The vision of the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy is to contribute to the development of well functioning political parties and multiparty systems in a democratic culture, in support of the aspirations for freedom and human development of citizens in developing countries.
A SUCCESSFUL BEGINNING

DOING IT THE DANISH WAY

DIPD was established in 2010 by the Danish parliament with a mandate to support political parties and multiparty platforms in developing countries to become more effective and democratic. This was a new feature of Danish democracy support, and also a feature that was much debated and questioned among academics and development practitioners. Three years later we believe we have proven that DIPD can make a difference.

The first DIPD partnerships were initiated in mid-2011, and we knew that it would be impossible to deliver results immediately. We first had to establish a trusted relationship with our partners. Following this we knew that the major challenge would be to identify ideas that could inspire our partners to establish a more democratic culture inside the parties and among parties.

When the Board met for its last meeting in 2013, it had the opportunity to discuss the conclusions of the first external review of DIPD, made by a UK based consultancy group for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Board members were naturally happy to read that:

“DIPD has made impressive progress in establishing effective party-to-party and multiparty projects in a range of countries.”

Such a statement is obviously important for a new institute. But the most significant challenge highlighted in the report is really that now is the time for DIPD to clarify our distinctive features and strengths in the field of party assistance. Part of this is also to improve our thinking about the results we would like to achieve, and the manner in which we think this can be done.

The Board is working on a new strategy, to be finalized in mid-2014. Discussions so far indicate that doing it the Danish way will be part of the strategy; not because we believe that Danish experiences can solve all of the democratic challenges; not because the Danish way is better than the Norwegian or American way; but simply because the Danish experience is the experience Danish political parties, resource persons, and facilitators know best.

Over the first three years, we have learned that this establishes a strong platform for honest dialogue about the ways and means our partners must consider when trying to strengthen and deepen their own democratic culture.

Doing it the Danish way is therefore not only about the substance of our democracy support, but also about our approach. Together they help define what we understand the concept of a partnership to be, which is much more than the technicalities and procedures involved. Our experience over the last three years indicate that for a partnership to work, it must be based on a good mix of trust, confidence, patience, mutuality, honesty and openness.

It is easier to state the principles than to deliver in practice. But the municipal election study tour 2013 is an example. We brought together 50 political party representatives from 10 countries, representing around 25 different political parties, to learn about the history of Danish democracy, to observe the municipal election exercise, and finally to plan for specific action when returning to their countries.
What was particularly welcomed by participants was the deliberate intention to present the challenges facing democracy in Denmark right now, and the challenges to local democracy in particular: recent municipal elections have shown a downward trend in voter participation; the difficulty in getting women on the list of candidates; and the serious lack of interest in politics, political parties and elections among the youth. All of these challenges were discussed in heated debates over the week of the study tour, contributing to a shared understanding of the many challenges we have in common.

So while the mandate given by Parliament is about supporting political parties in developing countries, there is no doubt that the Danish political parties engaging in these partnerships also feel that they benefit from the dialogue and search for solutions. This meeting of political cultures is certainly part of what DIPD would like to develop further in the next phase starting in July 2014.

Because we have spent time during the last year digesting the experiences and learnings from the first years, this is more than an ordinary Annual Report 2013. It is really a report about some of the ideas we had when the work was started, and now trying to get an idea about the changes we made during the first phase of our partnerships.

None of the changes we can point to will make a difference in the numbers scored by various countries in the annual Freedom House or Economist Intelligence democracy indexes. There are many other organisations working with similar objectives; it can be difficult to establish beyond any reasonable doubt that DIPD is the organisation that should be credited for a certain success; and success at the level of a political party does not automatically translate into success at the country level.

But we do believe that this report shows that small changes are possible, and that working for such changes is meaningful.

Henrik Bach Mortensen, Chairman
Bjørn Førde, Director
SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

DEMOCRACY IN DANISH COOPERATION

Seen in a global perspective, DIPD is part of a community of many types of organisations working to support democratization. In Denmark DIPD is also part of a small community focusing on support for democracy in various forms and shapes. What is the state of affairs in Danish support for democracy?
DANISH SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

DOES IT MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

When the Danish parliament in 2010 decided to establish DIPD, Denmark was provided with an additional tool in the democracy ‘tool box’, intended to support locally driven efforts to develop, strengthen, and consolidate democracy in developing countries with a focus on political parties. But can democracy support make a difference, and how is it seen in a broader perspective?

THE DANISH DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Support for some of the building blocks of an emerging or transitional democracy is not a new area for Danish development cooperation. This has in fact been part of both government and civil society support since the early days in the 1960’s, although it was not called ‘democracy support’ back then. But support for elections and parliaments, decentralization and civil society, oversight mechanisms like the ombudsman institution and media institutions have been there for decades.

What may be different is the emphasis on democracy support as a key part of the official development strategy of the Danish government. The 2012 strategy called “The Right to a Better Life” points to four key areas of intervention for Denmark, and democracy and human rights is one of those – with green growth, social progress and stability and protection being the others.

A key argument for the emphasis on democracy support (or support for governance as it is often termed) offered in the strategy document approved by Parliament is this:

“If we help poor people fight for their rights, then we also fight the main causes of poverty. Human rights and democracy are fundamental values and goals and an important priority area in Danish development policy.”
So democracy and human rights are therefore clearly important in the Danish development strategy, both as values, norms and goals in themselves; but also as instruments that are seen to be necessary in the quest for poverty eradication and improved livelihoods.

**PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

Based on this, and based on experiences over several decades, Denmark commits to the following areas of intervention in particular – through government to government cooperation as well as through civil society:

*Support democratic elections, parliaments, political parties, civil societies, and free and critical media.*

*Promote good governance and the development of democratic institutions, including the establishment of and access to effective, independent legal systems and complaints mechanisms, increased capacity and decentralization in the public sector, and the fight against corruption.*

*Strengthen international cooperation for human rights, democracy and good governance.*

*Work to strengthen gender equality and to ensure the rights of women and girls.*

*Strengthen efforts in the fight against tax loopholes, address illicit financial flows and promote a fair taxation of natural resources in the world’s poorest countries.*

*Promote social dialogue and workers’ rights as a lever for poverty reduction.*

Based on the areas mentioned it could be concluded that Danish support for democracy is in fact more precisely called support for governance, considering that it covers elections and political parties as well as systems of taxation. Although it can be argued that in a democracy, paying taxes is part of the contract made between citizens and the state, and therefore this could also be seen as support for democratisation.

In 2012, the total Danish development assistance reached 2,692 million dollars. Of this amount, 28% went to multilateral assistance and 72% to bilateral assistance. Democracy efforts are part of both multilateral and bilateral funding.

But despite the high profiled position of democracy support as one of the four focus areas in the Danish strategy for development cooperation, the statistics available does not offer a ‘democracy category’ consisting of the many different types of democracy support being offered. These activities are ‘hidden’ in the ‘social infrastructure’ category, covering areas like education, health, water programmes as well as the large territory of “public administration and civil society efforts”.

Especially the part of the Danish bilateral aid dedicated to “public administration and civil society” is where the funds for democracy, political party, and multi-party support and assistance come from. But many areas of Danish cooperation can be defined as possibly contributing to democracy and democratisation, including aid to education, construction projects, infrastructure, etc.

In conclusion, the Danish support for democracy is significant and much wider in reach than the statistics available indicate.

**THE CHICKEN AND EGG DISCUSSION**

Like elsewhere in the world, the Danish development community has also had discussions on what works, why it works or not, and under what conditions this or that will work.
This is particularly true with the *democracy versus development* relationship: Will increasingly democratic institutions and processes in a country inevitably provide the basis for social and economic development? Or is it rather economic development that will make democratic reforms of the political system possible at a certain point in time?

The goal of Denmark’s development assistance and cooperation as presented by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to fight poverty with human rights and economic growth. Poverty may result in starvation or high child mortality rates, but fighting these problems alone is not enough if underlying structures prevent people from working towards a better livelihood.

Therefore, the Danish approach is to include issues like human rights and sustainable growth. The three elements of fighting poverty, working for human rights and supporting green growth are thus the elements in the Danish development cooperation strategy.

The issue is contested, with different scholars suggesting both that aid works and that it does not. However, especially aid with the aim of strengthening democracy is not an issue which can be addressed with blueprint approaches. DIPD is aware of this and therefore works to ensure a unique approach to each and every project, study tour, party, and partner country.

**OBSERVATIONS ON PARTY SUPPORT**

The UN University in Helsinki (UNU-Wider) has looked at what works when it comes to aid, including how it can promote democracy, among other things. Director of UNU-Wider and professor of Development Economics, *Finn Tarp*, underlines that there is a wide spectre of effects from aid. Aid is like any investment and therefore, there will always be aid programmes which work and aid programmes which do not work – just like there are other types of investments which do and do not work, he says.

However, Finn Tarp states that UNU-Wider’s findings support the notion that aid generally works, but the correct approach must be found for the individual challenges and resulting approaches.

Political party assistance, whether in a party-to-party or a multi-party approach as undertaken by DIPD, have in the past faced some challenges, according to findings by UNU-Wider. In some cases, party assistance has generally
been planned around the time of elections, making it short term work; senior party members have often been unable to attend; and evaluations have been sparse. UNU-Wider also emphasizes that in spite of these challenges, many still believe that focusing assistance to only the “demand-side of democracy”, as they designate voter education and civil society participation, is not the way forward.

DIPD shares this view, and actively incorporates measures to ensure that such mistakes are not repeated. The institute works through long-term partnerships where efforts are not planned around elections in partner countries, but primarily throughout the partnership timeframe with Danish party members visiting, study tours to meet parties in Denmark and observe Danish elections, and ongoing communication and running support.

These implementing principles are not a guarantee for success, but we believe that it provides the Institute with a solid and realistic point of departure for our work.

**POLITICAL PARTIES NOT THE SAME EVERYWHERE**

Senior researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies, Ole Therkildsen, believes that it is important to test the direct relationship between funding and democratization. He also underlines that political parties in developing countries may not be the same as political parties in the west, and it is important to not just assume that they are.

DIPD is well aware of this issue and is generally very cautious of not describing political parties around the world in our own mirror. Some parties may originally have been founded along cultural, ethnic, territorial or socioeconomic lines, while others may have sprouted as a protest movement merging into an opposition party. However, some Danish parties may initially also have started as protest parties or with a specific socioeconomic group in mind, and only later developing into what they are today. This in itself should therefore not be an argument for not offering support.

The general observation by Ole Therkildsen regarding the effectiveness of aid in general as well as foreign aid to parties in particular is that he believes this kind of aid is most effective when it ‘goes with the grain’, i.e. when aid supports domestic forces with sufficient power to push through with changes in
the institutions of governance. This situation typically arises when mutual interests among conflicting parties about the desirability of governance reforms exist, he says.

This view is somewhat shared by a scholar known for his critical view of aid in general, Martin Paldam, Professor Emeritus at Aarhus University. His findings suggest that aid in general has no effect on democratization; however, if countries do want to democratize, aid may indeed help, he says. He mentions that the key problem is that aid to opposition parties is resisted by most governments. It might even be illegal, and there are many stories of how organizations have been kicked out of countries for political interference.

He believes that if governments have taken ownership to a process of democratization and request technical assistance in this area, it is fine and may even work. However, many governments pay lip service to democracy in order to get aid from the West, and to be friends of the West. So it is important that the countries really mean it!

According to Professor Tarp, it is difficult to issue general rules about how to make sure that aid works. Successful aid projects also exist in countries where the government is reluctant.

WORKING WITH THE DANISH COMMUNITY

In addition to the Danish government supporting democracy or governance efforts in most of the partner countries, many Danish NGO’s are active in this area. In general you will see a division of labour, where the Danish government works directly with the partner government, while CSO’s and NGO’s as a rule work with institutions belonging to civil society.

However, there are many exceptions. The Danish government will often support local civil society organisations directly, in particular in situations where the state is centralised and the political culture authoritarian. There are also many examples of Danish NGO’s working directly with government institutions at both national and local levels, because the NGO’s offer specific expertise needed by the institutions.

So far DIPD has engaged with Danish NGO’s in areas of women’s rights, human rights, and youth empowerment in particular, in countries like Myanmar, Bhutan, Egypt and Tanzania.

DIPD is also part of some of the many country- or region-based forums that have been established to allow for knowledge sharing and coordination of Danish efforts – Zimbabwe, Myanmar and the MENA region are some examples. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will also be part of such groups and will share strategic information with the Danish community.

There is no requirement for Danish institutions to work only in the countries chosen by the Ministry as key partner countries, but it is fair to conclude that there is a lot of overlap. One reason being that the Ministry and the NGO’s share the same limited resource base.

In the case of DIPD, 7 of the 14 countries we work in can be considered key partners for official Danish development cooperation. They are also countries with a Danish embassy or at least a high level mission, and some level of support for democracy is part of the programme.
THE 14 DIPD PARTNER COUNTRIES
Bhutan, Bolivia, Egypt, Ghana, Honduras, Kenya, Malawi, Myanmar, Nepal, Palestine, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe

THE 14 TOP PRIORITY COUNTRIES FOR OFFICIAL COOPERATION
Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nepal, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam, Zambia
CROSS-CUTTING THEMES

WHERE CAN DIPD MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

Many areas need to be dealt with to make a political party effective and democratic. DIPD must prioritize areas where we believe we have expertise and ideas that can make a difference. This is why the themes of women in politics, youth in political parties and local branches of political parties have been given attention.
WOMEN IN POLITICS
FROM CHRISTIANSBORG TO MONGAR

From the very start, DIPD has worked to include, inspire, and empower women. The Christiansborg Seminar in 2012 established the platform for our work on women in politics. The national seminar for women leaders at local level in Mongar in eastern Bhutan at the end of 2013 is an example of what has been achieved so far.

DANISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2011

DIPD’s aim is to offer inspiration for women to be more often included in the life and work of political parties, and not only be seen as voters. Throughout our projects, study tours, and partnerships, we focus on women in politics as a part of our work. Our hope is that both women and men will be inspired by some aspects of the Danish way of doing things!

So what can a country like Denmark actually offer on this issue?

Women in Denmark are very visible on the political scene and many women are active in political life on many levels from local town or city councils to national and international politics. Between 2011 and 2014, four of the eight Danish parties represented in Parliament have had or still have women leaders, and the representation of women in Parliament is approximately 40%.

Although far from perfect, it seems reasonable to assume that Denmark can serve as inspiration and offer role models for women in politics in partner countries.

Already starting with the Egyptian delegation observing the 2011 parliamentary elections in Denmark, women in politics was one of the top issues on the agenda. Mary Shenouda from the Egyptian Social Democratic Party reflect ed on how she was inspired by Danish women involved in politics:
“It seems very straightforward for women to be running here, but this is not the case back in Egypt. Women are hardly present on the political scene in Egypt. We never think of women as a group we can target, we more often think of them as followers, just voters as everybody else. But targeting them and speaking of some of the things that are important to that group, like education and health, it is exactly like here, education and health mean a lot more to women. It rings a lot more bells to women.”

DIPD was encouraged by this first delegation’s interest in women in politics. It contributed to the decision to focus on the theme of women in politics at the first DIPD’s Christiansborg Seminar in 2012. This was the Institute’s first major undertaking since the opening the year before.

The seminar brought together more than 30 women from 25 countries in close collaboration with the Danish political parties and development organisations like Ibis, MS/ActionAid and the Danish Centre for Information on Gender, Equality and Diversity KVINFO. Demo Finland, DIPD’s Finnish sister institute, also participated with guests.

The seminar was divided into three topics, Women in Local Politics with participants from Tanzania, Mozambique, Bhutan, Bolivia, and UN Women; Young Women in Politics with participants from Egypt, Nepal, Tanzania, Ghana, and the Palestinian territories; and Women in Transition Countries with participants from Afghanistan, Kenya, Tunisia, Nepal, and Zimbabwe.

Delegates were invited to discuss and compare issues, obstacles, and priorities based on the detailed background document developed with articles written by international and Danish experts.

Discussions resulted in the adoption of the Christiansborg Seminar Statement on Support to Women in Politics, which highlights the priorities agreed among participants. The statement lists 24 approaches considered by delegates to be useful in order to support and include more women in politics.

The approaches were not prioritized, and they don’t need to be addressed in the sequence presented; they include both top-down interventions from the state as well as bottom-up interventions by a variety of civil society organisations; and they include approaches considered useful for both women in politics generally as well as for women in local politics, young women in politics, and women in transition politics.
Some of these priorities include but are not limited to equal constitutional rights for women, a local culture ensuring that women are treated fairly and have equal access, working together across party lines, support for women’s autonomous organising, and male advocates for women’s empowerment.

DIPD’s work for women in politics is now part of activities in many places and in many forms – often drawing on the Christiansborg Seminar Statement as inspiration and a pointer for how and where to support, assist, and inspire.

**DENMARK AS INSPIRATION AND EXCHANGE OF IDEAS**

Denmark’s political scene is still far from perfect when it comes to women’s participation, and there is still much work ahead and many obstacles. One part of DIPD’s work supporting women in politics is done in cooperation with Danish Centre for Information on Gender, Equality and Diversity, KVINFO. Helle Marianne Vadmand and Beatriz Hernández de Fuhr from KVINFO underline that Denmark can also serve as inspiration and a strong project partner exactly because there are still barriers for women in Denmark, and it is not always as easy as it looks for women even if they seem successful.

“If you look at the number of female mayors, there are 98 municipalities in Denmark and only 13 female mayors. Furthermore, if you look at female over representation in the municipalities, where around 2/3 of the candidates are male, it seems that much more needs to be done to get female councillors. It seems there are two reasons for this:

Firstly, when you run for parliament, it’s a full time job, but if you run for local elections you have that job alongside your full time job. If you have a family, time-management can be problematic. Secondly, there is lack of inspiring role models, and women usually do not have the adequate networks.”

Therefore, KVINFO sees partnerships not only as an opportunity to inspire but also be inspired. This exchange of ideas and experiences takes place among other places in Malawi, Tanzania and Bhutan where DIPD and KVINFO cooperate to mentor women aiming to boost the number of women in politics in those countries.
The basic idea of mentoring is to strengthen the network and confidence of someone, often called a “mentee”, through regular talks and discussions with a mentor. The meetings are often combined with networking and capacity building activities for the group of mentees in order for the participants to share experiences and strengthen their skills within different areas. The DIPD-KVINFO mentoring programme therefore connects women both internationally and nationally.

“In Denmark as in Malawi, Tanzania, and in most countries in the world, women in politics face similar situations: they don’t know how to minimize personal trade-offs of running for office, they lack role models and proper networks. We could and should learn from each other”, says Beatriz Hernández de Fuhr.

**FACTS ABOUT WOMEN IN POLITICS**

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BHUTAN</strong></td>
<td>Support for Bhutan Network for Empowering Women, BNEW, to engage more women as candidates both at local and national level.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NEPAL</strong></td>
<td>The multiparty partnership called JOMPOPS has decided to make women in politics one of the key focus areas, with a special emphasis on fighting violence against women.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TANZANIA</strong></td>
<td>Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD) is a multi-party partner, and the work on women in politics has a focus on mentoring. Both the Social Liberal Party and the Conservative Party focus on the role of women in politics in their capacity building programmes with partners.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MALAWI</strong></td>
<td>Centre for Multiparty Democracy-Malawi (CMD) support women’s position and voice within the political parties through a mentoring programme, engaging with the political party leadership on women’s and gender review of the manifestos of the parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ZAMBIA</strong></td>
<td>The Liberal Party working with NAREP has a particular focus on the inclusion of both youth and women in the development of the party.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GHANA</strong></td>
<td>The Social Democrats have discussed the role of women in the ruling NCD party, with women being trained as speakers, organisers and candidates.</td>
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**WORKING WITH WOMEN IN NEPAL AND BHUTAN**

In 2013 after attending the Christiansborg Seminar and listening to the briefings on women in politics in Denmark, the partners in Nepal decided to focus on women’s issues as an important aspect of the developing democracy in Nepal. The six political parties in the Joint Mechanism for Political Party Support (JOMPOPS) held a two-day seminar on women’s issues, attended by Ulla Tørnæs, former Minister for Development Cooperation, and Jytte Larsen, a senior researcher on women’s issues.

Another aspect of DIPD’s work with women was the 2013 Conference in Nepal where around 1,000 local level activists of the Intellectual Association of
the Maoist party gathered to discuss restructuring of their association. This discussion included how to both include women in the party and more women’s issues on the political agenda.

In Bhutan, DIPD has worked closely with the Bhutan Network for Empowering Women (BNEW) to plan and carry out no less than four regional trainings in 2013. The trainings included advice on how to make effective presentations in public, how to find the participants’ own strengths and weaknesses, including how to optimize the strengths and deal with weaknesses, as well as learning from their sisters what has worked for them in various situations. Close to 300 women participated in the trainings, and they were women from different levels of local government who hoped to run for public office or seeking higher office one day as well as women who would like to become leaders in other areas of society.

One participant reflected upon the impact of the BNEW training:

“I ran for office in the local elections in 2011, after having convinced my family that this could be possible for a woman. But I lost! But I am not giving up, and BNEW is making it possible for me to share this dream with other women, and we can learn from each other. I am grateful that DIPD has decided to support BNEW.”

DIPD’s work for women in politics matters. Through lessons learnt exercises and keeping in touch with project partners and study tour delegates, it seems clear that DIPD has been able to support a step forward for women in politics.

Also the Danish political parties focus on women through their party-to-party projects. From capacity building and mentoring women in politics to encouraging them to not only vote but also stand for election, DIPD’s party-to-party projects are every day seeking to assist, support, and encourage women in politics in countries across the globe.

KVINFO’s Helle Marianne Vadmand recounts an anecdote from the KV13 Study Tour where DIPD and KVINFO again cooperated and gathered delegates from more than 10 countries to come and to observe the Danish local elections. She and a group of politicians and activists from Jordan, Egypt, and Tunisia had
joined local politicians in Copenhagen to observe their campaign, including handing out election materials.

One of the observers recorded a small video on her mobile phone to capture this way of campaigning: standing in the street, handing out materials and talking to everyone who wanted to ask questions or discuss local political issues. The intention was that the small video would later serve as inspiration to fellow politicians at home in the observer’s home country. Helle Marianne Vadmand says:

“It was clear that they were not only inspired by the seminars and meeting other delegates in similar situations, but they also went home with real hands on experiences in campaigning and even a video which can be helpful in planning their parties’ future campaigns.”

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

The development of the background reader on “Women in Politics. Diversity and Equality for a Democratic Culture” as the knowledge basis for interventions.

The majority of political party partnerships have emphasized women in politics as a key area needing change, and in several projects this is high priority.

