmatic level, prioritization was given to building trust between various stakeholders in the transitional process as well as between these stakeholders and International IDEA, with an aim to create an environment that was conducive to open dialogue and that allowed the free exchange of opinions in order to foster nationally driven processes and ownership.

After initial work with the CRC, the TRRC and the NHRC, International IDEA gradually became more involved in supporting the parliament as well as

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the electoral process. A milestone was a project funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office, entitled 'Support to Peaceful Election to The Gambia'. The first phase of the project supported the presidential elections in The Gambia in 2021 through political dialogues, outreach initiatives and training for CSOs and media. One of the major results of phase one was the development, acceptance and monitoring of a code of conduct for the presidential candidates. Phase two of the project aimed to contribute to the peaceful parliamentary elections in 2022. A major result was that 85 per cent of the candidates from all 53 constituencies accepted and signed a code of conduct for candidates.

An essential component of the project was to assign a high-level group of Gambian moral guarantors to ensure ownership and legitimacy of the process. The project implemented numerous outreach initiatives with the moral guarantors, CSOs and media to explain to the citizens the purpose and content of the codes, and employed a group of monitors who monitored the election campaign and notified the moral guarantors if and when the codes of conduct were violated.

Stakeholders in The Gambia agreed that the two codes of conduct contributed to peaceful elections. The chairperson of the Gambian election commission, IEC, stated, 'International IDEA has been very pivotal in the successful conduct of this election cycle. This makes International IDEA a key building block in not only the democratic process of The Gambia but also as a key peacebuilding pillar for this country.'[7] Similarly, Dawda A. Jallow—the Attorney General and Minister of Justice—speaking at the UN's Peacebuilding Commission in New York recently, said: 'The government of The Gambia is now working with partners such as International IDEA to revive the constitutional review process to enable effective legislative reforms.'[8]

The approach described above has ultimately proven to be successful. The flexibility from utilizing a mix of core and donor funds has allowed International IDEA to respond swiftly and to provide uninterrupted support to Gambian institutions throughout the transition. The active engagement with donors has led to funding being secured for The Gambia and the scaling up of support, with a country office expected to be established in 2023. The major lesson learned is that the Institute's non-prescriptive approach, together with the trust created between boundary partners and the emphasis on local ownership, has contributed positively to the transition.

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7 *The Voice*, 'IEC Calls On Parliamentary Candidates To Respect Election Code Of Conduct', voicegambia.com, 2 April 2022, <https://www.voicegambia.com/2022/04/02/iec-calls-on-parliamentary-candidates-to-respect-election-code-of-conduct>, accessed 19 February 2023.

8 Waan, S., 'Gov't working to revive lifeless CRC', The Point, 19 October 2022, <https://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/headlines/govt-working-to-revive-lifeless-crc>, accessed 19 February 2023.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS UKRAINIAN LEGAL EXPERTS TO RESPOND TO CONSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES IN WARTIME

International IDEA supports *constitutional implementers* **to promote respect for rule of law and constitutionalism under agreed constitutional frameworks.**

At the start of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and during its gradual escalation, Ukraine's governmental institutions at all levels have experienced a set of unprecedented challenges, ranging from the destruction of infrastructure to displacement and loss of staff and disruption of working processes. This has affected the ability of the government to exercise its duties, including its ability to provide timely and accurate information to citizens on rights and procedures during martial law. This situation has been aggravated by electricity black-outs and cyber-attacks, leading to the discontinuation of several important government information portals.

To support the parliament and government agencies to address these challenges, leading Ukrainian civil society organizations and the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy established a volunteer network of legal experts to support government institutions in addressing the multiplicity of questions on how to operate state administration, provide administrative services, and uphold of the rights and freedoms of citizens during war. The network initiators requested International IDEA's support in obtaining international comparative expertise and technical/financial support to sustain the network and ensure its public outreach.

Through regular contact with the Speaker of Parliament, the network received questions and requests on a range of legal and policy areas that arose in the state administration because of the war. Within this framework, International IDEA, together with Ukrainian legal experts, provided expertise to the parliamentary leadership on international comparative practices on the role of the legislative branch during war. One of the topics related to how parliaments in other countries have ensured scrutiny of the executive branch during emergencies and war, while another related to the provision of civil, social and economic rights and public services to citizens during war.

The network has also addressed questions from citizens, ranging from issues of labour and employment rights under martial law, through to registration and issuance of various civil status and property licences and the operation of ordinary courts. Regular legal advice was provided to citizens directly and through social media channels. Over time the number of viewers on social media have increased, reaching about 17,700 views on the website, 580,000 views on Facebook, and 9,753 unique users on Telegram.

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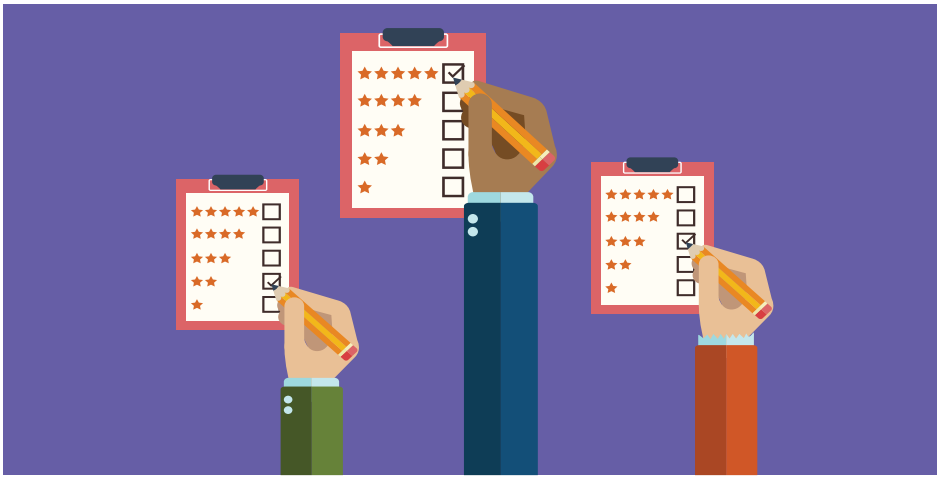
OUTCOMES FROM THE DEMOCRACY ASSESSMENT WORKSTREAM



In its role as a think tank, International IDEA has developed hundreds of publications on political parties, political finance, parliaments, citizens' engagement, electoral processes and constitution-building. The Institute also maintains a number of influential global databases on democracy, including the GSoD Indices and annual report, which depict democratic trends at the country, regional and global levels across a broad range of different attributes of democracy in 158 countries. Over the last couple of years, the GSoD Indices have developed into an Institute-wide initiative that includes policy briefs, press releases and social media posts as well as launches and workshops.

Other databases include—the Voter Turnout database, which is a leading resource for a wide array of statistics on voter turnout from around the world; the Electoral Management Design database, which focuses on the management of electoral processes by electoral management bodies; the Direct Democracy database, which provides global comparative data about how the mechanisms of direct democracy are organized in 197 countries; the Political Finance database, which covers 180 countries and remains the leading and only database and resource on political finance regulatory

frameworks worldwide; and the Gender Quotas database, which is a key global resource on gender quotas and their impact on the participation and representation of women and men in parliaments.

Some of the Institute's most used digital tools include—the Electoral Risk Management Tool, which aims to build the user's capacity to understand, analyse and mitigate electoral risks; the Electoral Cycle Tool, which covers the actions that should be taken by a wide array of actors throughout the electoral cycle; the IntegriTAS Threat Assessment Tool, which helps to detect the potential connection between organized crime and politics; and the Digital Parties Portal, which enables political parties to find digital tools that can help them to become more effective. An online portal to electoral knowledge resources co-developed by International IDEA receives over 2 million visits per year[9], while the more specialized data sets receive 500,000 annual user visits. Lastly, International IDEA maintains ConstitutionNet, an online information portal that provides up-to-date news and analysis of constitution-building around the world, as well as thousands of background materials. ConstitutionNet is the 'go-to' online resource centre for the field of constitution-building.

The GSoD initiative aims to influence governmental and non-governmental policy influencers and policymakers as well as media to utilize GSoD data, democracy analyses and recommendations to promote democracy, and advocate for and develop evidence-based democratic policies and reforms. Other knowledge products aim to influence and support electoral assistance providers and advisors to constitution-makers to provide advice and capacity development in their respective fields of expertise.

THE GSOD PRODUCTS INFLUENCE DEMOCRATIC POLICIES AND REFORMS

International IDEA supports *policymakers and policy influencers* **to utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to promote democracy and advocate for evidence-based democratic reforms.**

International IDEA's GSoD Initiative includes the Global State of Democracy Report; the GSoD Indices database; communication products such as policy briefs, press releases and social media posts; and events such as launches and workshops. The Initiative aims to influence governmental and non-governmental policy influencers, policy advisors and policymakers to utilize GSoD data, democracy analyses and recommendations to promote democracy, and advocate for and develop evidence-based democratic policies and reforms.

International IDEA supports *policymakers and policy influencers* **to utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to promote democracy and advocate for evidence-based democratic reforms.**

[9] The Ace Electoral Knowledge Network, <https://www.aceproject.org>, accessed 19 February 2023.

Maarja Kask, a staff member at Estonia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs who participated in International IDEA's Understanding and Measuring Digital Democracy event in November 2022, noted that the content was engaging and that the moderators were adept at encouraging a focused debate. In the days after the workshop, Kirsi Hantula, Senior Lead at the Finnish Innovation Fund (Sitra), published key takeaways and reflections stemming from the meeting on LinkedIn, including ways to increase the capacity of civil society to protect itself from digital threats. This feedback indicates that the workshop was useful to participants and encouraged cross-sectoral relationships and collaboration.

There is also evidence that the GSoD Initiative has been used by international development donors, helping them to prioritize democracy assistance funds and to design projects and programmes. For example, in 2022 the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) reported that their Africa department systematically uses the conceptual framework of the GSoD Indices when compiling results from annual strategy reports. In addition, the GSoD Indices are used for analysing political developments in annual strategy reports and as input for the development and operationalization of country, regional and global strategies.

The Institute's GSoD In Focus report *Supporting Ukraine's Democracy After the War* also generated significant interest from donors, including requests for meetings and further advisory services from the German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ) and the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). In addition, Laura Thornton, Director and Senior Fellow at the Alliance for Securing Democracy, provided written feedback, congratulating International IDEA for the product.

Moreover, various other *policymakers* have utilized GSoD data to inform policymaking in their respective countries. For example, the former prime minister of Fiji and Labour Party Leader Mahendra Chaudhry referenced the GSoD Indices regime classification when debating about areas to improve and focus on to strengthen Fiji's democracy, and at the 15th Bali Democracy Forum, Indonesia's Minister for Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi cited the findings of the GSoD 2022 report in her opening remarks.[10]

There are also examples of *policy advisors* using GSoD analysis to advocate for evidence-based democratic policies: Janai Nelson, President and Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, drew on analysis in the GSoD 2021 report in her testimony to the United States Senate Rules and Administration Committee hearing in August 2022, addressing voting discrimination;[11] and Sitra considered low political participation and expansion

[10] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Opening Remarks by Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia at the 15th Bali Democracy Forum, 8 December 2022, <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/4237/pidato/opening-remarks-by-minister-for-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-indonesia-at-the-15th-bali-democracy-forum-8-december-2022>, accessed 19 February 2023.

