

INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S ANNUAL OUTCOME REPORT 2023



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Abbreviations

AACL	Arab Association of Constitutional Law
ANCL	African Network of Constitutional Lawyers
ANP	Assembleia Nacional Popular (Guinea Bissau)
CoP	Community of Practice
ConTransNet	Constitution Transformation Network
CRPH	Committee Representing the Union Parliament (Myanmar)
CSO	Civil society organization
ECSL	Election Commission for Sierra Leone
EFPML	Political School for Women Leaders (Paraguay)
EIP	Electoral Integrity Project
EMB	Electoral management body
EPD	European Partnership for Democracy
ERM	Electoral risk management
GDC	Global Democracy Coalition
GL	Gender Links
GSoD	Global State of Democracy
ICT	Information and communication technology
MTR	Mid-term Review
NEW	National Election Watch
NUCC	National Unity Consultative Council (Myanmar)
NUG	National Unity Government (Myanmar)
PLWD	People living with disabilities
PPRC	Political Parties Regulation Commission
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SVAs	Special voting arrangements
S4D	Summit for Democracy
TSJE	Superior Tribunal of Electoral Justice (Paraguay)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WPP	Women's Political Participation programme

Contents

Abbreviations	iii
Focusing on results within International IDEA's sphere of influence	1
International IDEA's inputs and outputs in 2023	3
Outcomes in the Democracy Assessment workstream.....	5
International IDEA supports <i>polymakers</i> and <i>policy influencers</i> to utilize International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to promote democracy and advocate for evidence-based democratic reforms.....	6
The private sector, civil society organizations, think tanks and academia use GSoD products to shape well-informed and constructive discussions on democracy.....	6
GSoD products influence democratic policies and reforms	8
Shaping development of the EU's external democracy action.....	10
Joint efforts shaped the European Commission's Defence of Democracy Package.....	11
International IDEA enhances gender equality as a prerequisite for democracy: 2023 Summit for Democracy agenda and beyond	13
International IDEA supports <i>media</i> outlets to use its democracy analysis, recommendations and data to inform the public about the state of democracy and hold decision makers to account	14
Media across the world use the GSoD data and analysis.....	14
Setting the news agenda on women's political participation in Southern Africa	15
Outcomes in Electoral Processes and Digitalization and Elections	17
International IDEA supports <i>electoral assistance practitioners</i> to provide contextualized support informed by norms, good practices and research on electoral processes, and digitalization and elections.....	18
Building an evidence base: International IDEA's electoral processes databases and dashboards	18
International IDEA supports <i>electoral polymakers</i> to consider risks, and digital opportunities and threats in electoral processes and support practices that foster inclusivity and accountability.....	20
From evidence to advocacy: Shaping global norms on elections	20

Lessons learned from elections during the Covid-19 pandemic inspire parliaments to undertake electoral reform.....	22
International IDEA supports electoral management bodies to recognize and respond to complexities, risks and digital opportunities, and threats to electoral processes, and to effectively implement the electoral cycle approach	23
Towards and beyond electoral risk management.....	23
Developing Ukraine’s capacity to manage post-war elections.....	24
International IDEA supports civil society to promote public participation in electoral processes while considering digital opportunities and threats, and demanding accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies	25
CSOs supported by International IDEA challenge electoral transparency in Mozambique’s 2023 municipal elections	25
International IDEA contributed to peaceful elections in Sierra Leone	27
Outcomes in Political Participation and Representation.....	29
International IDEA supports political parties to carry out their functions in such a way that they contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.....	31
Nurturing the next generation of female political leaders in Zimbabwe	31
International IDEA helps to set a record for the number of women in the Paraguayan parliament.....	32
International IDEA supports parliaments to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions to become transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens.....	33
The parliament in Guinea Bissau develops its capacity to push for constitutional reform	33
International IDEA and Helvetas support civil society and the parliament in Bhutan to institutionalize effective collaboration	35
Communities of practice: How to ensure impact that matters.....	36
International IDEA supports oversight agencies to monitor, prevent and mitigate the threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics	38
Protecting the integrity of online election campaigns in Moldova	38
Albania gears up for increased oversight of online campaign spending	39
International IDEA supports civil society to engage with representative institutions in an inclusive and effective way to improve public policy and practice, and to hold political decision makers to account	40
Building a global coalition to promote and defend democracy	40
Increasing visibility for the global democracy agenda at the UN	41

Supporting citizens to take political action in Peru	42
International IDEA boosts the confidence and advocacy skills of Indigenous Peoples' Champions in the Philippines	44
Outcomes in Constitution-Building Processes	46
International IDEA supports <i>advisers to constitution makers</i> to use its knowledge and networks to provide high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes	47
International IDEA partners with regional networks around the world as fora for knowledge and experience sharing	47
The Melbourne Forum on Constitution Building in Asia and the Pacific: Creating a network of regional experts	49
International IDEA supports <i>constitution makers</i> to apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices on constitutional design and processes	50
Supporting a peaceful transitional process in Chad.....	50
From discussion to action: The impact of women constitution makers' dialogues	52
International IDEA supports <i>civil society</i> to hold constitution makers accountable and promote inclusive public participation in constitution-building processes	54
Disability should not prevent anyone from being part of shaping Myanmar's new democratic constitutional framework	54
Annex A. International IDEA's impact objectives, impact indicators, boundary partners and outcome objectives.....	56
Annex B. International IDEA's Theory of Change.....	60
Annex C. Member States' contributions	61
About International IDEA	63

FOCUSING ON RESULTS WITHIN INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

International IDEA's results framework and system for learning-based management, which was approved by the Council of Member States in 2017, is informed by the latest thinking on and understanding of complex social and democratic change processes and inspired by theory of change¹ and outcome mapping² methodologies. Its focus is on mapping out what is often described as the 'missing middle' between what a project does and how its activities contribute to desired societal goals. It thus pays special attention to results that are within the Institute's sphere of influence; that is, *outcomes* in terms of changes in behaviour, relationships and practices by the institutions and actors the capacity of which International IDEA is seeking to strengthen. These 'target groups' are referred to in the results framework as *boundary partners*.³ In line with this framework, the Annual Outcome Report focuses its reporting on changes in behaviour, relationships and practices among the 16 types of boundary partners that International IDEA targets with its activities.

As these changes are complex and therefore difficult to quantify, the Report contains *qualitative* outcome narratives which describe how International IDEA has influenced boundary partner's relationships, behaviour and practice. The 30 stories in the Report do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results but are representative examples of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence, the stories should be regarded as indications or *qualitative*

¹ *Theory of change* is a comprehensive yet somewhat simplified description and illustration of how and why a desired change is expected to happen in a context. Through this approach, the link between activities and the achievement of long-term goals is more fully understood. This leads to better planning because activities are linked to a detailed understanding of how change happens. For more information, see <<http://www.theoryofchange.org>>.

² *Outcome mapping* is a methodology for planning, monitoring and evaluating development initiatives designed by the International Development Research Centre (Canada). As the name suggests, its niche is understanding outcomes—the so-called missing middle or black box of results that emerge downstream from a project's activities but upstream from longer-term societal changes. For more information, see <<https://www.outcomemapping.ca>>.

³ The term boundary partners come from outcome mapping. From a results perspective it is conceptually important to use a term that indicates that the actors and institutions whose capacity International IDEA aims to strengthen are actors rather than 'target groups'. International IDEA can inspire and support, but not compel, these actors to change relationships, behaviour and practices in accordance with good democratic practices. Hence, these actors are not passive recipients or targets of support, but active participants that are in charge of their change processes.

indicators of International IDEA's results. To mirror the wide range of work done by the Institute, each story is linked to a boundary partner and thereby to one of the 16 outcome objectives of International IDEA.

To clarify what an outcome aims to *contribute to* at the societal level, International IDEA has formulated impact objectives and indicators for change in three of its six workstreams: electoral processes, constitution-building processes, and political participation and representation. Depending on the context, activities within the workstreams on digitalization and democracy, climate change and democracy, and democracy assessment can contribute to achieving these impact objectives. The impact indicators comprise a mix of attributes, subattributes and indicators from International IDEA's Global State of Democracy (GSoD) indices.⁴

Finally, the impact objectives are linked to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) targets, which serve as overall goals for International IDEA's work. The most relevant SDG targets for International IDEA are: SDG 5.1, End all forms of discrimination against women and girls everywhere; SDG 5.5, Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life; SDG 16.3, Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels; SDG 16.6, Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels; and SDG 16.7, Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making at all levels.

As the ultimate achievement of the impact objectives and SDG targets depends on a complex web of societal and political processes that are beyond International IDEA's sphere of direct influence, it is not meaningful to claim such societal changes as results of International IDEA's activities. However, the use of these goals and indicators aligns International IDEA's objectives to the international development agenda and demonstrates a project's *relevance* from that perspective.

Annex A outlines International IDEA's complete results framework and shows how the impact objectives, impact indicators, boundary partners and outcome objectives are interlinked with each other. All the outcome stories in this Report are aligned with and mirror this results framework. Annex B outlines the Theory of Change that underpins the results framework.

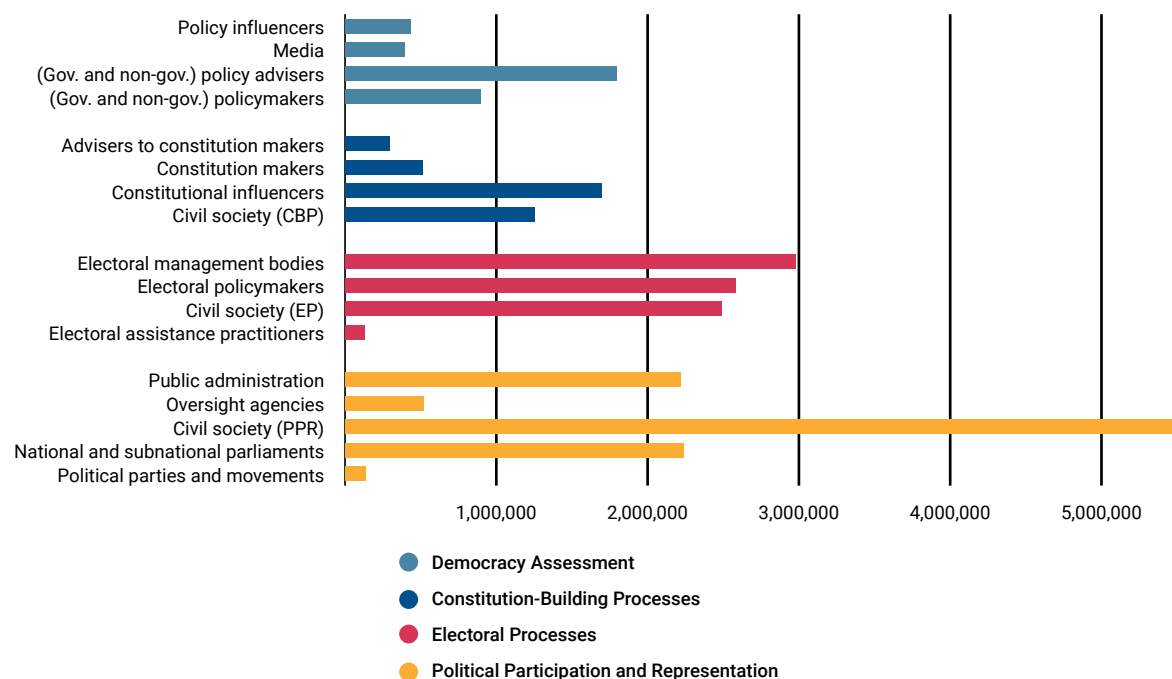
⁴ <<https://www.idea.int/gsod-indices/sites/default/files/gsod-indicators-and-sources.pdf>>.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S INPUTS AND OUTPUTS IN 2023

In 2023, International IDEA invested EUR 26.8 million in delivering activities aimed at inspiring and supporting the Institute's boundary partners to carry out their democratic functions more effectively. Figure 1 lists these investments by boundary partner.

This investment has been delivered through 52 restricted projects in addition to core funded products and services. International IDEA has grouped the core funded products and services into seven output categories and developed

Figure 1. International IDEA's investments by boundary partner in 2023



15 standardized output indicators. These measure the quantity of products and services delivered and how many men and women have been reached by International IDEA's activities across the core funded projects. International IDEA's outputs in 2023 are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. International IDEA's outputs in 2023

Output category	Output indicators	Total 2023
01. Publications Handbooks, thematic reports, translations, policy papers and training modules published by International IDEA or jointly with partners	01. Number of released publications	99
	02. Number of copies distributed	4,732
	03. Number of downloads of publications from International IDEA's websites	85,824
02. Communication products News articles, opinion pieces, press releases, films, social media posts and brochures produced by staff members and published either on one of International IDEA's websites or externally	04. Number of communication products	992
	05. Number of visits to individual webpages	2,303,743
03. Databases, and digital tools and platforms Data or interactive software made available on one of International IDEA's websites	06. Number of visits to databases via International IDEA's websites	303,536
	07. Number of external media mentions of International IDEA's databases	364
	08. Number of visits to digital tools and platforms via International IDEA's websites	39,428
	09. Number of countries from which visitors come	114
04. Events and dialogues Dialogues, network meetings, workshops, seminars, roundtables or conferences convened by International IDEA	10. Number of events and dialogues convened	198
	11. Number of participants	8,742
05. Training Teaching on skills, knowledge and tools	12. Number of trainings	32
	13. Number of participants	231
06. Advisory services On-demand consultations provided by International IDEA	14. Number of boundary partners that receive advice from International IDEA	4,771
07. Capacity development A process that takes place over a longer period with the purpose of assisting individuals and organizations to obtain, improve or retain the skills, knowledge and tools needed to do their jobs to a greater capacity; may include for example on-the-job training and coaching, advisory services, events and training, and the production of publications such as handbooks and manuals	15. Number of projects with restricted funding	52

OUTCOMES IN THE DEMOCRACY ASSESSMENT WORKSTREAM



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

Other databases include: the Voter Turnout Database, which is a leading resource for a wide array of statistics on voter turnout from around the world; the Electoral Management Design Database, which focuses on the management of electoral processes by electoral management bodies; the Direct Democracy Database, which provides global comparative data about how the mechanisms

International IDEA has published hundreds of publications on political parties, political finance, parliaments, citizens' engagement, electoral processes and constitution-building.

of direct democracy are organized in 197 countries; the Political Finance Database, which covers 180 countries and remains the only database and resource on political finance regulatory frameworks worldwide; and the Gender Quotas Database, a key global resource on gender quotas and their impact on the participation and representation of women and men in parliaments.

The Electoral Risk Management Tool seeks to build users' capacity to understand, analyse and mitigate electoral risks.