Committing the leadership of the 6 political parties in JOMPOPS in Nepal to support internal changes that will benefit women.

Supporting BNEW in Bhutan to become a credible and independent hub for initiatives that will result in more women candidates in the 2016 and 2018 elections.

Introducing ‘mentoring’ of women as a methodology to strengthen women in politics in the partnerships in Tanzania, Malawi and Bhutan.
YOUTH IN POLITICS

NEW GENERATIONS OF LEADERS

All Danish political parties have a youth wing. From the very beginning, youth in politics was therefore identified as a high priority area for DIPD. Together with The Danish Youth Council, DIPD has worked to inspire and support youth to engage in politics through the political parties in partner countries.

POLITICS IS NOT A FANTASY

Youth wings support and assist the ‘mother’ political parties during elections, but they also independently discuss local, regional, and national politics and make suggestions for legislation. Now and then they even clash with the mother party.

According to the Danish Youth Council (DUF), Denmark has a lot to offer in terms of inspiration, experience, and lessons learnt. Signe Bo, Chairman for DUF, says:

“Danish youth wings have many years of experience with political work. Being independent from the mother-party gives the youth a platform from where they independently can formulate strategies, take responsibility and implement projects. This has proven to be a very important training ground for MPs who in many cases have a past in a youth wing.

Every democratic society depends on the active participation of its citizens. Therefore, young people’s interest in politics is vital as they in many cases make up a majority of the population. For an elected parliament and government to be legitimate, it is important that they represent the citizens and that citizens therefore vote in elections based on enlightened decisions. This is important for a representative democracy to function in practice.”

For these reasons, DIPD wanted to make youth in politics one of its main priorities and thus work to support and assist young people wishing to establish youth wings or strengthen already established youth wings’ political role, agenda, and impact in countries with developing democracies.
During the visit of the 2011 delegation from Egypt, youth in politics was one of the aspects of democracy highlighted. In seminars, the delegates were introduced to the facts and figures of Danish youth wings, and during the delegates’ visits to towns across Denmark, some visited youth wing offices.

Many of the delegates were impressed with the Danish youth wings and their work, and delegates were often surprised with how active the youth wings are in Denmark. Mohamed El-Dessouky Roshdy El-Hagrasy from Youm7 News paper said after his participation in the study tour:

“The idea of the youth parties in Denmark is one of the ideas which I believe when I go back home I will try to see how can campaign for such an experience to be disseminated and applied in Egypt. If there is something that impresses me, it is the young people working in politics here, those who are either 18 or in their early 20ies; for me it is impressive the role they play because they are not as the young people in Egypt who are just staying away from politics. Actually, here they have a real role and even more freedom than ‘old’ politicians to be honest about their positions. That is very impressive.”

Also, Mina Mamdouh Mouris Gendy was inspired during his participation in the 2011 study tour, and he turned his experiences from the study tour into action back in Egypt by organising trainings for youth and encouraging them to participate positively in the political life.

“I tell them that politics is about their life – it is not a fantasy!”

THE JOINT DIPD-DUF-DEDI GUIDE

Together with DUF and the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute (DEDI) in Cairo as well as representatives from Danish political parties, DIPD published a joint guide on How to Build a Youth Wing, offering advice for youth in politics including topics to debate and consider. The joint DIPD-DUF-DEDI guide offers guidance for how to establish a political youth wing; it describes the basic set-up of a youth wing and its core work; recruitment of youth wing members and communication with youth wing members; and the relationship with the mother party as well as campaigns and collaboration.

The guide also features valuable experiences from both Egyptian activists and members of Danish youth parties through 12 personal accounts: the activists and members of youth wings share their experiences, setbacks, and
triumphs as well as their best pieces of advice for emerging founders of youth wings or emerging youth politicians. So far it has been published in English, Arabic, and Nepali, with more translations planned in the future.

With DIPD’s commitment to learn from experience, it is important to ask what support for youth in politics really can accomplish – and if the inspiration provided by DIPD and partners is worth the effort. DUF has extensive experience in this field. Adwan Mohamad, International Program Manager for DUF says:

“Most studies show that people’s fundamental values are to a large extent shaped in the early formative years. Therefore on an individual level, it is important that democratic values are nurtured among young people. It is of course difficult for a single individual to have significant impact on the political system of an entire country, but if resources are pooled, groups of persons can have an impact. In many cases young people find themselves marginalized from the political system by a culture that favours older people. We can help these young people by teaching them the skills needed to become relevant actors and in turn empower them to claim their right to political participation.”

The political environment of Egypt is not easy to navigate, and this has impacted on the activities since the summer of 2013:

“The response we get from our Egyptian partners is that the platform for multi-party dialogue is very helpful, because there is a lack of forums where parties can meet across political divides. Also, many have found our workshops relevant and helpful in terms of building up skills. Still, there are factors external to our project that result in increasing polarization between competing political parties. These factors have proven to be much stronger than the impact we can expect to have with our relatively small intervention. But we still believe that we have made a positive contribution.”

FACTS ABOUT YOUTH IN POLITICS

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEPAL</td>
<td>Some of the political parties in JOMPOPS have requested support in this area, and the Guide is being published in a Nepali version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYANMAR</td>
<td>Through the Myanmar Multiparty Democracy Programme (MMDP), support for youth in the political parties will be a focus area in the next phase starting 2014.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KENYA</td>
<td>The Liberal Party and Centre for Multiparty Democracy have partnered to focus on youth participation in political parties in Kenya, involving representatives from the Liberal Party youth wing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAMBI A</td>
<td>The Liberal Party working with NAREP has a particular focus on the inclusion of both youth and women in the development of the party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIMBABWE</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Institute (ZI) has had a focus on youth in politics in cooperation with the three political parties, which has included a study tour to Denmark as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>The Guide was developed as part of the multi-party programme. Also a major part of the Social Democrats’ project in Egypt is on youth in politics, supporting the development of the youth wing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PALESTINE</td>
<td>The Red/Green Alliance project involving three political parties has a focus entirely on youth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Study Tour 2011 participant Mohamed Arafat from the Egyptian Social Democratic Party certainly remembers his week-long visit to Denmark as inspiring. He was particularly impressed by Danish youth in politics:

“During this visit I got to know first-hand the role of youth in parties and the ways in which they influence decision making. For instance I saw how the youth are the organizational backbone in the election campaigns of the party’s candidates. The youth organization has a distinctive position in the party where it enjoys a lot of independence and at the same time it never departs from the party’s general framework. This is really what impressed me the most, as well as the excellent organizing and planning.”

Mohamed Arafat has since worked particularly with Egyptian youth within his own political party.

EXPERTISE IN INSPIRING

The DIPD-DUF cooperation is a match of experience and expertise from two organisations. DIPD has extensive knowledge of party-to-party and multi-party efforts; DUF has a wealth of experience in working with young people in general and politically active youth in particular.

Together, we have accomplished an effective approach to inspiring, assisting, and supporting youth in politics through international network meetings with relevant workshops, where the participants stated that they learned skills that they can use in their daily work. While it is still not an institutionalized platform, the mere existence of a network for multi-party dialogue is highly appreciated and in high demand among our Egyptian participants.

Finally, Adwan Mohamad from DUF shares an experience from a workshop in Helsingør in 2012, showing how there was a direct impact on young Egyptian politicians’ way of approaching political debate.

“The workshop was about conflict resolution and dialogue, and it was highly appreciated by the Egyptian parties. In the evening, the Egyptian participants met to speak informally about current issues in Egypt, where they used the very dialogue techniques they had learned earlier that day. This gives hope that our

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

The development of the Guide on “How to Build a Youth Wing” as the knowledge basis for interventions in the programme in Egypt.

Having the Guide translated into Nepali and Burmese to meet requests from partners in these countries.

Several political party partnerships have emphasized youth in politics as a key area and entry point to develop democratic and inclusive structures.

Supporting BNEW in Bhutan to become a credible and independent hub for initiatives that will result in more women candidates in the 2016 and 2018 elections.

Mobilising youth in the Danish political parties to engage as facilitators in the partnerships with parties in developing countries.
LOCAL BRANCHES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

ROOTING PARTIES IN LOCAL REALITIES

Towards the end of April in 2012, when the nip in the air was gone but the heat was still mild, the town of Godavari hosted a cordial interaction between political party leaders of Denmark and Nepal. It turned out to be an occasion for politicos from both countries to share experiences and exchange notes about strengthening local party units. It was also an opportunity to establish trust between the parties.

TWO COUNTRIES, TWO DEMOCRACIES

Godavari is located at the South-Eastern rim of the Kathmandu valley. At about 2700 meters above sea level, Phulchoki is the tallest mountaintop in the vicinity of the capital city. The forested peak towers over nearby settlements.

Despite rapid urbanization over the last few years, villages in this area retain their rural character. Shopping centres, holiday resorts and modern buildings give an illusion of modernity, but relationships between residents are still traditional. People continue to gather at teashops and street corners to discuss issues of common concerns and thrash out minor conflicts through consultations with village elders. Due to its proximity to the National Botanical Garden and perennial little streams that irrigate its fields, villages in Godavari look lush throughout the year.

All politics, as the axiom goes, is local; without vibrant party organizations at the grassroots, no organization can claim or retain its significance at the national level.

Differences of doing politics in Denmark and Nepal, however, are equally glaring. Danish democracy is deeply rooted in what has been called the “Association Culture” and has evolved over few centuries from political groups that
organized themselves around shared interests to parties that take principled stands, negotiate matters, moderate positions, formulate compromises, develop consensus or take contested issues to the electorate in an amicable manner.

Nepalese political parties, on the other hand, were organized around universal values of democracy, socialism and social as well as economic justice. The initiative of the leadership has been decisive in the formation of political parties in Nepal. Unlike the organic growth of grassroots politics in Denmark, Nepalese political parties have to make conscious efforts to strengthen their local units.

This was the realization, especially among activists at the grassroots of some of the biggest and the most influential political parties of Nepal that had gathered at Godavari in April 2012 to share notes with Danish politicos. The event gave impetus to the preparation of the Guide for political parties at the local level.

**COALITION CULTURE**

In plural societies with longstanding grievances between different social and cultural groups, political parties can either play the role of the moderator, negotiator and dealmaker or end up fanning latent conflicts in the name of championing causes that are genuine and yet can inflame passions. Hence, local units of political parties in emerging democracies have to cultivate the culture of compromise in order to ensure coexistence and promote cooperation in areas of shared interests and common concerns of the collective.

The exercise involves, among other things, improving intra-party communication, facilitating inter-party cooperation and demonstrating unity of purpose. Formulation, preparation and dissemination of the Guide involved all these activities in some measure. At the Godavari consultation, activists of main political parties got an opportunity to interact with their own representatives in the Joint Mechanism for Political Party Strengthening (JOMPOPS) in an informal setting. They also used the occasion to discuss issues of common concern across party lines.

Perhaps what really made the whole exercise at Godavari even more meaningful was a small yet significant event at a local school. Participants from Nepal and visitors from Denmark from different political parties took up brooms
to clean the community space. The gesture held huge symbolic meaning and gave out a really positive message. A local party activist Gyanu Budhathoki said later:

“In my locality, it was the first instance when political parties came together and did some work in action for the community’s interests.”

Perhaps it was made possible due to the presence of politicos from Denmark that demonstrated the need to work together despite differences over ideologies, agendas and plan of action of competing organizations.

A few months later, political party leaders from Nepal travelled to Denmark to see ground-level politics in action. Their experiences and ex-changes with Danish counterparts not only provided important inputs in the finalization of the Guide but also helped some of them bring back useful lessons for meaningful local level politics.

Chitralekha Yadav, a central level leader of centrist Nepali Congress party enthused during her visit:

“I liked that the Constitution day was celebrated all over Denmark and not just in Copenhagen. When I go back, I will talk to my party and ensure that such national events are celebrated at the local level as well and not just at the centre.”

The important take away was unmistakable: Nepalese political party leaders saw for themselves the importance of cultivating local party units and making them a participant in national politics through various exercises.

BUILDING UPWARDS
In Nepal, the oldest political party was established about seven decades ago. Between 1960 and 1990, political parties could not operate freely and had to operate either in exile or outside the law.

Due to the very nature of underground politics, parties had to operate in a very centralized manner. Communication had to pass through secretive channels. Among grassroots cadres, loyalty to the leader mattered more than the ability to reach out to the people since the regime closely monitored every political activity at the local level. Consequently, political parties remained more or less closed organizations.
Restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990 exposed weaknesses of having top-heavy political structures with loyalists of leaders holding fort in the countryside. In the absence of vibrant political units at local levels, party nominations were marred by allegations of partiality, nepotism, favouritism and cronyism. Controversies continued to erupt over political appointments.

Subsequent elections for local government units showed that democratic exercises required political parties rooted in the soil. By the mid-1990s, most mainstream parties had begun to strengthen their local units. However, the armed conflict spreading like prairie fire created conditions that were not conducive to the natural growth of political parties at local levels.

The Narayanhiti Massacre; declaration of state of internal emergency; dissolution of parliament; postponement of local elections; intensification of armed conflict; and royal-military coup in quick succession in the early years of twenty-first century were testing times for democratic politics in Nepal. Insecurity in the countryside and internal displacement of population to urban centres disrupted the growth of political parties at the grassroots.

After pro-democracy mass movements of the Spring Awakening in 2006 and subsequent Madhesh Uprisings, the need of building party organizations at the local level was acutely realized. Political parties, after all, are effective instruments of moderating radicalism and diffusing incipient conflicts.

However, all attention in the aftermath of armed conflict was concentrated upon resolving the issue of interned combatants and holding elections for the much-awaited Constituent Assembly in April 2008. Party-building at local levels had once again slid down the priority list of national leaders.

Between 2008 and 2012, ideological conflicts between main political parties came to the fore on the floor of the Constituent Assembly, and the House got dissolved without delivering the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. Extraordinary measures, such as formation of a non-political Interim Election Council under the chairmanship of Chief Justice of the country and holding polls without updating electoral rolls or revisiting demarcation of constituencies, were adopted to reconstitute the Constituent Assembly.

Elections for the Constituent Assembly for the second time in November 2013 have once again shown the importance of vibrant local party units. Politi-
cal parties that had managed to revive their local units outperformed the ones with weak and fragmented organization at the grassroots.

The Constituent Assembly II has its task cut out: All main parties have agreed to formulate a constitution within a year of the formation of the House. Thereafter, it shall continue to function as legislative parliament and lead the transformation of the republic into a federal structure.

The importance of political parties at various levels—provincial or state, regional or district and local or municipal—will only increase in the days to come. All political parties have to begin to build their organizations bottom-up rather than top-down as has been the practice due to the force of circumstances in the country.

This is where experiences from Denmark offer potentially useful lessons. Even though the Guide has been designed on the basis of Danish practices, it went through the process of consultation and modification with Nepalese counterparts. The resulting document has been owned by the parties represented in JOMPOPS. The Guide has also been adapted into Nepali by JOMPOPS members to make it relevant to the Nepali context.
CULTIVATION AND INNOVATION

Intra-party cohesion and inter-party cooperation are equally important for healthy competition characteristic of a functioning democracy. Vibrant local units of political parties have to be efficient electoral machines to win polls, but they also need to be humane in order to retain the loyalty of members and attract new adherents.

Understandably, political parties in Nepal wanted to learn from their Danish counterpart different ways of raising funds, organizing meetings, conducting publicity campaigns and maintaining channels of communication between different layers of organizations. Politics vary according to ground realities. However, lessons of what has been called the ‘political science’—a body of systematic knowledge—are applicable in most situations.

Fund-raising is best done through volunteer contributions of a large number of members and supporters. Such an approach reduces the possibility of big donors influencing policy decisions. Building an enduring organization is similarly a challenge in all societies. The process of identification of likely members, proper methods of vetting, adequate orientation and appropriate opportunities of participation are ways of maintaining healthy membership at local levels.

Identification of issues of local concerns and relating them with national politics is always a great challenge for all political parties. However, there is no short-cut to success: Political parties have to continuously cultivate the electorate in order to ensure that people approach local organizations with their grievances and concerns.

The importance of transparency and accountability will increase in the days to come. All political parties at every level of their organization have to set up systems that are open for scrutiny by public authorities. Mechanisms have to be put in place for a healthy relationship with the Press. Media often acts as the force multiplier for political parties and can make or mar its prospects during elections. With the expansion of mobile telephony and availability of internet on hand-held devices, influence of social media even in Nepal will become crucial in the days to come.
Here again, political leaders of Nepal can exchange useful notes with their Danish counterparts: Technology is a great leveller and is creating conditions for the emergence of universal ways of doing politics!

**A PROCESS OF CONTINUOUS LEARNING**

Exposure to Danish practices has inspired leaders in JOMPOPS to realize the importance of simplicity in everyday politics. After participating in a program, Parshuram Gurung, a member of the Unified Marxist Leninist party remarked:

“*I was impressed to see that when the Prime Minister or another ministers spoke during the Constitution day program in Denmark, there were no lengthy formalities or unnecessary protocols. Simplicity embedded in the Danish political culture was moving. It’s an important lesson for an economically poor country like Nepal. We, at times, waste too much time, energy, and money on formalities.*”

The question is not just that of time and money, important as they are by themselves. Protocol and formalities also hinder the growth of camaraderie so essential for the effectiveness of any political organization. In order to build organizations that work as a team, it is essential to make everyone feel that there are no superiors or inferiors, but only members with different roles and responsibilities.

However, it is easier said than done in Nepal. Hierarchy is built into the very structure of caste-based social system. In addition to social order based on discrimination, political parties that have come from armed struggle carry the legacy of militant organization with ex-commanders and former lay combatants clinging to the practices of their previous roles.

In final analysis, the party that is organized best works most effectively and delivers results. Perhaps the process of formulation of the Guide and interaction between JOMPOPS participants from Nepal and their Danish counterparts from various political parties have once again shown what has been known for long: There is no surefire way of building a fail-proof political organization; it’s a long process of learning by doing and sharing notes for further innovation. The Guide for political parties at local level is a useful tool in the process of continuous learning.

Written by C.K. Lal, Nepali commentator and consultant.
### FACTS ABOUT SUPPORT TO LOCAL LEVEL POLITICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEPAL</td>
<td>The major focus area for the programme with the 6 parties organised in JOMPOPS is capacity development for local levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAMBIA</td>
<td>The Liberal Party working with NAREP has a focus on setting up local branches nationwide, and the Guide can offer useful information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANZANIA</td>
<td>A Kiswahili version of the Guide will be launched in May 2014, following requests from several political parties that this information would be useful in their capacity development work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>The Guide has been translated into Arabic, because political parties have requested information in this area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

The development of the Guide on “Political Parties at Local Level. Danish experiences for inspiration” as the knowledge basis for interventions in Nepal.

Having the Guide translated into Arabic and Kiswahili because of requests from partners in these countries.

Several political party partnerships have emphasized youth in politics as a key area and entry point to develop democratic and inclusive structures.

Bringing 50 participants from 10 countries together to observe and learn from the Municipal Elections in November 2013 and how local level politics is managed.
DIPD STUDY TOURS

THE ART OF EXCHANGING IDEAS

The DIPD study tour model includes several steps: preparation in home country before departure; seminar on Danish democracy; observing realities on the ground with hosts; and finally action planning before returning. Since 2011, several study tours have taken place when the political calendar in Denmark made it appropriate. Delegates have observed, been inspired, and returned home to discuss new ideas and perhaps implement changes.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2011

In September 2011, seven Egyptian politicians from a wide range of Egyptian political parties representing social democratic, liberal, and religious parties as well as four representatives from Egyptian civil society visited Denmark to study and observe the Danish parliamentary elections.

This was the first DIPD study tour and the outline of the programme has since been the foundation for other study tours. The content varies depending on the delegates, their home countries, and the primary obstacles they may face in the course of their work at home.

First, the delegates received briefings by scholars, politicians, and activists on the Danish political system and the elections, political parties in Denmark, running a campaign, media and politics as well as specific topics. After each briefing, there were Q&A sessions and opportunities to discuss in groups. The delegates also visited the parliament, including the chamber where proposals are debated and laws voted on, and the delegates heard first hand from MPs what it is like to work in the Danish parliament.

Second, to get a sense of Danish democracy in real life, the delegates visited different parts of Denmark to observe the election taking place. Hosted
by members of the political parties in such different parts of the country as Ålborg, Kolding, Vissenbjerg, Vedbæk, Rungsted, Roskilde, and Copenhagen, the delegates met with key politicians running for parliament or active political party members running the campaigns, and they experienced the numerous events surrounding Danish parliamentary elections, like candidates handing out flyers, debates between candidates from different parties, and the media covering the elections.

They spent a day visiting the local area, e.g. schools and the local party office, and then they observed the elections. They saw the official opening of the voting facilities in their area, observed the voters arriving and the election officials at work ensuring the secrecy of the vote, etc. At the end of election day, they observed the closing of the polls and the counting. For some, the counting process lasted until the early morning hours.

These local visits offered a unique opportunity to get insight from the bottom-up. In addition, both local and national media reported extensively on the delegates’ visits so the study tour also offered Danes an opportunity to see the Danish elections in a broader international perspective.

Finally, the participants returned from their local hosts to discuss lessons learned as well as define areas where it would perhaps be beneficial for DIPD to provide additional support.

As he was about to leave Denmark and return to Egypt with a notepad full of ideas to act upon, Mina Mamdouh Mouris Gendy, formerly from the Arabic Network for Human Rights Information, remarked:

“What is really exciting is the whole election, the campaigns, especially the news organisations, which are related to the mother parties. They have very nice creative ideas, self-motivation to go to the streets and distribute flyers with a big smile and singing and dancing also, so really good spirit to promote the complicated ideas. It was done in a simple way with a smile and a candy, with singing and dancing which was something new. The Egyptian election is a fight, not a festival.”
CONSTITUTION DAY AND LOCAL ELECTIONS
All DIPD study tours have had this framework – of course with briefings tailored to both the audience and the specific event being observed by the delegates. Often, local hosts have generously offered to welcome delegates to their homes or they have shared stories about their passion political party work, as well as the defeats and triumphs they have lived through.

For the Danish Constitution Day on 5th of June 2012, DIPD organised a study tour with delegates from Nepal, representing six of the major political parties. The delegates were given an introduction to local government in Denmark and then met with local hosts representing three Danish political parties. With their local hosts, they experienced the Constitution Day celebrations, including political gatherings and speeches.

In 2013, a youth delegation from Zimbabwe arrived on a study tour to meet both youth politicians and representatives from Danish civil society. The delegates represented the three key political parties working together in a coalition government after pressure from the international community. This tour
offered not only a unique possibility to be inspired by Danish society, but also an opportunity to meet and liaise with fellow Zimbabweans.