[11] Legal Defense Fund, Written Testimony of Janai Nelson, President and Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., 2022, <https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/Janai-Nelson-Testimony-Senate-Rules-ECA-Hearing-Aug-3-2022.pdf>, accessed 19 February 2023.

of the means of participatory engagement in Finland by utilizing the GSoD report findings on how new social contracts can restore trust in democracy.

The GSoD has also informed the work of *policy influencers*, contributing to their capacity to advocate for evidence-based democratic reforms. In an October 2022 paper, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace used GSoD Indices data in its examination of democratic backsliding to advise democracy practitioners on how to prevent leader-driven anti-democratic political projects.[12] In a November 2022 paper,[13] the Carnegie Endowment also referenced the GSoD 2021 report to demonstrate global trends in movements from democracy towards authoritarianism.

Other examples of how policy influencers use GSoD data and analysis include researchers conducting comparative analysis and integrating democracy metrics into other fields of research. For example, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute used GSoD Indices regime-type classifications to assess the relationship between democratization and the disclosure of disaggregated military expenditure figures;[14] and coverage of the 2022 mass protests in Sri Lanka published on the GSoD Democracy Notes blog was cited by the Australian think tank, Centre for Independent Studies, in their research on democracy in Sri Lanka.[15] Moreover, the Christian Churches Monitoring Group, a Zambian CSO coalition dedicated to monitoring elections, drew on the findings of the GSoD 2021 report in its call for the Zambian Ministry of Justice to provide a roadmap of legal reforms and facilitate a platform for stakeholder engagement.[16]

791 NEWS ARTICLES IN 27 LANGUAGES REFERRED TO THE GSOD INDICES IN 2022

International IDEA supports *media* to utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to inform the public about the state of democracy and hold decision makers to account.

The GSoD increases transparency and serves to boost accountability—two key democratic principles. This can contribute to positioning media to demand democratic reforms and to hold their governments to account for poor conduct. In total in 2022, International IDEA's Democracy Assessment team

International IDEA supports *media* to utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to inform the public about the state of democracy and hold decision makers to account.

12 Carothers, T. and Press, B., 'Understanding and Responding to Global Democratic Backsliding', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 20 October 2022, <https://carnegieendowment.org/publications/88173?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss>, accessed 19 February 2023.

13 Wanless, A. and Shapiro, J.N., 'A CERN Model for Studying the Information Environment', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 17 November 2022, <https://carnegieendowment.org/publications/88408?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss>, accessed 19 February 2023.

14 Kaplan, A., Marksteiner, A. and Tian, N., 'Commentary: Improving transparency in military spending through disaggregated information', Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 30 August 2022, <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-backgrounder/2022/improving-transparency-military-spending-through-disaggregated-information>, accessed 19 February 2023.

15 Nadaradjane, A., *Sri Lanka: Democracy in Crisis*, The Centre for Independent Studies, 29 November 2022, <https://www.cis.org.au/publication/sri-lanka-democracy-in-crisis>, accessed 19 February 2023.

16 Lusakatimes.com, 'Feature Politics: Provide a comprehensive legal reform roadmap, Justice Ministry told', 30 November 2022, <https://www.lusakatimes.com/2022/11/30/provide-a-comprehensive-legal-reform-roadmap-justice-ministry-told>, accessed 19 February 2023.

tracked 791 news articles in 27 languages referencing the GSoD Initiative and its products—from *Business Insider* to the *Manila Times* and the *Diplomat*. For example: Argentina's *La Nación* drew on the GSoD 2021 report to look into the state of democracy in Argentina and the wider region and asked how citizens can respond;[17] and a September article from the *New York Times*, reaching 831,000 readers, paraphrased the policy recommendations from the GSoD 2021 report.[18]

The launch of the GSoD 2022 report on 30 November also garnered significant worldwide media attention. Several outlets focused on the findings in terms of a specific country, and national news media often picked up findings for their own countries. For example: SwissInfo pulled out GSoD Indices data on Swiss democratic performance, including a graph produced by International IDEA, and reached over 342,000 readers;[19] Pakistan's *Express Tribune* highlighted how the country measured against the GSoD Indices and reflected on the assessment of its overall democratic performance in the report;[20] and POLITICO cited GSoD Indices data on Moldova and re-created several graphs from the report using GSoD Indices data.[21]

Other large global outlets focused on regional and global trends, including Voice of America,[22] Deutsche Welle,[23] the Associated Press,[24] MSN,[25] and El Sol de México.[26] Reuters described declines observed in democratic institutions and deepening authoritarianism, and identified some of the driving factors, with

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17 Serra, L., 'Ideas: Daniel Zovatto: "Debemos repensar una democracia de nueva generación, más inclusiva"' [Ideas: Daniel Zovatto: "We must rethink a next generation democracy, more inclusive], *La Nacion*, 17 September 2022, <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/ideas/daniel-zovatto-debemos-repensar-una-democracia-de-nueva-generacion-mas-inclusiva-nid17092022>, accessed 19 February 2023.

18 Bokat-Lindell, S., 'Opinion: Is Liberal Democracy Dying?', *New York Times*, 28 September 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/28/opinion/italy-meloni-democracy-authoritarianism.html>, accessed 19 February 2023.

19 Kaufmann, B., 'The uncanny reinvention of autocracy', SWI swissinfo.ch, 30 November 2022, <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/the-uncanny-reinvention-of-autocracy----/48093992>, accessed 19 February 2023.

20 The Express Tribune, 'Editorial & Opinion: Democratic erosion threat', [n.d], <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2389494/democratic-erosion-threat>, accessed 19 February 2023.

21 Preussen, W., 'Moldova is Europe's democratic "bright spot", report says', 30 November 2022, <https://www.politico.eu/article/moldova-europe-democracy-bright-spot-report-hungary-poland-human-rights-media-authority>, accessed 19 February 2023.

22 Associated Press, 'Report: Authoritarianism on the Rise as Democracy Weakens', VOAnews.com, 30 November 2022, <https://www.voanews.com/a/report-authoritarianism-on-the-rise-as-democracy-weakens/6856151.html>, accessed 19 February 2023.

23 DW News, 'Why is the democratic backslide accelerating?', YouTube, 30 November 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LKKW5KAM7KE>, accessed 19 February 2023.

24 Olsen, J. M., 'Report: Authoritarianism on the rise as democracy weakens', AP News, 30 November 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/europe-denmark-democracy-a5e80635070431e2315e1d90273ed527>, accessed 19 February 2023.

25 Stewart, D., 'International democracies are weakening as authoritarianisms deepen their shortcomings', News 360, 30 November 2022, <https://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/world/international-democracies-are-weakening-as-authoritarianisms-deepen-their-shortcomings/ar-AA14leoq?li=BBoPRmx&srcref=rss>, accessed 19 February 2023.

26 El Sol de México, 'Democracia cede terreno frente a gobiernos autoritarios' [Democracy yields ground to authoritarian governments], 1 December 2022, <https://www.elsoldemexico.com.mx/mundo/democracia-cede-terreno-frente-a-gobiernos-autoritarios-9267122.html>, accessed 19 February 2023.

examples from Europe and Africa,[27] and this was widely republished, including by *Japan Today*, *US News* and the Philippines' English-language *Inquirer*. Euronews summarized the findings of the report, with special attention to regional trends in Europe.[28]

Local outlets took a similar approach, including Garowe Online, an English-language Somali news outlet,[29] and the *Macau Daily Times*.[30] The *Saudi Gazette*, which reaches 130,000 readers from its online news, and the Kuwait News Agency (KUNA) highlighted the key findings of the GSoD 2022 report and promoted the launch event.[31] The former republished International IDEA's infographic on dimensions of redesigning social contracts. The Club of Mozambique reviewed the GSoD report's findings from the lens of Portuguese-speaking countries, comparing findings on the democratic performances of Angola, Mozambique, Equatorial Guinea, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Portugal, Guinea-Bissau and Timor-Leste, according to regime classifications and various dimensions of the GSoD Indices conceptual framework.[32] The Finnish press included an interview with Dr Shah, Head of the Democracy Assessment team, identifying focus areas for updating social contracts.[33] Euractiv described the GSoD Indices and discussed the findings on backsliding countries.[34]

The Democracy Assessment team strategically released a host of op eds, allowing GSoD analysis to reach broader audiences. This included three Spanish-language op eds published in *El País*—an op ed on democracy

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27 Reuters, 'Half of world's democracies in decline, intergovernmental watchdog says', 30 November 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/half-worlds-democracies-decline-intergovernmental-watchdog-2022-11-30>, accessed 19 February 2023; Reuters, 'Half of world's democracies in decline: intergovernmental watchdog', Japan Today, 3 December 2022, <https://japantoday.com/category/features/opinions/half-of-world's-democracies-in-decline-intergovernmental-watchdog>, accessed 19 February 2023; Reuters, 'Half of world's democracies in decline—intergovernmental watchdog', Inquirer.net, 30 November 2022, <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1699704/half-of-worlds-democracies-in-decline-intergovernmental-watchdog>, accessed 19 February 2023; Reuters/Ahlander, J., 'Half of world's democracies in decline, according to new watchdog report', City Press, 30 November 2022, <https://www.news24.com/citypress/Business/half-of-worlds-democracies-in-decline-according-to-new-watchdog-report-20221130>, accessed 19 February 2023; Reuters, 'Half of World's Democracies in Decline – Intergovernmental Watchdog', U.S. News & World Report, 29 November 2022, <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-11-29/half-of-worlds-democracies-in-decline-intergovernmental-watchdog>, accessed 19 February 2023; Ahlander, J., "Study paints a grim picture of the state of democracy', Business Day, 30 November 2022, <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/world/2022-11-30-study-paints-a-grim-picture-of-the-state-of-democracy/?utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Twitter#Echobox=1669805789>, accessed 19 February 2023.

28 Urvoy, H., 'More countries are moving towards authoritarianism – report', euronews.com, 30 November 2022, <https://www.euronews.com/2022/11/30/more-countries-are-moving-towards-authoritarianism-report>, accessed 19 February 2023.

29 Garowe Online, 'US democracy at risk, a new Report now reveals', 30 November 2022, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/editorial/us-democracy-at-risk-a-new-report-now-reveals>, accessed 19 February 2023.

30 *Macau Daily Times*, 'Report: Authoritarianism on the rise as democracy weakens', 1 December 2022, <https://macaudailytimes.com.mo/report-authoritarianism-on-the-rise-as-democracy-weakens.html>, accessed 19 February 2023.