Among the Institute's most used digital tools are: the Electoral Risk Management Tool, which seeks to build users' capacity to understand, analyse and mitigate electoral risks; the Electoral Cycle Tool, which discusses the actions that should be taken by a wide array of actors throughout the electoral cycle; the IntegriTAS Threat Assessment Tool, which helps to detect potential connections between organized crime and politics; and the Digital Parties Portal, which enables political parties to find digital tools that can help them to become more effective. An online portal to electoral knowledge resources co-developed by International IDEA receives over 2 million visits per year,⁵ while the more specialized data sets receive 500,000 annual user visits. Lastly, International IDEA maintains ConstitutionNet, an online information portal that provides up-to-date news and analysis of constitution-building around the world, as well as thousands of items of background material. ConstitutionNet is the 'go-to' online resource centre in the field of constitution-building.

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

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *POLICYMAKERS AND POLICY INFLUENCERS* TO UTILIZE INTERNATIONAL IDEA'S DEMOCRACY ANALYSIS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND DATA TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY AND ADVOCATE FOR EVIDENCE-BASED DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

The private sector, civil society organizations, think tanks and academia use GSoD products to shape well-informed and constructive discussions on democracy

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Governmental and non-governmental policy influencers across the world use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to shape well-informed and constructive discussions on democracy.

Funding: Core funding and restricted funding from Germany, the European Union and the Bosch Foundation.

⁵ The Ace Electoral Knowledge Network, <<https://www.aceproject.org>>, accessed 19 February 2023.

International IDEA's Global State of Democracy Indices and reports, and the Institute's Democracy Tracker, aim to shape well-informed and constructive discussions on democracy. One of the groups of actors that International IDEA strategically attempts to guide with these products are policy influencers such as civil society organizations, think tanks, private sector entities, foundations, election watchdogs and trade unions.

Influential private sector organizations have begun to use data from the GSoD Indices. A German multinational company that develops software for business operations has made use of GSoD data as part of its human rights due diligence tool, and a major international bank based in the United States has used GSoD Indices data for its internal risk analysis and forecasting. In June 2023, Robert Bosch Stiftung featured a [piece](#) on the GSoD Initiative and the launch of the Democracy Tracker, and included a description of how the Tracker could be useful in the Summit for Democracy process.

Various civil society organizations and think tanks have also used the GSoD to influence debates. For example, a [policy brief](#) by Freedom House on the impact of Türkiye's electoral reforms on electoral integrity and fundamental freedoms cited Türkiye's regime type classification from the GSoD Indices. Another analysis of Türkiye from the Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy credited GSoD as 'fairly authoritative in its accuracy and coverage'. In March, the Atlantic Council published a blog post on democratic backsliding in Latin America, in which it [cited](#) the preface to the 2022 GSoD report by International IDEA's Secretary-General. In the Asia-Pacific region, the Australian Institute of International Affairs [cited](#) the GSoD Initiative when examining the role of 'middle power' states in international cooperation. The Lowy Institute has cited the GSoD Indices in two publications: the first [describes](#) the state of democracy in Bangladesh; and the second analyses the state of democracy in Indonesia in a [piece](#) on Australian democracy support in the Asia-Pacific.

In November 2023, a diverse group of Finnish stakeholders, which included representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the electoral management body, innovation experts, academia and civil society, attended a presentation on the GSoD report findings. The presentation sparked a vibrant conversation about a range of topics from the drivers of democratic decline to inequality, problems with freedom of expression, regulation of money in politics and much more. This conversation led to a discussion on plans for possible joint research projects in the future.

In addition, academic researchers and university students make use of GSoD Indices data in their research. Academic citations in 2023 include a [paper](#) by the Madras School of Economics and in the World Values Survey. Furthermore, authors at the Deakin University in Australia made use of GSoD data in a [paper](#) on 'Religions and the Global Rise of Civilizational Populism'; researchers at the Sophia University Institute, Figline e Incisa Valdarno, in Italy [cited](#) the GSoD in a paper on democracy and populism; the University of Education, Ghana, referenced the GSoD in a paper on democracy and development in Africa; Providence College examined the role of colleges and universities in building a more democratic society, drawing on the GSoD; and researchers at the

University of Iasi, Romania, cited the 2019 GSoD report in their examination of the relationship between participatory democracy and digitalization in Europe. Finally, the *British Medical Journal*, a weekly peer-reviewed medical trade journal published by the British Medical Association, cited the 2022 GSoD report in an article on Canada's pandemic response and future preparedness. The article references GSoD analysis in its argument that public mistrust in political processes and fractured societies led to a weakened pandemic response.

GSoD products influence democratic policies and reforms

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Governmental and non-governmental policymakers across the world use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to develop evidence-based democratic policies and reforms.

Funding: Core funding and restricted funding from Germany, the European Union and the Bosch Foundation.

International IDEA's Global State of Democracy Indices and reports, as well as the Institute's Democracy Tracker, seek to inform national, regional and international debates on democracy.

International IDEA's Global State of Democracy Indices and reports, as well as the Institute's Democracy Tracker, seek to inform national, regional and international debates on democracy, as well as decision making on democratic policies and reforms. The aim is to shape well-informed and constructive discussions as well as evidence-based decision making on democratic governance.

In addition to producing the Indices, the Tracker and analyses, International IDEA has participated in public events to promote awareness of the GSoD data. In particular, the Institute's engagement around the Summit for Democracy was useful for improving the GSoD's visibility and helped to put the report on the map for the launch of the Deliberative Democracy Cohort. Engagement with the EU has also been fruitful. The Secretary-General participated in a European Parliament meeting on external EU democracy action in March 2023, while Gentiana Gola moderated a session at the Youth European Parliament in June 2023. Seema Shah and Atsuko Hiraoka presented the Democracy Tracker to a group of staff at the EU's External Action Service in December. The Democracy Assessment team collaborated with the Regional Europe Programme on a presentation showcasing recent trends from the Democracy Tracker in the Eastern Partnership countries to the European Council COEST Working Party, a forum dedicated to EU relations and cooperation with Eastern European countries.

Staff members have also made presentations on the GSoD in national fora. Seema Shah presented the GSoD report and the Democracy Tracker to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in October, sparking a great deal of interest in the findings and in the use of the Tracker. USAID has asked for further training on how it can use the Tracker as part of

its monitoring and evaluation toolkit. Alexander Hudson presented the GSoD report and Democracy Tracker to a hybrid audience of more than 60 officials from Global Affairs Canada (GAC). GAC's Democracy Division reported using GSoD Indices data in its work and making use of the structure lent by the GSoD conceptual framework. The engagement in Ottawa generated a lot of interest in the GSoD, and participants expressed enthusiasm for beginning to use the Tracker in Ottawa and in embassies abroad.

International IDEA strategically attempts to influence policymakers with these activities, from heads of state and government to government officials, members of parliament, and officials in supranational institutions and international organizations. There are plenty of examples of how high-level policymakers referenced the GSoD in 2023. For example, two separate pieces by Maia Sandu, President of Moldova—an op-ed in *The Economist* and a chapter authored for the Robert Schuman Foundation's annual [Schuman Report on Europe: State of the Union 2023](#)—made reference to the 2022 GSoD report. Former South African President Thabo Mbeki [cited](#) analysis of social contracts in the 2022 GSoD report in a lecture delivered at the Association of Foreign Relations Professionals of Nigeria in July 2023. Moreover, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) drew on findings in the 2022 GSoD report to illustrate the theme 'When Democracies Autocratise' in its *Signals Spotlight 2023*, an inaugural report designed to look ahead to future trends and forecast their impact on development.

Examples of supranational institutions leveraging the GSoD to justify democracy assistance efforts include a [citation](#) by Dubravka Šuica, European Commission Vice President for Democracy and Demography, who drew on GSoD analysis as an impetus for coordinated action at the official launch of the Cohort on Deliberative Democracy and Citizens' Assemblies at the Summit for Democracy. Moreover, a [blog post](#) by Josep Borrell, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, made reference to the 2022 GSoD report in a call for the EU to continue to support democracy.

There is evidence that national governments also make use of analysis from the GSoD Initiative. In addition to how Global Affairs Canada uses the GSoD conceptual framework and data, the Finnish government's [decision](#) on a new democracy policy, which was approved in November 2022, references the 2021 GSoD report and an official at the Ministry for Internal Affairs in Kosovo reported that he found an explainer on legal gender recognition very helpful in developing Kosovo's Civil Status Law. The GSoD foresight report for Asia and the Pacific, which forecasts various future scenarios for democracy in the region, was consulted by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency's (Sida) Department for Asia, Middle East and Humanitarian Assistance. The Department sought a briefing on the report from International IDEA for Sida staff and Swedish embassies and section offices in the region to inform their analysis in the context of its relevance to Swedish development cooperation. There has also been interest in both the annually updated quantitative GSoD Indices and the monthly updated qualitative Democracy Tracker data sets. For example, a representative from a US university studied

the GSoD Indices and consulted International IDEA on how to apply the methodology in Latin America, as part of a project conducted with the US State Department.

Shaping development of the EU's external democracy action

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Policymakers and other stakeholders within the European Union and beyond use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to shape the EU's external democracy action.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from Sweden.

Between April 2022 and September 2023, International IDEA partnered with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs on a project to formulate policy recommendations on improving the EU's external democracy action. By bolstering relationships with EU policymakers using knowledge products, policy advice, advocacy and communication activities, the project enabled participatory and informed dialogues on democracy in Brussels and beyond.

In the research and consultation phase, the project team convened six regional dialogues to gather the views of 104 civil society representatives from 52 countries and conducted semi-structured interviews with 41 democracy stakeholders. Besides individual meetings, interviews and regional dialogues, major outreach was conducted at a full-day conference to launch the recommendations report, *The EU's External Democracy Action in a New Geopolitical Reality*, on 31 January 2023. Some 195 participants from EU institutions, EU Member States, International IDEA Member States, partner countries and civil society discussed how to defend and promote democracy, and how to bolster EU policies to embed the democracy agenda more squarely at the heart of the EU's strategic interests.

After the conference, the project made 17 presentations to key EU institutional stakeholders to disseminate the findings and recommendations of the report. These exchanges sought to anchor the project's recommendations within the EU institutions. Close cooperation and coordination with the Swedish Presidency of the Council of the European Union greatly facilitated access.

Following publication of the report, the recommendation on adjusting the EU narrative on democracy to the new geopolitical reality garnered significant support and interest. International IDEA subsequently supported the organization of an informal meeting of the European Council Working Party on Human Rights, chaired by Sweden. The workshop at International IDEA's headquarters brought together 57 participants from the 27 EU Member States,

the European External Action Service, the Varieties of Democracy Institute, and International IDEA.

Moreover, the project developed policy advice on the content of and procedure for the Mid-term Review (MTR) of the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy 2020–2024 and offered ideas on the next iteration of the EU Action Plan. These recommendations were channelled to policymakers and policy advisers at different stages of the MTR, using various interlocutors to achieve impact. In June 2023, the EU published a Joint Staff Working Document on the Mid-term Review of the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy, 2020–2024. This official document, which summarizes the MTR findings, contains 12 recommendations by the project and reflects International IDEA's global democracy assessments captured in the 2022 GSoD.

The project increased and broadened interaction with EU policymakers, policy advisers and policy influencers. International IDEA's office in Brussels has since been approached on multiple occasions for further contributions connected to the EU's external democracy policy, thereby ensuring the long-term impact of the project.

Joint efforts shaped the European Commission's Defence of Democracy Package

Outcome and funding

Outcome: EU policymakers use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to develop the European Democracy [Action Plan](#), the EU [Regulation](#) on online political advertising and the European Union's Defence of Democracy Package.

Funding: Core funding.

Since 2019, International IDEA's Europe Programme has been a key partner of the European Commission's Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers (DG JUST), contributing insights on development of the EU's domestic democracy policies, such as the European Democracy [Action Plan](#), the EU [Regulation](#) on online political advertising and the [Defence of Democracy Package](#). The Institute's efforts to influence the formulation of the Defence of Democracy Package in collaboration with partner organizations were particularly successful. The Package was adopted by the European Commission on 12 December 2023. It aims to ensure transparent democratic space and promote free, fair, resilient and inclusive elections in Europe.

During the process of developing the Package, International IDEA and the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) organized a series of joint advocacy initiatives in 2022 and 2023. Through these efforts, International IDEA garnered the support of 12 organizations and research centres for a

[Joint Letter](#) to the European Commission on priorities linked to the objectives and scope of the Package. Building on this momentum, deliberations were held with an expanded group of partners, resulting in a Joint Civil Society and Democracy Organizations' [Priorities Paper](#) on the Defence of Democracy Package, which was submitted to the relevant EU Consultation by International IDEA, the EPD and 44 organizations working in the field of democracy and human rights.

These initiatives prompted the European Commission to respond with a [Letter](#), co-signed by Vice-Presidents Věra Jourová and Dubravka Šuica, and Commissioner Didier Reynders, reiterating its commitment to defend democratic values and announcing an upgrade of consultations and an impact assessment on the Directive as a centrepiece of the Package. It also validated the collective contributions, underscoring support for a strong civic space as an indispensable component of resilient democratic and plural societies.

International IDEA's impact was particularly evident in the promotion of codes of conduct for fair and transparent campaigning. Commission Vice-President Věra Jourová referred to the need for a code of conduct in the context of the upcoming European elections in her speech to the EU High-Level Event on Elections on 23 October 2023, based on inputs from the Europe Programme. The Package's Recommendation on resilient elections actively encourages codes of conduct for elections and pledges on fair campaigning, offering detailed guidelines and suggested content. The Institute's inputs on international cooperation on elections were also reflected in the recommendation, which encourages national election networks to enhance their cooperation to counter threats, in particular by exchanging best practices in the framework of the European Cooperation Network on Elections.

Among the other joint recommendations and topics incorporated into the [Package](#) were the promotion of active citizenship and participatory democracy; investment in civic education, critical thinking skills and digital literacy training; strengthening the participation of young people in democracy; promotion of cybersecurity in elections, including for political parties; improvements in the transparency of EU decision making and related citizen feedback; the promotion of ethical political campaigning; and support for the exchange of best practices between EU Member States.

In sum, the collaborative efforts between International IDEA's Europe Programme, democracy partners and the European Commission have been instrumental in shaping the Defence of Democracy Package as a vital EU internal democracy policy. This advocacy has not only strengthened International IDEA's relations with partners and EU policymakers at various levels, but also helped to strengthen the Institute's reputation as a credible adviser to EU institutions, advancing democratic values and ensuring their continuous application in the European Union.