For the Danish local elections in November 2013, DIPD conducted its largest study tour so far. More than 50 delegates from 10 countries visited to observe the Danish municipal elections, and this tour was therefore the first where south-south sharing and learning played an important role. It was indeed interesting to observe how the young democracy in Bhutan could benefit from talking to parties operating in Tanzania and Ghana.

These study tours are really about “the art of exchanging ideas” because they offer a wealth of knowledge, experience and inspiration. Delegates get first-hand knowledge of how elections are conducted in a well-functioning democracy, and ideas for action plans are drawn up.

And the Danish dimension should not be underestimated: Having outsiders observe the way we manage our democracy in Denmark created a lot of opportunities for Danish politicians to reflect on both strengths and weaknesses. Why are we not using transparent voting boxes like the UN does in many places around the world? Why are parties not allowed to advertise on radio and television? Why do the people counting the votes not cheat?

FROM INSPIRATION TO ACTION

Within days of returning to Ghana from the DIPD local elections study tour, the General Secretary of the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) party, General Johnson Asiedu Nketia, proposed fixed periods for election campaigns. Usually, Ghanaian political parties campaign for years before elections, but inspired by his visit to Denmark, Nketia made national headlines with his proposal.

Information and experiences from the latest study tour were also shared in Myanmar where delegates from various parties spoke with youth representatives from media, civil society organisations and corporate businesses and shared impressions from their trip to Denmark. The meeting was part of an election course organized by Danida Fellowship Centre (DFC) and ActionAid Global Platform.
Likewise, David Kapoma, NAREP head of Admin and Project Manager in Zambia, shared his experiences from the study tour:

“My participation in the KV13 study tour will help in building democracy both at party and national level. Already the presentation during the party Organization Development Workshop had an impact with most of the members realizing that it is very possible to work together as different political parties without necessarily causing fights. We have also planned to hold sessions in the different provinces of the country to talk about youth and women participation in politics which will be tied with the experience from Denmark.”
Mina Mamdouh Mouri Gendy from the very first DIPD study tour shared his observations and new inspirations after he returned home. Two and a half years later, he still thinks his visit to Denmark and observing the parliamentary elections was a week of huge importance to him:

“It was a great opportunity to learn. Since returning to Egypt, I have conducted a large number of trainings for young people both in universities and in rural communities to encourage them to participate in politics. The activities strongly emphasized social responsibility towards politics and political participation as a crucial way to guarantee the young Egyptians’ own rights.”

**FACTS ABOUT SUPPORT TO LOCAL LEVEL POLITICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Egyptian delegation observed the Danish parliamentary elections, which saw the first women ever become Prime Minister. The delegation consisted of close to 20 young representatives from political parties, as well as representatives from civil society and media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Nepalese delegation consisting of 10 representatives from the 6 parties organised in JOMPOPS observed the Danish Constitution Day celebrations and meeting with local branches of the Danish parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Youth leaders of the 3 parties represented in the government in Zimbabwe visited Denmark and the Netherlands to discuss how to support political participation of youth in Zimbabwe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Almost 50 delegates representing political parties in Bhutan, Bolivia, Egypt, Ghana, Myanmar, Nepal, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe observed the Municipal elections in Denmark in November. Another 12 delegates from KVINFO participated, representing Egypt, Jordan and Morocco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-13</td>
<td>The majority of Danish political parties has organized their own study tours during the first phase: Social Democrats, Liberal Party, Conservatives, Social Liberal Party, Red/Green Alliance, Socialist People's Party and the Liberal Alliance. These study tours have focused on a more limited agenda.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!**

The development of a comprehensive compendium on Danish democracy, covering areas like the electoral system, the parliamentary system, the party system, local level governance, women in politics, etc.

Providing more than 100 party members and activists with an opportunity to learn directly from their Danish counterparts.

Specific ideas picked up during the study tours have been presented in the political context of our partners and started debate and reflection.
PARTY-TO-PARTY PARTNERSHIPS

PARTIES BREAKING NEW GROUND

All of the Danish parties have been on a steep learning curve since the first partnership took off in 2011. The stories in this section have all been written by the parties and their partners, and they reflect some of the small changes that have been achieved so far. But they also point to some of the difficult challenges this type of work involves.
A GLOBAL OVERVIEW

WORKING IN DIFFERENT ENVIRONMENTS

Difficult choices have to be made when a party decides on a partner. One is the choice of country, where a number of issues have to be considered. Another is the choice of a like-minded party to develop a partnership with. In this first phase, the Danish parties have decided to be active in Latin America, the Middle East and Africa.

CHOICE OF PARTNER

Experience so far shows that this has been a major challenge for one group of parties, but very simple and straightforward for another group.

Parties like the Social Democrats, the Socialist People’s Party and the Red-Green Alliance already belonged to a strong international network when DIPD was established. They could therefore identify their choice of partner fairly quickly, and could focus on the content of a programme from the start.

Other parties have learned the hard way that being a ‘liberal’ or a ‘conservative’ party may have different meanings in different parts of the world. Finding a ‘sister’ party can be impossible, but finding a ‘like-minded’ partner may also be good enough.

CHOICE OF COUNTRY

In some cases the choice of country has been the first step, followed by the choice of partner. In other cases the choice of partner has come first. But irrespective of the sequence, all parties have been forced by the DIPD guidelines to make an assessment of the political situation of the country, including a risk assessment of how easy or difficult it may be to operate in this particular political environment.

Environments change all the time, and risk assessments therefore have to be updated regularly. But for a quick overview, it is possible to divide the countries chosen into three categories.

PEACEFUL COUNTRIES: These are countries with a low level of political polarisation, where political violence is the exception rather than the rule, and where meetings can be organised without serious fear of disruption. Countries like Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia belong here.

VOLATILE COUNTRIES: Countries where it is presently possible to work in a normal manner, but where violence, harassment and intimidation have been part of recent political history and could appear again if triggered by the political stakeholders. Countries like Kenya, Bolivia and Egypt belong here.

DIFFICULT COUNTRIES: Typically countries where politics has a tradition for being very violent, where rule is very authoritarian, or the region is part of a broader conflict. Countries like Honduras, Swaziland and Palestine belong here.

Fortunately, so far it has been possible to work without major problems in most of the countries.
List of partnerships developed by the Danish political parties 2011-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Danish Party</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Partner</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>SWADEPA – Swazi Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>ESDP – Egyptian Social Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B] SOCIAL LIBERAL PARTY</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>CUF – Civic United Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C] CONSERVATIVES</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>CHADEMA – Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[F] SOCIALIST PEOPLE’S PARTY</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>MAS – Movimiento al Socialismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] LIBERAL ALLIANCE</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>VERDES – Verdad y Democracia Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>CMD – Centre for Multiparty Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V] DANISH LIBERAL PARTY</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Free Egyptians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>NAREP – National Restoration Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ø] RED-GREEN ALLIANCE</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>FNRP – Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>PUDEMO – People’s United Democratic Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>Youth Platform – DFLP, PPP and FIDA</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
WHAT IS SOCIAL DEMOCRACY?

Social democracy is a globally recognized political concept and as such it is open to many different interpretations. What are the different understandings of social democracy in Denmark compared to Egypt, Ghana, and Swaziland? How does our common ideological position influence our cooperation?

A GLOBAL CONCEPT

Let us be frank! Denmark, and the Nordic countries in general, are frequently referred to as the closest we come to a realization of the social democratic vision for a society. Although we believe that many challenges still lie ahead of us before we have realized our social democratic utopia, we have no problem in taking claim for the development of the universal Nordic welfare society.

Although the Scandinavian countries are thus often equated with social democracy, parties all over the world label themselves social democrats. Indeed, social democracy is, and has always been, an internationalist movement. When the Social Democratic Party of Denmark was formed in 1871, we were founded as a Danish branch of the international workers’ movement – not as an exclusive Danish party. We still consider ourselves to be just that, and international solidarity is in our political DNA.

There is a lot of talk these years about a crisis for social democracy. While this might be a relevant discussion in Europe, social democracy is as popular as ever globally. However, with its global scope follows a plurality in interpretations of the concept. The history, culture and level of socio-economic development in a given country play a role; so does the electoral system; as well as the special challenges facing countries today and the choices individuals make.

What are our common denominators as social democrats? How can our mutual allegiance to social democracy influence our cooperation? What we can learn from one another?
GHANA – AFRICA’S DEMOCRATIC BEACON OF HOPE

In Ghana, SDP has since 2011 been engaged in a partnership with the ruling party, NDC, focusing on strengthening the understanding of social democracy, and building a stronger and more gender inclusive organization with better internal communication.

Ghana can today be perceived as one of the best functioning democracies in Africa and as such it stands out in the otherwise volatile region of Western Africa. This is an impressive development in a time span of approximately 20 years.

Furthermore, Ghana is home to a strong African intellectual tradition of political thinking. Ideologies have always played a part in Ghana’s political history, where the two dominant political parties today, NPP and NDC, can trace their political history back to the traditions of Danquah-Busia, a liberal, conservative ideological tradition, and a Nkrumahist tradition, blending African nationalism, panafrikanism and socialism.

NDC has developed from a revolutionary and populist party headed by Jerry John Rawlings, transforming itself into a social democratic party in 2002, advocating for the protection of the rights of socially disadvantaged groups within Ghana’s multiparty environment. Because of this, even before the initiation of the DIPD partnership, the parties already had a relationship through our mutual membership of the Socialist International.

No matter the achievements, social democracy in Ghana still faces great challenges. Ghana’s society is ripe with deep structural inequalities, particularly between the Northern and the Southern regions, and with great divides in levels of education, income and between men and women. All of this influences the overall conditions for democracy and social democratic policies.

IN THE MIDDLE OF A REVOLUTION

These challenges are shared by ESDP, which is establishing itself after decades of autocratic regimes, although the optimism in Egypt seems to have waned recently. While Egypt has been in the global spotlight for the last three years, our partners in ESDP have been working under less attention, but always in the midst of the events gripping the world.
Dust had hardly settled on the Tahrir Square and the flames been extinguished in the old headquarters of Mubarak’s National Democratic Party after the January 25th revolution in 2011, before activists and respected intellectuals got together and founded ESDP.

When the parliamentary elections were held in 2012, ESDP contested and finished fourth as the “best of the new”. In the run-up to the ouster of the then-president Morsi in 2013, ESDP activists spent their nights putting up posters and rallying for popular support against Morsi. In the technocrat government that followed, ESDP had representatives advocating for reconciliation and new, inclusive elections, but found them being increasingly marginalized.

This very well indicates the dilemma between the revolutionary spirit and the more classical social democratic, reformist approach.

ESDP has been a partner almost throughout this period, after initial contacts were established in the summer of 2011. The cooperation is confronted by a constantly changing political context. However, the challenges for ESDP are easy to define. There are organizational challenges connected with the establishment of a political party and there are political challenges as explained by ESDP’s international secretary, Hussein Gohar:

“We struggle to deliver the message of social democracy to a highly polarised society after years of depoliticization. We need to get people to understand the benefits of solidarity over charity, convince them about the rationale behind progressive taxation and the role of the state in economy.”

Beside these challenges related to the ideological dimension of social democracy vis-à-vis other ideologies in a long-time depoliticized context comes the overwhelming challenge of securing political space in Egypt. ESDP is additionally forced to ask itself the question that we as Danish social democrats have long ago settled upon: Is progress achieved best through reforms and parliaments, or should we take to the streets and demand a revolution, which has recently been efficient in Egypt – at least when it comes to regime change?

AFRICA’S LAST SOVEREIGN MONARCHY

This is a question that our partners in SWADEPA are familiar with. Swaziland is a small country bordering South Africa and Mozambique and home to 1 million people. The country is a lower-middle income country and thus barred from much development assistance. Still, it finds itself competing with war-ridden...
and much poorer countries in having the world’s lowest life expectancy. Large parts of the population are starving and the country suffers from the world’s highest HIV/Aids infection rate.

Worst of all, the reason is political. While the population is starving, Africa’s last sovereign king, King Mswati III, enjoys life with his 15-something wives and a corresponding number of royal palaces, but neglects implementing long-needed political and social reforms. SWADEPA is trying to change this by introducing a multi-party democracy while respecting the royal institution. In this regard, much inspiration can be derived from the Danish, constitutional monarchy.

SWADEPA was established by long-time veterans in the democracy movement with a background largely in the trade unions. The leaders of the party were amongst the architects behind a boycott-strategy that the democracy movement has pursued since 1993 with undemocratic elections being held every 5 years. However, with the approval of a new constitution in 2005 and limited visible success in boycotting elections, SWADEPA was set up in 2011 in trying to change the system from within by contesting the elections.

The strategy caused significant controversy in the country’s democracy movement. But the participatory approach can be viewed as an essentially social democratic strategy of change similar to the one pursued by ESDP in consistently attempting to influence the government from within from August 2013 to February 2014.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS – DIVERSITY IN UNITY

As social democrats, all four parties belong to the same political family and are largely organized accordingly. While SDP and NDC are long-standing members of Socialist International, ESDP has become a consultative member in 2012, while SWADEPA is applying for membership.

We have deliberately avoided characterising ‘social democracy’ as an ideology. As Danish social democrats, we consider our ideology as democratic socialism, while social democracy is a political approach or method we apply in order to achieve our ideological goals.

Being social democrats, we adhere to general principles such as democracy, social justice, equality, and non-discrimination, while the particular makeup of social democratic policies of course varies from country to country.
Where SWADEPA's understands social democracy as a fundamental right to democracy, human rights and dignified lives for everyone, NDC is grappling with how to implement social democratic reforms as a governing party in a growth (market) economy with an enormous social inequality.

ESDP finds itself somewhere in between these positions, discussing both democratic rights such as freedom of speech, but also social justice, social security and decent living wages.

While SWADEPA, NDC and ESDP want to achieve a society where the majority is not excluded, in Denmark we live in one of the world’s most equal societies and want to make room for the last 10% while not losing sight of the majority of Danish wage-earners.

**FACTS ABOUT SWAZILAND**

**PARTNER**  Swazi Democratic Party (SWADEPA).

**AMOUNT**  DKK 1.5 million for 2012-2013.

**OBJECTIVES**  Improve the organizational ability of party cadres and create a stronger party organization; improve the internal policy coherence and SWADEPA’s electoral performance by capacity building party cadres politically; increase the political awareness of the Swazi population through civic education and mobilization.

**ACTIVITIES**  Local and national seminars with leadership, party organizers and youth. Political conferences with candidates and members of SWADEPA. A policy and organizational guidance manual. Civic education meetings.

Where SWADEPA’s understands social democracy as a fundamental right to democracy, human rights and dignified lives for everyone, NDC is grappling with how to implement social democratic reforms as a governing party in a growth (market) economy with an enormous social inequality.

ESDP finds itself somewhere in between these positions, discussing both democratic rights such as freedom of speech, but also social justice, social security and decent living wages.

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**AN APPROACH THAT WORKS**

Our challenges and corresponding emphasis on different aspects of social democracy may vary, but our common values function as guiding principles in our partnerships. As social democrats, we believe in inclusive organizations with diversified memberships and strong relationships to the trade unions.

Be it an ideology or an approach, social democracy is inherently flexible, because a defining characteristic is ‘pragmatism’. Rather ensure an imperfect
step forward today than to wait indefinitely for the perfect opportunity. This requires a strong understanding of social democracy in order for this not to dilute into futility. All our partners point to the lack of clear understanding of social democracy as one of the main challenges.

Thus, broadening the understanding of the political and organizational implications of social democracy is a cross-cutting objective in all our partnerships. This also enables us to treat sensitive issues, such as why a male-dominated organization or insufficient internal democracy is making a mockery out of our own ideological beliefs of equal opportunities for all.

The partnerships have already witnessed great results despite small budgets and short time. In Swaziland, SWADEPA is the only party with a stated ideological point of departure and is now pushing for democratic and social reforms inside the parliament. As the first Egyptian party, ESDP has established a youth organization, Shada, and through the partnership the need for a grassroot based, diversified organization with strong relations to workers’ and civil society has been put in focus.

Like ESDP, NDC also emphasizes the participation in the local elections in Denmark as a great source of inspiration. NDC announced several political initiatives in Ghana upon returning from the KV13-study trip. And NDC project officer Dennis Twumasi reports:

“The partnership has facilitated progress in promoting women’s political participation in decision making processes, encouraging youth to take up party positions, strengthened our internal democracy, and NDC has gained capacity to formulate strategies on organizational and policy development.”

Finally, as Danish social democrats we bring home inspiration and perspectives in our own daily political struggles. We are inspired in how to organize ourselves politically. While we are reminded of our achievements, we are made aware of the great challenges still ahead of us.

Written by Simon Redder Thomsen, Project Coordinator for the Danish Social Democrats, in cooperation with partners in Ghana, Egypt and Swaziland.

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Supported the establishment of a relatively autonomous, yet clearly social democratic youth wing in Egypt.

Fuelled the discussion on women’s participation in politics in Ghana with a push for gender sensitive amendments to the NDC constitution in upcoming congress.

Promoted a mainstreaming of the internal communication structures and democracy in NDC.

Assisted SWADEPA in developing a new approach to push for democratic changes in Swaziland through the election of progressive forces in parliament.

Helped strengthen the social democratic awareness amongst party members in Egypt, Swaziland and Ghana.
SOCIAL LIBERALS IN TANZANIA

LISTENING TO THE LOCAL LEVEL

A newly established partnership to implement a series of activities within one year became an ambitious project and a great learning experience. How could Radikale Venstre (the Social Liberals) best inspire the Civic United Front? How could both parties engage in a project that would widen the perspectives and serve as an international learning experience?

A COMMON VISION IS BORN

When a small delegation from Radikale Venstre travelled to Tanzania in April 2012, there were many questions to be answered. Meeting the Civic United Front and experiencing the dedication from the party and its leadership made a vision of a partnership much clearer.

The parties shared a firm belief that a common frame of liberal values could be a good starting point for a strong partnership. Radikale Venstre saw CUF as a possible agent of change in a country where the government has only seen one face since the multi-party system was established in 1994.

A common vision was born: the project should support the development of sustainable, inclusive, democratic social liberal party structures on a local level in Tanzania. This vision was to be translated into an ambitious list of activities to be implemented throughout the year of 2013.

All of the activities would be developed with emphasis on a local dimension and on inclusion of women and youth; a local dimension in order to support the rooting of the party’s activities in more branches in Tanzania and a dimension focusing on involvement of youth and women to support the development of human capacities within the party organization.

In the beginning of 2013, the partner agreement of cooperation was signed by both parties – and soon the project would accelerate and a list of intensive activities were to be implemented.
POLICY, CAPACITY, STRATEGY

Five regions of Tanzania were chosen as the primary focus of the project, and the partners agreed on a three-fold approach to the project.

First of all, the project would focus on local policy development. Strengthening the local policy agenda is essential in order to establish a clearer link from the party to the public. Identifying what political problems and issues that characterize the local environment, and offering a solution to these problems, is the only way that CUF can gain a more sustained political support on a local level.

In order to create an inclusive environment and benefit from the many deviating positions on local policy issues, the partnership decided to facilitate a broader discussion where party members, civil society organizations, women’s groups, youth organizations, different religious movements, and other parties had the possibility to contribute to the discussions.

In April and May 2013, five Town Hall Meetings were carried out with more than one hundred participants at each meeting. The conclusions from the meetings were compiled and presented in a publication that will be distributed amongst voters and CUF members in the regions in question.

Building on the momentum from the partnership’s first component, the next series of activities focused on how to effectively work towards implementing CUF policies in the regions. In order to gain influence and implement the party visions on local level, there is a need to establish strong and sustainable local party structures.

Thus, five capacity building seminars in the elected regions were carried out. Approximately one hundred local CUF activists took part in these activities contributing with their knowledge and experiences of local party work.

The program of the capacity building seminars was developed in close cooperation between the two partners. An important dimension was the best practice exchange between groups of volunteers from Radikale Venstre who participated in the seminars in order to inspire the Tanzanian party activists.

The Danish volunteers played an important role in contributing with ideas to develop policy agendas, how to organize a local branch and how to communicate local political agendas to the voters. In the evening sessions, the Danish and Tanzanian party activists shared the challenges and possibilities that occur in local party work.
FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE WITH THE DANISH ELECTIONS
The final activity of the project concerned a highly relevant topic in Tanzania: elections. Tanzania will hold local elections in 2014 and national elections in 2015. As a party in opposition it was of great importance to CUF to learn from the knowledge and know-how of Radikale Venstre in conducting successful and effective election campaigns.

A delegation of eight CUF leaders travelled to Denmark to experience first-hand how Danish elections are carried out. During the first week of the Municipality election campaign of 2013, the CUF delegation took part in a custom-made program introducing the central concepts of strategic campaigning. The delegation was given tools and methods to mobilize volunteers, create recognizable campaign communications and concrete political messages.

The delegation had the enriching experience of visiting local branches of Radikale Venstre where hospitable hosts were ready to give the delegation a better impression of the work of the local branches during the election campaign. As DIPD carried out a seminar on the same theme, there was a possibility of inviting two extra delegates from CUF to observe and learn from the Danish Municipal elections 2013.

FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

PARTNER  Civic United Front (CUF).
AMOUNT  DKK 1.4 million for 2011–2013.
OBJECTIVES  Overall objective is to strengthen the local party organisation, in particular by improving the capacity to develop local policy agendas; enhancing the local organisation and democratic cultures; improving the local electoral cycle management.
ACTIVITIES  Town Hall meetings in selected districts to discuss important themes with youth, women, opinion makers, etc. Volunteers from the Danish party will support selected local district party organisations in aspects of democratic culture. Seminars for regional and local candidates for local elections in Tanzania in 2014, including study tour to observe the Danish municipal elections in November 2013.
A LEARNING EXPERIENCE

After a year of intense work and cooperation, it is time to look back on the achievements.

With the Town Hall meetings, CUF was able to truly create an inclusive environment and give the local party activists a voice in developing the new political guidelines of the party. The outcome of the meetings will be used as a political manifesto for the coming elections giving the participants at the meetings a direct influence on the public debate in coming election campaigns.

Reaching approximately one hundred local party-elects of CUF, the capacity building seminars equipped the participants with methods and tools to run sustainable local party branches. The participants were encouraged to develop a concise action plan for the future work.

A successful study tour to Denmark gave key persons from CUF the possibility of observing the Danish elections first-hand. It also gave the delegation an in-depth course on implementing strategic election campaigns.

In order to succeed in achieving the objectives of the project, there is a need to further consolidate the lessons learned from the activities. There is also a strong need to monitor and encourage CUF’s local departments in building on the experiences and the new tools and methods.