31 *Saudi Gazette*, 'Global democracy, including US, is on decline: IDEA report', 30 November 2022, <https://saudigazette.com.sa/article/627524/World/Europe/Global-democracy-including-US-is-on-decline-IDEA-report>, accessed 19 February 2023; Kuwait News Agency (KUNA), 'IDEA report: Global democracy on decline', 30 November 2022, <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=3070828&Language=en>, accessed 19 February 2023.

32 Club of Mozambique, 'Equatorial Guinea: Only authoritarian regime in Portuguese-speaking countries', 30 November 2022, <https://clubofmozambique.com/news/equatorial-guinea-only-authoritarian-regime-in-portuguese-speaking-countries-229738>, accessed 19 February 2023.

33 MTV Uutiset, 'Selvitys: Ihmisten luottamus demokratiaan on heikentynyt' [Report: People's trust in democracy has weakened], 30 November 2022, <https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/selvitys-ihmisten-luottamus-demokratiaan-on-heikentynyt/8581808#gs.kfwvz2>, accessed 19 February 2023.

34 Reuters, 'Half of world's democracies in decline – intergovernmental watchdog', EURACTIV.com, 30 November 2022, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/elections/news/half-of-worlds-democracies-in-decline-intergovernmental-watchdog>, accessed 19 February 2023.

measurement,[35] another on authoritarianism in Russia,[36] and a third on the democratic outlook for Ukraine.[37] Furthermore, a piece on the implications for the EU's Artificial Intelligence Act on democracy was placed in Tech.eu in March,[38] and VoxEurop published a piece on democracy in Ukraine in April.[39] A piece on freedom of speech on social media during wartime was published in the *Toronto Star*.[40] Several op eds focused on the democracy implications of geopolitical developments: Eurasianet published an article on Europe's gas dependence as a hazard for democracy,[41] while news24 published a piece on how increased defence spending could undermine democracy.[42] An article on the factors that help countries return to democracy after an authoritarian spell was published in the *Washington Post* in March.[43]

35 Gibaja, A. F., '¿Y quién decide que es democrático y qué no?' [And who decides what is democratic and what is not], *El País*, 20 October 2021, <https://agendapublica.elpais.com/noticia/16640/qui-decide-es-democratico-qu-no>, accessed 19 February 2023.

36 Otaola, M. A. L., 'Complicidad autoritaria: el apoyo a Rusia en América Latina' [Authoritarian complicity: Support for Russia in Latin America], *El País*, 30 March 2022, <https://agendapublica.elpais.com/noticia/17861/complicidad-autoritaria-apoyo-rusia-am-rica-latina>, accessed 19 February 2023.

37 Gibaja, A. F., 'El espejo bielorruso y el futuro de Ucrania' [The Belarusian mirror and the future of Ukraine], *El País*, 29 April 2022, <https://agendapublica.elpais.com/noticia/17929/espejo-bielorruso-futuro-ucrania>, accessed 19 February 2023.

38 Taylor, D., 'Op-ed: The EU's Artificial Intelligence Act does little to protect democracy', tech.eu, 14 March 2022, <https://tech.eu/2022/03/14/op-ed-the-eu-s-artificial-intelligence-act-does-little-to-protect-democracy>, accessed 19 February 2023.

39 Shah, S., 'Defending Ukraine means defending democracy', VoxEurop, 11 April 2022, <https://voxeurop.eu/en/defending-ukraine-means-defending-democracy>, accessed 19 February 2023.

40 Shah, S., 'Of words and war: Freedom of speech on social media during "wartime"', *Toronto Star*, 14 April 2022, <https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/2022/04/14/of-words-and-war-freedom-of-speech-on-social-media-during-wartime.html>, accessed 19 February 2023.

41 Runey, M., 'Perspectives. "The most bitter cigarette." How Europe's gas dependence is a hazard for democracy', Eurasianet, 8 April 2022, <https://eurasianet.org/perspectives-the-most-bitter-cigarette-how-europes-gas-dependence-is-a-hazard-for-democracy>, accessed 19 February 2023.

42 Hudson, A., 'Analysis: A Western defence spending spree may undermine democracies', News24, 12 April 2022, <https://www.news24.com/news24/analysis/analysis-alex-hudson-a-western-defence-spending-spree-may-undermine-democracies-20220412>, accessed 19 February 2023.

43 Otaola, M. A. F., 'Worried about the state of democracy? Here are some reasons to be optimistic instead', *Washington Post*, 2 March 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/03/02/democracy-backsliding-authoritarianism-index>, accessed 19 February 2023.

OUTCOMES IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES

By working through and together with a professional community of *electoral assistance practitioners*, International IDEA aims to inspire and support *electoral management bodies*, *policymakers* and *civil society* to adopt behaviours, relationships and practices that are conducive for credible and well-run electoral processes. The Institute does so by providing non-prescriptive comparative knowledge and options, and by facilitating processes that help stakeholders to explore and adopt solutions that suit their context. The theory of change underpinning the approach is that:

- if electoral assistance practitioners are informed by norms, good practices and research and have skills to contextualize such knowledge to local conditions, they can effectively inspire and support policymakers, electoral management bodies and civil society to adopt behaviours, relationships and practices that enable credible and well-run electoral processes; and

- if policymakers increase knowledge and skills on electoral processes and apply these competencies to recognize and consider risks in elections and to create an enabling environment for inclusivity and accountability

in electoral processes, this would create an environment for electoral management bodies and civil society to develop knowledge and skills on electoral processes; and

- if electoral management bodies then increase knowledge and skills on electoral processes and apply these competencies to effectively respond to complexities and risks in electoral processes, implement the electoral cycle approach, and embrace principles of impartiality, integrity, transparency, efficiency, professionalism and service-mindedness in their work; and

- if civil society then increases knowledge and skills on electoral processes and applies these competencies to effectively demand accountability from policymakers and promote public participation in electoral processes; then . . .

… political institutions would become more effective, accountable and transparent (SDG 16.6) and all citizens would be more politically included (SDG 10.2). And then the likelihood of credible and well-run electoral processes would be strengthened.[44]

This Report focuses on reporting results among the four boundary partners that International IDEA is targeting in electoral processes. As these changes are complex, the Report includes qualitative outcome stories, where a description is given of how International IDEA has influenced each of these boundary partners' relationships, behaviours and practices. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results within the area of electoral processes, but they are *representative examples* of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence the stories are to be regarded as *qualitative indicators* of International IDEA's results. The stories also include lessons learned from activities that have not led to expected results.

International IDEA supports *electoral assistance practitioners* **to provide contextualized support informed by norms, good practices and research.**

TOWARDS MORE EFFECTIVE ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

International IDEA supports *electoral assistance practitioners* **to provide contextualized support informed by norms, good practices and research.** With shifting challenges to democracy, in particular the deliberate undermining of electoral processes and institutions, the principles and practices of electoral assistance are not keeping pace. Unexpected events—such as the pandemic, cybersecurity breaches and extreme weather events—have further strained the capacity of electoral authorities.

In response to such challenges, a recent study by International IDEA provides a platform for renewing electoral assistance mechanisms and modalities. Under the Swedish Expert Group for Aid Studies (EBA) commission, International IDEA conducted a thorough consultation of the electoral assistance community to identify critical areas for reform. The report is now used by

[44] This theory of change is illustrated in Annex A.

practitioners to provide contextualized support informed by good practices and research.

The report maps existing principles and insights on weak spots of electoral assistance through a series of questions: When is electoral assistance effective? What are the main obstacles for electoral assistance to achieve successful and sustainable results? What modalities or approaches to providing electoral assistance would better support the attainment of democracy goals? The key recommendations from the study are to:

- revitalize international arenas for knowledge exchange and rapid response;
- renew and revise internationally agreed electoral assistance principles to guide this work;
- invest in regional initiatives as better positioned for longer-term impact; and
- revisit electoral assistance for agility and local ownership.

The comprehensive consultations, including four expert working streams and regional consultations in five global regions, have generated cross-agency conversations. At the launch of the report, EBA Committee Chair Helena Lindholm, Professor in peace and conflict studies at the University of Gothenburg, pointed to the methodology as the report's strength, in that it is 'uniquely based on practitioners' experiences'. Staffan Smedby, Head of the Unit for Democracy and Human Rights at Sida, spoke of the 'timeliness and relevance' of the report and his willingness for Sweden to play an active role in facilitating the recommendations. While calling it an outstanding report, Thomas Carothers, Senior Fellow and Co-director of Carnegie's Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program, sounded a note of concern: 'What I learned is one very central thing, which is the electoral assistance community is having a very hard time getting to grips with how much the world has changed. I feel the report is taking us down the road, but it is striking to me that we are on this road only now.'

Moreover, Michael McNulty, Senior Advisor on Electoral Processes at the US Agency for International Development (USAID), reported that the report recommendations 'have continued to inform USAID's principles and practices for supporting democratic elections' and that they 'were part of what helped inform the development of the American Bar Association's Defending Democratic Elections Initiative (DDEI), which includes the Global Network for Securing Electoral Integrity'.

International IDEA supports electoral *policymakers* to consider risks and support practices which foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.

SUPPORTING ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT BODIES TO LEVERAGE FINANCIAL RESOURCES

International IDEA supports *electoral* *policymakers* to consider risks and support practices which foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.

Over the last few years, electoral management bodies, electoral policymakers, electoral assistance providers and donors have shown an increasing interest in the independence of electoral management bodies. A key aspect of their independence is the disbursement of timely and adequate financial resources to finance its staff and activities. While an electoral management body may be legally and in practice independent, this independence may be impeded if it lacks the financial resources it requires, or if such resources are withheld or delayed for political reasons.

To address this topic, in 2017 International IDEA hosted a round table to discuss aspects of financing electoral processes with staff from several electoral management bodies, electoral assistance practitioners and academia. This was followed by a meeting of African electoral management bodies in Namibia in 2018 and exchanges with regional bodies such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Parliamentary Assembly. An outcome of this process has been the recognition that financing electoral processes should be regarded as an investment in a democracy, rather than simply an administrative cost.

Building on this interest, International IDEA disseminated a survey to more than 50 electoral management bodies globally to map their budget-making and financing procedures with an aim to better understand pertinent issues on the matter and develop guidelines for best practices for the financing of electoral management bodies. During the process the New Zealand Electoral Commission's (NZEC) International Department indicated that the work is highly relevant and beneficial, and 'will also help to inform some work we are hoping to undertake with the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat on advocacy to secure timely and adequate funding for Pacific electoral management bodies'. International IDEA was also invited to share research on comparative best practices, draft guidelines and considerations for electoral management bodies, parliamentarians and donors at the Commonwealth Secretariat' network meeting for electoral management bodies, hosted by NZEC in November 2022.

Once the guidelines for best practice are launched, it is intended to serve as a resource for electoral policymakers, electoral management bodies, civil servants in finance ministries and donors to better understand electoral management financing needs and processes.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S ANALYSES ON ELECTIONS DURING COVID-19 INFLUENCE ELECTORAL PRACTICES WORLDWIDE

International IDEA supports *electoral* *policymakers* to consider risks and support practices which foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.