International IDEA enhances gender equality as a prerequisite for democracy: 2023 Summit for Democracy agenda and beyond

Outcome and funding

Outcome: The Summit for Democracy Gender Cohort uses International IDEA's convening power, democracy analysis, recommendations and data to influence the 2023 Summit for Democracy.

Funding: Core funding.

International IDEA is spearheading the institutionalization of advancing gender equality as an essential pillar of democracy, for instance by providing substantive technical support for coordination of the Summit for Democracy Gender Cohort to accomplish its mandate. Under the joint leadership of Sweden, Romania and the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, International IDEA supported the Gender Cohort's agenda setting by convening stakeholders' dialogues to define and make recommendations on actions to the 2023 Summit for Democracy and beyond. The overall goal of the Gender Cohort is to reinvigorate and sustain awareness of gender equality as a prerequisite for democracy on the global democracy agenda platforms to counter increasing anti-gender-equality forces.

The Gender Cohort [Statement](#) and [Roadmap of Recommendations](#) highlight the critical fundamentals that must be addressed if sustainable democracy is to be attainable:

- Socio-cultural norms and practices that define *inclusion* and entrench the challenges that women encounter in exercising their democratic right to participate and be represented in public life and leadership.
- *Legislative and policy frameworks* that shape opportunities and the ability to participate and be represented in democratic processes and institutions.
- *Conflict prevention, peace and security processes* that determine how a country or region addresses conflicts that have a disproportionate effect on women and girls. The participation and representation of women in all aspects of conflict prevention, peace and security processes are essential to enhancing women's safety and security, and strengthening democratic processes and institutions.

The Gender Cohort has also developed five [thematic policy briefs](#) for the hosts of the Summit for Democracy (S4D)—the USA, South Korea, Zambia and the Netherlands—on gender dimensions in the focus areas of the summit: free, fair and transparent elections, anti-corruption, youth, media freedom, and information and communication technology (ICT). The key principles of the

Gender Cohort have been incorporated into the Civil Society Cohort [Declaration of Democratic Principles](#) and call to action.

Furthermore, the Gender Cohort recommendations contribute to the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development's central and transformative promise to *leave no one behind* and underscore the need for gender equality and the empowerment of women in all spheres of life, most notably: SDG 5, Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; and the related target 5.5, Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS MEDIA OUTLETS TO USE ITS DEMOCRACY ANALYSIS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND DATA TO INFORM THE PUBLIC ABOUT THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND HOLD DECISION MAKERS TO ACCOUNT

Media across the world use the GSoD data and analysis

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Media outlets across the world use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to inform the public about the state of democracy and hold decision makers to account.

Funding: Core funding and restricted funding from Germany, the European Union and the Bosch Foundation.

International IDEA's Global State of Democracy Indices and reports, as well as the Institute's Democracy Tracker, seek to inform national, regional and international media reporting on democracy. The aim is to shape well-informed media reporting and support media to be able to hold policymakers to account on democratic governance.

Outreach to media has increased since the launch of the 2021 GSoD report, and hundreds of media outlets have been targeted with information about the report and the GSoD Indices. Direct outreach to media has proved more effective than blanket press outreach. For example, an AP journalist present at the launch of the Democracy Tracker in April 2023 published coverage of the new platform on a subscription service for news agencies, which was subsequently picked up in regional and local news outlets, including the Turkish media outlet [Bianet](#), [Africa News](#), [Africa Global Village](#), and [The Herald Ghana](#). Politico subsequently included a description of the Democracy Tracker in the 28 April 2023 edition of the Brussels Playbook, as well as a link to the platform.

In the second half of 2023, the GSoD report and Indices were mentioned or cited in published media around the world from Albania to Venezuela. Major newspapers and broadcasters cited the GSoD report, including an opinion piece on ‘America’s Thirst for Authoritarianism’ in the *New York Times*, interviews with the Secretary-General on the front page of the *Financial Times* and on the BBC News flagship *The World Tonight*, and coverage of the ‘super-election’ year ahead in 2024 in the *Washington Post*. Other mentions range from a feature on exiled journalists reporting from outside their home countries in [Niemman Reports](#) to commentary on ‘authoritarian drift’ and international law in [The Japan Times](#), and examinations of gender equality and economic renewal in the [Christian Science Monitor](#).

A series of articles on the ‘Shape of Democracy’ was published in *Sankei*, one of the leading newspapers in Japan, in which the first piece referenced the GSoD Indices and published a description and visual of the Conceptual Framework to explain how International IDEA measures and analyses democracy. The series covered the struggle to protect democracy; autocratic countries that ‘pretend’ to be democracies and survive by using elections; distrust in politics; social media and politics; and representation. The GSoD also made it to the front page of the digital and paper editions of *El País*, one of the most influential Spanish-language newspapers, in an article on ‘Signals of alarm for the world’s democracies’. The article includes quotes from International IDEA’s Secretary-General as well as graphs from the 2022 GSoD report. An [article](#) on disinformation and democracy published in *The Conversation* cites the 2022 GSoD report in an examination of the destabilizing effect of disinformation on democratic systems.

Setting the news agenda on women’s political participation in Southern Africa

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Media in Southern Africa promotes women’s political participation.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from Sweden.

With funding from International IDEA’s Women’s Political Participation programme (WPP), funded by Sweden, one of the Institute’s local partners—Gender Links (GL)—embarked on inspiring and supporting a strong team of journalists and editors in Southern Africa involved in creating news content and influencing the news agenda on issues linked to barriers to women’s political participation: women’s effective participation; constitutional quotas; gender and elections; and media and ICT. These media engagements have helped to diversify how politics is covered, moving away from traditional coverage that mostly features the voices and perspectives of male politicians with little or no coverage of women in politics.

The media training has generated many news stories, directly derived from the discussions and learning. Training essentially moved from 'conference room discussion' to news headlines with a new angle of women in politics. Peer learning and sharing were key components of how journalists not only aligned with the discourse in which their media counterparts were operating, but also created opportunities to learn from media colleagues' experiences in their countries of how to ignite fresh ideas on how best to enhance women's political participation.

Through training and the production of stories, the initiative helped to strengthen the voices of women politicians and local community members, as some journalists sought stories from rural communities that would otherwise not have made it on to the news.

Through training and the production of stories, the initiative helped to strengthen the voices of women politicians and local community members.

The training and the resulting outputs encouraged discussion on women's political participation, as some journalists continued to publish their work on social media. This increased the reach of their articles and allowed feedback on their stories from their audiences and readers. Their stories can be read beyond national borders, which opens up a wider scope and audience. The initiative strengthened journalists' interest, and they continue to publish their stories on women in politics and share them with colleagues in the region through a networking platform on WPP media reporting and the WhatsApp group created by GL.

OUTCOMES IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND DIGITALIZATION AND ELECTIONS



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

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

and consider risks in elections and to create an enabling environment for inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes, this will create an environment for electoral management bodies and civil society to develop knowledge and skills on electoral processes; and

- if electoral management bodies increase knowledge and skills on electoral processes and digitalization and elections, and apply these competencies to effectively respond to complexities and risks in electoral processes, implement the electoral cycle approach, and embrace principles of impartiality, integrity, transparency, efficiency, and professionalism in their work; and
- if civil society then increases knowledge and skills on electoral processes and digitalization and elections, and applies these competencies to effectively demand accountability from policymakers and promote public participation in electoral processes; then...

... political institutions will become more effective, accountable and transparent (SDG 16.6) and all citizens would be more politically included (SDG 10.2); and then the likelihood of credible and well-run electoral processes would be strengthened.⁶

This chapter focuses on results in the four boundary partners that International IDEA is targeting in electoral processes. As these changes are complex, the Report provides qualitative outcome narratives, in which a description is given of how International IDEA has influenced each boundary partner's relationships, behaviours and practices. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results in the area of electoral processes, but are *representative examples* of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence, the stories should be regarded as *qualitative indicators* of International IDEA's results.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE PRACTITIONERS* TO PROVIDE CONTEXTUALIZED SUPPORT INFORMED BY NORMS, GOOD PRACTICES AND RESEARCH ON ELECTORAL PROCESSES, AND DIGITALIZATION AND ELECTIONS

Building an evidence base: International IDEA's electoral processes databases and dashboards

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Electoral assistance practitioners use International IDEA's databases, dashboards and publications to provide contextualized electoral support informed by norms, good practices and research.

Funding: Core funding.

⁶ This theory of change is illustrated in Annex B.

International IDEA produces databases, dashboards and publications to support decision making by a wide range of electoral stakeholders, such as electoral assistance practitioners, electoral policymakers, electoral management bodies and civil society organizations. These products serve as a repository of knowledge for electoral assistance providers in particular.

Many of International IDEA's most sought-after publications, such as on *Electoral System Design*, *Electoral Management Design* and, more recently, *Elections during Emergencies and Crisis* and the *Handbook on Special Voting Arrangements*, build on the trusted evidence base in International IDEA's databases and dashboard. The most recent *Handbook on Special Voting Arrangements* draws on data that can be found at <<https://www.idea.int/data-tools/tools/special-voting-arrangements>>.

In 2023, International IDEA's seven databases on electoral processes were viewed by more than 230,000 users from across the globe. The Voter Turnout Database leads the list with user groups in academia, the media and other stakeholders. A specific page on compulsory voting in the Voter Turnout Database attracted more than 70,000 visitors in 2022. Given that compulsory voting raises many debates, the interest in the Institute's data on the topic has always been significant. The Voter Turnout data is cited in academic research published in peer-reviewed journals such as *Electoral Studies* and *Political Behaviour*, and news articles published by CNN and *Dagens Nyheter*, among others, and online publications. A search in Google Scholar reveals that at least 36 papers have quoted International IDEA's database. Google Scholar also shows that the Institute's publication on voter turnout has been cited by 233 papers since its publication in 2017.

The ICTs in Elections Database is in second place for page views and media mentions, and the question of e-voting is the most popular among the users of this particular database. This is probably because of the popularity of this topic among all types of election stakeholders in recent years. In 2022, the number of visitors to the specifically designed e-voting page was 45,000 in Brazil alone, probably because of the hot debates around the topic in the country in 2022.

Moreover, several external organizations have approached International IDEA to be granted use of data from the electoral processes databases, such as Gothenburg University, the Varieties of Democracy project, the Natural Resource Governance Institute, Bristol University Press and the University of New Mexico. In 2023, a new qualitative dashboard, the Global Election Monitor, was launched to complement International IDEA's quantitative databases on elections with cross-country qualitative analysis. The Global Election Monitor, which was inspired by a similar dashboard on Covid-19 and Elections, contains a series of summaries on national elections with a focus on risks to electoral integrity and resilience-building measures.

**In 2023,
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INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *ELECTORAL POLICYMAKERS* TO CONSIDER RISKS, AND DIGITAL OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND SUPPORT PRACTICES THAT FOSTER INCLUSIVITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

From evidence to advocacy: Shaping global norms on elections

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Electoral policymakers use International IDEA's norm-setting concepts and approaches to consider risks, and to support electoral practices that foster inclusivity and accountability.

Funding: Core funding.

Professional norms and standards evolve in response to new challenges and spread globally in various ways. International IDEA is part of both these journeys—developing standards on electoral management built on evidence (quantitative ‘what is’ and qualitative ‘what works’) and advocating for these standards globally through communities of practice and knowledge products.

For global norms to shift behaviour, there needs to be an underlying ‘framing concept’ that resonates and gains traction with the professional and policymaking community. These framing concepts influence professional discourse, behaviour and relationships. The following five terms coined by communities of practice convened at International IDEA exemplify the shaping of a ‘language’ of electoral management—a language that, in turn, influences global norms on what an election can and should look like.

The term ‘EMB’ for ‘electoral management body’ was coined by International IDEA staff in 1995 when trying to convene a disparate group of International IDEA Member State agencies that included everything from influential electoral commissions in India and Australia to electoral tribunals in Costa Rica and Chile, and modest government divisions in Europe. The ‘stickiness’ of the acronym is evident in its standard usage in both academic and professional literature. An EMB has come to symbolize an electoral authority that behaves as an institution of governance that thoughtfully safeguards and enables electoral democracy.

The electoral cycle approach, developed by International IDEA and the European Commission in 2005, is a visual planning and training tool to help understand the cyclical nature and challenges of electoral processes. Reframing elections as a continuous, recursive process—investing in the ongoing electoral processes rather than in specific electoral events—has fundamentally shifted the planning habits of donors, international electoral assistance providers and national policymakers.

The electoral risk management (ERM) package of products and tools

promotes and supports recursive ‘deliberating, doing, reflecting’ habits and norms in all areas of electoral processes. The capacity-building work of International IDEA builds on the professional art of predicting and acting in an environment riddled with minefields or things that can go wrong. The ERM package has provided EMBs, civil society organizations, external observers of the electoral process, security and government officials and political actors themselves with tools to form a composite picture of areas of weakness, trigger points and fault lines.

Special voting arrangements (SVAs). The Covid-19 pandemic accelerated the trend towards alternative forms of voting that take place outside of polling stations (such as postal voting) or outside of election day (advanced voting). A challenging logistical event even under ordinary circumstances, the pandemic forced tough trade-offs between democratic continuity and public health. The rapid introduction of untested or scaled-up voting systems exposed gaps and weaknesses in legal frameworks, political leadership, administrative capacity and critical infrastructure in elections worldwide. However, resilient and resourceful authorities and citizens adapted to radically new conditions through inter-agency cooperation and rapid adjustments to special voting arrangements that helped at-risk citizens vote safely. Characterized by unprecedented openness to information sharing and learning across borders, this unique moment led to often overdue reform and adjustment to modern contexts. The term ‘SVA’, coined by International IDEA when engaging with EMBs during this period, has become part of the professional terminology guiding reform of electoral practice.

Protecting elections. As the challenges to democracy become more fast-paced and complex, threats to elections are multiplying. These come from sources as diverse as pandemics, cyberattacks, climate events, armed conflict and a simple lack of resources. International IDEA has moved from optimism about the global spread of high-quality elections to a position of grave concern and a focus on protecting the quality of elections. This ‘protection’ mindset shifts the emphasis from the centrality of election management bodies to a more inclusive approach that recognizes the roles of numerous and diverse actors in electoral success. This new approach extends far beyond the polling station, the counting room and the ballot box. From public health authorities enabling service continuity during a pandemic to civil society groups defending the independence of electoral rules, the global norms or ‘expectations’ of credible elections result from the cooperation and commitment of many stakeholders.

Lessons learned from elections during the Covid-19 pandemic inspire parliaments to undertake electoral reform

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Electoral policymakers use lessons from the Covid-19 pandemic to consider risk and support practices that foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes.

Funding: Core funding.