Many positive, yet small, steps have been taken during the project. The partnership has also suffered from challenges. Being a young partnership with few experiences with international projects of this character, it is only natural that some bumps appear on the road. There is a lot to learn from both sides of the partnerships in coming projects.

That is why Radikale Venstre has initiated an internal strategy development process. The aim of the process is to build on the fresh experiences from the project and taking a step back to elaborate on the parties’ competencies and to discuss in which context these competencies can contribute effectively.

The ambitious project conducted with CUF was Radikale Venstre’s first international engagement of its character. The cooperation has given new perspectives to an old and experienced party in North and has contributed to the development of a big – but rather young – party in South. It has been a year of learning experiences.

Written by Anemone Birkebæk,
International Project Coordinator.

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

More youth and women encouraged to stand for party elections in the five strategic regions chosen.

Study tours to Denmark to learn from the way the Danish party is organised at both national and local level.

Support for the development of a People’s Manifesto for elections in 2015, as well as training in principles of campaigning.

Contributing to capacity building through five regional workshops.
CONSERVATIVES IN TANZANIA

TEACH US HOW TO FISH

The Conservative People’s Party has known CHADEMA since they became an associate member of the International Democratic Union. One of the IDU goals is that members cooperate to create free and democratic countries. Hence, it was natural to look for a party from the IDU family, when we were looking for a partner to cooperate with when DIPD started.

SUPPORTING DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

In 2013, the Hon. Freeman Mbowe, Chairman of CHADEMA, MP, and leader of the official opposition in the Parliament of Tanzania, participated in the Congress of the Conservative People’s Party (CPP) in Copenhagen. He spoke to the delegations with the following message:

“Hon. Chairman! The recently established bilateral relationship between my Party and your Party, and multilateral cooperation between the DIPD institute and Tanzania Centre for Democracy, are decisions pointing in the right direction. They are foundations for transforming our country into a truly democratic society.

Indeed, this partnership lives up to the true spirit of the old philosophical quote stating: ‘do not gives us fish, but teach us how to fish’.

With your support and expertise, we have recently been able to train our women and youth wing in our quest to empower them to participate in mainstream politics as part of our leadership development program. We are truly thankful for this support.”

The CHADEMA Chairman also told the delegates about the delicate democratic situation in Tanzania, with violence growing as the country is moving towards elections. People have been killed at political meetings, and he himself had been the target for an attack with grenades and machine guns in Arusha in June 2013.
“I survived this assassination attempt, but it was not the case for four innocent children and women, who succumbed because they unexpectedly became my human shield and died on my behalf.”

The speech made a great impression on the Danish delegates, convincing those in doubt that it was worthwhile to support the democratic development in a country like Tanzania, where you cannot take democratic rights for granted, but have to work for it and fight for it. Sometimes you even have to pay with your life.

Denmark has a long history of cooperating with Tanzania, and DIPD had signed a partnership with the multiparty platform called TCD. Moreover, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) that is affiliated to CDU in Germany has chosen CHADEMA as their partner in Tanzania. KAS has an office in Dar es Salaam, and we have cooperated with KAS on several occasions.

CHADEMA, on the other hand had been looking for a partner party with similar ideology, with an objective of shaping its ideology, policies and works in general. So when DIPD signed a partnership with TCD, CHADEMA took the opportunity to engage with us.

The first contacts were taken May 2012 with Secretary General, Hon. Dr Willibrod Slaa, and since then we have been in continuous contact. Later in 2012 the CPP Secretary General, Martin Dahl, met with Dr Slaa and Freeman Mbowe at the CDU Congress in Hannover, and there was immediately a good rapport.

In December 2012, the chair of CCP’s international committee, Rolf Aagaard-Svendsen, went to Tanzania together with another committee member, Helle Sjelle, to have meetings with CHADEMA in order to identify the objectives and activities for a future cooperation.

These meetings gave a good impression of CHADEMA’s needs and commitment. We met with central leaders, local leaders, ordinary members, and supporters; and we met with some very dedicated and enthusiastic people. We also experienced that people in general were very positive towards CHADEMA.

ORGANISING WOMEN AND YOUTH

Tanzania has a very young population, with 45% under 15 years, more than half between 15 and 64 years, and only 3% over the age of 64. More than half of the potential voters are women, but for traditional, cultural, and sometimes religious reasons women’s participation in politics in Tanzania is low. So if you are able to mobilise the women and the youth to support you, then you have the key to success.

For historical reasons, the ruling party is the only party that is organised and represented in all parts of the country. If you want a real multiparty democracy, other parties must establish chapters in every part of the country as well. That will give the people of Tanzania a real choice, moving to a situation where the result of the election is not given beforehand.

For these reasons, we agreed that our partnership should concentrate on supporting the youth wing BAVICHA and the women wing BAWACHA.

The project started in March 2013 and the ambition was to build party structures and train women and youth leaders in all levels from the national level up to the grass root level in over 120,000 hamlets across the country by year end.

Such an enormous task can only be carried out by the method of training of trainers. The training topics have been: understanding CHADEMA as a political party in Tanzania; understanding BAVICHA/BAWACHA as important institutions of CHADEMA; understanding the “CHADEMA ni Msingi” program, which
focuses on the mechanisms of establishing the wing in its required structures; CHADEMA’s position in the current constitution reviewing process; and training methodologies.

The work was not finished by year’s end, but it is expected to be completed during the first half 2014. We consider it as a success and a great step forward, although there have been obstacles on the way, and work was not completed within the initial and very ambitious time schedule.

The training has been carried out by CHADEMA, but a partnership is more than providing input and funds for training programs. It is also to exchange ideas, thoughts, and experiences, and to establish a strong mutual understanding. For that purpose, there have been dialogue meetings with youth and women in Tanzania and study tours to Denmark. This has been useful for both parties to get inspiration, to build ties, and foster friendships.

FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

**PARTNER**  
CHADEMA – Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo.

**AMOUNT**  
DKK 1.5 million for 2012-2013.

**OBJECTIVES**  
To streamline organizational structures of BAWACHA (women’s wing) and BAVICHA (youth wing) from the grassroots. To capacitate women and youth leaders on leadership and political skills. To improve party policy advocacy at grassroots level. To increase the number of women and youth in the 2014 and 2015 elections.

**ACTIVITIES**  
Training of Trainers to train BAVICHA and BAWACHA leaders in the constituencies. Training for women and youth leaders designed to equip them with leadership skills, party constitution and its structures, philosophy, ideology and policies. Dialogue meetings with youth and women in Tanzania and study tours to Denmark in November 2013.
THE FUTURE

Less than one year is not much to evaluate successes and failures in projects of this nature. The results will show in another year or more.

Not everything has been easy. The distance between Denmark and Tanzania is big in many respects. Nothing compares to being together on the spot, no matter that communication has become easier using email, telephone, and skype. Things happen much easier when you are together in person, because misunderstandings can be avoided and problems can be sorted out. Fortunately, the obstacles have been less than the mutual benefits, so we have agreed on continuing our partnership.

Having established a countrywide organisation, the next step is to find youth and women candidates for the upcoming 2014 local government elections (village, streets, hamlets) and the 2015 national elections for Presidency, Parliament and Local Councils.

Finding candidates and having them elected is not a guarantee for a well-functioning democracy. If the elected candidates don’t know their tasks and responsibilities, and if they don’t know how to create results in a political environment for the benefit of the people, then it doesn’t matter, no matter how good the intentions are. Therefore, the education of candidates is crucial, and we have agreed that this will be a focus in the next phase.

“Do not give us fish, teach us how to fish,” Hon. Freeman Mbowe said.

In fact, CHADEMA knows how to fish. But to be excellent fishermen and women, you need a lot of training, you need a lot of experience, you need to share experience and adapt new methods to the local conditions. This is what our partnership is all about.

Written by Rolf Aagaard-Svendsen,
International Project Coordinator

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Supporting the establishment of local chapters of the youth wing as well as the women’s wing in most parts of the country.

Initiating a task force to mobilize women, recognizing that there are both cultural and institutional barriers to participation.

Establishing a training organisation on zonal level, because it is important for the party to be strengthened at local level.
SOCIALIST PEOPLE’S PARTY IN BOLIVIA

CHALLENGES FOR LEADERSHIP

On a bright April evening in 2013, eight young Bolivians arrived in Copenhagen. It was their first encounter with Denmark, and they had big expectations. For a week they would work with members of the youth branch of SF, learning what a political youth leader’s responsibilities and roles could be. In early 2014, the same eight persons organized three regional workshops in Bolivia, sharing their experiences from Denmark with other young Bolivians organized in MAS-Juventud.

THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION

Bolivia has a very young population with an average age of less than 22 years. The legislative framework for the political participation of youth in Bolivia is provided through the constitution and entitles young people to vote and to be elected from the age of 18. Yet, the organizational capacity of the youth is quite weak and the political representation is still sporadic.

The eight young Bolivians participating in the workshop in Denmark represent different social movements organized under the governing party MAS–IPSP. These movements are often characterized by internal conflicts and lack of organizational cohesion.

The young people’s visits to Denmark and the subsequent workshops in Bolivia only represent one example of a wide range of activities that have been part of the partnership project for the last two years, focusing on the development of coping mechanisms of internal disagreements within the party leadership, and consolidation of the youth branch of MAS-IPSP.

Collaboration between SF and MAS-IPSP started back in 2009, when the two parties began a dialogue about the climate negotiations that year. Building on the established partnership and previous interactions from then, the MAS-IPSP was an obvious choice of first partner for SF, when the legislative framework of DIPD was launched. Since then, much water has flowed under the bridge.

The starting point of the project planning was to adjust expectations with regard to what can be achieved within 18 months of cooperation. Despite high ambitions of letting the whole party organisation, both national and regional branches, benefit from the project, it was agreed to focus on the very internal functioning of the MAS-IPSP leadership within the first period of cooperation.

We have asked the project-coordinator of MAS-IPSP, Julio Huaraya, to look back on the collaborative process from the start until today:

“We agreed to launch an exchange of experiences addressing the process of change in Bolivia as well as the experiences of SF in the democratic life in Denmark. Two governing parties, but in very different political cultures and contexts. Our hope was that the organizational capacity of SF, with a much longer party history, could inspire our work in Bolivia.”

It was the experience of MAS-IPSP that the lack of organizational consolidation often led to disagreements and conflicts internally in the party and in the
relationship between the party leadership and the social movements. On several occasions these disagreements had escalated into political conflicts that complicated governance at both national and local levels.

The aim of the first component was therefore to create a stronger organization by better coping mechanisms of internal disagreement and strengthen the capacity to prevent escalation of conflicts inside the party organization. The aim was to promote a political culture where unavoidable disagreements are dealt with in a consensual and involving manner. This should prevent an escalation of conflicts, which could potentially undermine and paralyze the political activities of the party.

**SHARING EXPERIENCES**

The second component of the project was consolidating the youth branch of MAS-IPSP. A branch of the party that was at a very early stage in its development when the project was launched. We asked Julio to describe the methods that were used to implement the youth activities.

“We agreed that the workshops should be practical rather than theoretical. The young people discussed what it means to be a good leader and tested different methods of conflict resolution. Divided into groups, they practiced participatory methods to lead each group through a transformational process of change.”

As Bolivia is a multi-cultural society with over 30 ethnic groups the development of the workshops also had an orientation towards cultural differences respecting the diversity and enhancing the integration of different ethnic groups in the participation of the workshops. This was done by focusing on the importance of education in different languages, and some workshops were held in Quechua.
CHANGES TAKE TIME

The ability to conceptualize and identify conflicts is one of the main achievements of the project activities. We asked Julio Huaraya to describe what types of change have been achieved so far.

“The workshops provided the participants with a new perspective and tools to analyse, understand and address the conflicts. The workshops provided an atmosphere that made it possible to organize discussions and address sensitive issues, to listen to other proposals and alternative perspectives. It was the first step of generating a change in attitudes and behaviour among the leading actors of MAS-IPSP.”

He explains how all participants at the beginning found the interactive and participatory methods of the workshops a bit overwhelming. The participants were not used to dealing with internal disagreements in such an open manner. He describes how the participants by the end were able to point out specific controversies – at a regional as well as national level – and by means of the workshop tools present ideas to handle disagreements and counter potential conflicts.

In the practical exercises of negotiation, competitive leadership profiles were identified. This generated reflection in the groups about the fact that such attitudes do not make the internal process easy. Through the use of participatory techniques, the leaders in all cases strengthened their relations and increased their trust towards each other.

“However, it is noteworthy that in a three-day workshop some practices are gradually taken over more easily by the participants than others. For example, respect for the right to speak and appreciation towards other proposals, group work and group consensus-building were some of the practices taken in by the participants.”

We expect the future cooperation to build upon the experiences gained so far with a continuous focus on developing and improving democratic methods of governance at a regional level. An exchange program between local politicians from SF and MAS-IPSP will be launched and many of the employed methods and tools will be applied to the regional level. We hope to see new groups of expectant young Bolivians and local politicians sharing their experiences in 2014 and beyond.

Written by Signe Sørensen, Project Consultant, with partners in Bolivia.

FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

PARTNER Movimiento al Socialismo – Instrumento Político por la Soberanía de los Pueblos (MAS-IPSP).

AMOUNT DKK 1.5 million for 2012 to mid-2014

OBJECTIVES Coping mechanisms to deal with internal disagreements, to prevent escalation of conflicts inside the party organization. Consolidation of the youth branch of MAS-IPSP to build a sustainable organization for broad mobilization and youth participation in decision-making processes.

ACTIVITIES Bilateral interactions between SF and MAS-IPSP party leaderships. Exchange and leadership seminars between SF and MAS-IPSP youth branches. Workshops and seminars with practical training.
SF and MAS-IPSP have jointly developed internal conflict management tools which MAS-IPSP incorporated as part of its approach to conflict management.

These tools can be used independently by MAS-IPSP without the presence of SF, which adds to the sustainability of the conflict resolution capacities developed during the partnership.

The partnership has strengthened MAS-IPSP’s capacities in youth organization, including mobilization methods, conflict resolution and youth leadership.
LIBERAL ALLIANCE IN BOLIVIA

BUILDING AN ALTERNATIVE

In December 2012, a delegation from Liberal Alliance arrived in Bolivia for meetings with political groups opposed to the socialist government of President Evo Morales. This resulted in a cooperation agreement between VERDES and Liberal Alliance. This project is paving the way for multi-party democracy in Bolivia. Day by day, we are building an alternative.

DEVELOPING A NATIONAL ALTERNATIVE

The delegation, headed by MP Mette Bock, started meetings in the city of La Paz, where the group met with representatives of the “Movimiento Sin Miedo” and “Unidad Nacional”, among others.

The second step on the visit was Santa Cruz, where participants met with VERDES representatives from all departments of Bolivia and with Ruben Costas, the Governor of Santa Cruz, President of VERDES and one of the most important leaders of the opposition.

During the meetings, it became clear how much the parties had in common, when it comes to their views of state. This was defining for the signing of an agreement between the two organizations, which later developed into the signing of a cooperation agreement within the DIPD framework.

VERDES is a political organization constituted by free men and women committed to the common goal of building a better Bolivia, a society based on full respect for human rights, freedom, justice and social inclusion, solidarity and peace, equitable and modern, open to development and progress, in order to achieve the full dignity of every human being.

The organisation has its origins in the autonomic movement in Bolivia, and established its original base in Santa Cruz. The main purpose of the project was to consolidate VERDES as an alternative at the national level, which allows the unification with other actors, leaders and political organizations in Bolivia in the framework of common programmatic principles.
VERDES’s vision was clear: To set a new course towards strengthening multiparty democracy through the establishment of a new national political party, based on the principles and vision that the state may become the real alternative of progress and development for the Bolivians.

From the beginning it was clear to the leadership that it was important to find a new name for the organization. VERDES is the acronym for the words “Verdad y Democracia Social”, and it translates into “Green”, which has always been the representative colour of the Department of Santa Cruz. So although it had a lot of meaning for Santa Cruz, it was not the right way to introduce the party to the rest of Bolivia.

In the beginning of 2013 the first important step towards consolidation was taken with the establishment of the “Movimiento Demócrata Social”, better known as “Demócratas” – the Democrats. Demócratas is the integration of political forces such as VERDES, Consenso Popular, Primero el Beni (from Beni), LIDER (from Chuquisaca), UNE (from Cochabamba), MOP (from Potosí), as well as important leaders from different sectors of all departments.

Under these guidelines, a cooperation agreement was signed between Liberal Alliance and VERDES, with activities supporting the following strategic objectives: to develop a strategy for presence in social networks; strengthen territorial structure; and create participative spaces for the formulation of a political memorandum and a plan of government, which integrates different visions of the social sectors in the context of inalienable principles, such as democracy, freedom, equality of opportunity, citizens rights, market opening, legal security, and rule of law.

COMMUNICATING THROUGH SOCIAL NETWORKS

As a new political organization in Bolivia, the presence of Demócratas in the social media didn’t exist prior to the project, and therefore when preparing the draft project it was noted, that there was a need for a professional service that takes over the presence in networks 2.0.

Thus, it was included in the project to hire a consultancy company specializing in social networks strategy. This was in charge of the graphic image and the elaboration and selection of the messages during 2013. This strategy was focused on youth and media. The company was in charge of the account of the party and
Taking into account that in Bolivia, Facebook is the most important social network and that there is a minimal presence of the general public on Twitter (practically only politicians and the media), the strategy and presentation of Demócratas in politics 2.0, was an important platform to show that there is a Bolivian democratic alternative and that progress and development can come from the hand of a new political generation.

Through demonstrations in different departments, the party worked to build an alternative in Bolivia. Leaders from around the country held Departmental Dialogues from which they reaffirmed their democratic and autonomous convictions as a basis for the development of Bolivia and the undertaking of the construction of a political instrument to work for a better country, which may allow Bolivians dream of a future full of hope.

**FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTNER</th>
<th>Verdad y Democracia Social (VERDES)/DEMÓCRATAS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AMOUNT</strong></td>
<td>DKK 2.1 million for 2012-2013.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBJECTIVES</strong></td>
<td>To develop a strategy for presence in social networks, strengthen territorial structure, and create participative spaces for the formulation of a political memorandum and a plan of government, which integrates different visions of the social sectors in the context of inalienable principles, such as democracy, freedom, equality of opportunity, citizens entitled, market opening, legal security, and rule of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACTIVITIES</strong></td>
<td>Formation of VERDES/DEMÓCRATAS teams, building participative spaces, holding departmental conferences and a national congress, observation of the Danish local elections, etc. study tours to Denmark in November 2013.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of Rubén Costas, the party leader. The results were very satisfactory, the media took the messages of social networks as official declarations, and large youth participation was also obtained.

Through demonstrations in different departments, the party worked to build an alternative in Bolivia. Leaders from around the country held Departmental Dialogues from which they reaffirmed their democratic and autonomous convictions as a basis for the development of Bolivia and the undertaking of the construction of a political instrument to work for a better country, which may allow Bolivians dream of a future full of hope.
people, entrepreneurs, students, professionals, civic leaders, and many others.

In each department, the Dialogues started with a presentation of the principles and vision of Demócratas, followed by an analysis of the political and economic situation of each department, and subsequently it was given the space for effective participation of all participants. The ideas were heard and taken into account in the programmatic construction, and during the following days sector workshops were carried out. They functioned as focus groups, from which it was possible to get more specific results, both in their observations on the principles and in their specific proposals for each sector.

All of this marked a new way of doing politics in Bolivia, with plans emanating from the sectors, and in addition it was remarkable throughout the journey how the needs of the population to express itself freely and to be heard was clearly stated. The great desire for development and progress for each and every Bolivian impressed the organizers.

The second step was to focus on the organisation in departmental conferences. During these the local structures were formalized. The conferences were held during the second half of 2013 and continued during the first quarter of 2014. It is worth mentioning that a National Youth Congress and the National Women’s Congress as well as Congresses of Youth and Women in each department were carried out.

The structures consolidated during the Departmental Conferences were the ones that set the course toward the final activity: The National Congress.

On December 15, more than 3,000 representatives of the 9 departments of Bolivia gathered to approve the official establishment of the Demócratas and the election of its National Executive Committee. Given the political conditions of the country, the Congress unanimously approved Ruben Costas as the Demócratas candidate for the Presidency of Bolivia.

The project signed between VERDES and Liberal Alliance has allowed the birth of this new political project, which will strengthen the virtually non-existing political party system of Bolivia and work towards a multiparty democracy. The result of all activities was the birth of a new hope of better days for Bolivia. After a long journey, today we can say without a doubt that we have managed to build an alternative.

Written by Maria Lourdes Landivar from Demócratas and Jonathan Nielsen, Liberal Alliance.

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

The partnership contributed to Demócratas’ advance from being a party based in one of Bolivia’s nine departments to being a party with a national presence.

In this sense the project has also contributed to the development of multiparty democracy in a Bolivia.

Through the partnership, Demócratas has used information technology and the internet to strengthen its internal and external communication.

Members of the party participated in DIPD’s study tour conference to the Danish municipal elections in 2013, observing and learning from this event.
THE LIBERAL PARTY IN KENYA, ZAMBIA AND EGYPT

PROMOTING RIGHTS AND FREEDOM

Danish Liberal Democracy Programme (DLDP) is established by Venstre, the Liberal Party of Denmark. DLDP first started working with a multiparty platform in Kenya in 2011. The following year it was decided to partner with a new party in Zambia. Finally in 2013 it was decided to support a party in Egypt. Working with small emerging parties as well as with an established multiparty organisation for political parties has created an interesting synergy.

A NEW FACE IN THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

In Zambia, Venstre decided to establish a partnership with The National Restoration Party (NAREP), a new addition to the parties and faces that have dominated Zambia politics for some time now.

The general objective of the joint project is to support NAREP to become a relevant and effective opposition party, with a strong presence both at national and local levels. The specific objective is to support the setting up of internal operating processes as an emerging, modern and democratic party, contributing to the democratic development of Zambia.

This means doing politics in a new way which has not been witnessed in Zambia before. NAREP intends to stand out because they will carry out their political manifesto in a way that will differ significantly from the traditional way of doing politics in Zambia, and this will have a positive impact on the democratic developments in the country.

NAREP was founded in November 2009 and officially launched in March 2010. It was established with a vision to see an equitable and prosperous Zambia as an infrastructure and logistics hub, a continental breadbasket and renewable energy superpower.

The party was founded by Elias Chipimo Jr., a corporate lawyer and Rhodes Scholar who graduated from Oxford University. He resigned from his practice and entered politics in 2009, participating for the first time in presidential elections in 2011 as the youngest contender in a field of 10 candidates. NAREP came out 5th with only 0.4% of the votes, but nevertheless considers itself to be a party with a promising future. However, it currently lacks a presence in the National Assembly and in local councils.