In 2022 governments stopped postponing elections due to the Covid-19 pandemic and started to reform their electoral processes to enable more flexibility for voters. To support countries to make informed decisions while preparing for more flexible elections, International IDEA made available a series of resources aimed to help electoral policymakers and electoral management bodies as they navigate complex decisions, Covid-19 health risks and adverse conditions for holding elections.

These resources include—a volume entitled *Electoral Integrity and Covid-19: Lessons from an International Crisis* published in late 2022; a multimedia report that includes more than 170 briefs from elections in 131 countries and territories, which has attracted more than 180,000 visits from 171 countries; state-of-the-art articles and reports on, for example, campaign limitations, disinformation, safety measures, special voting arrangements, voter turnout and election observation; and 26 case studies on lessons learned from countries that have held elections during the pandemic, such as Argentina, Canada, Cabo Verde, Ethiopia, India, South Korea and the Netherlands.

National authorities, such as the Canadian Centre for Cyber Security and the Knesset Research and Information Center, have used these resources to develop guiding documents. Moreover, International IDEA was requested by Clement N. Voule, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association, to provide support in drafting *Guidelines on the Rights to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and of Association in the Context of Elections and Covid-19 Crisis*. International IDEA's analysis on elections and Covid-19 has also been cited by more than 140 national and international news outlets, including *Foreign Policy*, the *New York Times* and Reuters. Journals such as *British Academy*, the *Journal of Risk Research*, the *European Journal of Development Research* and *African Security* have also cited International IDEA's work more than 86 times. The global overview of Covid-19's impact on elections has been cited in over 40 different publications.

As International IDEA's global reputation has grown as a consequence of increased visibility, the Institute has strengthened its role as a go-to place for advice on how to conduct elections during challenging circumstances. For example, the Institute has been invited to numerous online events on the topic organized globally, and in countries such as Fiji, Timor-Leste, Philippines and Indonesia, and has been asked to provide advisory services to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Australian Election Commission. More broadly, International IDEA's work on how to conduct elections during Covid-19 is now developing into a workstream on how to conduct elections during crises and how to protect elections in times of democratic backsliding.

International IDEA supports electoral *policymakers* to consider risks and support practices which foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.

International IDEA supports electoral *policymakers* to consider risks and support practices which foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.

PROTECTING ELECTIONS AGAINST EMERGING DIGITAL CHALLENGES

International IDEA supports *electoral policymakers* to consider risks and support practices which foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.

International IDEA has worked on threats to elections for many years and this work is continuously yielding results. Following the concerns about cybersecurity in elections triggered by the 2016 elections in the US, International IDEA convened one-on-one interviews with experts and electoral management bodies to discuss and explore cyber risks in elections, counter-measures and the way forward, as well as a series of meetings on the topic with electoral management bodies and expert participants from over 20 countries to capture global best practice for protecting elections against emerging digital challenges.

A key finding was that improving interagency collaboration is crucial to the way forward. Subsequently, International IDEA collected a series of case studies of emerging best practice and published findings in July 2019 under the title *Cybersecurity in Elections: Models of Interagency Collaboration*.

The combination of face-to-face interaction and a knowledge product proved to be valuable means to influence change. In November 2019, the Commonwealth Secretariat shared its first draft of the *Good Electoral Practice Guide on Electoral Cybersecurity*, which is designed to shape the approaches of election administrations of the 53 Commonwealth member states to protect their elections from cyber threats. The guide draws on International IDEA's recent work on cybersecurity as well as a range of International IDEA electoral knowledge resources.

In October 2020 and in cooperation with *Réseau des compétences électorales francophones* within the network of the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF), the publication was translated and published in French and disseminated to electoral management bodies throughout the OIF region. By now many countries have introduced such interagency collaboration, and the European cooperation network on elections has been established at EU level. However, others are still lagging behind, not least in official development assistance contexts. In an effort to close one of these gaps, International IDEA and the Rule of Law Centre of Finland are co-implementing a two-year project that supports the Central Election Commission of Albania on the development of a roadmap for improving interagency collaboration in the country. This includes discussions about the roadmap with all relevant stakeholders in Albania, including the Central Election Commission, various other government agencies with a potential role in protecting elections, electoral assistance providers on the ground and the parliamentary Legal Affairs Committee in charge of electoral reform.

Moving forward, International IDEA will explore further aspects of this topic—including the role interagency collaboration plays in the protection of elections

overall—as well as the challenges it raises, including questions related to the independence of electoral management bodies.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S WORK ON RISK MANAGEMENT IN ELECTIONS GAINS FURTHER TRACTION

International IDEA supports *electoral management bodies* to recognize and respond to complexities and risks and effectively implement the electoral cycle approach.

For over a decade, International IDEA has promoted risk management in elections. The unique portfolio of resources the Institute offers on the topic includes policy papers, practical guides, and assessment and analysis tools. To promote and support the application of these tools, International IDEA provides advisory and technical support to electoral management bodies and CSOs worldwide.

Long-term cooperation with electoral management bodies typically starts with a presentation of the guides and tools. For example, following the presentation of International IDEA's work at the 23rd Annual General Conference of the Electoral Commissions Forum of Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, a number of African electoral management bodies expressed interest in improving electoral risk management. Among them, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in Botswana and the Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission (IEBC) in Kenya sought support from International IDEA to improve electoral risk management procedures—both organizations have already made significant progress in this regard.

At the same time, International IDEA has enhanced cooperation on electoral risk management with electoral management bodies in Sierra Leone and Nigeria. In Sierra Leone, initial policy discussion and multi-stakeholder meetings in 2021 led to the establishment of an electoral risk management hub by the Election Commission of Sierra Leone, and technical trainings on International IDEA's Electoral Risk Management (ERM) Tool started in 2022. Nigeria is a long-time partner of International IDEA in implementing the ERM Tool, which now represents a pillar of the Independent National Electoral Commission's (INEC) work. Further collaborative engagements between INEC and International IDEA will focus on capacity development in Nigeria ahead of the 2023 elections and beyond.

Equally significant developments include Fiji, where an electoral security advisory group was formed following a workshop on electoral risk management organized by International IDEA, and Mozambique, where costs of electoral risk management are discussed in the face of vulnerabilities relating to natural calamities.

These partnerships have enhanced International IDEA's reputation as a thought leader on electoral risk management, which attracts the interest of an

International IDEA supports *electoral management bodies* to recognize and respond to complexities and risks and effectively implement the electoral cycle approach.

increasing number of electoral practitioners, policymakers and international electoral assistance providers who implement and promote risk management in elections. For example, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission of Kenya used ERM Tool resources for hotspot mapping during the 2021 elections; the tool is also being utilized for investigative journalism. For international IDEA, work on electoral risk management will become even more critical as work on the integrative framework for protecting elections advances.

International IDEA supports *electoral management bodies* to recognize and respond to complexities and risks and effectively implement the electoral cycle approach.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S DATABASES UTILIZED FOR IDENTIFYING GOOD ELECTORAL PRACTICES IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY

International IDEA supports *electoral management bodies* to recognize and respond to complexities and risks and effectively implement the electoral cycle approach.

In its role as a think tank, International IDEA has developed hundreds of publications on political parties, political finance, parliaments, citizens' engagement, electoral processes and constitution-building. The Institute also maintains a number of influential global databases on democracy. International IDEA regularly monitors the utilization of these products. For example, three prominent data sets continuously use data from International IDEA's databases to develop their own indices: the Voter Turnout and Electoral System Design databases are used by the Quality of Government Dataset;[45] the Voter Turnout database is used by the Annual Prosperity Index;[46] and the Voter Turnout database is used by the V-Dem Institute for their data set.[47] Databases such as the Voter Turnout database and the ICTs in Elections database are also widely used by academics and the media.

A concrete example of how the knowledge products are used in practice can be found in South Africa. Mosotho Moepya, the chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of South Africa, reports that both he and other members of the IEC use International IDEA's publications and databases on a regular basis to benchmark their practices with others and to develop existing practices. For example, the IEC utilized the Political Finance database and related knowledge products to develop its rules and procedures for political party financing.

Mr Moepya has also utilized the Voter Turnout database and the ICTs in Elections database to analyse and compare data for elections in the SADC. 'I

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45 Teorell, J., Sundström, A., Holmberg, S., Rothstein, B., Pachon, N. A. and Dalli, C. M., The Quality of Government Standard Dataset, version jan22, University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, 2022, <https://www.qogdata.pol.gu.se/data/codebook_std_jan22.pdf>, accessed 19 February 2023.

46 Legatum Institute, <https://prosperity.com>, accessed 19 February 2023.

47 Coppedge, M., Gerring, J., Knutsen, C. H., Lindberg, S. I., Teorell, J., Altman, D. Bernhard, M., Cornell, A., Fish, M. S., Gastaldi, L., Gjerløw, H., Glynn, A., Hicken, A., Lührmann, A., Maerz, S. F., Marquardt, K. L., McMann, K., Mechkova, V., Paxton, P., Pemstein, D., von Römer, J., Seim, B., Sigman, R., Skaaning, S.-E., Staton, J., Sundtröm. A., Tzelgov, E., Uberti, L., Wang, Y., Wig, T. and Ziblatt, D., *V-Dem Codebook v11.1*, Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project, 2021, <https://www.v-dem.net/static/website/img/refs/codebookv111.pdf>, accessed 19 February 2023.

compared data from various sources, including the data from the respective national election management bodies, but found International IDEA's data to be the most reliable,' Mr Moepya says. He continues:

> Many of the electoral management bodies have private companies that run their databases, and when a company leaves there may be gaps in data collection and how data is analysed and presented. International IDEA ensures that reliable data is collected over time, so I always advise my colleagues to cross-check their data with International IDEA's databases.

The data sets in the Voter Turnout database and the ICTs in Elections database helped Mr Moepya to analyse regulatory frameworks for elections and voter turnout trends in the SADC region. He utilized his findings to compare electoral frameworks across SADC countries and for identifying good electoral practices with colleagues in the network of electoral management bodies in the SADC.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTED CIVIL SOCIETY TO DEVELOP A PROPOSAL FOR ELECTORAL LAW REFORMS IN MOZAMBIQUE

International IDEA supports *civil society* to promote public participation in electoral processes and demand accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies.

The most comprehensive and inclusive electoral law reform proposal emerging from civil society in the history of Mozambique was developed in 2021/2022 through an innovative and participatory methodology designed and facilitated by International IDEA through its 'Support to Consolidation of Democracy in Mozambique' programme, funded by the European Union and Austria.

Since the introduction of multiparty democracy in Mozambique in 1994, electoral legislation and its implementation in the conduct of elections have been at the centre of deep mistrust between the government and the political opposition. After every electoral cycle, dozens of recommendations for reform have been issued by local and international groups, and as a matter of routine a review and amendment of electoral legislation has taken place. However, those review and amendment processes, initiated by government or parliament, have limited stakeholder consultation, and when civil society makes submissions, they come from a small group of CSOs and have a narrow focus.