On 5 May 2023, after more than 770 million confirmed cases and nearly 7 million deaths, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the end of Covid-19 as a global health emergency. WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus stated that it was a time for deep reflection, as Covid-19 continued to leave 'deep scars on our world'. He also emphasized the need for the global community to learn from mistakes in order to be ready to respond to the next pandemic.

As part of this learning agenda, International IDEA and the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) published *Elections during Emergencies and Crisis: Lessons for Electoral Integrity from the Covid-19 Pandemic*, which contains thematic analysis using cross-national studies and 26 case studies outlining lessons from holding elections during the pandemic. The book also makes 11 evidence-based recommendations on protecting electoral integrity in future emergencies. During the launch of the book, at a conference organized by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in cooperation with the Swiss Parliament in Bern, participants released a final declaration that endorsed many of International IDEA and the EIP's recommendations on the need for election reform in the face of likely future emergencies and crises.

Since its launch in May 2023, the book has been the most downloaded on International IDEA's website. It is also cited in a USAID report, *Elections and Political Processes Adaptions During Covid-19*, as a 'notable contribution' to the extensive literature on the topic.

More broadly, International IDEA's work on how to conduct elections during emergencies has been developed into a workstream on how to conduct elections during natural disasters and how to protect elections in times of democratic backsliding.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT BODIES* TO RECOGNIZE AND RESPOND TO COMPLEXITIES, RISKS AND DIGITAL OPPORTUNITIES, AND THREATS TO ELECTORAL PROCESSES, AND TO EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENT THE ELECTORAL CYCLE APPROACH

Towards and beyond electoral risk management

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Electoral management bodies across the world use International IDEA's Electoral Risk Management Tool to recognize and respond to complexity and risk in elections.

Funding: Core funding.

It was the 10th anniversary of International IDEA's Electoral Risk Management Tool (ERM Tool) in 2023, which was launched at the 2013 Global Election Organization conference in Seoul, South Korea, following a period of tests by civil society organizations in Sri Lanka and Columbia, and pilots by EMBs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kenya.

The launch was just the start of a decade-long journey in which supporting EMBs and learning from such engagements intertwined. The technical and advisory support provided to the Election Commission for Sierra Leone (ECSL), technical training for the staff at the Independent Electoral Commission of Botswana and expert inputs for the Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine represented important moments in efforts by these EMBs to strengthen electoral integrity.

At the same time, the Electoral Processes team continues to develop new resources on the topic of risk management in elections. Following on from its [Electoral Risk Management Policy Paper](#) (International IDEA 2018) and [Guide on Risk Management for EMBs](#) (International IDEA and the Australian Electoral Commission 2021), the Institute is launching the third in the series of widely used guides on risk factors in electoral processes. A forthcoming *Guide on Internal Risk Factors* accounts for emerging process-related risks while a *Guide on External Risk Factors* links with the [Global State of Democracy Model](#). Following customization of these Guides to the G5 Sahel Region in 2020, new customized publications are currently being prepared for the West Africa region.

There is evidence that International IDEA's work on electoral risk management provides benchmarks for practitioners. One recent example is a publication by the Finnish Ministry of Justice, which is mandated to organize Finnish elections, on the [Resilience of the Electoral System](#) (Vaalijärjestelmän

resilienssi, Oikeusministeriö 2022:20).⁷ This notes that 'Risk management in the Ministry of Justice can be described as comprehensive. It is in line with International IDEA's vision regarding different types of risk, their classification and assessment. However, there is room for improvement, especially in terms of consistency, documentation and specifying areas of responsibility'.

As International IDEA's work on electoral risk management progresses, the Institute is exploring new grounds and partnerships. The [Discussion Paper on Protecting Elections \(2023\)](#) outlines the importance of and avenues for increased use of risk management, resilience-building and crisis management methods in elections. The concept attracted the interest of the Government of Canada, which generously contributed funds to the [Protecting Elections Project](#). This commenced with an [expert meeting](#), in which a group of 26 experts from EMBs, international organizations and academia provided inputs that strengthened and validated the project's key concepts and implementation steps. International IDEA subsequently formed partnerships with several electoral authorities worldwide—including Finland, Mauritius and Panama—on joint in-depth learning through testing and pilots.

Developing Ukraine's capacity to manage post-war elections

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Electoral policymakers and the Central Election Commission of Ukraine prepare to effectively recognize and respond to the complexities and risks, and effectively implement the electoral cycle approach in organizing post-war elections.

Funding: Core funding.

Ensuring Ukraine's capacity to conduct credible and well-run elections will be paramount for ensuring the legitimacy of the Ukrainian state.

Ensuring Ukraine's capacity to conduct credible and well-run elections will be paramount for ensuring the legitimacy of the Ukrainian state. This, in turn, will be vital for sustaining the country's democratic development and successful reconstruction.

The next elections will face unprecedented challenges. A significant part of the electoral infrastructure has been damaged and millions of voters will have to cast their votes in foreign locations. Direct and hybrid attacks on Ukraine's physical and cyber electoral infrastructure and disinformation in social media will no doubt intensify.

In planning the post-war elections, the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Ukraine and other state authorities have mapped war-related damages and analysed electoral risks. However, revising the current ad-hoc approach

⁷ Oikeusministeriössä tehtävää riskien hallintaa voi kuvata kattavaksi. Se on sopusoinnussa IDEA:n näkemyksen kanssa koskien erilaisia riskityyppejä, niiden luokittelua ja arviointia. Kehitettävää kuitenkin löytyy etenkin johdonmukaisuuden, dokumentaation ja vastuualueiden täsmentämisen osalta. Translated from Finnish to English, <<https://www.onlinedoctranslator.com>>.

to electoral risk management and developing a new, systemic approach is urgently needed.

In response to a request from the CEC of Ukraine, International IDEA introduced and tailored its Electoral Risk Management Tool (ERM Tool), to meet the CEC of Ukraine requirements. Subsequent training on the use of the tool led the CEC of Ukraine to tailor and develop a fully-fledged ERM Tool for Ukraine. Further steps will include a full tailoring of the system and training and information sessions for a broad group of CEC of Ukraine and other state agency representatives.

To support the CEC of Ukraine in preparing for large-scale out-of-country voting (OCV) in post-war elections, International IDEA and the European Parliament have also co-organized a [high-level dialogue](#) with EU member state electoral authorities. In line with the Dialogue's recommendations, International IDEA continues to support the Ukrainian CEC and other state bodies in undertaking regular thematic consultations with potential host countries and Ukraine's diaspora across Europe. These consultations include dialogues between the CEC of Ukraine and electoral management and other state bodies in the countries with high numbers of Ukrainian refugees.

Through these activities, International IDEA aims to support the CEC to develop robust electoral risk management capacity, establish effective inter-agency coordination for electoral risk management, and build a feasible model for out-of-country voting. With the delivery of these outputs, International IDEA's aim is to enable electoral policymakers, the CEC of Ukraine, and other key electoral stakeholders to effectively recognize and respond to the complexities and risks in the preparatory phase and during the organization of the post-war electoral process.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *CIVIL SOCIETY* TO PROMOTE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES WHILE CONSIDERING DIGITAL OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS, AND DEMANDING ACCOUNTABILITY FROM POLICYMAKERS AND ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT BODIES

CSOs supported by International IDEA challenge electoral transparency in Mozambique's 2023 municipal elections

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Citizen-led electoral observers promoted public participation in the municipal elections in Mozambique and demanded accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from the European Union.

Mais Integridade is a consortium of seven civil society organizations (CSOs) working in election observation established in 2022 in response to a call for technical assistance made by International IDEA in Mozambique. It was the only civil society platform to carry out electoral observation in all phases of the 2023 municipal elections in Mozambique.

International IDEA supports Mais Integridade in the context of its six-year 'Support to the Consolidation of Democracy in Mozambique' programme, funded by the European Union and the Austrian Development Agency. This aims to improve the quality of election observation by civil society as part of efforts to improve the transparency and integrity of electoral processes.

Although there had been some coordination between CSOs in previous domestic election observation, these efforts were limited and there had been no active coordination platforms since the 2019 general elections. It was therefore important to establish a new platform to ensure independent domestic observation of elections for the 2023–2024 electoral cycle.

Initially, International IDEA played a key role in bringing these organizations closer together. Later, the Institute provided substantial support to develop a strategic plan, a code of conduct and an internal procedures manual. This support helped to stabilize the consortium and contributed to its successful observation of the local elections in 2023 and preparations for the upcoming general and provincial elections in 2024.

With a network of 1,689 observers spread all over the country covering 25 per cent of all voting stations, the consortium was able to produce independent evidence-based reports on the electoral process in a politically tense and sometimes hostile context. Mais Integridade observed the electoral process from voter registration to the publication of election results. They carried out a parallel vote tabulation based on results made public at voting stations and established a strong communication strategy through press conferences and press releases. Thus, Mais Integridade contributed to improvement of election transparency by raising citizens' awareness of and participation in the electoral process, producing evidence-based, independent and neutral communication and reports, and providing a deterrent effect against incidents of electoral fraud on election day. Reports by the consortium were shared with the EMBs and made available to the public through online platforms used by political parties to support their litigation of official electoral results.

Mais Integridade demonstrated a high level of integrity and civil courage as it reported a high incidence of fraud throughout the electoral process. Their efforts had an unexpected result, as they did not contribute to improved voter or stakeholder confidence in the electoral process and its results. On the contrary, the consortium's reports highlighted the urgent need for electoral system reform to increase the credibility of the electoral process and results in Mozambique.

International IDEA contributed to peaceful elections in Sierra Leone

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Youth groups contributed to peaceful elections in Sierra Leone and citizen-led electoral observers demanded accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from the European Union.

Sierra Leone endured a decade of civil war in 1991–2002. The conduct of peaceful and credible elections is of the utmost importance to solidifying the country's path to a stable democracy. To support the country's efforts in this regard, International IDEA is implementing the Sierra Leone Democracy Strengthening Programme, a two-year programme funded by the European Union. The objective of the project is to facilitate conditions for inclusive, credible, transparent and peaceful electoral and post-election governance and legal reform in Sierra Leone by enhancing the capacities of Sierra Leone's two EMBs and independent constitutional institutions, and supporting CSOs, media outlets and citizen observers.

Despite these efforts, the outcome of the 24 June 2023 elections left unanswered questions regarding transparency and the credibility of the electoral and results management processes. It is noteworthy, however, that International IDEA's substantial support to the local election observation network, the National Election Watch (NEW), helped it to become the reference point for questioning the integrity and transparency of the election. Through International IDEA's support, NEW was able to use Process and Results Verification for Transparency (PRVT) to independently assess the official results released by the ECSL and raise questions around statistical inconsistencies in those results. Despite the questions of credibility, the elections were assessed as more peaceful than previous elections, notwithstanding various skirmishes and other isolated incidents of violence.

Interviews conducted in a mid-term review of the project by International IDEA concluded that the project's activities with youth groups contributed to peaceful elections, as these groups served as ambassadors for peace in high-risk areas across the country. The project included several other peace-building activities, such as messages on political tolerance, acceptance of the election results and the general peaceful conduct of citizens during the elections. These were very important in influencing people's behaviour, according to respondents interviewed for the review. The messages inspired young adults to make commitments to accept the election results and conduct themselves in a peaceful way. Some of the young people participated in town hall meetings and were trained to encourage and inspire more people to make similar commitments.

Messages promoting peaceful and non-violent participation were also developed by the project and broadcast by local radio and television stations to raise awareness of the electoral system and the importance of peaceful campaigns and coexistence before, during and after the elections. Moreover, International IDEA and the Political Parties Regulation Commission (PPRC) organized a two-day peace promotion float parade that took place in Sierra Leone's 16 administrative districts on 22 June, and across its five regional cities on 23 June, with the aim of promoting unity and cohesion among different stakeholders, engaging young people as agents of peaceful elections and promoting collaboration among stakeholders on collective efforts to achieve peaceful elections.

Respondents in the mid-term review confirmed that such multistakeholder events contributed positively to the creation of a peaceful environment around the elections and to inspiring peaceful conduct on election day. PPRC Executive Secretary Olushogo David attested to the usefulness of these efforts: 'The interventions of International IDEA have significantly complemented our institutional mandates. From aiding in our communication strategy to empowering youth through training, their support has been commendable. One standout initiative has been the assistance in organizing the peace promotion float parade'.

OUTCOMES IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION



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

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

- if national and subnational parliaments increase their knowledge and skills, and apply these competencies to exercise their legislative, oversight and representation functions effectively, they become more effective, accountable and transparent as well as more responsive, inclusive and participatory; and
- if national and subnational governments increase their knowledge and skills, and apply these competencies to become more responsive to constituents, use increased knowledge to make evidence-based policy decisions, and explain their decision-making processes to their constituents, government will become more effective, accountable and transparent as well as more responsive, inclusive and participatory; and
- if oversight agencies increase their knowledge and skills, and apply these competencies to monitor, prevent and mitigate threats to democracy and threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics, by carrying out investigations, applying sanctions when needed and proposing legal reforms to hold political decision makers to account, political institutions become more effective, accountable and transparent; and
- if public interest groups increase their knowledge and skills, and apply these competencies to engage with representative institutions in a democratic and effective way and to hold political decision makers to account, political institutions become more effective, accountable and transparent, and public policy and practice become more responsive to the needs of all citizens; then...

... the political ecosystem is in balance; political institutions will be effective, accountable and transparent (SDG 16.6); decision making by legislators and government will be responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative (SDG 16.7); all citizens will be politically included, regardless of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status (SDG 10.2); and women will be politically included and have equal opportunities for political leadership (SDG 5.5). In such a political ecosystem, the legitimacy of the political institutions would be strengthened, which would reduce tensions and conflicts in society.⁸

This chapter focuses on reporting results among the four boundary partners that International IDEA is targeting in political participation and representation. As these changes are complex, the chapter presents qualitative outcome narratives, where a description is provided of how International IDEA has influenced each of these boundary partners' relationships, behaviours and practices. These narratives do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results in the area of political participation and representation, but are *representative examples* of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence, the stories should be regarded as *qualitative indicators* of International IDEA's results.

⁸ This theory of change is illustrated in Annex B.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *POLITICAL PARTIES* TO CARRY OUT THEIR FUNCTIONS IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY CONTRIBUTE TO A PARTY SYSTEM THAT IS INCLUSIVE, RESPONSIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE TO ALL CITIZENS

Nurturing the next generation of female political leaders in Zimbabwe

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Political parties in Zimbabwe take steps to develop a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to women.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from Sweden.