SHARING A DEMOCRATIC APPROACH

Elias Chipimo was not destined to become a politician. He explains his reasons for leaving his career as a lawyer to dedicate himself to politics:

“My journey into politics was triggered by a personal tragedy: the loss of my mother in a terrible road traffic accident that nearly claimed the life of my father as well. Seeing the poor state of the health care system, I realised that after nearly 50 years of self-rule, Zambia and Africa in general were lagging behind other regions of the world because of a lack of quality leadership. I am trying to make a difference by offering something that was badly lacking in our political arena – value-based leadership.”
Chipimo sees the partnership with the Danish Liberal Party as natural, because the parties share the same outlook. He explains:

“We share an ideological outlook towards promoting natural rights and freedoms within a democratic free-market economic system. I believe the Danish Liberal Party benefits through the ability to promote its beliefs and ideology in other parts of the world and not becoming complacent about what Denmark has achieved as a democratic nation. However, the extent to which our value-based approach has attracted the interest of the Danish Liberal Party has been a pleasant surprise because we were selected as a partner even though we did not have a parliamentary or local government seat.”

However, there are some differences between politics in Denmark and Zambia that he finds quite striking, but certainly also inspiring:

“It was an inspiration when two of our people went to Denmark to observe the local elections in 2013. They learned that politics can be conducted in a manner that promotes a common desire to respect the will of the people. Personally I find the idea that elections should be overseen and monitored by the parties themselves and not an independent electoral commission rather strange.”

According to Chipimo, the biggest similarity between Zambia and Denmark seems to be that political parties in both countries have to battle to ensure that they can promote and keep fresh ideas and promote new leadership. The biggest difference between politics in the two countries appears to be that

FACTS ABOUT ZAMBIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTNER</th>
<th>National resistance party (Narep).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>DKK 2 million for 2012-2013.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVES</td>
<td>To assist to establish a relevant and effective opposition party; support the party setting up internal operating processes as an emerging modern democratic party, contributing to the democratic development of Zambia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>Conduct an organisational capacity assessment of existing operations of NAREP; review the organisational structure of the party; revise the NARAP Strategic Plan 2011–2016 and develop an action plan; develop and maintain an electronically based membership management database.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
there is a stronger sense of volunteerism in promoting political party interests in Denmark than there is in Zambia.

“In Zambia, this spirit is largely non-existent due to high levels of poverty and poor education”.

His outlook on politics in Africa is positive, also with regard to Zambia. He believes that political parties can make a difference because they have the potential to mobilise people. They can be a force for good within communities if they adopt and pursue positive communal values and objectives.

“Ideologies like liberalism, socialism and conservatism make sense in Africa in the 21st century, and voters do care even if it may not seem like it at times. In Africa, although people may not necessarily call themselves socialists or capitalists, it is possible to categorise them as such when you listen to their aspirations.

“Some believe in government doing all things for the people, while others would want the government to simply create an environment that allows them to do the kind of things that provide them with money with little interference and not too much tax. Others think there should be no limits to freedoms. The majority of Africa’s populations live in rural communities where decades of underdevelopment and unfulfilled expectations have resulted in cynicism and a desire for instant gratification with little regard for ideology, not because they do not have a sense of the philosophy they would like to see the country governed by, but because they simply don’t believe the lies of the politicians anymore.”

A DESIRE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE
Right now, Elias Chipimo admits that the relationship between state, market, and civil society in Zambia is one of disillusionment and deep distrust.

“But we intend to restore the trust through our continued emphasis on a value-based approach and focusing on well-articulated statements and ideas that reflect issues and solutions rather than personality-bashing or fault-finding.”

NAREP still does not have an elected representative in parliament or in local councils. The partners have obviously discussed whether it is realistic to make a difference short-term, and Chipimo explains:

“Not being represented in parliament or local councils is a major challenge and largely comes down to a lack of resources to support the vibrant message that NAREP has been spreading throughout the country. Political parties in Zam-
bia make headway in elections when they have the resources, such as money and materials, to mount a sustained campaign in terrain that is often far from the main roads and centres of economic activity.”

Reflecting further on the presidential and parliamentary elections in Zambia in 2016 and whether his party has a chance of winning or at least be represented:

“Winning will be difficult. It will require a commitment to a plan that involves community-driven activities in all 1,422 local government wards in the country through NAREP-established structures. Community initiatives include our ‘clothes for change’ programme in which we collect second-hand clothes from middle class families in the large cities and send these to women’s groups in peri-urban and rural areas as capital for their second-hand clothes trading businesses. We are also mounting door-to-door campaign initiatives around the areas within which polling stations are located, using flyers, t-shirts, posters and other campaign materials.”

There is no doubt that Zambia has come a long way. In the 1980’s, the state owned all big companies and supermarkets were often nearly empty. Today the situation is completely different, and his vision is clear:

“I have always believed that Africa’s greatest crisis is not malaria, not HIV/AIDS, not poor infrastructure. I believe that our greatest crisis is poor leadership at all levels of society. With the right leadership in place, focusing on values and visionary thinking, I believe that Zambia will be a renewable energy superpower and the continent’s major food producer, providing a major inland transport and logistics hub for the region. I believe we will have some of the most educated and well trained people in Africa.”

STRENGTHENING DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

The partnership with Centre for Multiparty Democracy-Kenya (CMD-Kenya) has a very different focus that what is happening in Zambia. It aims to both assist and support communication and encourage youth participation in political parties in Kenya. The project has focused on developing innovative communication strategies for political parties as well as increase political participation of youth. The general purpose has been to contribute to the strengthening of democratic development in Kenya.

The Kenya project has resulted in enhanced internal and external communication capacities of political parties in Kenya across party cadres and the electorates, as well as continued reference to party manifestos in between elections. Additionally, this has improved multiparty democratic practices where parties espouse their various agendas, ideologies and policies as opposed to ethnic and personality driven politics and mobilization.

FACTS ABOUT KENYA

**PARTNER**  Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) Kenya.

**AMOUNT**  DKK 4.6 million for 2011-2013.

**OBJECTIVES**  The partnership focuses on the enhancement of the institutional capacity of political parties in Kenya in areas of communication and youth development.

**ACTIVITIES**  Training of elected leaders and party officials at both national and county levels on how to communicate the party manifesto most effectively; conferences including both government and opposition parties to discuss policies; workshops on how to mobilize, articulate and position youth aspirations in mainstream politics; development of separate youth programme within CMD.
Regarding youth, young politicians have successfully articulated youth agendas, and youth have been engaged in politics between elections.

The focus in the communication component has focused on strengthening of systems and strategies for internal and external communication within parties, training on communicating the manifesto for both the ruling and opposition parties at national and county levels.

The youth development component will focus on enhancing the capacity of elected youths at national and county level to remain faithful to and promoting their party manifestos, advocate and prop up the implementation of youth aspirations as captured in the youth charter formulated through the County debates, strengthen youth wings into focused formidable units to provide a platform for articulating youth aspirations in mainstream politics.

It has been encouraging to observe how positive the political parties have responded to the activities that have been offered during the project period. CMD-Kenya and DLDP have been successful in getting funding from DIPD to extend the partnership and project until the end of 2017.
CAPACITY BUILDING IN EGYPT

A more limited partnership was developed with the Free Egyptians Party and implemented in Egypt during 2013.

The Free Egyptians Party was founded in April 2011, in the aftermath of the 2011 revolution, by a leading Egyptian businessman, Mr Sawiris. The party is a strong supporter of democracy, human rights and a free market economy. This makes it a pro-business liberal party that focuses on economic development based upon strong state institutions and the rule of law.

Currently the party has around 20-25,000 members, including people who have applied for membership. At the parliamentary elections in November 2011- January 2012 the Free Egyptians Party managed to win 14 seats out of 332 seats in the Egyptian parliament.

The overall purpose of the project was to engage in a process of organisational capacity building following the parliamentary elections in April 2013. The capacity building included workshops on public speaking, drafting of political documents, and political debate. Furthermore, the workshops facilitated by resource persons from Venstre and the youth wing of Venstre focused on inclusion of young people in a political party, and generated input for the new organisational strategy of Free Egyptians.

The focus in the first phase was on developing an organizational strategy to strengthen key organizational capacities of the party, including the ability to engage youth.

FACTS ABOUT EGYPT

**PARTNER**  The Free Egyptians Party.

**AMOUNT**  DKK 1.1 million for 2013-2014.

**OBJECTIVES**  Organisational Capacity Building with focus on developing an organisational strategy, which aims at strengthening the key organisational capacities of Free Egyptians, including the party’s ability to communicate with and engage the youth.

**ACTIVITIES**  Training seminars and training of trainers; development of organisational strategy.

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Making it possible for youth, women and men all over Zambia to engage actively in a new vivid opposition.

Contributing to the birth of a new political culture in Zambia.

Improvement of the capacity among the political parties in Kenya to communicate with the electorate with the effect that people can begin to see the political rather than the ethnic differences between the parties.

Contributing to the creation of a culture of dialogue and mutual trust among political youth organisations in Kenya.

Assisting a new emerging party in Egypt with organisational development and training of future leaders at a crucial time in the history of the country.
THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE IN THREE COUNTRIES
AGAINST ALL ODDS

Working to support the process of democratisation in Honduras, Palestine, and Swaziland can easily be seen as working ‘against all odds’. In these countries, multi-party democracy and freedom to debate are often met with violent opposition. But the Red-Green Alliance believes that it has been worth the effort to engage in these difficult political environments.

TOWARDS DEMOCRACY IN SWAZILAND

Not many people in Denmark or Europe for that matter have heard of Swaziland, an absolute monarchy neighbouring on South Africa and Mozambique. Even fewer are likely to have heard about the People’s United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO). But in a world where the focus is often on the violent and absurd, Swaziland and PUDEMO’s struggle for democracy and socio-economic justice is definitely worth a mention.

Swaziland country has the highest aids prevalence rate per capita and one of the lowest average ages in the world; two thirds of the population survive on less than a dollar a day; women are treated as minors. The culture is deliberately entwined with pseudo-religious and cultist worship of a corrupt king, who controls the economy and the land as well as the entire administration, and who gives himself and his 14 wives private jets and trips to Dubai or Los Angeles as birthday presents.

Additionally, political parties are not allowed to take part in the elections, and especially PUDEMO and its members and supporters are harassed, beaten up at demos, and charged under a repressive terrorism act (recognised only by Swaziland). Most Swazis actually refer to elections as “selections” due to the fact that e.g. the king directly chooses the Prime Minister, the government, most of the senators, and many of the MP’s, and his hand-picked chiefs have to approve the remainder.

FACTS ABOUT SWAZILAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTNER</th>
<th>People’s United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO).</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>DKK 1 million for 2012-2013.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVES</td>
<td>Strengthening PUDEMOs internal capacity in order to improve organisation, administration and day to day functionality. Develop research and policy capacity in order to strengthen strategies for democratic reform, and to build practical programmes of co-operation between activists, academics, policy analysts and others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>PUDEMO has held several workshops that have capacitated the members of both the leadership and the organization at large; written a new policy and strategy with input from the organisation; initiated an effective information management system to build awareness both within and outside Swaziland.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
So what impact can a party with very limited financial resources and which is continuously being harassed by the regime hope to have in Swaziland? And what role can support from the Red-Green Alliance play?

The project is less than one year old, but a number of classic issues have already presented themselves. One such challenge is about how the funding is spent; another challenge is to ensure that the project does not end up dominating or dictating the pace of the organisation, and that the party does not become dependent upon the project.

**STEPS FORWARD IN A MONARCHY**

But there is no doubt that the project generally speaking has had a positive impact. The injection of finances has forced PUDEMO to adopt a more stringent approach to its finances, and the project has given PUDEMO concrete examples of how a number of issues are treated in other parties like the Red-Green Alliance, what have been democratic challenges and solutions. But above all, the project has produced results for PUDEMO.

PUDEMO has generally seen the project as being beneficial for the organisation. It has stabilised and improved PUDEMO activism; enabled PUDEMO to communicate and generally respond much quicker to issues that need attention; improved PUDEMO’s administrative capacity; and enabled PUDEMO to use the capacity of the Red-Green Alliance (and vice versa) and that of the consultant, as well as providing the finances for meetings and lobbying both within Swaziland and abroad.

Overall, it has contributed to a more clear definition of the various levels of the organization, as well as to new initiatives to organize parts of the broad support that PUDEMO enjoys.

More specifically, through the project PUDEMO has had the manpower and resources to be able to outline policy, strategy and tactical documents that are indispensable in providing the population with a credible alternative to the present regime. It has also provided a strategy for how PUDEMO will force the regime to allow such an alternative vision to be part of the political process of Swaziland. These efforts have had their first impacts on the recent 8th Congress of PUDEMO in February 2014.
WISH TO OVERCOME DIVISIONS IN PALESTINE

Set in difficult circumstances, the achievements of the Palestine project have so far been positive, inspiring the youth and women of the project to continue their cooperation and efforts. The project is a collaboration between the Red-Green Alliance and three Palestinian left-wing parties: the Palestinian People’s Party (PPP), the Palestinian Democratic Union (FIDA), and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

The project is implemented in the Israeli occupied West Bank. The project has furthermore established cooperation with VIF (The International Forum of the Left), from the Swedish Left Party/Vänsterpartiet and funded by SIDA. VIF’s main focus is in women’s activities in the project.

The partnership of the project builds on existing relations of the Red-Green Alliance with the Palestinian left parties. The focus of the project on youth and women was a choice by the Palestinian parties.

The overall aims of the project are to develop the relations and cooperation between the three Palestinian left parties through increased cooperation between their youth organizations, and to further the position of the young members and women in the parties.

Youth constitutes an overwhelming majority of the Palestinian population in the West Bank – 70% are under 35. They are the future, both in general and also in the parties, where the older generation of men are still dominant. By strengthening the cooperation between the young men and women, as well as developing their capacities and skills, this would reinforce democracy and inclusiveness in the left parties.
As a left, secular and democratic alternative to Fatah and Hamas, a unified Palestinian left could enhance the social and political role of the left and strengthen democracy in the political life and in the Palestinian society.

The project takes place on a very difficult background. Palestine is occupied territory with rapidly expanding settlement building. Any viable Palestinian state is undermined. The right to self-determination and democracy is curtailed by the Israeli occupation, making it difficult to even talk about developing democratic institutions and structures.

The lack of change and hope for the future in the political situation leads in general to despair and disillusion in the young generation. At the same time Palestinian society is conservative with a strong patriarchy and family/clan based structures and culture.

In order to strengthen the objectives of the project, specific activities were planned and executed, focusing on capacity training in ideological and political knowledge and campaigns and planning skills; the empowerment and participation of youth and women in political parties and political life; and to strengthen the cooperation between the youth.

LOOKING AHEAD

An important activity at the start of the project was a visit by six young people from the three Palestinian parties to the Red-Green Alliance Annual Congress in April 2013, making it possible for them to establish contact with the members of the party and the visitors of left parties from Europe and the Arab countries.

The overall lesson is that the cooperation and interpersonal relationships between the youth members of the three parties have increased. At the start such relations did not exist. Especially a good relationship has developed between the young men and women of the local coordination group. This is important to ensure future success.

Furthermore, the content of the first phase has led the youth and the women to establish ownership of the project, which the second phase can build on and develop.

The plans of the youth organizations – so-called “blocs” – of the parties to establish a common youth frame within the first year of a second phase of the project, with a view to paving the way for left-wing unity, is a good indication of the achievements.

But so far it has been difficult to influence more inclusive structures in the parties and promote more young men and women in the decision-making bodies. The party leaderships have not been inclined to introduce specific measures to change the situation.

TIME FOR DEMOCRACY IN HONDURAS

In 2009 the elected president Manuel Zelaya was removed through a military coup. During his government, social and political reforms were presented in order to diminish social injustice. The reforms met great opposition from the traditional elites, the church and military, culminating in Zelaya being forced out of the country at gunpoint.

The coup gave rise to massive popular protests and the formation of a national resistance front, Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular (FNRP), consisting of a broad coalition of trade unions, peasant, women and student organizations, indigenous groups and LGBT activists.

With the opportunity to initiate cooperation with funds from DIPD, the choice of FNRP was clear. The Red-Green Alliance considered it to be highly
important to support democracy in Honduras. During the last decade, several countries in Latin America have gone through political processes that have increased social and economic inequality. This has led to an increased support for democracy.

The Red-Green Alliance found FNRP to be an inspiring partner. The Red-Green Alliance does not regard party-to-party support as a matter of “teaching” democracy to parties around the world, but instead as an opportunity for political cooperation and mutual learning. This perspective was shared by FNRP. When Gilberto Ríos Munguía, international secretary of FNRP, visited Denmark he sent a clear message:

“We are, first and foremost, interested in your political support. The coup against Manuel Zelaya shows what may happen when a government introduces fundamental reforms threatening the power of the elite. The world has to recognize and learn from this.”

VIOLENCE AND RESIGNATION

In July 2011, two representatives of the Red-Green Alliance visited FNRP in order to prepare for the project. We agreed that the first phase of the project should support the elaboration of a plan for the realization of a constituent assembly. However, we soon became aware that the formation of the new party LIBRE, and preparations for the upcoming general elections, absorbed a huge part of the energy of the FNRP.

When internal elections were held in autumn 2012, there was a need to train the candidates. Due to this the priorities of the project were changed. Moreover, it was clear that the human rights situation in Honduras was alarming. Since the coup, the opposition has suffered massive repression. More than 200 opposition leaders and 30 journalists have been assassinated. The conditions for political mobilization are each day more difficult.

For the second phase of the project, the Red-Green Alliance decided to focus on raising international awareness on the situation in Honduras, in order to support free and fair elections in November 2013. The project started with a publication of a report on violence in Honduras and the role of EU, which was launched during a visit to Brussels. In October, Scarleth Romero, a young activist and parliamentary candidate for LIBRE, visited local branches of the Red-Green Alliance. She told about vote-buying and violent threats during the campaign, as well as the challenges faced by women politicians:

“They use to ask me how I will manage a political position without a husband by my side. At the same time, they accuse Xiomara Castro, the presidential candidate for LIBRE, who is married to Manuel Zelaya, to be no more than his puppet. The truth is that they can’t accept women in politics.”

The election results confirmed the polarized political situation. The official result, giving the victory to the ruling National Party, was questioned by LIBRE.
Among international observers, views were split. The EU and USA, described the elections as calm and transparent, while representatives of international civil society pointed to a series of irregularities.

However, when it comes to the threat against democracy posed by the prevailing state of violence and impunity, there is an international consensus. This highlights the difficulties of political mobilization in a country marked by increasing poverty. A country where the citizens have become used to the elites ruling the country as if it were their own business.

Resignation is a main threat towards democracy, also in our own society. It is a challenge for parties around the world, and we need to discuss and learn from each other’s experiences. Although the project is now finalized, the Red-Green Alliance continues political cooperation with LIBRE and FNRP to support the struggle for social justice and democracy in Honduras.

Written by the Steering Committee of the Red-Green Alliance Committee for International Cooperation.

FACTS ABOUT HONDURAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTNER</th>
<th>Freedom and Renewal Party (LIBRE).</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>DKK 0.6 million for 2012-2013.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVES</td>
<td>To support the initial stages in the formation of a new political party; support the exchange of experiences on electoral participation with other left-wing parties in Latin America; to strengthen internal democracy in LIBRE; enhance the capacity of local leaders to conduct training in the party. Raising international awareness on the situation in Honduras, to support free and fair elections in November 2013.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>Training of candidates to elections at national and municipality level, training of local party activists, exchange visits to of party activists from Honduras and Denmark, publication of a report on violence in Honduras and the role of EU, visit by LIBREs international secretary to Brussels, running of a website.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Supporting the transition from a protest movement made up of many groups to a political party LIBRE.

Raising international awareness on the violence and human right situation in Honduras in order to support free and fair elections.

Strengthening the capacity of PUDEMO to develop policies and communicate these to the electorate in Swaziland.

Creating coherence and communication between different levels of party structure in PUDEMO and improving PUDEMO’s ability to address regional institutions and partners.

Making it possible for the youth of three left wing parties in Palestine to work together, to push for more unity among the parties.
MULTI-PARTY PARTNERSHIPS

TRUST IS THE FOUNDATION

The countries chosen for multi-party activities are very different with regard to the stage of democracy and the challenges facing the process of democratization. Each country therefore has a different set-up. But in all of the partnerships it is clear that it has been important to establish DIPD as a trusted partner.
Setting up a multiparty partnership requires a different approach than party-to-party cooperation, and the basic challenge is to convince political parties that they can benefit from working together, across major ideological and personality-based divides. To what extent this is possible will also reflect the general political climate in the country.

CHOICE OF COUNTRIES

In the case of deciding on countries for multiparty partnerships, the process was different than for the individual political parties. The Board from the start wanted to focus on a limited number of countries only, and at least some of these should be what you could call ‘traditional’ partners of Denmark.

A mapping exercise was undertaken to get an overview of what types of Danish democracy support was already being implemented, and also what various international organisations were already involved in with regard to support for political parties. This mapping pointed to countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

Parallel to the planning exercise, international developments like the Arab Spring and the reform process in Myanmar indicated the relevance of including countries like Egypt and Myanmar.

This means that in the first phase, DIPD has engaged on multiparty activities in six countries for the following reasons:

**NEPAL:** This has been a partner for official development cooperation for many years, and also a partner for many NGO’s. A proposal for working with political parties was being discussed when DIPD was established.

**BHUTAN:** Denmark has worked with Bhutan since the mid-80’ies, and cooperation is now being phased out. In this process the government of Bhutan has agreed that DIPD could continue to play a role on democracy.

**MYANMAR:** The first delegation from Myanmar visited the Danish Parliament in 2012, and DIPD was invited to participate. This resulted in the first contacts with political parties and requests to start a programme.

**EGYPT:** The Arab Spring started at the time when DIPD started being operational. While the intention was not for DIPD to engage in this area, the Minister for Development argued that it would make sense to start in Egypt.

**TANZANIA:** Denmark has worked with Tanzania for more than 50 years, and there is a large community in Denmark following developments in the country. A multiparty democracy is struggling to take hold, and we felt it would make sense for DIPD to support the existing multiparty platform.

**ZIMBABWE:** Historically this has been a close partner of Denmark following independence in 1980. While the political situation is obviously difficult, it was felt that it would be worthwhile to support efforts to establish dialogue among the political parties.
CHOICE OF PARTNER

The chosen countries are not only confronted with very different political challenges, but they also have very different institutional environments. These are the reasons for the different set-ups decided upon.

In countries like Tanzania and Zimbabwe, there are already organisations established to work with parties in a multiparty manner. DIPD has chosen to work through these rather than to establish its own mechanism.