A comprehensive review of 20 years of reform recommendations conducted by International IDEA in 2021 has shown that 80 per cent of them have never been adopted into law. Therefore, despite the numerous amendment processes, current electoral legislation still does not fully meet the demands and aspirations of various political actors and of many Mozambican citizens,

International IDEA supports *civil society* to promote public participation in electoral processes and demand accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies.

nor do they fully meet international principles and standards for democratic elections.

It was against this background that International IDEA's Mozambique programme in collaboration with the Mozambican Institute for Multiparty Democracy set up a two-track review and proposal development process, taking on board 20 years of ignored recommendations. On the one hand, it established an advisory 15-member expert reference group, and on the other, it convened a stakeholder consultation process with more than 30 stakeholders, including political parties, the judiciary, elections-focused CSOs, women, youth and human and civil rights groups, academia and media houses from different regions of the country. The deployment of this methodological approach by International IDEA as a politically neutral convener managed to engage politically diverse and at times conflicting stakeholders around a common purpose.

The proposal has been submitted to all three parties in parliament, and International IDEA, through its convening power and technical expertise, is ready, if requested, to support any future review and amendment process by facilitating public consultations between parliament and stakeholders and providing technical assistance to parliamentary committees.

International IDEA supports *civil society* to promote public participation in electoral processes and demand accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies.

WITH SUPPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL IDEA, A NEW, STRONG AND COMMITTED CITIZEN OBSERVATION CONSORTIUM IN MOZAMBIQUE IS PREPARED TO OBSERVE THE 2023/2024 ELECTORAL CYCLE

International IDEA supports *civil society* to promote public participation in electoral processes and demand accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies.

A new, strong and committed citizen observation consortium in Mozambique is ready to observe the 2023/2024 electoral cycle with a comprehensive and detailed plan, as a result of International IDEA's convening power and capacity development assistance through its 'Support to Consolidation of Democracy in Mozambique' programme, funded by the EU and Austria. International IDEA will now provide the funding for the consortium to undertake observation of the 2023 municipal elections.

For 12 years, from 2003 to 2014, citizen observation in Mozambique was the domain of one strong coalition of eight CSOs—the Electoral Observatory—until the Observatory collapsed in 2016 due to internal conflicts among its members. The Observatory's demise left a vacuum in the Mozambican election observation landscape, and as a result citizen observation in the electoral cycle of 2018/2019 lost quality and impact because of a lack of planning capacity, fragmentation of efforts and unhealthy competition for support and donor resources among CSOs.

Seeking to support a more cohesive and technically stronger citizen observation effort for 2023/2024, International IDEA launched a call for requests for capacity development assistance in October 2021, encouraging applications by multidisciplinary consortia. Among the applications there was an incipient consortium of six members, comprising some of the most prominent CSOs in Mozambique in the areas of transparency, media freedom, women's political participation and gender equality, and social justice. Their decision to set up the consortium was in direct response to International IDEA's call and trust in the Institute's convening power and technical reputation.

For four months between May and September 2022, one day a week, every week, International IDEA worked closely with the consortium, which has named itself '+Integridade' (More Integrity). During this time two additional organizations (representing youth and people with disabilities) joined the consortium, which developed an observation methodology, a strategy, a plan and a budget for the entire election cycle.

The ability of eight, very diverse organizations to come together as a consortium and develop a comprehensive and sound observation strategy and plan as well as create the necessary internal governance architecture in such a short period of time is a testament to their commitment to setting aside their individual interests and agendas to focus on the important task of contributing to the consolidation of democracy in Mozambique through election observation. It is also strong evidence of International IDEA's ability to convene diverse stakeholders and bring them together around a common agenda and goal with a significant outcome.

OUTCOMES IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

By cooperating with *political parties*, *national and subnational parliaments and governments*, *public interest groups* and *oversight agencies* as an interconnected ecosystem, where shifts in one actor affect the other actors, International IDEA aims to inspire and support these actors to adopt behaviours, relationships and practices that are conducive for political participation and representation. The Institute does so by providing non-prescriptive comparative knowledge and options, and by facilitating processes that help stakeholders to explore and adopt solutions that suit their context. The theory of change underpinning the approach is that:

- if political parties increase their knowledge and skills and apply these competencies to mobilize all citizens effectively without discrimination, aggregate their interests into political programmes, recruit political leaders to contest elections, and organize governments and parliaments effectively, the party system becomes more inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens; and

- if national and subnational parliaments increase their knowledge and skills and apply these competencies to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions effectively, they become more effective, accountable and transparent as well as more responsive, inclusive and participatory; and

- if national and subnational governments increase their knowledge and skills and apply these competencies to become more responsive to constituents, use increased knowledge to make evidence-based policy decisions, and explain their decision-making processes to their constituents, government will become more effective, accountable and transparent as well as more responsive, inclusive and participatory; and

- if oversight agencies increase their knowledge and skills and apply these competencies to monitor, prevent and mitigate threats to democracy and threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics, by carrying out investigations, applying sanctions when needed and proposing legal reforms to hold political decision makers to account, political institutions become more effective, accountable and transparent; and

- if public interest groups increase their knowledge and skills and apply these competencies to engage with representative institutions in a democratic and effective way and hold political decision makers to account, political institutions become more effective, accountable and transparent, and public policy and practice become more responsive to the needs of all citizens; then ...

... the political ecosystem is in balance: political institutions will be effective, accountable and transparent (SDG 16.6); decision making by legislators and government will be responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative (SDG 16.7); all citizens will be politically included, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion, or economic or other status (SDG 10.2); and women will be politically included and have equal opportunities for political leadership (SDG 5.5). In such a political ecosystem, the legitimacy of the political institutions would be strengthened, which would reduce tensions and conflicts in society.[48]

This Report focuses on reporting results among the four boundary partners that International IDEA is targeting in political participation and representation. As these changes are complex, the Report includes qualitative outcome stories, where a description is given of how International IDEA has influenced each of these boundary partners' relationships, behaviours and practices. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results within the area of political participation and representation, but they are *representative examples* of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence the stories are to be regarded as *qualitative indicators* of International IDEA's results. The stories also include lessons learned from activities that have not led to expected results.

[48] This theory of change is illustrated in Annex B.

International IDEA supports *political parties* to exercise their functions so that they contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

POLITICAL TRAININGS HELP WOMEN TO CONTEST IN ELECTIONS IN PARAGUAY

International IDEA supports *political parties* to exercise their functions so that they contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

Five years of close collaboration between International IDEA and the Gender Policy Unit at the Superior Tribunal for Electoral Justice (TSJE) in Paraguay has gradually generated results. Among other things, joint advocacy work has led to the Gender Policy Unit being upgraded to an independent unit with 12 permanent staff members and its own budget within TSJE. The unit has been equipped with a mandate to improve gender mainstreaming at TSJE, and International IDEA offers support in that process. Moreover, the two institutions have developed the Political School for Women Leaders (EFPML), which is organized by the Gender Policy Unit and implemented in close coordination with International IDEA. All key informants interviewed in a recent evaluation praised EFPML and gave testimonies to how successful the school has been in promoting women's political participation in Paraguay.

EFPML aims to enhance women's skills to engage effectively in politics. One of the objectives is to encourage women to participate in political parties and run for elections, and another is to help them to move up on the political parties' election lists. The training programme is 2 months long, comprising 18 modules with 8 hours of classes each week. The interest in participating exceeded expectations. So far 2 groups with 80 participants each have undertaken the training, and even though only approximately 50 per cent graduate, the participants are generally satisfied with the training.

So far, the local elections in 2021 have been undertaken since this work started. Forty-eight former students at EFPML presented themselves as candidates in these elections: one was subsequently elected mayor, and eleven councillors and three alternates were also elected. Moreover, ex-students have established various alumni associations, including the Network of Women Leaders of Itapúa, the Network of Women Politicians of Paraguay and the Circle of Women Leaders and Politicians. Through these networks and support systems, they continue to work together on issues of importance for women in politics. These formal networks offer peer-to-peer support for women who are exposed to gender-based political violence and other challenges that women who engage politically in Paraguay are confronted with.

In parallel with the work with EFPML, International IDEA has supported the local CSO Kuña Róga to undertake eight trainings for 260 women in five districts (departments) in the south of Paraguay. These trainings included 12 hours of trainings per week for six weeks. Out of the 260 participants, 71 ran as candidates in the local elections and 30 were elected.

A NEW POLITICAL PARTIES ACT IN KENYA REDUCES ELECTORAL VIOLENCE

International IDEA supports *political parties* to exercise their functions so that they contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP) in Kenya embarked on a legal reform journey aimed at addressing gaps and overlaps in mandate with the IEBC. Further, the reform process was tailored to implement court decisions, including the requirement for parties to nominate candidates in line with the principle of the two-thirds gender quota law in Kenya. The amendment process, which was facilitated by International IDEA, adopted a participatory approach, allowing input from diverse stakeholders including political parties, relevant representation of the legislature, state and non-state actors.

International IDEA supported the process through a series of drafters' retreats to develop a draft revised bill that was subjected to public participation and validation. Some of the stakeholders invited included political parties' officials, the Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC), CSOs, government agencies and parliament caucuses. International IDEA guided drafting of the bill and convened and facilitated a technical group of experts that reviewed the draft bill and mapped out legal proposals deemed a priority as well as contentious proposals that would derail debate of the bill in the national assembly and senate.

After subjecting the document to the PPLC, it was forwarded to the Justice and Legal Affairs Committee, then to the national assembly and senate for debate before being enacted by the president on 27 January 2022. After the bill was enacted, International IDEA supported ORPP to implement the act by supporting them to develop checklists and guidelines for party registration and nominations. The Institute also trained newly registered political parties on membership, registers and internal structures and organized sensitization meetings on the amended act.

Frankline Mukwanja, Executive Director for the Centre for Multiparty Democracy, has noted that 'there are noticeable gains with the Amended Political Parties Act 2022 on multiparty democracy in Kenya'. He argued that 'the amendments have introduced a shift in the criteria on disbursement of the Political Parties' Fund. In addition, it has provided legal frameworks necessary on the formation and management of pre- and post-election coalitions.'

The amended act sanitizes the political space, especially the nomination of candidates, by reducing electoral violence during party nomination, allowing mechanisms of inclusion and better dispute resolution mechanisms. After elections, it is notable that disputes that relate to membership of political parties have significantly reduced.

International IDEA supports *political parties* to exercise their functions so that they contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

International IDEA supports *parliaments* to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

INTER PARES ENHANCES PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT AND SENSITIVITY TO GENDER EQUALITY

International IDEA supports *parliaments* to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

Across the globe, parliamentarians, specialized staff and scholars recognize that parliamentary oversight is fundamental to democracy by making sure that laws work and are effectively administered in a transparent, inclusive and responsive way that is accountable to all citizens. Successful oversight depends on parliaments developing and using the proper know-how, procedures and tools to scrutinize government, through the development of a parliamentary culture that accepts and incentivizes oversight.