Using funding from International IDEA's Women's Political Participation programme, funded by Sweden, one of the Institute's local partners—Padare—created a platform to discuss what the main political parties in Zimbabwe will do to ensure that there are more women candidates for electoral positions and influential party positions. The leaders of the three main political parties initially met individually within their party structures and Padare prepared information packages to guide the discussions in those meetings. The meetings established what strategies political leaders have for supporting women in their political parties to contest the 2023 elections, shared strategies on how political parties can improve women's meaningful political participation and influence political party leaderships to publicly speak out on violence against women during electoral and political processes.

In a parallel activity, Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) has supported women leaders to take advantage of new opportunities. One participant in these activities, Beauty Musasa from Murewa district, a small township 86 km from Harare, is motivated by an aspiration to become a leader but fears breaking social norms. Beauty has campaigned for male candidates and previously seen herself as not qualified to be a candidate. When she was introduced to WLSA's leadership training programmes, however, her life completely turned around: 'Growing up, we were taught to only vote for male leaders and to shun women in politics. The training was mind transforming as my perspective on women leaders changed and I began to understand that women have equal rights with men. I no longer allow anyone to undermine me and I accredit this newfound knowledge and confidence to WLSA'.

After the empowerment programmes, in a bid to stand up against inequality in the township, Beauty began to advocate for women's political participation. She created safe spaces for women in her community where they could discuss gender-based violence and child marriage, and they were able to address their views and perspectives in a culturally sensitive manner. The women became more vocal about their rights and less fearful of adverse

outcomes. As a transformative feminist leader, Beauty has worked tirelessly to advance women's rights in her ward where she is now regarded as a mother figure through her resilience in protecting the vulnerable.

Among her multiple wins as a female leader, Beauty has managed to advocate for the electrification of her ward. In 2022 she was elected Secretary for Administration in her ward for the Zanu-PF party. Through Beauty's leadership in her community, a progressive movement is under way. She can see the influence of her work creating a powerful community of young women who are resilient and confident to take over political space. In the upcoming 2023 elections, Beauty aspires to become a councillor for the Murewa Local Authority. She has vowed to bring about more change for the betterment of her ward and district.

International IDEA helps to set a record for the number of women in the Paraguayan parliament

Outcome and funding

Outcome: The Superior Tribunal for Electoral Justice in Paraguay supports practices that foster inclusivity in electoral processes by training women political leaders.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from the European Union.

Six years of close collaboration between International IDEA and the Gender Policy Unit at the Superior Tribunal for Electoral Justice (TSJE) in Paraguay has gradually generated results. The two institutions have developed the Political School for Women Leaders (EFPML), which is organized by the Gender Policy Unit and implemented in close coordination with International IDEA, as well as other initiatives to strengthen women's leadership and political empowerment.

The training of women to promote greater participation in and access to decision making in public and political life was one of the axes of the International IDEA programme in Paraguay, developed with the support of the European Union between 2017 and 2020. This priority was a response to the structural and cultural barriers women face in accessing popularly elected positions and high-level decision-making positions. Although the primary aim was to have an impact on the 2021 municipal and 2023 general elections, the longer-term objective is to strengthen capacities for women's political participation more generally.

In recent years, the TSJE has organized 10 editions of the EFPML, as well as courses for pre-candidates and candidates. These programmes are now part of the TSJE's institutional policies and will continue in 2024. Through these initiatives, 668 women leaders have received training. Beyond the numbers,

these programmes have given visibility to women in the political debate. In the five elections conducted in 2023, 33 per cent of the candidacies were women and 23.5 per cent of elected congress members were women. This is a record number of women elected to the Paraguayan Parliament.

No institution can claim sole credit for this result but the project's efforts have without doubt helped to create a more conducive environment for women in politics. This conclusion is supported by the voices of some of the women who participated in the EFPML. For example, one participant said that 'the school helped us to strengthen our self-esteem, to take politics seriously, to professionalize politics', whereas another noted that the training 'gave me an opportunity to access and develop the tools necessary to face the complex challenges of entering the political arena'.

These testimonies show the importance of training to being able to access political positions. For women who have been marginalized from public and political life for so long, political training is even more important as it helps to build self-confidence and develop political networks.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *PARLIAMENTS* TO EXERCISE THEIR LEGISLATIVE, OVERSIGHT AND REPRESENTATION FUNCTIONS TO BECOME TRANSPARENT, INCLUSIVE, RESPONSIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE TO ALL CITIZENS

The parliament in Guinea Bissau develops its capacity to push for constitutional reform

Outcome and funding

Outcome: The parliament in Guinea Bissau uses its constitutional and oversight powers to push for constitutional reform.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from the European Union.

Since its independence from Portugal, Guinea Bissau has suffered political instability and power struggles between the president and parliament, demonstrated by the May 2022 and December 2023 dissolutions of parliament. The Assembleia Nacional Popular (ANP) had improved its oversight practices and tools, introduced changes to enhance its internal accounting systems and reviewed its internal procedures and legal frameworks. Members voted unanimously to put their draft constitutional revision on parliament's agenda. Parliamentary staff report that parliamentarians' attitudes to the role of parliament in oversight and its relations with the executive had been changing.

Inter Pares supported these changes through its peer-to-peer partnership between the ANP and the Portuguese Parliament. The project used politically sensitive programming responsive to the political context and partners' needs to build capacity through peer-to-peer support, including exchanges to expose participants to how norms and culture shape parliamentary effectiveness, training to build knowledge and skills, and advisory support that drew on participants' own knowledge and skills to produce concrete, relevant tools.

First, the Portuguese Parliament trained ANP members and staff on the legal framework for committee oversight in Portugal, the various tools that commissions use for oversight and the tools it uses—especially the *Nota Técnica*, a technical report that committee staff prepare on the bills that commissions will be analysing.

Second, the partnership provided support to the ANP's constitutional revision process through a multiparty mission to Portugal to conduct an article-by-article review of technical and legal language used in the draft revision. Supported by two eminent constitutional experts with significant experience of working in Guinea Bissau and other countries, the group examined the draft to review the clarity and conformity of all 315 articles. Parliamentary deliberations and discussions on the draft took place in Guinea Bissau in April and May, when the full multiparty commission reviewed the draft. As a result, on 5 May 2022, the MPs agreed by a unanimous vote to place the proposed revised constitution on parliament's agenda.

The draft was not voted on, however, because the President of Guinea Bissau dissolved parliament on 13 May 2022. The presidential decree stated that parliament had become a space for guerrilla warfare and conspiracy aimed at weakening the institutions of the republic, and for providing MPs accused of corruption with parliamentary immunity, and that it had rejected the supreme audit institution's accounting oversight.

A nuanced context analysis suggests that the ANP's efforts to use its constitutional and oversight powers may have motivated the dissolution. Even though constitutional revisions are the purview of parliament, the president had organized a separate commission to prepare a draft revision, which would have reinforced executive branch powers rather than clarify the separation and balance of powers. The May 2022 dissolution had also happened shortly after specific instances of the ANP exercising its oversight role by formally objecting to the president having signed international treaties without consulting parliament, as mandated in the constitution. The new parliament elected in June 2023 again declared its intention to vote on a revised constitution.

After the 2023 dissolution, the project organized a study visit with five cross-party MPs from the permanent commission, which is still operating despite the dissolution, and six staff members to observe the Portuguese Parliament's budget sessions. They observed budget negotiations where ministers attended parliament and interacted respectfully, even collaboratively, with

parliament. Delegates mentioned that watching the professionalism of MPs and government officials who attended the final debates changed their minds about parliamentary oversight and how the Guinea Bissau system should function—even stating that ‘this kind of support has the potential to transform the ANP-GB’s functioning’.

In June 2023, the president’s party lost its majority and faced another parliamentary vote on the parliament’s draft constitutional revisions. In December 2023, the president proclaimed that armed clashes linked to investigations into misused funding by the finance secretary and treasury minister constituted a coup d’état. He dissolved parliament even though article 94 of the constitution states that the ANP may not be dissolved in the 12 months following an election. New elections cannot be called until one year after the last elections.

When parliament starts using its oversight to ensure transparency and due process, as in the case of the ANP, it can signal democratic progress. At the same time, more effective use of parliamentary powers can provoke an executive backlash to curtail parliament and democratic processes.

International IDEA and Helvetas support civil society and the parliament in Bhutan to institutionalize effective collaboration

Outcome and funding

Outcome: The parliament in Bhutan becomes more transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable by developing its practices for communicating with citizens and CSOs.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from the European Union.

Until the 1950s, Bhutan was an absolute monarchy. In the second half of the 20th century, its monarchs increasingly divested themselves of their powers and in 2007 the king began the transfer of governmental authority to a constitutional monarchy with a popularly elected, multiparty parliament. The country’s first official elections were held on 31 December 2007.

In response to an invitation by the Election Commission of Bhutan, International IDEA started work in Bhutan in 2012 with earmarked core funding provided by Norway. Since then, the Institute has supported the EMB, the parliament and civil society in various initiatives with a combination of core and restricted funding from Norway and the European Union. Throughout these years, core funding has been key to remaining active, and managing and developing relationships with various actors between projects. Core funding has thus been a precondition for and an enabler of all the results achieved to date.

As democracy in Bhutan was established as late as 2007, significant work remains to be done before all its intricate processes and institutions are fully developed. One aspect that is underdeveloped is the role of civil society. This is currently regarded and treated as more of a service provider than an institution that can be a source of information for both citizens and government, provide valuable input to or offer alternative policies for government, monitor the government's implementation of policies and actions, and hold the government accountable. A further challenge is that civil society has been exposed to criticism in the media, which has led to a situation in which many citizens, parliamentarians and civil servants have a negative perception of the sector.

Parliament has an important role in strengthening its cooperation with civil society and creating an enabling environment for its work. It is willing to do so but still needs to develop the skills and methods needed to interact with CSOs in a constructive way and reach out to citizens effectively. The EU has therefore provided funding for a project that provides support to these institutions, to be implemented by International IDEA and Helvetas.

The most significant outcome of the project is that the CSOs have strengthened their relationship with the parliament in a co-created Parliament–CSO Collaboration Strategy, supported by International IDEA. This is an important step in institutionalizing effective engagement. Another key outcome is that media reporting on civil society has changed for the better in 2023, and it is highly likely that the project's activities with journalists have contributed to this result. In addition to improving relationships with policymakers and the media, the project has helped CSOs to strengthen relationships with each other. During the course of the project, CSOs began to undertake joint advocacy.

Interactions between parliament and CSOs have improved over the course of the project. MPs and parliamentary staff say that International IDEA has helped to improve their confidence to conduct public hearings and communicate strategically. With support from the Institute, parliament has launched a new website and a Parliamentary Resource Management System. These new tools are expected to be fully implemented in 2024.

Parliament is the core institution of representative government in almost all democratic governance systems.

Communities of practice: How to ensure impact that matters

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Parliaments, parliamentary organizations and donors cooperate and learn from each other in the AGORA Parliamentary Development Community of Practice.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from the European Union.

Parliament is the core institution of representative government in almost all democratic governance systems. However, prioritization of parliamentary development has been challenged by multiple crises, the rise of populism and geopolitical tensions.

Following rejuvenation of the AGORA parliamentary development web portal, a group of implementers led by the Inter Pares project and including the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, the German Bundestag, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, the UNDP and the Directorio Legislativo, launched the AGORA Parliamentary Development Community of Practice (AGORA PD CoP). Having acknowledged the importance of re-establishing parliamentary development as a key component of governance development work, the newly established CoP aims to rebuild links between parliaments, parliamentary organizations and donors.

The CoP creates valuable space for professional development and interaction while also providing space to discuss cutting-edge issues. Hence, AGORA PD CoP seeks to highlight and share innovative practices while also helping to ensure the level of funding necessary for effective support to these key democratic institutions.

Putting parliament at the heart of its work, the active CoP brings together representatives from diverse institutions that do not normally interact to share knowledge and perspectives. In 2021–2023, AGORA PD CoP held five discussions and welcomed around 700 participants to these events. The most recent learning event welcomed 198 participants from 65 countries: 52 per cent parliamentary staff, 14 per cent from non-governmental organizations/ intergovernmental organizations, 17 per cent from academia and 17 per cent representing other audiences.

The CoP now stands as a self-sustaining multi-partner initiative, with AGORA acting as its secretariat. The CoP Working Group, which is formed by representatives from parliaments, parliamentary development organizations, academia and experts, convenes regularly to plan and carry out the work of the CoP. One of the ways in which the community reaches out to a wider audience is organizing public, primarily online discussions, with International IDEA through the Inter Pares project finding itself in the lead on the discourse on parliamentary development. Implementing Inter Pares has therefore proved to be an avenue for International IDEA not only to expand on its parliamentary practice, which had been hosted exclusively in the regions, but also to set itself apart as an innovative convener, filling an obvious gap in the creation of dialogue and new knowledge on parliamentary strengthening.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *OVERSIGHT AGENCIES* TO MONITOR, PREVENT AND MITIGATE THE THREATS POSED BY BOTH ILLEGAL AND ILLICIT MONEY IN POLITICS

Protecting the integrity of online election campaigns in Moldova

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Oversight agencies in Moldova exchange experiences with peers in Eastern Europe to monitor, prevent and mitigate threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics.

Funding: Core funding.

Increasing use and misuse of digital technologies in electoral campaigns opens both new opportunities and challenges. This is particularly so in Eastern European democracies, where illiberal, anti-democratic political actors misuse digital tools to spread mis- and disinformation and influence voters. They use hateful language and polarizing tactics aimed at defaming democratic political actors, ridiculing fundamental principles of democracy, and sowing distrust towards the democratic system among ordinary citizens. Importantly, all such practices exploit the current regulatory vacuum on political campaign finance, the lack of regulation of online advertising platforms, and the lack of effective monitoring tools. Moreover, no systematic coordination to build resilient defences against such practices exists between state and civil society. These weaknesses enable perpetrators to avoid accountability by withholding information about their identity, volume of campaign expenditure and sources of financing.

Utilizing its convening power with an aim to mobilize political will among state authorities in Moldova and from across the region, International IDEA co-hosted a high-level conference on online political campaigning. The conference, opened by the president of Moldova, Maia Sandu, gathered over 45 senior policymakers from across the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood and EU member states. The conference was the first high-level dialogue of members of parliament, oversight bodies, civic groups, and large online platforms across the region to specifically focus on tackling online harms. The event showcased the EU's bold new approach to regulating the transparency of political advertisements and the need for the candidate countries to consider adopting similar approaches.

The conference showcased Moldova's progress in assessing its policy gaps in countering online threats to electoral integrity and served to further mobilize the will of its policymakers to push for more reforms. Preceding the conference, the Institute delivered a needs assessment of the current monitoring practices and provided a set of recommendations for reform. Furthermore, a hands-on training workshop co-hosted with Facebook/Meta

explained how to integrate insights from online libraries into the monitoring toolbox of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) of Moldova. Equipped with a new expertise and guidance, the CEC of Moldova is now able to better analyse the online libraries and use the data for case referrals for further inquiry and investigation. CEC of Moldova has also initiated discussions on legal reforms that would protect the integrity of online campaigning.