In Egypt, the Danish-Egyptian Dialogue Institute has been active since 2004, and it therefore made sense for DIPD to cooperate with and through DEDI rather than set up its own structure.

In Nepal, six of the more than 25 parties elected to Parliament had already come together to cooperate, and DIPD therefore decided to work with this group. These six parties together form a large majority in Parliament.

In both Bhutan and Myanmar, democracy support is a new phenomenon, and the first phase has focused on finding out what a programme should look like, and how it could be implemented.

List of partnerships developed by the Danish political parties 2011-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>PARTNER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEPAL</td>
<td>JOMPOPS – Joint Mechanism for Political Party Support</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BNEW – Bhutan Network for Empowerment of Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>BHUTAN</td>
<td>BCMD – Bhutan Centre for Media and Democracy</td>
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<td>CRI – Center for Research Initiatives</td>
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<td>KCD (Kesang Chuki Dorjee) Productions</td>
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<tr>
<td>MYANMAR</td>
<td>Myanmar Multiparty Democracy Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute, Danish Youth Council and Netherlands Institute for Multiparty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANZANIA</td>
<td>TCD – Tanzania Centre for Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALAWI</td>
<td>CMD – Centre for Multiparty Democracy-Malawi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZIMBABWE</td>
<td>ZI – Zimbabwe Institute (with Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy)</td>
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</table>
Nepal was once known as the only Hindu Kingdom of the world. After the People’s Uprising in 2006, the state became officially secular. The very first sitting of the Constituent Assembly in May 2008 declared Nepal a Federal Democratic Republic. Making the Republic work, however, requires that at least the main political parties respect each other as friendly competitors rather than treat them as ‘class enemies’ or the ‘communal other’.

COMPETING PARTIES SHARING AN AGENDA

Trust deficit and suspicion of each other’s intention is perhaps common to most post-conflict situations in any country. Despite having signed various agreements, antagonistic parties in Nepal found it difficult to discover commonalities. It was in such an environment that a forum of political parties was conceived so that leaders could work together on issues of common concern.

In the beginning, the task appeared utopian. However, once the process got going, participants soon discovered benefits of coming together and working together without compromising anyone’s fundamental political beliefs.

The Joint Mechanism for Political Party Strengthening (JOMPOPS) has brought together organizations with dissimilar cultures and outlook. The Nepali Congress is a centrist party with a socialistic history. The Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) pursues moderate politics despite its name. The Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has come into peaceful politics after waging a decade-long armed struggle with the state. The Madhesh-based parties emerged out of Madhesh Uprisings in 2006 and 2007.

Despite differences in political convictions, political parties realized early on that strong party structures were necessary to make the Federal Democratic...
Republic of Nepal work. Strong parties competing in the electoral arena in a peaceful manner, after all, are the mainstays of democratic system.

However, no party was in a position of taking the initiative to reach out to the other. This is where the process of setting up JOMPOPS mechanism facilitated conversations.

**A CHALLENGING START**

Consisting of high-level leaders, members of the Steering Committee were invariably polite to each other. The idea of strengthening local party units, appealed to every member of the Steering Committee. Differences in ideologies apart, each party perhaps realized the importance of mobilization at the grassroots as key to success in electoral politics.

Yet, the process of constitution making occupied most Steering Committee members who were also Members of the Constituent Assembly. Hence, managing time necessary for the process of local party strengthening was often challenging.

Building local party units is an onerous task. Everyone was interested in learning from Danish experience, but most were hesitant about their applicability in Nepal. Things began to change with the Godavari consultations in April 2012 where activists from the grassroots also joined their leaders in preliminary discussions for the preparation of a DIPD Guide to help build more effective local party units. In the presence of Danish participants from different political parties, Nepalese politicos too loosened up a bit and began to entertain ideas different from their own.

Among other things, the Godavari consultations made Nepalese participants recognize that simple organizational matters such as intra and inter-party communication, community outreach and raising issues of local concerns were as much, if not more, important as ideological contestations, fiery slogans and towering leaders with charismatic personalities.

Familiarization and working trip of participants from every political party in JOMPOPS to Denmark turned out to be another remarkable experience for visitors. Nepalese politicians were impressed with the simplicity of Constitution Day celebrations.

The takeaway for Chitralekha Yadav, a central level leader of centrist Nepali Congress, was that national events needed to be marked not just at the centre but taken to the grassroots.
Parushram Gurung of the communist party saw first hand the egalitarian nature of Danish politics, where protocol and hierarchy were conspicuous by its absence from even formal programs. Almost every visitor brought back memories of importance of volunteerism in politics.

Political polarization in Nepal intensified after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. The blame game is the bane of plural politics and participants of JOMPOPS too were divided on almost every issue of national importance. But they were all united in accepting that increasing the representation of women in politics, ensuring improved participation of the marginalized population groups and strengthening of local party units were issues of common concern. At the finalization workshop of the DIPD Guide in Nepali, one of the groups pointed out perceptively during the plenary:

“Strengthening local party units is vital for the survival of democracy in the country.”

From a cautious beginning, the process of developing the Guide began to acquire significance even within participating parties.

BUILDING BLOCKS

In one of its early meetings, the Steering Committee had decided to send Chitralekha Yadav to the first Christiansborg Seminar organised by DIPD in 2012. Upon her return and at the initiative of the Secretariat, “Women in Politics” became an important agenda of all participating parties.

With its commitment to ensure one-third representation of women in elected bodies, Nepal is at the forefront of struggle for gender justice in politics. The campaign faced a slight setback in elections for Constituent Assembly II held in November 2013. However, political party leaders remain committed to increasing participation of women in politics in every way they can.

Position of women in society in Tarai-Madhesh plains of southern Nepal leaves a lot to be desired. Training women for leadership positions is a long and arduous process. The MPRF (Democratic) party took advantage of the small-scale funding to train its women leaders in Bhairahawa. It was heartening to see even Muslim women that don’t generally participate in public meetings engage enthusiastically in the program. One of the younger participants put the importance of the initiative very succinctly:
“So far men spoke from the podium and we listened. Now I want to learn how to speak for myself rather than put my concerns through elders (presumably men) of the family”.

The MPRF- Nepal party organized a national conclave of its key activists in Dhanusha. The NC, The CPN (UML) and UCPN (Maoists) held training sessions for their own cadres. The TMDP too conducted training sessions even when its leadership was preoccupied with selection of candidates for Constituent Assembly II elections.

The DIPD Guide, as the name itself makes it abundantly clear, is a document of basic information and instruction. It is not a do-it-yourself manual of building a local unit of political party with standardized tools and ready-to-use components. Rather than being a weakness, that itself is the key advantage of the DIPD Guide. It leaves enough room for political activists to innovate, experiment and build local units suited to ground realities.

It would be extremely naïve to claim that JOMPOPS can be instrumental in creating political consensus on all issues of contestation such as the form of government, the issue of separation of power or frames of federalism.

However, through the mechanism of the Steering Committee, the JOMPOPS provides an opportunity to influential leaders of important political par-
ties to discuss issues away from the pressures of formal settings. Since there is no need for grandstanding and little fear of losing face, meetings of the Steering Committee often facilitate meaningful conversations on the sidelines of normal agenda.

In the days to come, the JOMPOPS would expand upon each component of the DIPD Guide through training and help participating political parties become more inclusive and responsive in their functioning. Like in life, change is the only constant in politics. No matter how important or insignificant a political party may appear at any given moment, it has as much chance of emerging as an influential player as any other.

Strengthening of political parties is thus a continuous process. Towards that end, the support to a multi-party forum of JOMPOPS is but only a small beginning.

Written by C.K. Lal, commentator and consultant.
FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

PARTNER  

AMOUNT  

OBJECTIVES  
To support the willingness and capability of the political parties to consolidate the multi-party system within a democratic culture, and with a particular focus on the involvement of women in the parties, and the organisational development of the party structures at the local level.

ACTIVITIES  
Joint seminars on Danish experiences with women in politics; study tour to Denmark to observe Constitution Day activities; development of a Guide on political parties at local level; local seminars of the parties.

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Bringing six of the major parties represented in the Constituent Assembly together in a common platform for shared learning and capacity development.

Developing a Guide on “Political Parties at Local Level”, and publishing this in both a Nepali and an English version.

Organising a conference on “Women in Politics” with background documents in Nepali, and agreeing on a joint statement for the leadership of the parties.

Taking a key initiative on “Violence against Women”, with all of the parties committing to introduce specific actions.
PARTNERS IN BHUTAN

THE BIRTH OF A PLATFORM

Bhutan is a young democracy, where the exact roles for political parties, the two Houses of Parliament, local government institutions, civil society and media are still being discussed. So far the representation of women in political life is still very low, and this is the background for DIPD deciding to focus on the need to strengthen women’s participation in politics.

A HISTORIC GATHERING

Efforts to begin supporting women in politics began in 2012 with the very first organised National Conference of elected women representatives from local government and Parliament. This step spontaneously resulted in the birth of a platform called BNEW – Bhutan Network for Empowering Women. This was also the beginning of several partnerships and joint efforts of DIPD in Bhutan.

The historic conference in Paro in March 2012 was organised by the National Commission for Women and Children and the Department of Local Governance, with financial support from DIPD and UN Women. Many of the women elected at local and national level gathered for the first time ever.

Of the total of 95 elected women, some 69 were able to attend the event, a very high turn-out given the long distances and logistical challenges described by the women. Some had travelled for 5 days to get to the venue of the conference! The fact that so many women came to the meeting goes to show how interested the Bhutanese women are to build their capacity to participate in politics more effectively and having a say in their society.

The women discussed the barriers they face when engaging with politics, including social and economic constraints as well as stereotypes. During the meeting, DIPD introduced the idea of mentoring through the pioneering work of the Danish Centre for Information on Gender, Equality and Diversity, KVINFO. Judging from the responses to the examples of mentoring women in
politics in Denmark and Europe, the women greatly appreciated it and felt that it could be useful for them too.

Given the unanimous expressions in all the participatory exercises and group-works during the conference about the lack of and need to set up a common platform to network and strengthen women in politics in Bhutan, the idea of having a Bhutan Network for Empowering Women was thus conceptualised and endorsed. Concluding the historic event, members to the first National Steering Group of BNEW were nominated by each region of Bhutan and elected to serve for a year.

BNEW MOVING FORWARD

The purpose of the network was defined as one that would strive to bring together all women, elected as well as those with aspirations to be future candidates. The mission of BNEW was also established to be an entity that would:

“Strive to serve as a dedicated non-partisan and apolitical platform to achieve its agenda by facilitating networking and capacity building of elected women leaders and aspirant women candidates”.

The BNEW Secretariat describes the objectives of BNEW as follows:

“First, to provide a networking platform for women’s empowerment and leadership; second, to build leadership capacity skills of women to engage critically in democratic process that advances gender equality; third, to coach, mentor and nurture support; fourth, to offer a resource centre on women’s empowerment and leadership; and fifth, to develop advocacy and publicity on women’s empowerment and leadership.”

Since the historic meeting in Paro, the BNEW National Steering Group of 12 members has met regularly, conducted gender and leadership training workshops for women covering all 20 Districts of Bhutan, and allowed elected women and those aspiring to be future candidates to meet, share experiences, encourage and support each other.

At the end of 2013, BNEW organised its second National Conference of women in local government, bringing together some 300 women in the Eastern town of Mongar, making it the largest event of its kind ever in the country. Many of the women are potential candidates for the local government elections coming up in 2016, and they used this opportunity to discuss their achievements, strengths and what needs to be done to enhance women’s participation in politics and ensure that the numbers of women of standing for elections increase.
DOCUMENTING THE STORY ABOUT WOMEN

DIPD has also supported media productions raising awareness about women and politics as well as the emerging Bhutanese democracy. Among other projects, DIPD has funded filmmaker Kesang Chuki Dorjee, from KCD Productions, and her production of two documentaries about women in politics in Bhutan and also in Denmark.

The first documentary “Yes, Madam Prime Minister” follows Hon. Sangay Zam, a member of the National Council of Bhutan, as she travels to Denmark and meets women in Denmark who have achieved a position of minister, been elected to the Danish parliament or to the position of Mayor. All of them share their personal stories with Sangay Zam, highlighting what they believe are some of the key lessons learned.

The documentary also portrays a number of women leaders in Bhutan, telling their personal stories and what made them engage in politics in the 2008 parliamentary elections and also the 2011 local government elections.

Using Denmark for inspiration was prompted by the election of the Social Democrat Helle Thorning Schmidt as the first woman prime minister in September 2011. But while the documentary points to some of the key reasons for the relatively high level of women in politics in Denmark, it does not in any way argue that Bhutan can do it the way Denmark has done it. Inspiration is possible, but duplication is not!

When the documentary was launched on national television (together with a series of radio soaps and television spots) before the 2013 elections for National Council and National Assembly, it created a lot of debate – which was also the intention. It was hoped that it could help more women getting elected than was the case in 2008. Unfortunately the voters of Bhutan decided that even fewer women than in 2008 should be represented in Parliament.

There is no simple explanation to why this was the outcome. But at least the campaign in 2013 has also been documented in a new documentary by Kesang Dorjee called “Bhutan Women Forward”. In addition, KCD Productions has developed a highly illustrated resource book for schools called “Raise your Hand. Bhutan’s First Elected Women Leaders”.

Both the film and the book were launched towards the end of 2013, at an event attended by the Her Royal Highness Ashi Sonam Dechan Wangchuck and His Excellency the Prime Minister. More than 6,000 copies of the book have been distributed to all educational institutions in the country, and this will hopefully contribute positively to the future of women in politics.

FACTS ABOUT KCD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTNER</th>
<th>KCD Productions.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>DKK 1.5 million for 2012-2013.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVES</td>
<td>To document the struggle for larger participation of women in politics in the new democracy of Bhutan, and to contribute to the information needed to involve citizens in open discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>Production of a film called “Yes, Madam Prime Minister”, presenting the case of a female politician from Bhutan visiting Denmark to learn from her peers; production of a documentary on the fate of women candidates in the parliamentary elections in 2013; also the publication of a book as a resource material for schools.</td>
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CRITICAL VOICES FROM CIVIL SOCIETY

A strong and vibrant civil society is normally considered to be an integrated and necessary part of a strong and vibrant democracy. The state should be effective and create an enabling framework; but civil society should actively monitor the decisions of the government and also contribute to giving citizens relevant information and a voice.

Bhutan is still a young democracy, and it is not possible to do away with a tradition of highly centralised government overnight. But the process of change has started and cannot be reversed, and one of the organisations contributing to the change is the Bhutan Centre for Media and Democracy (BCMD), which was started in 2008.

The general objective of BCMD is to foster a democratic culture in Bhutan through a strengthening of media and general democracy literacy. This strengthening takes place through sensitisation of information focal persons such as the Administration Officers in the local ‘Geogs’, the geographic administrative units under the districts. Sensitisation involves training on the role of media and citizenship within democracy, as well as training in information sharing.

Other activities under BCMD’s project include expanding public discussion through seminars that bring together elected political leaders, civil society and press to discuss different areas of democracy and production of different products on media and democracy.

One example is the radio drama or soap called ‘Jurwa’ or ‘Changing Times’. It tells the story of the tensions in a small community in Bhutan in contemporary times, using comedy, romance and suspense. The radio drama highlights some of the challenges of creating and living in a new democracy.
Even for a small country it takes a lot of effort to manage the difficult and often unpredictable process of democratisation. Bhutan prepared very well for the first fully democratic elections in 2008. The Constitution had taken note of experiences in other countries, including Denmark. A strict framework for the new political parties had been developed, and they now competed for power and influence for the first time.

To capture the first democratic election, the Center for Research Initiatives (CRI) compiled all the results from around the country, including profiles of all the candidates participating. This has been a very useful baseline for both researchers, commentators and citizens.

Preparing for the 2013 parliamentary elections, Gyambo Sithey, Senior Researcher at Center for Research Initiatives, proposed to document what the first democratically elected government and parliament had actually achieved. DIPD decided to support such an initiative, because we believe that the history is important in any democracy.

The book “Democracy in Bhutan. The first five years 2008-13” was officially launched in October 2013, in a ceremony in the Office of the Prime Minister with the author, the DIPD Chairman Henrik Bach Mortensen and DIPD Director Bjørn Førde present.

The book is the first and so far only systematic analysis of the major events and achievements of the first government and parliament elected in 2008. In 11 chapters, Gyambo Sithey takes the reader on a journey through themes like: the social political context of the new democracy; the pledges of the first government; the controversial Constituency Development Grant scheme; the relationship between the two houses of Parliament; the performance of the opposition party; the development of the media sector.
The author notes that the reason for writing the book has been: "To encourage an atmosphere of healthy debate, while practicing traditional values that has kept Bhutan together as a nation. The intention of the book is not to condemn any individual or institution but to draw lessons for the future."

The book has been widely circulated in Bhutan, with DIPD making it possible to distribute 3,000 copies of the book to educational and government institutions all around the country.

**SETBACKS AND VICTORIES**

As already mentioned, fewer women were elected to the Parliament in 2013 compared to 2008. This was no doubt a serious set-back. But fortunately there is at the same time no doubt that the increased focus on the importance of women participating in politics means that all relevant institutions will now work together to change the situation in the next round of elections.

In the midst of this set-back, Bhutan was fortunate to get its first female Minister. Dorji Choden was appointed Minister for Works and Human Settlement by the new Prime Minister, having previously worked two decades as a civil servant and for the UN. The Minister visited Denmark in early 2014 for the 8 of March celebrations of International Women’s Day. She met with Danish MPs and local politicians and got an insight into Denmark’s work for gender equality as an inspiration to women in Bhutan.

In terms of other victories or gains made by the Bhutanese women in politics, the fact that two out of three new political parties were bold enough to have women as their Party Leaders deserves to be mentioned. In addition, female candidates across the country engaged in the public debates over the issues that challenge the development of the nation, so women’s voices were heard more than ever during the election campaign.

This also meant that the electorate was challenged to discuss the merits of female as well as male candidates, and such debates are important in a democracy. And while it was unfortunate that the number of elected women fell, it should not be forgotten that the women who lost to male candidates actually did not lose by a lot. On the contrary, the race was extremely close!

**FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!**

Supporting the establishment of BNEW as a new platform for women wishing to engage in local and national politics.

Making it possible to produce two documentaries on women in politics that have contributed to a more qualified debate in the country, as well as a book which is being used in all schools around the country.

Developing and presenting drama series on national radio on the state of affairs for democracy and the equal participation of women.

Supporting the writing of the first and so far only book on the first phase of democracy: "Democracy in Bhutan. The first five years 2008-13, distributed to all schools and government institutions in the country.

Establishing close working relationships with institutions like National Council, National Assembly, Election Commission and civil society organisations.
PARTNERS IN MYANMAR

TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE

When the transitional reform process started in Myanmar in early 2011, DIPD like the rest of world had little idea as to what would come. It was also not clear how external institutions could make a difference. We therefore started out with two pointers: the mandate and democratic values of DIPD; and the determination to listen to the political parties of Myanmar and other stakeholders in the reform process.

MAKING HISTORY

The military junta in Myanmar started the process of moving the country towards democracy in early 2011, just as DIPD was gearing up its very first projects. The first parliamentary delegations from Myanmar arrived in Copenhagen, and DIPD was asked to be part of this.

This overlap of events presented DIPD with the historic opportunity to support and assist in the development of a budding multi-party democracy in Myanmar. Today we believe that an interesting Myanmar Multiparty Democracy Programme (MMDP) is in the making.

The programme objectives include facilitation of an informal, inclusive, non-partisan multi-party dialogue platform addressing key issues of national concern; strengthening the democratic role of political parties in a cross-party setting; and fostering relationships between political parties and the media especially in light of the upcoming elections in 2015.

Initially, after building trust, at our invitation a historic and unprecedented gathering of 50 political parties took place in February 2013, discussing the role of political parties in democratic transitions. Guest speakers shared experiences from transition processes in South Africa, Indonesia, and Nepal, and the DIPD reader “Political Parties in Democratic Transitions” translated into local language was launched at the seminar.

The seminar focused on how to strengthen the political party organisation, how to establish multi-party dialogue; how to negotiate democratic space with the reforming government; and how to respond to voter expectations, both regarding representation, accountability and delivery. “This is the first time for decades that so many parties are gathered around the same table”, one of the political party leaders claimed and continued: “Moreover, we have not before jointly discussed our common roles and challenges as political parties”.

[Image of people at a table]
The idea of bringing political parties together was a success and fostered a cascade of ideas to act upon together. First of all to keep nourishing the cross-party dialogue so crucial to enhancing political tolerance and debate on issues of joint concern. This dialogue will be nourished further by sharing experiences from other countries on multiparty platforms and by holding consultations between the Union Election Commission and the political parties in the election preparation period. The preparatory work for a resource centre and dialogue space for the political parties in Yangon has also borne fruit.

The common areas of interest identified were among other the electoral system, political party financing, youth in political parties, and relationship with the media. Thus, these ideas and priorities turned into joint action in the programme.

After just 18 months of engagement it is promising to see a number of important results materializing. Partners emphasize that they have found that the programme already has left important foot prints in agenda setting, getting a process of trust building going, sustaining cross-party dialogue, and providing crucial information to support decision making processes in Myanmar.

But they also stressed that a lot more needs to be done in the partnership for the longer term impact in terms of deepening democracy in Myanmar. The process towards the elections in 2015 will be crucial and the Myanmar Multiparty Democracy Programme will navigate this period carefully.

**JOINT DISCUSSION ON ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

Upon the request of political parties, MMDP organised an information sharing seminar on electoral systems in July 2013 attended by registered political parties, selected civil society organisations, and the media. The aim of the event was to facilitate information in an impartial manner about considerations to be made when designing and developing an electoral system.

The three-day seminar shared information regarding a number of electoral systems, including first-past-the-post, proportional representation, and mixed systems. The event also underlined the importance of representation, gender equality, and social inclusion.

Representatives from International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) and International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) shared their expertise and experience in the field of electoral systems around the world.

Designing an electoral system is a complex issue and often confusion exists as to what type of system that will benefit Myanmar the most. “We think we knew a lot about electoral systems, but now we know there is no ‘perfect’ electoral system. All have both advantages and disadvantages”, one political party member commented after attending the seminar.
MEDIA AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties and the media each have crucial roles to play in the process of democratization. In Myanmar free media and independent political parties did not exist for half a century. Reforms enacted from 2010 has allowed for a proliferation of relatively free political parties and media outlets, while legislation guaranteeing the freedom and governance of both sectors are still inadequate.