That is why International IDEA's EU-funded project 'INTER PARES | Parliaments in Partnership' uses a politically aware approach that involves peer-to-peer collaborative experience sharing to build capacity through several progressive steps:

1. Jointly designing partnership priorities, objectives and desired outcomes to ensure responsiveness to partner parliament needs.

2. Enhancing awareness, knowledge and skills by matching partner parliaments with EU member states' parliaments. This peer-to-peer approach ensures quality and relevant learning among practitioners who understand parliamentary culture.

3. Developing new or enhanced tools, procedures and institutional relationships through peer-to-peer technical assistance.

4. Applying the skills, knowledge and tools to improve parliamentary effectiveness and policy recommendations.

This approach is yielding positive outcomes. Most of the project's partner parliaments have developed and adopted new tools, practices or policies. Three in particular are institutionalizing new practices for oversight of government action—the Parliaments of Chile, Côte d'Ivoire and Malaysia.

In Chile, a guide and a checklist for mainstreaming a gender perspective in post-legislative scrutiny were prepared and utilized to scrutinize the Law on Sexual Harassment in Public Spaces. The Women and Gender Equality Committee of the Chamber of Deputies is also using the tools to refine its agenda for a planned public consultation whose recommendations will be presented in early 2023. The Chile Senate is now planning to establish a research unit to support legislating, which will include gender-sensitive scrutiny of government bills. In Chile, the potential for gender-sensitive post-legislative scrutiny has been understood among committee staff and legislators, and staff expect that enhanced awareness of the tool will lead to more committees requesting its application, to enhanced relationships between committees and

the department, and to a gender perspective being applied to all future scrutiny carried out by the Department for Law Evaluation, regardless of the object of the law under study.

In Malaysia, after an initial workshop and training on gender, the Special Select Committee on Women and Children's Affairs and Social Development met with CSOs to gather evidence to help the committee develop a work programme. This resulted in the committee recommending that government ensures that children born abroad by Malaysian mothers married to foreigners are accorded legal citizenship. The committee also formed a specific subcommittee on gender equality. Next, they worked with the Italian Parliament to adapt the gender impact assessment checklist developed for Chile to their own context. The template was then used to prepare a gender impact assessment on the Control of Padi and Rice Bill 2022. Working with the Italian and Irish Parliaments, Malaysian parliamentarians also established an action plan for parliament focusing on—changing the standing orders to require that gender be considered in all parliamentary oversight and law-making; conducting gender impact assessment of bills; developing a strategy to drive gender equality through parliament; and undertaking a gender-sensitive assessment of the Dewan Rakyat. Members of parliament from the gender subcommittee also advocated to the speaker to undertake gender-sensitive self-assessments and embed gender impact assessments into parliamentary legislative scrutiny. In August, the Special Select Committee issued a press release and held a press conference to urge the government to conduct gender impact assessment of bills before introducing them to parliament.

In Côte d'Ivoire, a guide to conduct evaluation of public policies was co-developed by both chambers with support from an expert and peers from European parliaments as a follow-up to a week-long workshop presenting different parliamentary evaluation practices. An ad hoc committee for evaluation of public policies was set up shortly after the first workshop and in anticipation of the drafting of the guide, also resulting in the appointment of specialized, dedicated staff for evaluation of public policies. In Côte d'Ivoire, both speakers and secretary generals have taken a strong interest in developing their parliament's capacities in evaluating public policy. As a result, the senate's newly formed committee is in the process of seeing its annual evaluation action plan, based on the guide, adopted; and the national assembly is planning to conduct its first evaluation early in 2023, using the guide as a basis for members of parliament.

In all three parliaments, improvement and changes in relationships, practices and procedures were observed. The outcomes go beyond the development of new tools and processes to include the creation of a specialized body such as a subcommittee or unit to implement the tools, committee oversight action plans and recommendations to government, and practical application of the tools to analyse legislation, to conduct public consultations or to enhance gender-sensitive oversight of policies or laws.

International IDEA supports *parliaments* to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA HELPS DEVELOP LAWS IN PARAGUAY THAT PROMOTE WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

International IDEA supports *parliaments* to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

As more women have become politically active, gender-based violence against the women who get involved politically in Paraguay has increased. It can take the form of verbal attacks, smear campaigns, assault and even murder. In parallel, gender-conservative rhetoric is increasing on social media, where it is common to accuse Paraguayan gender equality activists of promoting gender ideology that is foreign to Paraguayan values. The Catholic and evangelical churches have also expressed similar criticism.

It was against the backdrop of these challenges that International IDEA and the Equity and Gender Commission of the Senate in Paraguay began to build political alliances to develop a strategic and long-term campaign aimed at introducing a gender parity law and a law intended to protect women who engage politically from gender-based violence. One of the cornerstones of this work has been to strengthen cooperation and trust between politicians, CSOs and institutions that work for greater political equality. This work has been channelled through the Democratic Parity Driving Group (GIPD) and is carried out with International IDEA's technical assistance.

GIPD brings together women with different political views and agendas, but with a common interest in promoting gender equality in politics. International IDEA has provided the group with facts, arguments and tools to conduct effective advocacy. Among other things, experts from Mexico and Argentina have been invited to share experiences from their countries, and statistics and other facts from the region have been compiled and packaged into clear political messages. Furthermore, International IDEA has enlisted the help of legal experts to produce legislative proposals that have been discussed in GIPD.

To build political support for the bills, International IDEA helped the group to develop a strategic plan to convince the senate to pass the law on violence against women in politics. As part of this plan, the group has identified the political profile of, and tailored an advocacy plan for, each senator. In this way, it has been possible to both convince sceptical senators to vote for the bills and to get some male senators to actively support the campaign.

In parallel with this political work, International IDEA has also supported women's groups within civil society to develop advocacy strategies. Part of this work involves providing CSOs with facts and arguments, but International IDEA also offers them help to build stronger networks and alliances. This work is led by two of International IDEA's civil society partners, Decidamos and Kuña Róga. The collaboration has resulted in a campaign on social media and attempts to build a strong civil society alliance that will give voice to

politically marginalized groups such as women, young people, the disabled and Indigenous people.

So far, the law intended to protect women who engage in politics from gender-based violence has been adopted for consideration by the senate. Before it can be adopted as law, however, it will be reviewed in detail, and there are risks that some articles may be rewritten or removed. The strategic advocacy work will therefore continue. The Gender Parity Law is also expected to be accepted for consideration by the senate, but the Gender Parity Group agrees that it is important to wait for the right moment to take this step.

THE IKNOW POLITICS PLATFORM PROMOTES WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

International IDEA supports *parliaments* to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

Women face many barriers to full and equal participation in political life, including discriminatory laws and institutions, violence, and lack of capacity and access to information and knowledge. For these reasons, they continue to be under-represented as voters, candidates and elected officials.

Launched in 2007, the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics—a joint project between International IDEA, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), UNDP, and UN Women—provides a platform in Arabic, English, French and Spanish that facilitates women's access to resources and materials on political participation and provides them with an online space to share experiences, network and collaborate on issues of interest. The online platform also provides an opportunity for users to stay informed on global events and news related to women's political participation globally and regionally.

Based at International IDEA, the iKNOW Politics Secretariat regularly monitors to what extent the content offered on the platform is visited. Over the past five years, the website was consulted 1.6 million times by 1.2 million users, with an average of 320,000 visits per year. Fifty-nine per cent of the users are women, while 60 per cent are under 35 years of age. While these indicators are helpful to better understand the audience of the iKNOW Politics platform, they do not capture how knowledge resources are used. To better understand how users consume the iKNOW Politics content, an online user survey in Arabic, English, French and Spanish, alongside three interviews with female members of parliament (from Canada, Malawi and Denmark) were conducted by the Secretariat.

The user survey was shared through the iKNOW Politics network. A total of 306 users responded, sharing valuable feedback and thoughts on the platform. Even if the main target group for iKNOW Politics is parliamentarians, the survey revealed that the website is used by a wide variety of stakeholders, as

International IDEA supports *parliaments* to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.

31 per cent of the respondents registered as civil society activists, 25 per cent as practitioners on women's political participation, 21 per cent as political activists, and 20 per cent as students or academics. Fifty-five per cent of the respondents responded that the platform introduced them to new ideas or practices. Sixty-four per cent reported having used information from the platform in research or publications, and 56 per cent of all respondents reported having discussed the platform with their colleagues. This number goes up to 83 per cent for members of parliaments and parliamentary staff, suggesting an even greater impact than in the general population.

Respondents reported that they mainly used the tools available on the platform to adapt plans and strategies or policies, as well as in trainings or forums and for research and reference. Among members of parliament and parliamentary staff, 25 per cent reported that they used an idea or practice in their work, and 50 per cent reported citing material provided by the iKNOW Politics platform in their own reports or documents.

The Danish member of parliament interviewed by the Secretariat said that she regularly uses the platform for up-to-date information on women in politics, highlighting the importance of the global coverage and quality resources offered. Esther Jolobola, a member of parliament in Malawi, also mentioned the value of having access to good practices and evidence, which allow her to effectively bring policy issues to the parliament floor. In the interview, she continued to argue: 'I use the iKNOW Politics website to strengthen and widen my knowledge in politics by learning what other countries are doing. I would encourage female Members of Parliament to find the time to go and search on the website to learn best practices and to strengthen their knowledge.'

Anita Vandenbeld, a member of the Canadian parliament, said that the iKNOW Politics platform played an important role in her decision to run for parliament, adding that it is a unique tool for women who are seeking to engage in politics and lack knowledge about how to get started. She continued: 'The nice thing about iKNOW Politics is that it is a global peer-support network, and it's about learning from each other... How I do politics, the way that I engage, the way I think about it, is 100 per cent because of iKNOW Politics.' She also highlighted the importance of the iKNOW Politics e-Discussions, which provide specialized knowledge on various areas related to women's political participation: 'iKNOW Politics has one of the best e-discussions that I have ever seen. The best ones are when they are really practical things, like how do you run for a political position. A lot of the e-discussions are relevant to me in my day-to-day work.'

IMPROVING LOCAL GOVERNMENT DECISION MAKING IN NEPAL

International IDEA supports *public administrations* **to exercise practices and decision-making processes to become more transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.**

Ratna Kami, a Dalit woman, eventually gathered her courage, stood up and raised a question about the school in her ward during the village assembly meeting. It was the first time she had dared to do so after having been elected as ward member in her local government. In previous assembly meetings she merely listened to others speak.

Ratna Kami's case is similar to that of many other women and marginalized group representatives who were elected to represent their constituents' interests and actively participate in local government decision-making processes. Apart from various other—often sociocultural—barriers, the lack of knowledge about their own roles and responsibilities in local political processes is a strong factor that limits the participation of many of these elected representatives. Although the formal rules provide for a seat at the decision-making table for women and marginalized group representatives, this alone is not enough to ensure their voice and agency.