Albania gears up for increased oversight of online campaign spending

Outcome and funding

Outcome: The Central Election Commission (CEC) and leading CSOs in Albania develop practices to monitor, prevent and mitigate the threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics.

Funding and co-implementation: Rule of Law Centre of Finland.

Throughout 2023, International IDEA's Regional Europe Programme and the Money in Politics unit in Global Programmes continued to work closely with the Rule of Law Centre of Finland to support the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Albania and leading CSOs to increase the transparency of political finance in the country.

For the May 2023 local elections, the CEC of Albania piloted an online platform for political finance disclosure, which was built with input and expertise from International IDEA and the Rule of Law Centre. Introduction of the platform enabled political parties to submit their financial reports online and is expected to enable the CEC of Albania to publish its reports online in a timely and user-friendly manner. This project ultimately helps to position Albania's political finance regulatory regime as one of the most transparent systems in the region and beyond.

In the lead-up to the electoral campaign, the Institute and the Rule of Law Centre, together with the CEC of Albania, hosted a peer-to-peer dialogue between renowned international CSOs and local actors, facilitating an exchange of experiences on how to maximize the use and advantages of digitalized reporting and disclosure. The event, which drew considerable media attention, was important in promoting the online disclosure platform that the CEC of Albania was piloting and flagged greater oversight of political donations and expenditure from the outset of the electoral campaign. Notably, it tackled a set of burning topics such as the challenges of navigating large amounts of data, how political finance disclosure prevents corruption (lessons from other European countries) and collaboration between EMBs and CSOs in electoral campaign monitoring.

International IDEA and the Rule of Law Centre's joint work in this field is also producing welcome ripple effects in the region. The publication and the

expertise provided to the CEC of Albania have informed the decisions of the CEC of Kosovo, which is undertaking a similar process of digitalization of political finance reporting and disclosure.

In parallel, in 2023 International IDEA and the Rule of Law Centre of Finland, together with the CEC of Albania, expanded their work into another pressing political finance transparency area that requires regulation—online campaigning. Through their expertise and engagement with election experts, CSOs and political party finance officials, the Institute and the Rule of Law Centre are providing state of the art knowledge on trends in regulating the oversight of online campaigning in Europe and beyond.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *CIVIL SOCIETY* TO ENGAGE WITH REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN AN INCLUSIVE AND EFFECTIVE WAY TO IMPROVE PUBLIC POLICY AND PRACTICE, AND TO HOLD POLITICAL DECISION MAKERS TO ACCOUNT

Building a global coalition to promote and defend democracy

Outcome and funding

Outcome: 116 democracy organizations in the Global Democracy Coalition promote democracy and undertake joint advocacy for democratic reforms.

Funding: Core funding and restricted funding from the Bosch Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

The Global Democracy Coalition (GDC) was convened by International IDEA in 2021, ahead of the first Summit for Democracy (S4D). Since then, the coalition has grown into a worldwide network of more than 116 democracy organizations, coordinated by International IDEA in collaboration with partner organizations.

The GDC's most successful activity in 2023 was its active engagement with the second Summit for Democracy, organized by the government of the United States and co-hosted by the governments of South Korea, Costa Rica, the Netherlands and Zambia. As part of this effort, the GDC collaborated with key stakeholders such as the US National Security Council in the White House, USAID, the US State Department, the Costa Rican government and various international organizations. This engagement secured the GDC two spots in the plenary session of the summit, featuring two videos: one giving voice to [Democracy Defenders](#) in authoritarian contexts and the other showcasing the work and pledges of the [GDC](#). These videos captured the essence of the GDC's work and commitment to democracy and aimed to inspire and engage a global

audience of policymakers, CSOs and media outlets to promote and defend democracy.

Other successful GDC initiatives were the [Global Democracy Coalition Forum](#) and [Partners for Democracy Day](#). The Global Democracy Coalition Forum attracted around 300 in-person attendees from the GDC and provided a dynamic platform for knowledge-sharing and collaboration among diverse stakeholders dedicated to advancing democracy. The specific aim was to provide a space for inclusive dialogue to strengthen relationships between partners and collectively prepare inputs to inform the Summit for Democracy discussions, but also to generate collective ideas for a post-summit process. The Forum provided a valuable space to discuss progress on S4D commitment implementation, to take [collective stock of the state of democracy](#) since the first summit, to make pledges to support democracy ([GDC pledges](#)) and to generate recommendations for the [second summit](#) and a [post-summit process](#).

One of the key recommendations was to engage civil society in the plenary discussions and to help them develop relationships with decision makers at the summit. The Forum demonstrated the coalition's ability to foster strong partnerships and promote active engagement and influence the behaviour and practices of coalition members. In addition, the coalition's leadership of initiatives such as [Partners for Democracy Day](#) provided a platform for civil society, academia and the private sector to contribute to the global democracy debate. All these efforts showcased how active participation in and around global fora on democracy can leverage cross-sectoral expertise, foster partnerships, engage a broad spectrum of stakeholders in and outside of civil society, and contribute to shaping the discourse on and practice of democracy in multilateral spaces.

Increasing visibility for the global democracy agenda at the UN

Outcome and funding

Outcome: International IDEA develops relationships at the UN to support civil society in promoting democracy and undertake joint advocacy for democratic reform.

Funding: Core funding.

The New York Office of the Permanent Observer for International IDEA to the United Nations works with member states and partner organizations in civil society and the multilateral sphere to advocate for greater visibility within UN fora for issues linked to the global democracy agenda. One of the main achievements of the programme in 2023 was to cooperate with CSOs on statements and events aimed at influencing decisions at the UN.

Throughout 2023, International IDEA was particularly vocal on the need to involve civil society in UN processes. With 16 negotiations and consultations on different tracks of 'Our Common Agenda', 2023 was a busy year for the UN. These consultations ranged from issues related to peace and security to digitalization, future generations, global governance, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and other emerging topics. International IDEA provided several statements for these consultations with the aim of advocating for the most basic democratic principle of all: the participation of civil society in these processes.

Moreover, International IDEA partnered up with several CSOs, including networks, to raise awareness of challenges to democracy around the world, including the impact of conflicts and coups, and the need for justice, peace and strong institutions as highlighted under SDG 16 (Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels). With a particular focus on the 2030 Agenda, International IDEA provided a voice for civil society to discuss the lack of progress on the SDGs and ways in which their implementation could be more effective. Events during the High-Level Political Forum, International Democracy Day and High-Level Week at the UN General Assembly were particularly important for bringing all stakeholders together to strengthen relationships, promote these values and highlight how partnerships are crucial to making transformative change in the world.

International IDEA will continue to advocate for the inclusion of civil society voices by explicitly addressing this issue in statements and by partnering with different organizations at high-level side events. This engagement has already provided deeper connections between our Member States and civil society, which contributes to more meaningful and powerful outcomes on resolutions, processes and discussions at the UN.

Supporting citizens to take political action in Peru

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Citizens in Peru engage with representative institutions to improve public policy and practice, and to hold political decision makers to account.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from USAID.

International IDEA started to work with core funding in Peru in 2002. Since then, the Institute has supported the EMB, political parties, parliament and civil society in various initiatives with a combination of core and restricted funding from donors such as Norway, Spain, the United Kingdom, USAID and the EU. During these years, core funding has been key to remaining active and to managing and developing relationships with various actors between projects

that attract restricted funding. Core funding has thus been a precondition for and an enabler of all the results achieved to date.

International IDEA is currently implementing projects with funding from the EU and USAID. One USAID project came to a close in 2023, with some tangible outcomes. For example, in 2022 and 2023 International IDEA formed a strategic alliance with the National Jury of Elections (Jurado Nacional de Elecciones) and Fe y Alegría to develop a toolbox for democratic citizenship, a pilot citizenship education programme designed with a focus on developing competencies and capacities through learning by doing.

Themes were identified in focus groups representing 3,440 students and 75 teachers from seven Fe y Alegría high schools in five regions. Based on these discussions, International IDEA developed a learning approach to three prioritized themes that was validated by the educational community. In accordance with the agreed approach, students identified and developed solutions to challenges of concern to them. Throughout this process, they met with key local actors such as local authorities, residents and specialists.

At the end of the pilot, the students developed and implemented projects with diverse solutions to the identified problems. The interventions were based on group questions that the students asked themselves, such as: How can we improve the quality of life in our environment? How do we turn this problem into an opportunity and put it at the centre of the local agenda? Who are our allies? The students involved teachers, parents and the local community in cleaning the central park in Tambo Grande. Moreover, the students held awareness talks with residents, highlighting the importance of maintaining clean spaces and citizen practices such as not throwing garbage in the street, taking care of everyone's spaces and using these spaces properly.

In another initiative funded by the same project, International IDEA supported CSOs that promote the rights of traditionally excluded people, such as the LGBTQIA+ community, people living with disabilities, and the Afro-descendant and Indigenous population in Peru. The Institute developed equality agendas with these groups, who subsequently presented their ideas to the elected municipal and regional authorities. These initiatives spurred local dialogue and debate led by CSOs in four regions, aimed at prioritizing problems and influencing inclusive policies and practices at the subnational level.

International IDEA, and its local partner Mas Igualdad, operationalized these discussions into seven proposals on how municipal and regional regulations could be improved to ensure political participation by marginalized groups. The proposals have been presented to four local governments and three regional governments. In parallel, the partners implemented media communication strategies with the aim of putting the same issues on the public agenda. The seven proposals are currently being debated and deliberated on.

In addition to raising awareness of the political rights of marginalized people, the project has created spaces for dialogue and consensus building between

local organizations, and strengthened the advocacy capacities of allied organizations.

International IDEA boosts the confidence and advocacy skills of Indigenous Peoples' Champions in the Philippines

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Indigenous Peoples' Champions in the Philippines engage with representative institutions in an inclusive and effective way to improve public policy and practice on Indigenous Peoples' rights.

Funding: Core funding and restricted funding from the European Union.

The Philippines has an estimated 14–17 million Indigenous peoples belonging to 110 ethno-linguistic groups. These peoples often live in conditions of social discrimination, economic marginalization and political disempowerment, which is a breeding ground for economic and social problems that can lead, and to some extents have led, to extremism and conflict.

To address these challenges International IDEA has funded and implemented the Indigenous Peoples' Champions for the Philippines project, which has been co-funded by the EU and implemented in cooperation with the Institute for Autonomy and Governance (IAG). The project aims to empower advocates (Indigenous Peoples' Champions) to demand rights and inspire institutions at the national and subnational levels to uphold these rights. An important aspect of the project has been to help the Indigenous Peoples' Champions to analyse the Philippine Constitution from the perspective of Indigenous peoples' rights, through International IDEA's Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Constitutions Assessment Tool (IPCAT).

This work has been undertaken in two particularly important and conflict-ridden regions of the Philippines: the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, which is currently in the process of establishing political autonomy after many years of armed conflict; and the Cordillera Administrative Region, which has also had a history of conflict and where the Cordillera People's Liberation Army has fought and campaigned for greater autonomy since 1972.

International IDEA's evaluation of the project shows that the Indigenous Peoples' Champions have increased their confidence to speak publicly and voice their opinions in a non-aggressive manner. Over the course of the project, they initially exercised these skills in their own communities but gradually moved into regional and national advocacy. Moreover, several of the Champions argue that they have become more strategic in their advocacy on social media.

As the Champions strengthened their role in their communities, increased cooperation and networking with and learning from each other and improved their advocacy skills, they gradually developed relationships with governmental decision makers locally, regionally and nationally. The extent to which they can use these opportunities to influence decision making more substantially remains to be seen.

It is too early to assess whether the project is sustainable, but it has helped the Indigenous Peoples' Champions to establish a platform for joint action and improve their advocacy skills. It is also evident that many of the Champions have boosted their commitment to fight for Indigenous peoples' rights. Moreover, some of the more experienced Champions have experience of fundraising within established CSOs. Thus, as a group, the Champions have the commitment and the skills to advocate for their rights after the project ends, but they will need to work together to be able to do so effectively. The fact that they have frequent contact with each other, and that Indigenous Peoples' Champions in the Cordillera Administrative Region intend to register as a CSO, are positive indications that they may indeed continue to cooperate after the project ends.

OUTCOMES IN CONSTITUTION-BUILDING PROCESSES



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

- if advisers to constitution makers utilize International IDEA's knowledge and networks to expand coordination and collaboration to advance good practices in constitution-building processes, they can effectively inspire and support constitution makers and civil society to constructively engage in inclusive constitution-building processes, and constitution implementers to implement the constitution under agreed constitutional frameworks; and
- if constitution makers increase their knowledge and skills on constitution-building and apply these competencies to design a well-informed inclusive constitution-making process; and

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

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

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

... tensions and conflicts in society are likely to reduce.

This chapter reports results from the four boundary partners that International IDEA is working with on constitution-building processes. As these changes are complex, the Report provides qualitative outcome narratives, which describe how International IDEA has influenced each of these boundary partner's relationships, behaviour and practices. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results in the area of constitution-building processes but are *representative examples* of what the Institute has done and achieved. Hence the narratives should be regarded as *qualitative indicators* of International IDEA's results.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS ADVISERS TO CONSTITUTION MAKERS TO USE ITS KNOWLEDGE AND NETWORKS TO PROVIDE HIGH-QUALITY ADVICE AND ADVANCE INCLUSIVE PRACTICES IN CONSTITUTION-BUILDING PROCESSES

International IDEA partners with regional networks around the world as fora for knowledge and experience sharing

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Advisers to constitution makers across the world use International IDEA's knowledge products and professional networks to provide high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.

Funding: Core funding.

National ownership of constitution making is crucial. Perhaps no act is as sovereign as making a constitution, and constitutions must be adapted to their context, something only national stakeholders can truly understand. However, constitution makers are usually embarking on the task for the first time in a generation, and comparative knowledge and experience can be helpful for making better informed decisions. Expertise and experience sharing by neighbouring or historically affiliated countries—which often share comparable challenges, characteristics and constitutional cultures, and are often members of the same regional or subregional entities—can be particularly beneficial and is often more helpful than advice from further afield. To address this, International IDEA partners with and supports several regional networks around the world as fora for knowledge and experience sharing, capacity building and the development of regional expertise.

In Africa, International IDEA partners with the African Network of Constitutional Lawyers (ANCL), which focuses on the development of democratic constitutionalism in African countries. An International IDEA staff member is currently the Vice President of the ANCL, which in 2023 led a project to promote and safeguard constitutional democracy with a focus on term limits. The Institute regularly supports the ANCL's biennial conferences and has co-organized webinars on critical developments in constitutional law in Africa.