In order for the political parties and media to better appreciate the distinctive roles and ways of constructive engagement, we teamed up with International Media Support (IMS) for a gathering of political parties and media in an effort to strengthen a healthy and democratic public debate. Representatives of 43 political parties and 36 media houses in the country attended an event where everyone could meet and mingle, strike up conversations, and debate a plethora of issues.

The Chairman of Union Election Commission (UEC) of Myanmar, the Honourable U Tin Aye, opened the seminar and set the tone by pointing out that media and political parties need to work together to strengthen democracy in the country. Case studies from both Indonesia and Nepal highlighted the problems that can arise if media and political parties do not respect and understand the work of each other.

This will be particularly important in the processes towards local elections in 2014 and national elections in 2015. A healthy relationship between media and political parties is crucial to ensure equal coverage of political programmes, peaceful campaigning, and proper handling of the election results.

FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

PARTNER The Myanmar Multiparty Democracy Programme (MMDP) is open for all political parties. It has had support from Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, and cooperation and cost-sharing on specific activities from IDEA, IFES, IMS, Action-Aid Global Change, Danida Fellowship Centre and local partners.

AMOUNT DKK 2.7 million DKK for 2012 to mid-2014.

OBJECTIVES The general objective is to assist the democratic transition and facilitate the development of multi-party democracy. This involves strengthening of the multi-party dialogue processes; strengthening political parties to perform their democratic functions, and enhance engagement between parties and the media.

ACTIVITIES Debates among political parties on issues of national interest; network building, establishment of online political party knowledge facility; translation of democracy publications into local language, training seminars, exposure visits, etc.
ADRESSING POLITICAL PARTY FINANCING

No matter what improvement the political parties would like to embark upon, the question of political party financing is coming to the forefront. Many initiatives need funds, which many of the political parties do not have.

A seminar for political party representatives therefore addressed the issue of party financing, including fundraising, accountability, and regulation. During a two-day workshop jointly organised with IFES, more than 50 representatives from 46 registered political parties in Myanmar discussed issues around party finance.

The workshop gave an introduction to key challenges and solutions in political finance, drawing on experiences with regulation and enforcement in other countries. Issues highlighted and discussed included disclosure and financial reporting, bans and limits on contributions and spending, public funding, and the roles of civil society and media. Additionally, a global lessons learnt on the oversight of money in politics was discussed at the workshop.

“Money matters a lot in political decision making processes. But money should only be a ‘tool’ to the process. Therefore, strategies for controlling money in politics must be taken into account”, says U Sao Than Myint, central executive member of the Shan Nationalities Development Party (SNDP).

The political party financing is a longer-term component of MMDP, and parties were requested to nominate one person from the party leadership and one person from the party finance section to set up a task team with focus on this particular issue within their party. So far, 38 parties have shown interest in setting up such a team.

It is the first time that DIPD in our global programme undertakes the task of addressing political party financing by facilitating information and lessons learnt as well as working directly with the political parties to discuss and share potential recommendations for the context of Myanmar.

Another innovative step by DIPD has been the setting up of a Coordination Forum among the Political Party Support Agencies working in Myanmar to ensure that coordination and synergies are sought to the benefit of our partners in Myanmar.

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

The Myanmar Multiparty Democracy Programme is now recognized by political parties as a convener of opportunities for political dialogue.

Political leaders gathered for the first time after the transition started to discuss the role of political parties in transition.

Political parties and media have expressed commitment for joint dialogue on roles and responsibilities.

Political parties have expressed a commitment to work on the role of youth in political parties.

Availability of technical expertise and information to support local decision making in the reform process.
PARTNERS IN EGYPT

MANAGING THE REVOLUTION

DIPD was established just six months before the Arab Spring swept through Northern Africa and the Middle East, with protesters in streets and squares rejecting the repressive and authoritarian rule of many decades, and calling for the introduction of freedom and democracy. The Arab Spring presented DIPD with an opportunity to work with the Egyptians, including many of the young men and women who had demanded freedom in Tahrir Square.

FROM PROTEST TO THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

One of the young activists was Sherif Alaa, who actively participated in the Tahrir Square protests and vividly remembers the day in January 2011 when the protesters were attacked, also known as Day of Rage:

“It was the biggest protest I had seen by that time. Then, someone started shooting all kinds of weapons and tear gas canisters on angry protesters who chanted “Bread! Freedom! Social justice! Human dignity!” Everyone ran away but I did not, neither did my sister. Not because we were brave, but because we were afraid to get separated.”

Alaa and his sister were arrested, but released again the same day. Later that year, Alaa, who holds a Master’s degree in international relations and currently works as an election analyst, participated in the September 2011 DIPD Study Tour to Denmark where young Egyptian politicians and activists from different political parties and NGOs observed the Danish elections for Parliament and what turned out to be the election of the first woman as Prime Minister in Denmark.
It was clear that new and emerging parties in Egypt were struggling with a lack of capacity and organizational experience. It was equally clear that the political transition in Egypt required the parties to respond quickly to the demands and challenges from the electorate.

To respond to these challenges and to support the transition towards an Egyptian multiparty democracy, DIPD entered into a partnership with the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute (DEDI), which is based in Cairo and closely informed about political as well as civil society developments. Various Egyptian institutions were also contacted for support.

The activities included establishing political debates and inter-party discussions to share experiences, learning from different global transition experiences, and training and dialogue on electoral systems, legal reform, constitution building processes and party organization.

The study tour to Denmark was part of this partnership, and Alaa and the other delegates participated in a democracy seminar, observed the Danish way of doing parliamentary elections, and discussed lessons learnt across party lines. The delegates also had the unique opportunity to network with fellow Egyptians from other parties, and in some cases also from the other side of the revolutionary street fights.

A particular wish from political representatives from a wide array of emerging political parties in Egypt was to learn from other transitional experiences. This resulted in the development and publication of a DIPD Reader called “Political Parties in Democratic Transitions”. Writers with special knowledge about Chile, Serbia, South Africa, Turkey, and Indonesia trace the journey of transition in each of these countries.

The reader was launched in a seminar in Copenhagen, with Egyptian academics and journalists participating. It has later been translated into Arabic. The translation into a Burmese language version shows that are countries in transition can benefit from these experiences.

**A NETWORK FOR YOUTH**

The Egyptian revolution which started in Tahrir Square did not lead directly and quickly to a fully established democracy, contrary to what many had hoped for. Since protesters started gathering in streets and squares, developments have been tumultuous, and at times very violent.
For supporters of democracy both inside and outside of Egypt, this has also been a frustrating experience. But Egyptian youth have been an inspiration and a beacon of hope for the future. Young people played a major role in every event from the initial protests through the national elections, the referendums, and finally the developments that led to the removal of president Morsi in 2013.

Egyptian youth have come across as dedicated, opinionated, and passionate, and the group has undoubtedly played a central and constant role in the on-going changes, the revolutions, and also the continued process of democratization.

This is also why DIPD came together with DEDI and the Danish Youth Council (DUF), to help facilitate and support a youth network in Egypt. Through the youth network, young Egyptians involved with civil society and political parties can meet and connect across divides. The network facilitates trainings and workshops, study tours, as well as visits from Danish politicians and civil society representatives.

**INDONESIA AS AN EXAMPLE**

The DIPD-DEDI-DUF youth network is not the only effort to support youth. Together with the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), DIPD and DEDI have decided to support the introduction of the 'democracy school' concept, which NIMD has pioneered in other parts of the world.

In the spring of 2012, NIMD, DEDI and DIPD invited two Egyptian NGOs – Cairo Center for Human Development (CCHD) and Egyptian Democratic Academy (EDA) – to participate in an inspirational tour to Indonesia, where they were introduced to the way the programme has been carried out since 2004. The Indonesian NGO running the “democracy schools” was established by a group of dedicated individuals, who had been actively involved in the toppling of the military dictatorship in 1998.

The purpose of the study tour was not to tell CCHD and EDA how they
should do it in Egypt, but rather to offer some ideas of how it could be done. There may be close links and many similarities between Indonesia and Egypt, but there are also some obvious differences you need to consider.

But the two Egyptian NGOs are no strangers to democracy and political debate, so they were well aware of this.

EDA was established in 2009. It has hosted several meetings of different political movements before the Egyptian revolution. Among these movements are the 6th of April Movement, which was one of the strong forces during the revolution. EDA was established by a group of youth from different political movements and parties and is one of the first NGOs in Egypt working in the field of democracy.

CCHD is a civil society organization and was established immediately after the revolution. The aim is to promote the culture of democracy in Egypt. The organization has organised several workshops, seminars, and conferences with a focus on the democratic development in post-revolutionary Egypt.

For both of the Egyptian partners, the aim of the democracy school project is to offer politically active people in civil society, political parties, the private sector and the government institutions knowledge and skills on democratic concepts and values; a deeper understanding of the responsibilities of different institutions in a democracy; and training in different ways to gain influence in their local societies.

Every weekend for six months, youth representing the different sectors and with liberal, Islamist, leftist and other political views discuss a democracy curriculum developed by the two organisations with input from experts. They also discuss current issues and challenges in Egyptian politics and society; the new constitution; and statements by the political leaders.

After 600 hours of democracy training, the students will receive a certificate, and they will hopefully share their deep knowledge about and concern for democracy with others!

FACTS ABOUT THE DEMOCRACY SCHOOLS

**PARTNER**

A consortium of DIPD, DEDI and NIMD supporting two Egyptian organisations, CCHD and EDA.

**AMOUNT**

2,8 million DKK for 2012-2013.

**OBJECTIVES**

The overall objective is to contribute to the development of a democratic culture in Egypt. To achieve this, the programme provides a learning and training facility where young Egyptian citizens can study and discuss democratic thought, theory and practice and gain hands-on experience through out-of-class activities and individual field projects. The Democracy Schools are also intended as a forum for reflection and dialogue and an arena for dissemination of ideas and best practices.

**ACTIVITIES**

The two Egyptian partner organisations, CCHD and EDA, implement Democracy Schools, each school lasting 6 months, during which students participate in classes, trainings, visits to the parliament and other state and non-state institutions, and work on their own individual projects under the supervision of the schools’ trainers. The schools follow a curriculum developed especially for the programme and covering fields such is democratic theory, electoral systems, public administration, local governance, the role of media in politics, and more.
TRAINING IN A POLARIZED SOCIETY

“We will introduce the different concepts in democracy, which they are expected to learn and afterwards there is an open space where people can express their opinions,” Mr. Ahmed Mahmoud from EDA says and adds: “After the academy, the participants will still be different from each other!”

Many applied to be a student, when CCHD and EDA announced the first training. Participants were selected on the basis of their knowledge and motivation, but also making sure that there is a balance between different political orientations in the group of 30 students. It was also important for the NGOs that they recruited participants from different geographical settings.

Both NGOs had already offered crash courses in democratic ideas and principles that can help young Egyptians in their efforts to contribute to shaping the future political system in Egypt. As stated by one of the NGO’s:

“Some of us did our best to launch intensive short training programs on democracy and democratic experiences and institutions; however, this is not enough. Transition to democracy requires progressive, yet radical institutionalization of democratic values and practices.”

In order to support the process of democratization, the NGOs have found it important to build up human capital capable of contributing to the planning and implementation of the comprehensive restructuring process that will be the backbone in the build-up of a democratic Egypt.

It is not always an easy task to create a forum for political debate in a rather polarized society like the Egyptian, and debates over current issues can sometimes get quite heated.

“Actually the first session was horrible”, Mahmoud says with a big laugh describing the first session of the project. “Everybody was yelling at each other. They all wanted to defend themselves and attack each other.”

However, the hard work paid off and Egyptian Democracy Academy started working the way it was intended.
“After only very few sessions we saw Islamists and liberals establishing friendships and joking with each other in the breaks.”

Following the pilot project implemented in 2013, CCHD and EDA started implementing the second phase at the beginning of 2014. The programme is now based on a fully developed curriculum of 6 volumes, which both partners will use as the basis for the training, although the training methods will vary depending on the particular groups of students.

In addition to the training undertaken by the two organisations, the curriculum will also be made freely available online to everyone interested.

AN EMERGING FREE POLITICAL DEBATE

Is Egypt moving in the right direction? Are things developing as expected at the beginning of 2011? Has Egypt moved closer to being a real democracy because it has held free elections and referendums on the constitution?

Election analyst Alaa fears that his country will enter a phase of ‘electoralism’, where elections and referendums are conducted, but true democracy still seems illusive:

“Elections bringing a leader to power cannot justify the same leaders’ undemocratic actions. In countries like Egypt, where hundreds were killed and thousands were injured in their fight against dictatorship, elections cannot be the exclusive means of expressing their views without looking to its legal framework, political context, the media or the security environment.”

He describes the campaign period before the recent constitutional referendum in Egypt as an example of how Egyptian politics still does not include the kind of free public debates which he observed during the study tour to Denmark.

However, at EDA, young people engaging in politics can have heated debates even on issues which seemed to tear the nation apart, and the young politicians small-talk and laugh together during breaks. The EDA deputy programme manager Mohamed Fadaly says:

“One of our most important mandates is to create a space where all the very different people of Egypt can stay in the same room and listen to each other’s opinions.”

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Making it possible for representatives from new and emerging political parties to observe parliamentary elections in Denmark, and learn from this together.

Developing and publishing (in both English and Arabic) the DIPD Reader called “Political Parties in Democratic Transitions”.

Bringing together youth from various political parties in Denmark and Egypt to develop the DIPD Guide on “How to Build a Youth Wing”.

Initiating the introduction of the concept of ‘democracy schools’ through two Egyptian organisations.
PARTNER IN TANZANIA

A NEW CONSTITUTION?

A new citizen driven constitution may be the result of a referendum in 2014. One of the key actors engaging in the constitutional review process is the Tanzania Centre for Democracy, which is an institution established by political parties across the political spectrum. The constitutional review process is an example of the necessity to move with flexibility, political intelligence and perseverance and above all keep focus on a broad based dialogue.

MULTI-PARTY DIALOGUE

The Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD) is the only political party organization, formed by political parties represented in Parliament to serve as platform for dialogue on national matters outside the Parliament. During 2013 and 2014, TCD has managed to organize high profile conferences to discuss burning national issues, including the constitutional review and the state of peace in the nation. It is now the preferred organization for dialogue with and among political parties.

Moreover, TCD has also been invited by the political parties and government to mediate their differences. A case in point was when three opposition parties boycotted parliament over amendments to the Constitution Review Act, 2013. They all met the President and agreed to discuss their differences under the auspices of TCD. After two Summit meetings and four technical committee meetings they reached consensus with the government and the amendment bill was finally passed by Parliament.
FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

PARTNER  Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD).

AMOUNT  2,2 million DKK for 2012-2014.

OBJECTIVES  The project has three goals: [1] strengthening of the multiparty dialogue process and bringing the multi-party dialogue to the local level [2] strengthening all of the parties included in the TCD to perform their democratic functions better including in particular the representation of women; [3] enhance engagement between political parties and civil society.

ACTIVITIES  Political dialogue meetings; providing concerted input to the constitutional review process, radio and TV broadcasting on constitutional issues; cross-party training, women mentoring, local level dialogue meetings; high level conflict mediation.
The multiparty dialogue platform at the national level have increasingly shown positive results as the dialogue among national level party leaders have been reducing tension among them and helped bring about joint reform measures.

**REPRESENTATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY**

However, most parties noted that at the local level there is also need for dialogue mechanisms, because of the increasing and rampant problems of adversarial conflicts between parties at local level.

In the partnership between TCD and DIPD, a piloting has taken place of setting up multi-party dialogue fora at district level in ten districts carefully selected based on the existing political party landscape and the need for dialogue mechanisms, to prevent political conflicts turning violent and facilitate peaceful solutions.

The pilot dialogue fora have proved so successful, that TCD is now planning to establish and support 50 more dialogue fora, which will also function as also as early warning committees during the upcoming local and national elections.

In the work with political parties the need to strengthen the ability to perform their democratic functions is significant and crucial for the strategic development and deepening of the culture of multi-party democracy in Tanzania. Most of the parties show an interest in capacity development initiatives aimed at strengthening their democratic practices, ability to develop effective policies, engaging with citizens, and be accountable and transparent.

With the support of DIPD, trainings and exposure visits have taken place in a cross-party setting where the peer-review processes also play a role in improving practices and innovation.

**SUCCESSFUL MENTORING**

This is particularly so in the field of women in political parties. A challenge with a strong bearing on the ability of political parties to perform their democratic functions is the inadequate inclusion of women and gender mainstreaming as part of the structures and plans of the parties.
Considering all the training of the past for women with little impact, TCD and DIPD decided to explore and pilot a new approach covering both high level advocacy; gender review of party procedures and statutes; and finally political mentoring for women, based on approaches tested and tried in Denmark. The mentoring part involves the Danish Centre for Information on Gender, Equality and Diversity (KVINFO), because KVINFO has developed a particular approach in Denmark and countries in Europe.

The pilot has already produced successes in that more women have been elected to high-level positions within their party. Moreover, many more are determined to stand for elections during the local and national elections. The Danish inspiration is appreciated in many ways. For example, the campaign in Denmark called “Women elect Women” attracted interest because in Tanzania women have a tendency to vote for men even when women call for change.

The barriers are many as explained by a women mentor:

“We need political parties in democracy, but our political parties are also part of the problem. Our political party traditions exclude women!”

Another woman joined in and shared her frustration:

“In the School I am the Schoolmaster and thus the leader; in our Sports Club I am the leader; but in my party I am nothing!”

The success has now been recognized despite many warnings that a Danish model of mentoring could not work in Africa!

But TCD has adapted the Danish model in a very wise manner. Moreover, Gertrude Mongella rejects the notion that mentoring should not work in Africa. Mongella has served as Minister several times, as diplomat in the UN and was heading the fourth World Congress on Women and she stresses the following:

“Mentoring is basically an African concept. Women have used mentoring for centuries on this continent. When it comes to motivating and guiding young women, older women have always been the role models. It is natural to do the same in politics.”

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

As a platform TCD facilitated the collective input from the political parties into the constitution review process.

Understanding that multi-party dialogue is necessary not only at the national level, but also at the local – and doing something about it through a pilot scheme.

Been able to argue for and get commitment from all political parties on enhancing women in political parties.

Established a women’s political mentoring network based on inspiration from successful experiences in Denmark.

Enhanced capacity among parties to deal with transparency and accountability.
Malawi got its first female President, Joyce Banda, in 2012. She is also the first female president in Southern Africa. But there is still a lot of work to be done for women’s political participation. The Centre for Multiparty Democracy, an independent organisation established by the political parties, has decided to support the position and voice of women in political parties with great enthusiasm.

**DRAMATIC RISE TO POWER**

Banda was elected Vice President in 2009, but she was not popular with President Mutharika, who attempted to fire Banda for alleged ‘anti-party’ activities in 2010. This move was blocked by the court, and she could therefore remain in office. Later she was again met with resistance and expelled from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). She responded to this move by forming the People’s Party in 2011.

Many women face all kinds of barriers and difficulties in getting political office, just like President Banda. The fact that the President is especially known and recognized for her work and strong stance on women’s rights carries hope for a strengthening of women’s political participation in Malawi.

DIPD’s partner in Malawi is not only hopeful, but also determined to make the change happen. The strategic plan of Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) includes a goal to ensure that women’s wings in political parties are functioning and that space in decision-making positions is provided.

Malawi’s 1995 Constitution states that the state shall actively promote the welfare and development of the people of Malawi by progressively adopting and implementing policies and legislation aimed at achieving gender equality and the full participation of women in all spheres of Malawian society on the basis of equality with men. In practice, reality is very different.

With women taking a bit more than 20% of seats in the National Assembly, women’s presence numerically is higher than in many other countries in the region. Close to all of the 40 registered political parties in Malawi have women’s wings, but they are most often operating as separate entities.

To support the participation of women in the political parties, CMD approached DIPD for a partnership, which has been developing in a very promising manner. The project covers a mentoring programme for women in political parties, high-level advocacy towards the party leadership, and gender review of the manifestos, procedures and nomination criteria of the parties.

In particular the mentoring programme has attracted a lot of attention and support. It aims to strengthen the voice and position of women in political parties through building the confidence, capacity and network among women to support them in raising issues and taking on leadership.
MENTOR TRAINING “A GREAT SUCCESS”
This part of the project has been carried out in cooperation with the Danish Centre for Information on Gender, Equality and Diversity (KVINFO). Lead trainer Beatriz Hernandez de Fuhr from KVINFO described the mentor training in Malawi as a great success:

“They had gathered an excellent group of mentors (MPs, former MPs and Directors of Women’s affairs of Political parties), and we managed to engage them 100%. Some of them have offered to be mentors for up to four mentees. When looking at the input we got from participants, there is clear evidence that the mentees felt empowered after only two days together. Most of the women came to the workshop ‘to serve the party’. Most of them left the workshop with a decision to contest the municipal elections in 2014.”

The success is linked to the position of CMD as a strong change maker. CMD has many years of experience working with the political parties and enjoys their trust and engagement. Moreover, CMD enjoys good relationships to donor agencies, government, ministries, and civil society networks. CMD has strong local roots that enable it to mix global trends with locally based knowledge, analysis and understanding of democratic governance in the change initiatives implemented.

The initiator of the project in Malawi, Ann Maganga, observed: “Mentors and mentees understood that women can do a lot more for each other. In Malawi there have been a lot of women pulling each other down! Now we focus on how we can pull each other up!”

The project in Malawi is linking up with a similar project in Tanzania, and jointly they are now planning to document the approach and experiences in order for women in other African countries to benefit.

FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

PARTNER: Centre for Multiparty Democracy – Malawi (CMD).

AMOUNT: DKK 0.6 million for 2013 to mid-2014.

OBJECTIVES: To strengthen the inclusion and meaningful participation of women in leadership and decision making within the political parties in Malawi.

ACTIVITIES: Training of mentors and mentees, establishment of mentor network, study of gender awareness in party constitutions and procedures; high level advocacy meetings with party leadership to gain commitment for change, seminars and conferences.

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Helping to establish a functioning women’s mentoring network, with the graduation of the first batch of women mentees.

The importance of women’s voice in political parties is now firmly on the agenda.

Women in Politics Quarterly Newsletter distributed in 10,000 copies and through local media.
PARTNERS IN ZIMBABWE

PEACEFUL DIALOGUE

Zimbabwe has been characterised by political polarisation for years. Violence, intimidation and fear have dominated political life. Following elections in 2008, the international community helped negotiate a global political agreement that brought the three parties in parliament together in a so-called Inclusive Government. After the elections in 2013, Zimbabwe seems to be back to square one.

TOWARDS POLITICAL DIALOGUE

Zimbabwe does not have a multiparty institute like Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi, with the purpose of promoting peaceful dialogue and capacity development of all political parties. This has never been possible because of the lack of basic trust among the two-three dominating political parties.