International IDEA's Coherence Programme in Nepal supports a deliberative political decision-making process—a formal, rules-based process of reasoning supported by data and evidence, through which public decisions are made collectively rather than by a single individual or a small group of individuals. Through the project, mentors in selected local governments have been providing support to elected representatives through a 'helping hands' approach that is based on facilitation.

Mentors work with elected representatives through a series of formal and informal engagements, allowing them to learn about their roles, local government structures and processes, and the importance of political deliberation. In particular, the informal settings provided a safe space for less confident representatives to ask questions and gain better understanding, and it helped them to realize the importance of their role and gain confidence to challenge the status quo. This has motivated some of these representatives to use the formal opportunities offered to voice their opinions. Some women representatives, for example, have started to ask for meeting agendas and invitations in advance so they can be present and speak in meetings. Some have also refused to sign off on minutes if they were not invited to the meeting.

Although these changes may seem small, they are significant steps towards opening a more democratic space. For overcoming the multi-dimensional challenges that hinder deliberative processes, collective efforts are needed. However, it takes courage, persistence and creativity to keep challenging patriarchal structures and to capitalize on the opportunities provided.

International IDEA supports *public administrations* **to exercise practices and decision-making processes to become more transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.**

International IDEA supports *oversight agencies* to monitor, prevent and mitigate threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics.

ALBANIA DEVELOPS AN ONLINE PLATFORM FOR POLITICAL FINANCE REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE

International IDEA supports *oversight agencies* to monitor, prevent and mitigate threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics.
In 2022, International IDEA and the Rule of Law Centre of Finland jointly initiated a two-year project in Albania, supporting the Central Election Commission to develop an online platform for political finance reporting and disclosure, including all funds that are raised and spent for political purposes. Such purposes include all political contests for voting by citizens, especially the election campaigns for various public offices that are run by political parties and candidates.

International reviews have recurrently recommended that political finance transparency in Albania needs to be improved. For example, in its recommendations on the funding to political parties and electoral campaigns, the Group of States against Corruption of the Council of Europe stressed the importance of oversight and transparent reporting of the annual accounts of political parties. Moreover, the 2021 Annual Report of the OSCE Secretary General called upon the Albanian authorities to enhance the overall transparency of campaign income and expenditure, as well as accountability of political parties.

In response to this criticism, International IDEA and the Rule of Law Centre of Finland have supported the Central Election Commission with expertise by drafting a detailed roadmap to implement an online system for the reporting and disclosure of political finance in Albania. This roadmap is very timely as the Council of Europe is currently assisting the Central Election Commission to develop its IT infrastructure for political finance reporting and disclosure, and the findings and recommendations have thus formed the basis of the Central Election Commission's efforts to develop an online system, which is expected to be launched in 2023.

Once the system is launched, political parties will be able to submit their political finance reports online and the Central Election Commission will be able to disclose such reports in a transparent and user-friendly way, which will allow users to search and download reports. This will increase political finance transparency in Albania considerably and enable civil society and the media to conduct more meaningful scrutiny over political parties in general, and money in politics in particular.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S DEMOCRACY ACADEMY INSPIRES YOUNG WOMEN IN SUDAN TO ENGAGE IN POLITICS

International IDEA supports *public interest groups* to engage with representative institutions in an inclusive and effective way to improve public policy and practice, and to hold political decision makers to account.

The Young Women's Democracy Academy (YWDA) in Sudan is a Swedish-funded four-month academic programme run by International IDEA in cooperation with Women of Sudanese Civic and Political Groups represented by Al-Alag Press Service. The non-degree programme has a strong skills-development component targeting young female activists between 18 and 24 years of age. It consists of five modules and five workshops designed to equip the next generation of female politicians in Sudan with the knowledge and skills necessary to enhance their political participation.

With modules like Introduction to 'Politics and Public Policies', 'The Sudanese Political Economy' and 'Gender, Feminism, and Intersecting Inequalities', the YWDA strengthened the participants' ability to engage in critical debates about Sudan's transition to democracy. It offered general workshops on skills essential for every political actor, such as political communication and advocacy. The YWDA's broad definition of political participation, which is expressed in the 'Pathways to Politics' workshop tracks, made the programme relevant to every participant. These pathways allowed the participants to choose a track of specialized and tailored workshops based on their preferred mode of political participation. Whether it was political parties, social movements, trade unions or non-profit organizations, each participant joined a Pathway to Politics that matched their own area of political engagement.

The 25 participants of the first cohort of the programme met at International IDEA's Sudan office every Saturday for four months. During this period, deep connections were built between participants with mutual interests, and the seeds for building a community of aspiring women political leaders were planted. Since their graduation in August 2022, the participants have gone on to engage in or lead different initiatives. Eighteen-year-old Manal Aljaily, the YWDA's youngest participant—who was the external relations officer at the national association for high school students before joining the YWDA—became a rapporteur for the Sudanese Resistance Committees, the spearhead of the anti-coup protests. Manal also established an advocacy initiative to highlight feminist demands at the local governance level. She cited the modules 'Democratic Institutions and Governance' and 'Gender, Feminism and Intersecting Inequalities' as her inspiration behind this initiative.

Multiple participants established or are in the process of establishing feminist bodies at their universities. Nineteen-year-old Muzan Elfatih, a student at Ahfad University for Women, founded the university's first feminist club. She said:

> I did not realize I was in the darkness of isolation until I came to the light of participation and solidarity with my colleagues in the

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> YWDA. The discussions, debates and disagreements between us opened a wide door that ignited in me a desire to learn, discuss and share. My passion led me to establish the Feminist Club, and the knowledge and skills I gained from the YWDA at the personal and professional levels contributed greatly… I aspire to create a space for feminist political awareness and a force to confront the oppression of authorities inside and outside the university.

Similarly, 21-year-old Suzan Alahmar took the skills she gained at the YWDA to her university. She led a university-wide campaign to highlight different forms of violence against women as part of the global 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence campaign. The campaign included interactive theatre, public debates and a panel discussion entitled 'Women and Environmental, Economic and Political Violence'. Suzan mentioned that she particularly benefited from the tools acquired in the 'Advocacy, Mobilization and Alliance Building' workshop.

Twenty-four-year-old Suha Ahmed said that the YWDA helped her discover her passion for, and better understand the fields of, gender and public policy. These insights inspired her to join a research project on gender-sensitive policymaking in the Youth Employment and Training Organization.

The YWDA also opened the door for many participants to additional exposure, learning and networking opportunities. One participant got selected for the competitive and prestigious Young African Leaders Initiative. Another participant was accepted as one of the youngest participants in International IDEA's Constitution Academy and a third participant represented Sudan in the YouLead Africa Summit.

As the graduates carry on with their initiatives and activism, the YWDA alumni network will continue to engage them through YWDA alumni events and the YWDA newsletter, which are both led by YWDA interns. The network events and newsletter, like the programme itself, will remain a safe space to unpack, discuss and debate pertinent policies and practices, foster solidarity, encourage collaboration, and celebrate the members' personal and professional achievements.

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INTERNATIONAL IDEA CONVENES AND SUPPORTS WOMEN IN THE ARAB WORLD TO LAUNCH A REGIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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Today, 42 per cent of voters in the Arab world are women. On the other hand, women make up only 29 per cent of the total number of political

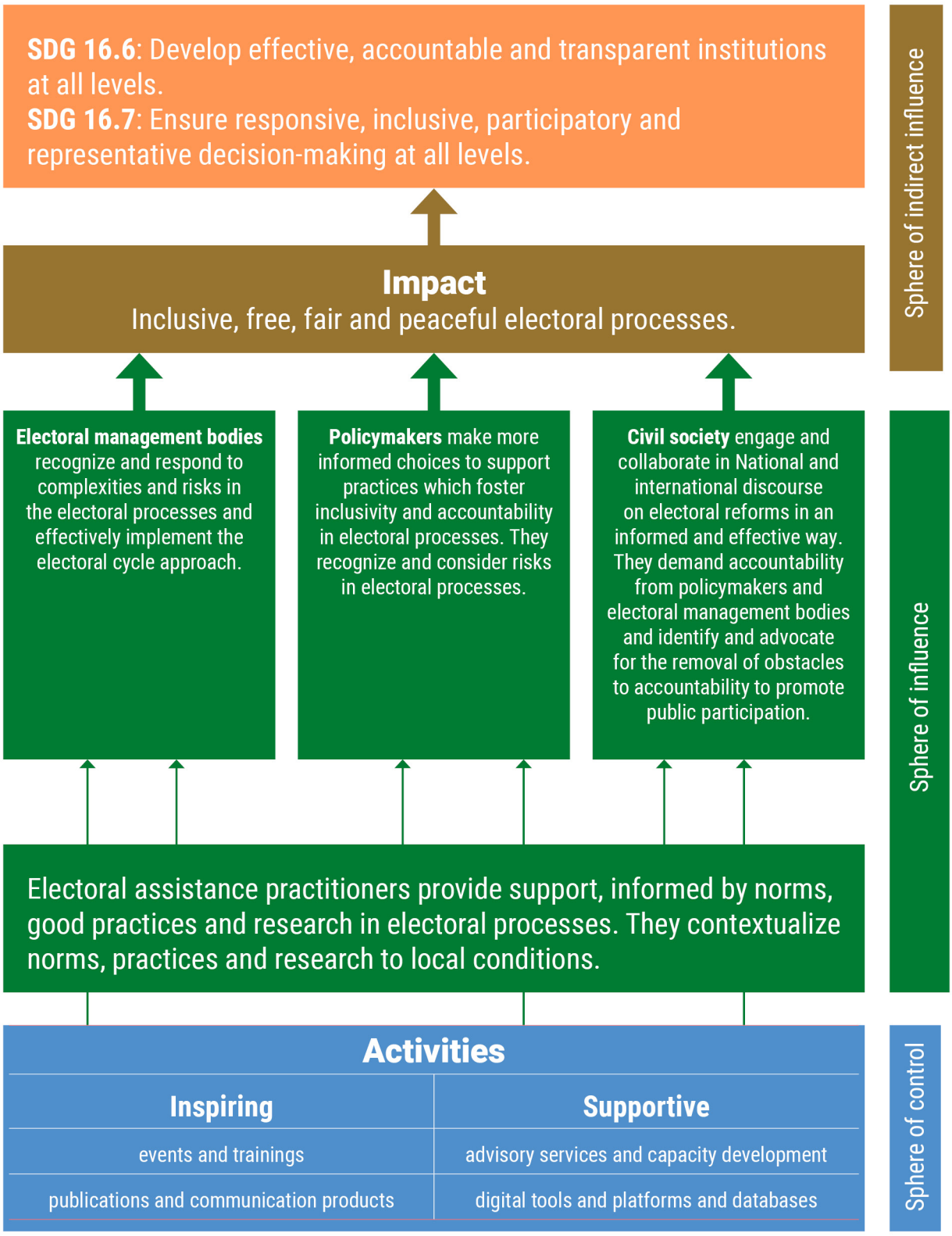
candidates. Despite the remarkable improvement in women's representation in parliaments from 6 per cent in 2004 to 18.2 per cent in 2022, women's political representation remains below the world average of 26 per cent. For these reasons, International IDEA has made women's political participation one of its main initiatives in improving the inclusiveness of electoral processes in the Arab region.