In the Arab region, the Arab Association of Constitutional Law (AACL) was co-founded by an International IDEA staff member in the wake of the Arab regional revolutions, as a response to the need for comparative constitutional knowledge in the region. The AACL has held numerous conferences and events, including an annual capacity-building academy, and established the region's first comparative constitutional law journal. AACL members are regularly called on by the United Nations to provide technical assistance.

In the Asia and Pacific region, International IDEA, together with the Constitution Transformation Network (ConTransNet) at Melbourne Law School, co-founded the Melbourne Forum on Constitution Building in Asia and the Pacific. The Melbourne Forum is a network and annual event that brings together advisers, scholars and practitioners directly involved in constitution-building and implementation in their countries across the region. The regional insights generated from the Melbourne Forum are published in Constitutional INSIGHTS briefs. ConTransNet is separately supporting a Swedish Expert Group for Aid Studies to study the effectiveness of constitution-making assistance worldwide.

In Eastern Europe, where democratic progress is fragile and constitutional review and revision have often been motivated by incumbents' political interests rather than strengthening democracy, International IDEA has partnered with a select group of constitutional design experts, scholars and practitioners to establish a Network for the Promotion of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe. The Network, which has members in Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, aims to foster regional exchanges and learning on strategies, good practice and lessons in constitution-building, proofing

constitutional and institutional frameworks against risks of backsliding and fostering greater civic constitutional literacy. Since its launch in 2022, Network members have provided expertise to the Armenian Constitutional Review Commission, among other things. The Network held its second meeting in Yerevan in 2023, when it reviewed ongoing reforms and challenges in the region focusing on constitutional and institutional underpinnings and strategies for judicial independence, integrity of electoral processes and civil liberties.

In addition, for the past three years International IDEA has facilitated monthly online meetings between scholars and constitutional advisers in Latin America on developments in the region. These meetings have served as a high-level forum for the exchange of opinions among leading experts. This informal network has also provided advice and support to Chile's constitutional processes on numerous occasions in the recent past. International IDEA will continue to expand this network and is examining ways in which the network can be formalized in the future.

The Melbourne Forum on Constitution Building in Asia and the Pacific: Creating a network of regional experts

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Constitution makers in Asia and the Pacific to use International IDEA's knowledge and professional networks to provide high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.

Funding: Core funding.

The Melbourne Forum on Constitution Building in Asia and the Pacific is a flagship annual event and network organized by International IDEA and the Constitution Transformation Network at the Melbourne Law School. Each forum takes a theme of current global importance in constitution-building to explore from diverse perspectives across the region. The invited participants are advisers, scholars and practitioners directly involved in constitution-building and implementation in their respective countries.

Eight fora have been held since 2016, in Melbourne, Manila, Colombo and Yangon, and two fora online in 2020 and 2021. In this time, the fora have brought together over 90 experts from over 30 countries across Asia and the Pacific to share their experience of constitution-building.

One significant outcome has been the establishment of a regional community of practice of experts in constitution-building. Members of this community draw on each other for advice and expertise, sometimes directly but at other times through the Constitution Transformation Network and International IDEA. International IDEA has also drawn on this community when seeking expert

analysis of country or thematic issues and for engagement in comparative dialogues to assist constitution-building processes across the region.

The Melbourne Forum methodology emphasizes learning from the ground up, which contributes new ideas to practice and research in comparative constitutional studies, as Afiya S. Zia highlighted at the Seventh Melbourne Forum on Constitution Building: 'Constitution experts could learn from us at the Melbourne Forum just as we have learned about the importance of constitutional thinking. And I think that it is that two-way street that is incredibly valuable and unique about the Melbourne Forum—the interdisciplinary nature of it is something that really works'.

Another outcome of the Melbourne Forum is the generation of knowledge on constitutions and constitution-building that is firmly based on the context and experience of peoples in the region. Insights from discussions at each Melbourne Forum are disseminated in three ways:

- a [written report](#) on each forum;
- the [Constitutional INSIGHTS](#) series, which analyses key issues from each forum in an accessible and practice-orientated way; and
- multimedia platforms, such as [video interviews](#) that capture insights directly from participants and share them with a broader audience.

The knowledge generated helps to assist people and organizations engaged in constitution-building across Asia and the Pacific.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *CONSTITUTION MAKERS* TO APPLY INCREASED KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS TO MAKE INFORMED CHOICES ON CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND PROCESSES

Supporting a peaceful transitional process in Chad

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Transitional authorities in Chad applied increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices on constitutional design and processes.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from the European Union.

Following the death of President Idriss Déby in April 2021, a military transitional committee seized power. In response, the African Union Peace and Security

Council dispatched an assessment and mediation team. A Transitional Charter to draft a new constitution and organize elections established a National Transitional Council. To further support the transition, an Inclusive National Dialogue Organizing Committee was established to prepare and organize a National Dialogue.

In this context, International IDEA implemented a project funded by the EU to support preparations for constitutional and electoral reform in an inclusive manner. To achieve this anticipated result, activities were implemented to provide technical assistance to and capacity development of the Ministry of National Reconciliation and Dialogue and the Ministry of National Reconciliation and Social Cohesion. According to a respondent from the Transition Government who participated in a Lessons Learned study undertaken by International IDEA, the support provided by the Institute was crucial: 'We had a task but no plan. It was International IDEA that came to our rescue and organized a series of training events, retreats and workshops that helped us anchor ourselves'.

The project also strengthened the capacity of political parties and movements to participate in the National Dialogue. According to the project staff interviewed for the Lessons Learned study, the intermediate outcome of this activity was that political parties enhanced their knowledge of how to improve the inclusiveness of the transitional process. These insights guided actions. According to a female member of an opposition party: 'Following the training our political party leaders understood that radicalism does not change much. Now the president of the party together with the members have changed strategy—they work with the government to be able to influence from the inside'. These steps to forging harmony were reiterated by a high-ranking government official: 'We are just beginning the process of democracy. With the training and the guidance offered, International IDEA helped us inculcate a culture of tolerant democracy'.

Alongside the support to Transition Authorities, the project contributed to the inclusivity of the agenda setting in the National Dialogue by strengthening the capacities of citizen movements, the diaspora and civil society. Activities included training on constitutional and electoral reform, and technical assistance and advisory services to support the formulation of stakeholders' positions on some of the key issues that would be negotiated in the National Dialogue.

Stakeholders interviewed for the Lessons Learned study argued that International IDEA's role as a convener and mediator had been useful. Respondents from civil society agreed that the project had been instrumental in rapidly mobilizing various groups of Chadians, especially when violence broke out in October 2022. Women, elders, youth groups, political parties and transitional government staff were taken through training to enhance their capacity to support social cohesion and promote peaceful coexistence. Respondents reported that the training and mediation meetings were highly effective at reducing the tensions that had arisen. Besides the dialogue-related

mediation, the project helped to reduce tensions around electoral processes, as a Transitional Authority respondent in the Lessons Learned study confirmed: 'When the electoral process started, there were big problems with political parties and other associations. If the project had not supported dialogues between actors there could have been tensions which could have been chaotic for the country'. Similar testimonies were given by members of political parties.

Over the course of the project, International IDEA brought together various political and social players and the transitional government and encouraged them to reopen their conversations. Political parties were engaged with in workshops to prepare them for their full involvement in the electoral process, and for working in synergy to fully play their role in raising awareness and engaging citizens in the ongoing reform processes. These engagements consequently helped to reduce divides and build a sense of oneness for rebuilding Chad.

From discussion to action: The impact of women constitution makers' dialogues

Outcome and funding

Outcome: Female constitution makers use International IDEA's knowledge and networks to give high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes.

Funding: Core funding.

A new constitution is a foundational document of a state, establishing its political, legal and institutional framework. The constitution-making process should therefore reflect and incorporate the diversity of society, but the voices of women are often marginalized. Between 1990 and 2015, 75 countries underwent constitutional reform or a negotiated transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Only 19 per cent of the members of their constitution-making bodies were women. Even as the representation of women in constitution-making bodies grows, their contributions are often pigeonholed into 'women's issues', leading to their systematic exclusion from crucial discussions on forms of governance. This curtails women's influence and representation in pivotal decision-making roles and is problematic for the legitimacy of constitutional reform.

To address this representation gap, International IDEA, in collaboration with the Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform and the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law, established the Women Constitution-Makers' Dialogue in 2019. This initiative provides the only peer-to-peer platform for women to exchange experiences of constitution making. To date, participants have included members of constitution-making bodies from Armenia, Barbados, Botswana, Chile, Egypt, Fiji, Kenya, Nepal, the Philippines, Somalia, South

Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia and Yemen. Civil society members from various other countries actively engaged in constitution-building processes have also taken part.

Feedback collected in 2023 demonstrates the transformative impact of the dialogues. Participants expanded their knowledge on and capacity for constitutional negotiations, and deeply valued the supportive network of solidarity created by the dialogues, particularly given the pushback or even backlash many faced because of their involvement in constitution-making processes.

Post-dialogue, many participants have integrated and used the knowledge they gained in subsequent constitution-building activities. For instance, one participant, a member of the Syrian Constitutional Committee, engaged with various civil society groups to channel information on women's expectations and demands into the constitution-making process. Another participant from South Sudan trained over 100 national and state-level legislators on the constitution-making process, while a counterpart organized sessions for women lawyers to strategize their involvement in the constitution-making process. A Sudanese participant led several workshops for civil society on 'engendering constitutions'.

Participants have also actively engaged in constitutional advocacy, offering expert recommendations on constitutional reforms that address gender issues. A former member of the Kenyan Committee of Experts on Constitutional Review proposed modifying the electoral system to implement gender quotas instead of a constitutional amendment, believing that this approach would better protect the constitution's overall design. Another participant employed International IDEA's Constitutional Assessment for Women's Equality in collaboration with civil society groups to push for gender-sensitive constitutional reforms. A participant from Botswana leveraged the knowledge she gained on constitutional approaches to customary and religious law to advocate for women's rights.

The trajectory of the dialogues 'from discussion to action' provides lessons learned on the immense potential and importance of fostering such collaborative spaces, underscoring that when women are given appropriate support, tools and platforms, they drive change that benefits all of society. Feedback also emphasized the participants' strong desire for a more formalized network with opportunities for frequent virtual or in-person meetings, group chats and a directory of participants and their areas of expertise to allow for greater collaboration.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA SUPPORTS *CIVIL SOCIETY* TO HOLD CONSTITUTION MAKERS ACCOUNTABLE AND PROMOTE INCLUSIVE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN CONSTITUTION-BUILDING PROCESSES

Disability should not prevent anyone from being part of shaping Myanmar's new democratic constitutional framework

Outcome and funding

Outcome: People living with disabilities in Myanmar participate in the constitution-building process.

Funding: Enabled by core funding. Project implemented with restricted funding from Finland, Luxembourg and Norway.

The military coup in Myanmar on 1 February 2021 failed to establish a legitimate government. People from all walks of life came together to resist the military's illegitimate rule in an unprecedentedly inclusive movement known as the Spring Revolution. This caused massive upheaval in Myanmar's political landscape as democratic actors joined the Civil Disobedience Movement and new interim governance institutions were formed, including the Committee Representing the Union Parliament (CRPH), the National Unity Government (NUG) and the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC). These actors, many of which have key members in hiding or in exile, have embarked on a process of constitution- and state-building under extremely difficult conditions with little capacity and expertise to navigate fundamental challenges related to achieving genuine democracy. International IDEA supports the democracy movement, in particular in its effort to develop a new federal constitutional framework for Myanmar based on equality and non-discrimination.

In 2023, International IDEA's Myanmar programme reached out and worked with people living with disabilities (PLWD) in Myanmar to foster their political inclusion in general and their involvement in the constitution-building process in particular. PLWD face multiple challenges to effective participation in political life, to receiving services and to accessing civic education in Myanmar. Since the coup, their freedom of movement has been limited, and they have faced isolation, violence and abuse, and live in precarious and dangerous circumstances.

In 2023, International IDEA organized a series of online webinars for PLWD using sign language and captioning services in Burmese to discuss their specific challenges since the coup, constitutional developments and the governance implications of the Federal Democracy Charter, in particular its provisions on non-discrimination and possible strategies for inclusion. Myanmar is a signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities but implementation has been disappointing until now. PLWD

representatives informed International IDEA that it was the first time that many of them had had the chance to discuss and increase their knowledge of Myanmar's constitutional and governance issues.

To increase awareness within Myanmar's interim government institutions of the rights of PLWD and discuss strategies for their inclusive participation, International IDEA partnered with the Myanmar Coordination Initiative for the Rights of People with Disabilities to develop a policy paper on strategies for the inclusion of PLWD in 2024, based on a series of consultative interviews with PLWD, CSOs working with PLWD, relevant NUG ministries, the CRPH and other members of parliament and NUCC representatives. The policy paper aims to provide a framework for raising issues of relevance to PLWD with Myanmar's interim government institutions. As a result of the decentralization of power in a federal system, many responsibilities will lie with state and local level governance structures in the future.

On 7 December 2023, International IDEA and the Myanmar Coordination Initiative organized a closed-door joint discussion between PLWD and Myanmar's interim government institutions on the challenges facing PLWD to inform strategies for their meaningful inclusion in Myanmar's transitional constitutional process, and the establishment of inclusive interim and future government institutions at all levels. All the participants in the discussion acknowledged the need for increased representation of PLWD in Myanmar's interim government structures. A proposal was made to create a Joint Coordination Committee for PLWD, comprised of NUG and NUCC representatives, to work on policy during Myanmar's interim period. The NUG and CRPH participants also agreed to make information issued by the interim government's institutions more accessible to PLWD.

Annex A. International IDEA's impact objectives, impact indicators, boundary partners and outcome objectives

Table A.1. Electoral Processes

Impact objective for Electoral Processes	Impact indicators
Credible and well-run elections	GSoD subattribute: Credible Elections ¹ GSoD subattribute: Electoral Participation ² GSoD indicator: Subnational elections free and fair ³ GSoD indicator: A3 Electoral process ⁴ GSoD indicator: EMB capacity ⁵
Boundary partners in the Electoral Processes workstream	Outcome objective
Electoral assistance practitioners: Organizations and individuals who provide technical assistance and capacity development on how to plan for and organize credible and well-run elections ⁶	Electoral assistance practitioners provide contextualized support informed by norms, good practices and research
Electoral policymakers: The legal entities and individuals who prepare and take decisions on the legal frameworks for electoral processes	Electoral policymakers consider complexities and risks and support practices that foster inclusivity and accountability in electoral processes
Electoral management bodies: Organizations or bodies with the sole purpose of, and legally responsible for, managing some or all of the elements essential to the conduct of elections and direct democracy instruments—such as referendums, citizens' initiatives and recall votes—if those are part of the legal framework	Electoral management bodies recognize and respond to complexities and risks, and effectively implement the electoral cycle approach
Civil society: Organizations and associations that serve the public's needs in relation to electoral processes but operate outside of the governmental and corporate spheres	Civil society promotes public participation in electoral processes and demands accountability from policymakers and electoral management bodies

¹ The extent to which elections for national, representative political office are free from irregularities.