To some extent the Zimbabwe Institute (ZI), which was established in 2002 with the purpose of facilitating democracy, peace, tolerance, political dialogue and human rights, has performed the role of a convener of multiparty discussions. This is why DIPD and the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) decided to support the efforts of ZI to bring the three parties winning seats in the 2008 parliamentary election closer together.

The partnership with ZI seeks to support multiparty democracy in Zimbabwe with a special emphasis on building bridges between the three political parties that were elected to parliament in 2008: ZANU-PF under the leadership of Robert Mugabe; MDC-T under the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai; and the small opposition party MDC-M.

Activities fall within 5 focus areas: building a multiparty culture among Zimbabweans through promotion of tolerance of political diversity and divergence; reducing political suspicion, tension, conflicts and violence among members of the parties through increased interaction and dialogue; helping parties develop, adopt and implement a code of conduct for political parties;

FACTS ABOUT THE PROJECT

PARTNER: Zimbabwe Institute (ZI) and the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD).

AMOUNT: DKK 3.5 million for 2012 to mid-2014.

OBJECTIVES: The project seeks to facilitate dialogue between the three political parties in the Inclusive Government, thereby supporting a culture of multi-partyism.

ACTIVITIES: Activities include dialogue workshops between the political parties, peace indabas in all provinces, south-south exchange visits to enable sharing of best practices in democracy, workshops bringing together political parties and civil society, training programmes for party leaders, and research and advocacy. There will also be a focus on youth and women in the three parties working together.
enhancing the political parties’ internal organizational capacity through training (including youth); an finally supporting research and advocacy that will qualify the policies of the political parties and benefit the country as a whole.

Activities include dialogue workshops between the political parties, peace ‘indabas’ or seminars at the provincial level, south-south exchange visits to enable sharing of best practices in democracy, inspirational study tours to countries like Denmark and the Netherlands, workshops bringing together political parties and civil society, and research and advocacy.

YOUTH DELEGATION IN DENMARK

As part of this joint programme, youth leaders from the three political parties visited Denmark and the Netherlands in March 2013 to discuss how to support the political participation of youth in Zimbabwe. 2013 was a crucial year for Zimbabwean democracy with the passing of a new constitution in March and elections in late July. These events highlighted a key challenge for democracy in Zimbabwe: the lack of political participation of youth.

The social and economic crisis sparked by the political crisis has had massive implications for youth, who are struggling with unemployment and lack of education and political influence. Youth constitute more than half of the population, so the importance of inclusion of youth in politics is crucial.

The visit was both an opportunity for the three youth leaders to share their
views on the state of democracy in Zimbabwe, particularly the role of youth, with the public in both Denmark and the Netherlands, and to get an insight into political life and youth participation in politics in the two countries.

During the study tour, the delegates met both Danish youth politicians and representatives from Danish civil society. The delegates also had the opportunity to meet and liaise with fellow Zimbabweans, something not always possible in Zimbabwe.

The delegates also participated in a public seminar on youth in politics. An MS/ActionAid report on the political participation of youth in Zimbabwe was launched at the seminar and provided a basis for the discussion of the status of political participation and interest of youth in Zimbabwe today, as well as the main challenges and how these can be addressed.

**IMPRESSED BY LEVEL OF TOLERANCE**
The delegates were inspired by their visit to Denmark and the Netherlands and gave these statements just before their return to Zimbabwe.

Leslie Ncube from Zanu PF reflected like this:

“The youth exchange visit was ground breaking in that it gave us the opportunities as youth leaders from three diverse political parties to learn, interact and engage the international community as equal partners. We feel grateful that the principals in the inclusive government have created an environment which allowed us as youth leaders to be given the responsibility to fly Zimbabwe’s flag high and to contribute to peace building in our country.

“In our interactions in Denmark and the Netherlands we were struck by the cordial relations amongst the political parties despite their diverse ideological backgrounds. As youth leaders the visit re-affirmed our belief that as future leaders it is important to engage in a non-violent politics in mapping our own destiny as a country.

“On my own part I was not only grateful to learn from the experiences of those countries but to also robustly outline my party’s political principles.”

Solomon Madzore from MDC T said:

“We were impressed by the high level of tolerance amongst political parties; we were actually stunned that political parties can visit each other at their party
offices. We on our part still have a long way to get there but we are determined to get there. The seeds have been planted, and we shall jointly water the flowers of peace as a collective.

“We were also impressed by the level of autonomy that the youth wings enjoy from their mother parties. It was clear that the funding structure notably from their governments own governments gave young people the opportunity to plan programmes independently and participate fully in democratic processes.”

Finally Gideon Mandaza from MDC-M observed:

“The idea of youths engaging in interparty policy debates on various policy subjects was most impressive lesson for me. The idea if implemented in Zimbabwe would serve as a key training ground for young Zimbabwean political leaders for their future roles.

“It will encourage the youth to invest policy development and take part actively in outlining where they stand on big issues – changing the politics of Zimbabwe from the politics of violence and pulling each other down to a politics of ideas.

“I feel invigorated and motivated by this exchange visit to play a part in consensus building for the development of our nation.”

FROM IDEAS TO CHANGES!

Delegations visiting Denmark to learn from Danish practices, and also to be able to dialogue among themselves.

Allowing representatives from each of the three parties to search for common ground despite the polarized environment.

Contributing to the elections in 2013 being peaceful, thanks to representatives from all parties working together at provincial level.

Study tours to countries in the region to learn from different approaches to multiparty dialogue.
THE ORGANISATION

A SUCCESSFUL BEGINNING

An external review finalized at the end of 2013 concludes that the institute has come off to a successful beginning. Partnerships have been started in thirteen countries, and an organisation has been built. The major challenge for the next phase will be to deliver results that can make a difference.
THE BOARD OF DIPD

DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS

DIPD is to some extent structured like a multiparty platform, because all of the parties in the Danish Parliament are represented on the Board. The major difference is that civil society, NGO’s, youth organizations, and academia are also represented. In this way, the Board involves some of the major ‘shareholders’ and stakeholders of Danish democracy.

CONSENSUS IS A STRENGTH

The Board consists of 15 members including the Chairman and two Vice Chairs. The Board makes up the management of DIPD together with the Director, who is appointed by the Board. Other staff members in the secretariat are appointed by the Director within the budget allocated by the Board.

In 2013, the Board held 5 meetings, where a wide range of strategic and managerial issues were debated and specific proposals from the political parties as well as the institute were approved. Issues covered include (in no order of importance):

- Approval of the annual budget for the secretariat.
- Discussion of the annual self-evaluation.
- Approval of applications for funding from the Party-to-Party window as well as the Multiparty window.
- Approval of the audited annual financial report of 2012, including the report from the auditors.
- Briefings on the study tour for partners during the municipal elections in November 2013.
- Briefings on political developments in countries like Egypt and Zimbabwe, where polarization has increased.
- Meeting with the consultants carrying out the formal review of DIPD on behalf of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Initial discussion on the direction of the new 2014-17 strategy.
What is noteworthy about the manner in which the Board operates is not only the effort by all members to strive to reach a consensus on key decisions, but also the fact that this has actually been achieved. There will certainly be issues regarding specific proposals, countries we work in and partners chosen where there will be different assessments. But at the end of the meeting, a consensus has been found.

This is an important and necessary strength of DIPD. It should also be emphasized that while all the members of the Board have some form of political (party) or institutional (NGO) affiliation, when deliberating and deciding in the Board of DIPD they must rely on their personal judgment.

From a self-evaluation made by the Board, it is interesting to note that members feel that discussions have been conducted in a positive and trusted atmosphere, with all members trying to find common ground despite the obvious political and ideological differences. This is also a result of the manner in which the Chairman has conducted the meetings.

Board members are busy people, and the most important thing is that they have the time to prepare for and participate in the Board meetings. However, during 2013 the secretariat has increased efforts to involve members in various activities, and this has been successful. A few examples are: the visit of a youth delegation from Zimbabwe; meeting with the 50 delegates to the municipal elections; debate with Thomas Carothers when his new book was launched in Copenhagen.

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<th>BOARD MEMBERS NOMINATED BY PARLIAMENT</th>
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<td>Henrik Bach Mortensen, Chairman</td>
<td>Venstre (Danish Liberal Party)</td>
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<td>Jeppe Kofod, Vice Chairman</td>
<td>Socialdemokraterne (Social Democrats)</td>
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<td>Karsten Lauritzen, Vice Chairman</td>
<td>Venstre (Danish Liberal Party)</td>
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<td>Aia Rebecca Fog</td>
<td>Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People’s Party)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rolf Aagaard-Svendsen</td>
<td>Konservative Folkeparti (Conservative Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis Nørmark</td>
<td>Liberal Alliance (Liberal Alliance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanne Agersnap</td>
<td>Socialistisk Folkeparti (Socialist People’s Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henning Nielsen</td>
<td>Radikale Venstre (Social Liberal Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Juhl</td>
<td>Enhedslisten (Red-Green Alliance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOARD MEMBERS NOMINATED BY ORGANISATIONS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marie Borum Pedersen</td>
<td>DUF (Danish Youth Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morten Dahlin</td>
<td>DUF (Danish Youth Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard</td>
<td>Rektorkollegiet (Danish Universities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsebeth Krogh</td>
<td>NGO Forum (NGO Forum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbet Ilkjær</td>
<td>IMR (Danish Institute for Human Rights)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOARD MEMBER NOMINATED BY THE MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne Mette Kjaer</td>
<td>Århus University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIRST REVIEW OF DIPD

When DIPD was established in May 2010, and the first three year appropriation period of 75 million DKK was approved, it was also decided that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would carry out a so called “forward-looking review” before the end of the first funding period. Based on this review, the Parliament and the Ministry would decide the future of the institute.

Managing the process of the review and discussing the final recommendations were therefore among the most important items on the agenda of the Board in 2013.

The review was undertaken by the UK consultancy firm “Global Partners Governance” in collaboration with the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). It was undertaken from May to November 2013, with visits to partners in Tanzania as well as to stakeholders in Denmark being part of the process.

The final report presents the following message about the accomplishments of DIPD during its first 3 years:

“DIPD has made impressive progress in establishing effective party-to-party and multi-party projects in a range of countries. It has supported the Danish political parties to create party-to-party partnerships in a wide range of different countries, and has developed a well-regarded program of multi-party projects organized through local partners and in collaboration with like-minded organizations. Moreover, it has established a new organization from scratch and built an international reputation, whilst simultaneously navigating logistical and administrative challenges.”

While both the Board and the Secretariat were happy with the positive assessment, they also wanted to focus on the obvious weaknesses highlighted in the report and also discussed in the Board. When the report was presented, the Director therefore stated the following:

“It is good to know that the review team feels that DIPD is on the right track. All of us have worked hard to get to where we are today – the political parties starting a new line of work; the members of the Board who have shown great dedication to ensure that the strategy was followed; and the small group of hard working staff members, who have had to deliver more than what could be expected. It has really been a team effort!

“But what is most important now is that we have the courage to address the most obvious weaknesses, so we can actually deliver the types of change our partners request, based on the good ideas we start out with together.”

AREAS THAT NEED FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

As readers will note if they dig into the review report, there were a range of recommendations from the review team to DIPD, and during the next 2014-17 phase, DIPD will seek to address all of the issues in a systematic manner, in close cooperation with the Ministry. Some key recommendations are:

THE NEW STRATEGY FOR 2014-2017 MUST DESCRIBE THE VISION, MISSION AND THEORY OF CHANGE MORE CLEARLY. The Board fully agrees, and this has been an important part of the discussions on the new strategy that have taken place already. The new strategy will form the basis for work over the next three year period starting in July 2014.

THE MEASUREMENT OF RESULTS MUST BE IMPROVED, FOCUSING ON BOTH QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE INDICATORS. This is a requirement for all organisations involved in the development cooperation business, not just DIPD. It is also work which is difficult, and it is not easier in this very political area of work than in areas of social and economic development. DIPD is part of an international effort to find ways of doing this in a meaningful manner.
A better balance between ambitions and resources is needed, requiring a number of initiatives. It has been important for DIPD to get off the ground in this first phase, and the Board recognizes that it is now time to look closely at the resources required to maintain the partnerships. This is true for both party-to-party and multiparty partnerships.

The financial management systems should be strengthened, including ensuring internal expertise in the secretariat. This has been a major challenge for the institute because of special circumstances. At the start in 2011, it was decided to rent office space from a similar institution, which would also manage all financial transactions. This set-up had to be terminated end of 2012 because of lack of space, and DIPD then had to establish its own financial set-up from scratch. New recruitment in the early part of 2014 will contribute to a solution.

More focus should be given to the capacity building for the Danish political parties and their partners. This is a challenge which has been addressed by the Board on several occasions, but it is recognized that it is also not a challenge which can be easily solved. Part of the solution is about what the secretariat can offer to the parties; another part is about the nature of the partnership between the Danish party and its partner.

Many of the issues raised in the review report will be included or mentioned in the new cooperation agreement to be signed with the Ministry before the new 3 year period starts on 1st July 2014. Other issues will be on the agenda of the Board as the institute continues with the work; and the most important task will be to develop and approve a new strategy by the end of May 2014.
MANAGING THE BUDGET

SPENDING MONEY WISELY

When DIPD was created as an independent public institution by law in May 2010, Parliament also committed an appropriation of DKK 75 million for the first three year period. Compared to other areas of development cooperation, this is a fairly modest amount. But experience during the first funding phase indicates that it is possible to establish meaningful partnerships even with small amounts.

DIPD FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT

DIPD is a public institution charged with the mandate to approve funding for two types of partnerships. The overall appropriation for DIPD runs in 3 year periods. The current funding period has been extended twice and currently runs until 30 June 2014. The appropriation for DIPD for this current funding period is 75 million Danish Kroner (DKK).

Being a public institution regulated by the laws on public management and rules for budgeting and accounting also means that DIPD is audited by the Royal Danish Auditors. The annual financial report is being audited by this institution, and the annual auditing report is presented to and approved by the DIPD board every year in May. These reports are available to the public on the DIPD website.

The total appropriation of 75 million DKK for the current funding period (May 2010-June 2014) is divided between funding for partnerships through the Danish political parties, funding through the secretariat for multiparty partnerships, and the budget for the secretariat.

Effectively this means that 60 million DKK has been divided equally between the two types of partnerships, with an average of 10 million DKK being available for each area every year.

During the same funding period, 15 million DKK (5 million DKK per year) has been allocated to the DIPD administration and the running of the secretariat. This amount includes budget posts such as salaries for staff, honorariums for board members, rent of office space, administrative services, expenses for meetings and conferences, communication and PR materials.
THE SECRETARIAT AND ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES
The DIPD secretariat in Copenhagen can only be described as very small in terms of staff. In 2013 there were a total of 4 regular staff members and a director. In addition to the core staff, there have been 3 short-term consultants, publicly supported academic staff, as well as 1-2 students.

The total cost for the secretariat in 2013 is DKK 5.3 million, and the cost of salaries makes up 72 percent of this. Another important area of the budget consists of ‘administrative services’, including contracts for the financial systems, the IT systems, consultancy services for HR, controlling and external quality assurance.

PARTY-TO-PARTY FUNDING
The funds available in the Party-to-party Pool of DIPD are distributed among the Danish political parties. As stated in the law regarding DIPD of May 2010, the political parties represented in Parliament will be allocated funds according to the following principles: One third of the total amount will be divided equally among the 8 parties – around DKK 400,000 per party. Two thirds of the amount will be divided according to number of seats won in the most recent parliamentary election.

The election results from September 2011 gave the political parties the number of seats shown in the table. This again resulted in the levels of funding per year as indicated in the column to the far right:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY</th>
<th>NO. OF SEATS</th>
<th>% OF SEATS</th>
<th>FUNDING PER YEAR DKK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterne)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Social Liberal Party (Det Radikale Venstre)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Conservative Party (Det Konservative Folkeparti)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Socialist People’s Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Liberal Alliance (Liberal Alliance)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Danish Peoples Party (Dansk Folkeparti)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Danish Liberal Party (Venstre)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>175</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Letters: The letter in the first column of the table indicates the letter which is being used by the political parties in the elections, including on posters and voting material.
It is important to emphasize that while each political party has a certain amount of funds available, funds will only be released after the Board has discussed and approved a specific proposal.

By the end of 2013, the Board had approved a total amount of DKK 23.4 million DKK for project proposals from the political parties. This includes both appraisal proposals (proposals for preparatory activities, including meetings with the partner to develop a final proposal) and fully fledged project proposals.

The table below provides an overview of funding approved by the Board for each party and partnership during 2011-2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY</th>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>AMOUNT DKK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterne) Ghana</td>
<td>2.815,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swaziland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Social Liberal Party (Det Radikale Venstre) Tanzania F</td>
<td>1.399,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Conservative Party (Det Konservative Folkeparti) Tanzania</td>
<td>1.441,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Socialist People’s Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti) Bolivia F</td>
<td>1.655,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Liberal Alliance (Liberal Alliance) Bolivia</td>
<td>2.126,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Danish Liberal Party (Venstre) Kenya</td>
<td>4.634,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) Honduras</td>
<td>637,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Palestina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swaziland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>23,417,715</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MULTIPARTY FUNDING

The Multiparty Pool consists by the end of 2013 of 6 country programmes for multiparty activities, as well as other areas to cover the expenses related to the preparatory activities of DIPD before entering into actual projects or programs; additional minor projects such as seminars and conferences, and finally costs related to the flag ship event of DIPD called The Christiansborg Seminar held in September 2012.

The table below shows the funds committed by the DIPD Board from the multiparty window.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDING

The strategy followed by the Board since the start in 2011 has emphasized that multiparty activities should only be initiated in a limited number of countries that are linked to official Danish development cooperation, while the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROGRAM / ACTIVITY</th>
<th>AMOUNT COMMITTED 2011-2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>3,355,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>4,149,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutan</td>
<td>6,626,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>2,384,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>3,650,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>645,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory activities</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other projects</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christiansborg Seminar 2012</td>
<td>461,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24,371,009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Political parties have been able to decide their choice of countries on the basis of where they are able to identify like-minded political parties as partners.

But as clearly documented by the diagram, countries in Africa have so far been receiving almost half of the funding from DIPD. This is not surprising, considering that Africa is the main region in official development cooperation, and this is where Denmark has most experience from cooperation over many decades.

Asia is also well represented because of the multiparty programmes in Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar. At this point in time the Danish political parties have not established partnerships in this part of the world.

The last part of the funding is divided between a few countries in the Middle East and a few countries in Latin America.
THE SECRETARIAT

FROM KØBENHAVN TO KATHMANDU

From the start in 2011, DIPD rented office space with another Danish institute, and a lot of the administrative routines were taken care of by our host. This arrangement had to be terminated end of 2012, because our host had to move premises, resulting in DIPD having to move to new office space as well.

NEW ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP

By January 1st 2013, DIPD had moved into its new office space and had to begin setting up a new administrative framework for its operations. This included all aspects of administration, and several new contracts had to be signed with new service providers.

By the end of 2013, the DIPD secretariat was able to draw up a more long term set-up, which was approved by the Board in the last meeting of the year. The proposal included the introduction of an internal finance and accounting function, as well as getting more IT to secure the quality of DIPD financial management.

All the core staff members were recruited during 2011 and 2012, and they were all on board during the whole of 2013. Except for Karina Pultz, who started her maternity leave around the start of the summer and was then replaced by Ole Grarup.
Recognising that core staff members were already overwhelmed with work, it was decided to bring in additional staff as temporary coordinators for special events that required a lot of logistical planning and preparation. This was the case on two occasions, in June for the so-called ‘People’s Meeting’, and in November 2013 for the municipal elections study tour.

The People’s Meeting takes place in June on the island of Bornholm. This is now an annual event, bringing together all the Danish political parties, almost all members of Parliament, more than a thousand NGOs, and of course tens of thousands of ordinary Danish citizens wanting to participate in political discussion and dialogue on numerous political and social issues.

DIPD participated in this meeting in 2011 for the first time, but this year we decided to have our own space and several discussion events involving members of the Board of DIPD and members of Parliament. The idea was to engage people in some of the dilemmas you are confronted with when working in our field: How is it possible for DIPD to support both the ruling party and the opposition in Bolivia? How can the Danish history of women engaging in politics inspire women in political parties elsewhere?

Another event requiring additional staff support was the study tour organised during the municipal elections in November 2013, an event called KV13, using the Danish acronym for the elections. This brought together almost 50 representatives from more than 25 political parties or institutions in 10 countries.

This event was not only a challenge because of all the participants flying in from different corners of the world, but also because the participants had to be divided into small and mixed groups and hosted by the Danish political parties, so they could observe the election procedure in different localities around the country.

### STAFF WORKING FOR DIPD IN 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position/Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bjørn Førde</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanne Lund Madsen</td>
<td>Senior Advisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulla Gade Bisgaard</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Holmung</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karina Pultz</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrishti Rana</td>
<td>DIPD Representative in Nepal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khin Tazin Myint</td>
<td>DIPD Coordinator in Myanmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rune Lindegaard Andersen</td>
<td>Student (ending 1 June 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asger Hougaard</td>
<td>Student (starting 1 July 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Stange Ramsdal</td>
<td>Student (starting 1 August 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrid Helene Washing</td>
<td>Consultant KV13 (October–November 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie Skov Madsen</td>
<td>Consultant Folkemøde (March–July 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niels Pelle Wang Holm</td>
<td>Publicly funded academic staff (April–October 2013)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DIPD STAFF IN PARTNER COUNTRIES

DIPD multiparty partnerships and funding for these programmes are managed partly by the DIPD secretariat in Copenhagen and partly by staff members residing in the partner country.

The DIPD secretariat is fully responsible for the overall appropriations and the management of funds and contracts and to some extent also with regard to the implementation of all project activities together with partners. DIPD operates with different models of partnerships in various countries depending on the situation and political landscape. In most cases, DIPD operates through partners rather than having its own office. However, the exceptions are Nepal and Myanmar, where DIPD has recruited a local representative to manage all of the practical issues related to management and implementation of programmes.

In the case of Nepal, this is not least necessary because of the many training seminars organised by each of the political parties individually, often in places far away from the capital, as well as the larger conferences organised together. Managing the Steering Committee of the 6 parties involved in the partnership is also a major task; and making sure that activities follow the local rules and regulations is also a task which requires a lot of consultation, which cannot be managed from Copenhagen.

The set-up in Myanmar is necessarily different since most of the political parties are still new and in their formative stage, which requires that DIPD can respond in a flexible manner. Having a constructive dialogue with a large group of political parties requesting information is only possible with a local representative. In 2013, efforts have been made to establish a small permanent office, and this will hopefully materialize early 2014.
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