In one of the activities within this initiative, International IDEA has partnered with the Arab electoral management bodies' regional network and UNDP to convene the Arab network for women in elections in a regional campaign to promote women's participation. After a series of workshops held in hybrid face-to-face and virtual mode between August and October 2021, the campaign was launched in Amman on 21 December 2021 under the title 'Her Participation, Our Future'. Twelve Arab electoral management bodies took part in the event together with CSOs and regional organizations.

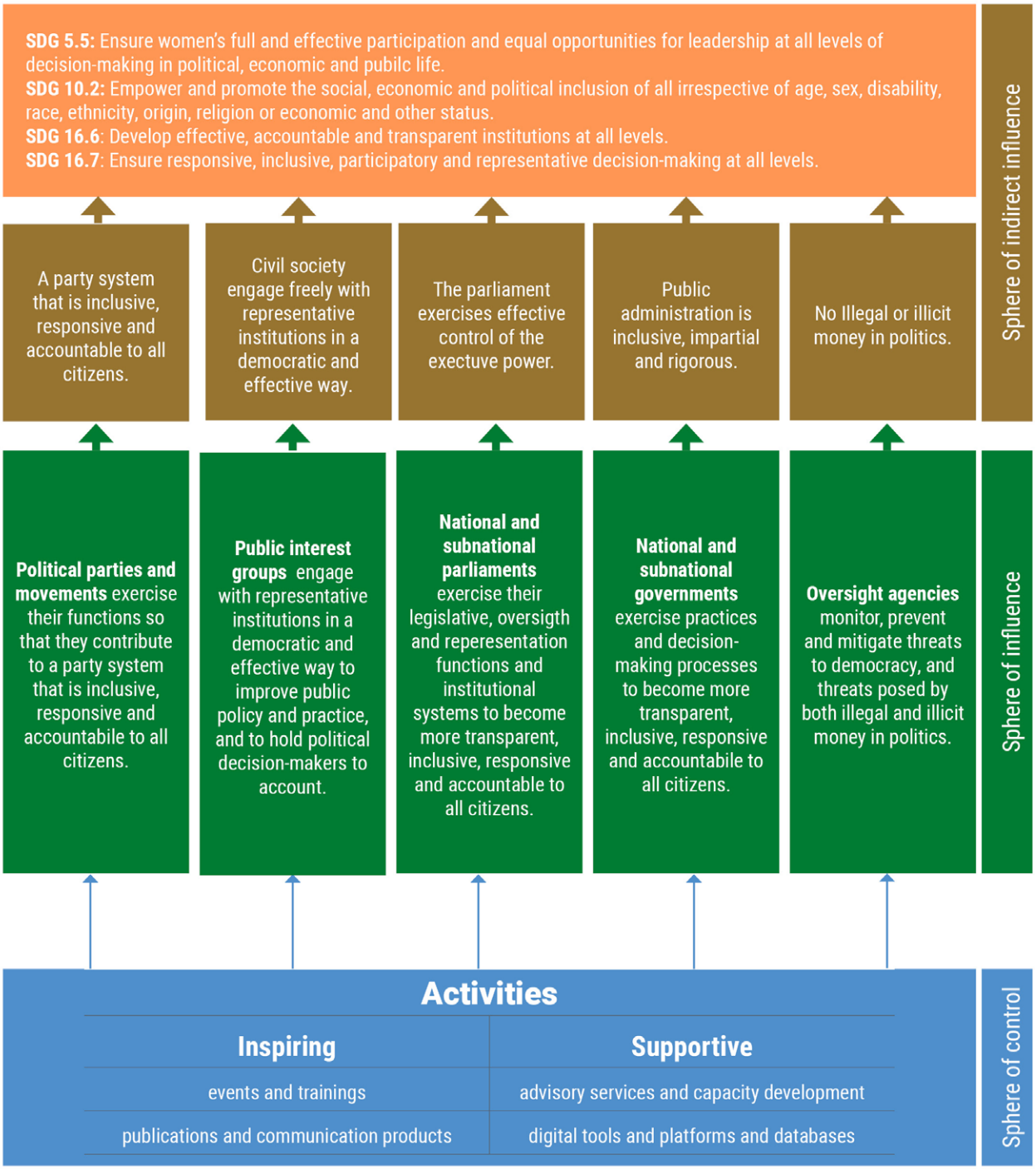
'When women are excluded, it is a sign of the lack of democracy, and even the absence of any progress, in the society,' said Hanan Ashrawy, the notable feminist and political activist in Palestine in one of the videos produced for the campaign that followed the event.

Video was one of the many channels used to promote women's political participation by the campaign in 2022 during electoral processes in Jordan, Palestine, Tunisia and Libya. New means of sensitization were also adopted across the region, notably a play and a traditional dance, as well as testimonies of Arab women that were broadcast at the media centre of the Independent Election Commission in Jordan.

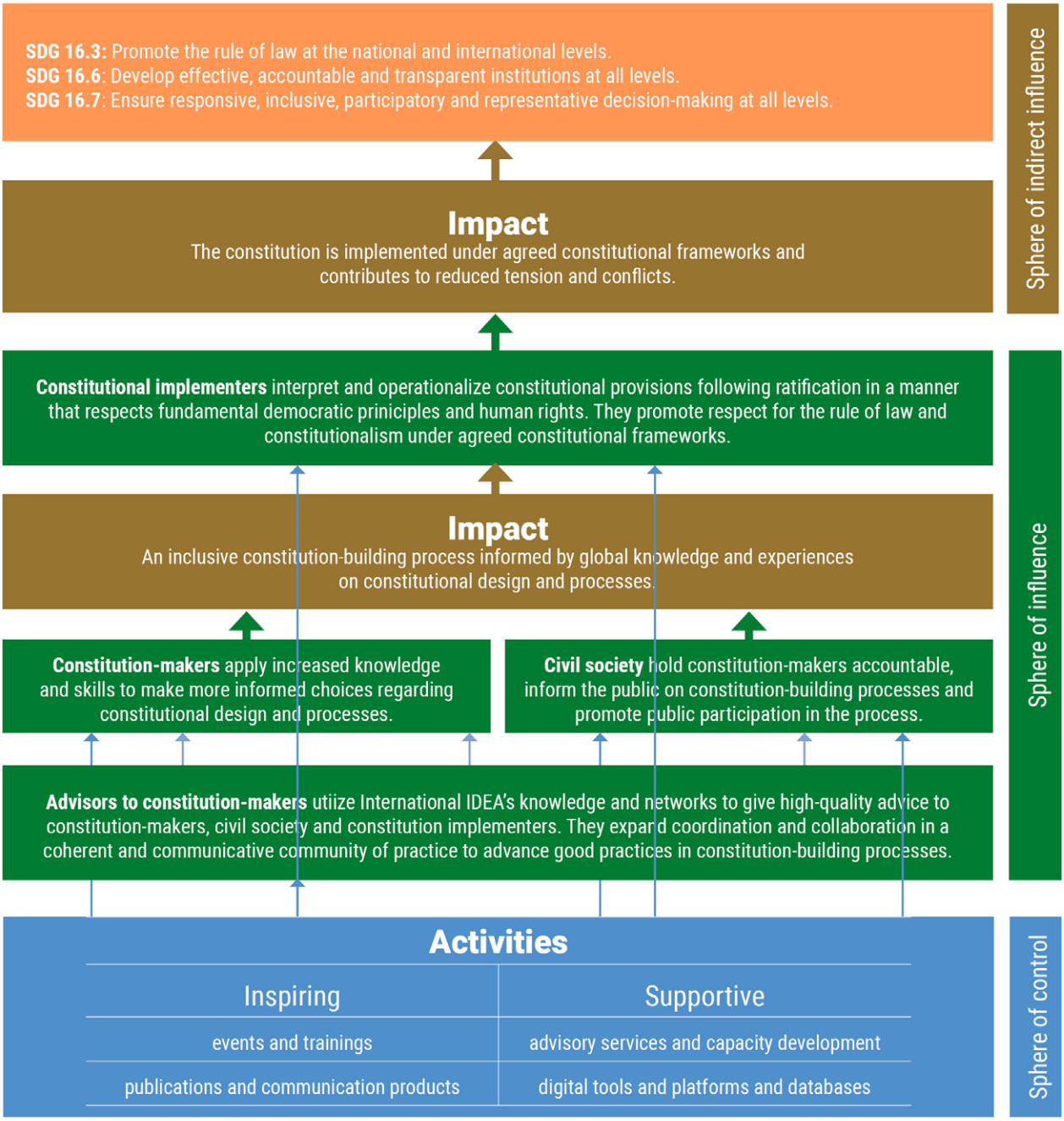
Annex A. Theory of change for electoral processes



Annex B. Theory of change for political participation and representation



Annex C. Theory of change for constitution-building processes



About International IDEA

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization with 34 Member States founded in 1995, with an exclusive mandate to support and advance democracy worldwide.

WHAT WE DO

We produce comparative, policy-friendly knowledge and provide technical assistance on issues relating to elections, parliaments, constitutions, money in politics and political representation, all under the umbrella of the UN Sustainable Development Goals. We assess the performance of democracies around the world through our unique Global State of Democracy Indices and reports. Our work is expanding to address issues related to climate change and democracy.

We use our knowledge to provide technical assistance and expert advice to governments and civil society around the world. We publish books, databases, and primers annually in several languages on topics ranging from voter turnout to Indigenous peoples' rights in constitution-building. Gender equality and inclusion are mainstreamed in all our work.

We engage in conversations and convene agenda-setting dialogues and partner with like-minded organizations, including the African Union, the European Union and the United Nations, to achieve greater impact.

WHERE WE WORK

Our headquarters is in Stockholm, and we have regional and country offices in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean. International IDEA is a Permanent Observer to the United Nations and is accredited to European Union institutions.

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Does democracy assistance work? Does the work of International IDEA yield results? These are complex questions that International IDEA's Annual Outcome Report for 2022 strives to answer. It does so by presenting 29 outcome stories where each story describes how International IDEA has inspired and supported its partners to work more effectively in collaboration with other democratic actors and citizens.

In order to reflect the breadth of International IDEA's work, each of these stories are linked to the Institute's results framework and hence reflect changes undertaken by all of the 17 types of partners that International IDEA cooperates with in its four workstreams: constitution-building processes, democracy assessment, electoral processes, and political participation and representation. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results but they are representative examples of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence the stories are to be regarded as qualitative indicators of the results of International IDEA's work. The Report also includes stories with lessons learned from activities that have not led to expected results.