² The level of electoral participation by the adult voting age population in the most recent national election.

³ The extent to which subnational elections are free and fair.

⁴ The extent to which the electoral laws and framework are fair and implemented impartially by the relevant electoral management body.

⁵ The extent to which the electoral management body has sufficient staff and resources to administer a well-run national election.

⁶ This category of boundary partner includes organizations such as International IDEA, UNDP and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

Table A.2. Constitution-Building Processes

Impact objectives for Constitution-Building Processes	Impact indicators
An inclusive constitution-building process informed by international knowledge and experience of constitutional design and processes	There are no suitable impact indicators for constitution-building processes. Progress is tracked with qualitative methods
The constitution is implemented under agreed constitutional frameworks and contributes to reduce tensions and conflict	GSoD subattribute: Personal Integrity and Security ¹ GSoD indicator: Internal conflict ²
Boundary partners in the Constitution-Building Processes workstream	Outcome objective
Advisers to constitution makers: Organizations and individuals that provide technical assistance and capacity development on implementation of constitutional reform ³	Advisers to constitution makers use International IDEA's knowledge and networks to provide high-quality advice and advance inclusive practices in constitution-building processes
Constitution makers: Usually a body that has been mandated by a government to lead a process of constitutional reform and draft a constitution; can also refer to an informal group that develops a draft constitution for a country without an official mandate	Constitution makers apply increased knowledge and skills to make informed choices regarding constitutional design and process
Civil society: Organizations and associations that serve the public's needs in relation to constitution-building processes but operate outside of governmental and corporate spheres	Civil society holds constitution makers accountable and promotes inclusive public participation in constitution-building processes
Constitutional implementers: The various bodies in a state that are responsible for upholding and implementing constitutional reform, most notably the judiciary	Constitutional implementers promote respect for the rule of law and constitutionalism under agreed constitutional frameworks

¹ Measures the extent to which bodily integrity is respected and people are free from state and non-state political violence.

² Measures the extent of political violence in a country and its actual or potential impact on governance.

³ This category of boundary partner includes organizations such as International IDEA, UNDP, the Venice Commission and the Max Planck Foundation.

Table A.3. Political Participation and Representation

Impact objectives for Political Participation and Representation	Impact indicators
Public administration is inclusive, impartial and rigorous	GSoD indicator: Rigorous and impartial public administration ¹ GSoD subattribute: Predictable Enforcement ² GSoD indicator: Bureaucratic quality ³
Civil society engages freely with representative institutions in a democratic and effective way	GSoD subattribute: Civil Society ⁴ GSoD indicator: Political empowerment ⁵ GSoD subcomponent: Freedom of the Press ⁶
Parliament exercises its legislative, oversight and representation functions effectively	GSoD attribute: Representation ⁷ GSoD subattribute: Effective Parliament ⁸
Political parties and movements contribute to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens	GSoD subattribute: Free Political Parties ⁹ GSoD indicator: B1 and B2 Political pluralism and participation ¹⁰ GSoD indicator: Party system ¹¹
Oversight agencies monitor, prevent and mitigate threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics	GSoD indicator: Executive oversight ¹² GSoD indicator: Executive embezzlement and theft ¹³ GSoD indicator: Executive bribery and corrupt exchanges ¹⁴
Boundary partners in the Political Participation and Representation workstream	Outcome objective
Political parties and movements: Political parties are registered, whereas political movements are more informal political groups that may or may not participate in elections ¹⁵	Political parties and movements carry out their functions in a way that contributes to a party system that is inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens
Civil society: Organizations and associations that serve the public's needs in relation to political participation and representation but operate outside of the governmental and corporate spheres	Civil society engages with representative institutions in an inclusive and effective way to improve public policy and practice, and to hold political decision makers to account

¹ Measures the extent to which public officials are rigorous and impartial in the performance of their duties.

² Measures the extent to which the executive and public officials enforce laws in a predictable manner.

³ Measures the extent to which the bureaucracy has the strength and expertise to govern without drastic changes in policy or interruptions in government services.

⁴ Measures the extent to which citizens engage with civil society.

⁵ Measures the extent to which there are gaps between men and women in terms of political participation.

⁶ Measures the extent to which news media outlets are diverse, honest, critical of the government, free from censorship and independent.

⁷ Measures the extent to which elections for legislative and executive office are contested and inclusive.

⁸ Measures the extent to which the legislature can oversee the executive.

⁹ Measures the extent to which political parties are free to form and to campaign for political office.

¹⁰ B1 measures the extent to which people have the right to organize in different political parties or other competitive political groupings of their choice, and the extent to which the system is free of undue obstacles to the rise and fall of these competing parties or groupings. B2 measures the extent to which there is a realistic opportunity for the opposition to increase its support or gain power through elections.

¹¹ Measures the extent to which the party system is stable and socially rooted.

¹² Measures the extent to which or how likely it is that a body other than the legislature, such as a comptroller general, general prosecutor or ombudsman, would question or investigate executive branch officials if they were engaged in unconstitutional, illegal or unethical activity.

¹³ Measures the extent to which members of the executive or their agents steal, embezzle or misappropriate public funds or other state resources for personal or family use.

¹⁴ Measures the extent to which members of the executive or their agents grant favours in exchange for bribes or other material inducements.

¹⁵ Many political movements have had aims that established or broadened the rights of disadvantaged or subordinated groups, such as abolitionism, the women's suffrage movement and civil rights movements.

Table A.3. Political Participation and Representation (cont.)

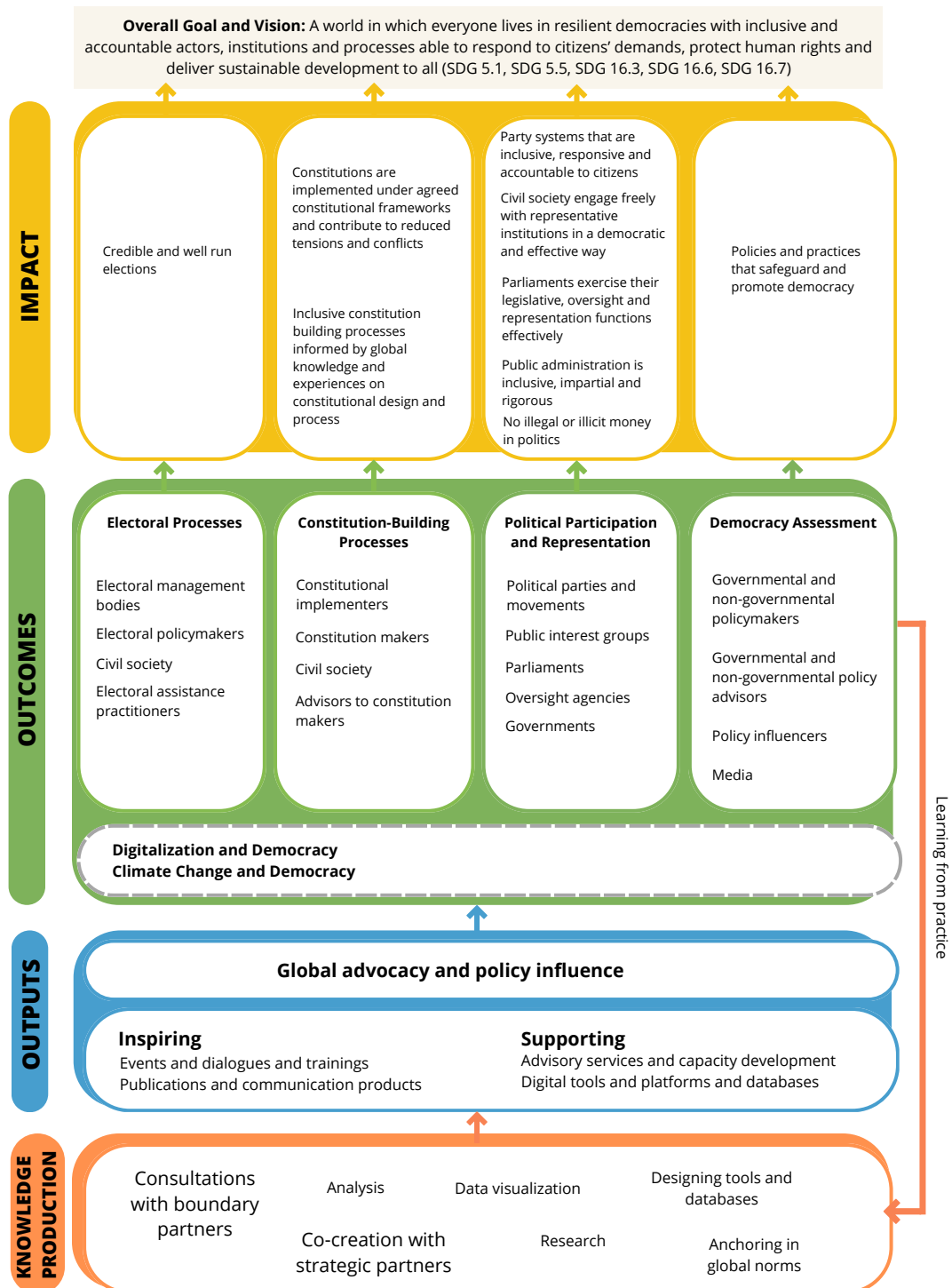
Oversight agencies: Governmental agencies or bodies that are mandated to provide oversight of the government's legislative and/or executive branches; the most recognizable oversight agencies are ombudsmen and national audit offices	Oversight agencies monitor, prevent and mitigate threats posed by both illegal and illicit money in politics
National and subnational parliaments: The legislative branch of government	Parliaments exercise their legislative, oversight and representative functions in a way that aims to be transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens
Public administration: The executive branch of government	Public administration exercises practices and decision-making processes to become more transparent, inclusive, responsive and accountable to all citizens

Table A.4. Democracy Assessment

Impact Objectives for Democracy Assessment	Impact indicators
Policies and practices that safeguard and promote democracy	There are no suitable impact indicators for democracy assessment. Progress must be tracked using qualitative methods
Boundary partners in the Democracy Assessment workstream	Outcome objective
Governmental and non-governmental policymakers: Governmental policymakers are strategic decision makers in parliament, the government and government agencies; non-governmental policymakers are strategic decision makers in civil society. This category of boundary partner includes governmental advisers to policymakers, such as parliamentary staff members and public servants, and non-governmental advisers to policymakers, such as thematic experts in civil society organizations (CSOs)	Policymakers use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to develop evidence-based democratic policies and reforms
Policy influencers: Organizations and individuals that attempt to influence public policy through advocacy and lobbying; the most recognizable policy influencers are CSOs operating at the domestic and international levels, as well as academia	Policy influencers use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations, and data to promote democracy and advocate for evidence-based democratic reforms
Media: Traditional and non-traditional media	Media outlets use International IDEA's democracy analysis, recommendations and data to inform the public about the state of democracy and hold decision makers to account

Annex B. International IDEA's Theory of Change

International IDEA's Theory of Change



Annex C. Member States' contributions

Member State	Joining date	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023 budget
Australia	1995	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barbados	1995	4	4	4	0	4	4
Botswana	1997	17	18	18	16	17	17
Brazil	2016	65	20	49	57	70	70
Canada	1997	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chile	1995	70	77	78	-6	176	75
Costa Rica	1995	4	4	5	4	4	4
Dominican Republic	2011	0	0	0	0	0	0
Estonia	2021					70	70
Finland	1995	0	0	0	500	500	365
Germany	2002	400	400	400	400	400	400
India	1995	42	44	45	41	42	42
Luxembourg	2018	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mauritius	1999	8	9	9	8	8	8
Mexico	2003	(3)	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	2011	5	4	4	4	5	5
Namibia	1997	2	2	2	1	2	2
The Netherlands*	1995	4,000	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000
Norway*	1995	2,544	3,008	3,047	2,845	2,930	2,844
Panama	2018	26	0	4	0	0	0
Peru	2004	6	5	5	14	7	7
South Africa	1995	17	15	16	14	14	14
Spain	1995	0	0	25	26	50	50
Sweden	1995	5,586	5,352	5,268	5,469	6,345	4,929
Switzerland*	2006	684	891	790	790	790	792
Uruguay	2003	2	2	2	-2	2	2

Member State	Joining date	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023 budget
Total unrestricted income		13,479	11,855	10,771	11,189	12,436	11,700
Year-on-year movement		(766)	(1,624)	(1,084)	418	1,247	(736)

* *Multi-year funding agreements*

Note: Contributions are in thousands EU.

About International IDEA

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization with 35 Member States founded in 1995, with a mandate to support sustainable democracy worldwide.

WHAT WE DO

We develop policy-friendly research related to elections, parliaments, constitutions, digitalization, climate change, inclusion and political representation, all under the umbrella of the UN Sustainable Development Goals. We assess the performance of democracies around the world through our unique Global State of Democracy Indices and Democracy Tracker.

We provide capacity development and expert advice to democratic actors including governments, parliaments, election officials and civil society. We develop tools and publish databases, books and primers in several languages on topics ranging from voter turnout to gender quotas.

We bring states and non-state actors together for dialogues and lesson sharing. We stand up and speak out to promote and protect democracy worldwide.

WHERE WE WORK

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

OUR PUBLICATIONS AND DATABASES

We have a catalogue with more than 1,000 publications and over 25 databases on our website. Most of our publications can be downloaded free of charge.

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Does democracy assistance work? Does the work of International IDEA yield results? These are complex questions that International IDEA's Annual Outcome Report for 2023 strives to answer. It does so by presenting 30 outcome stories where each story describes how International IDEA has inspired and supported its partners to work more effectively in collaboration with other democratic actors and citizens.

In order to reflect the breadth of International IDEA's work, each of these stories is linked to the Institute's results framework and hence reflects changes undertaken by all of the types of partners that International IDEA cooperates with in its four workstreams: Constitution-Building Processes, Democracy Assessment, Electoral Processes, and Political Participation and Representation. These stories do not account for all of International IDEA's activities and results but they are representative examples of what the Institute does and achieves. Hence the stories are to be regarded as qualitative indicators of the results of International IDEA's work. The Report also includes stories with lessons learned from activities that have not led to expected results.