Women Power in Politics

Project Mid-Term Review– Final report
November-December 2014

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List of Acronyms

CSO – Community Service Organization
Hivos – Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries
IHEC – Iraqi Independent High Electoral Commission
INGO – International Non-Governmental Organization
ISIS/ISIL – Islamic State in Iraq and Syria/Levant
MP – Member of Parliament
MTR – Mid-Term Review
SWOT - Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
TOR – Terms of Reference
TOT – Training of Trainers
WPP – Women Power in Politics

Acknowledgment

This MTR summarizes the progress of implementation and achievements of the program, and may provide a basis for future support of different donors in the area of women's political participation in Iraq.

I.   Background and Overview:

In almost all countries women have now won the right to vote. Yet there are still scandalously few women in positions of political leadership. Globally, just 17.4% of national political representatives are female and only 30% women in national governments. Globally, just 3.5% per cent of senior ministers' positons are held by women, meaning that at the top levels of government, women currently have little opportunity to shape policy. Despite commitments to promoting gender equality in formal structures of representation and decision-making, women continue to be under-represented in all areas of decision making and face significant barriers to their full and equal participation in the structures and institutions that govern, and directly affect their lives.

Throughput both the developing and the developed world, women carry the disappointingly high burden of marginalization. This is experienced in women having no, or little (at best), opportunities to influence the political, economic, and social processes and institutions which control and shape their lives. This evaluation has found that the project is pretty straight forward with specific simple activities such as training of female aspirants and high potentials, training local trainers in the form of a TOT (training of trainers), and training of media to be more gender sensitive.   It is a critical stepping stone for much more work for more women participation, leadership, and really investing in the process of change and transformative leadership of women. In the backdrop of this program lies the fact that despite commitments to prompting gender equality in formal structures of representation and decision making, women remain to be under-represented in all areas of decision making and face significant barriers to their full and equal participation in the structures and institutions that govern, and directly affect, their lives.

While a quota system of 25% was introduced in 2005 to grant women seats in parliament, it is recognized as one way of creating a measure to achieve a critical mass of women representatives needed to promote new cultural balanced representation in parliament. Yet, increasing women's political participation requires a long-term strategy for changing long-standing challenges and deliberately keeping women out of politics. The political playing field in Iraq is still widely uneven and not very encouraging to women's participation; with numerous barriers still existing. The political structure is rigid, lack of financial support to women candidates, the macro-level absence of well-developed education and training for women's leadership, are all contributing factors. Structural barriers such as weak women's participation in political parties and the patriarchal social norms discourage women from taking up public positions.

II. Executive Summary

With the backdrop of Iraqi women under-representation in politics, with lingering poverty levels, high inequality, weak governance, a worsening ad even life-threatening security situation; the US Department of State through the Office of Donor relations, has supported The Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing (Hivos) with the total funding of $962,354 to implement the project "Women Power in Politics" with interrelated objectives to "comprehensively address women's political participation and representation in the political process of Iraq through a combination of capacity building and mentoring for women candidates, elected members of parliament and grassroots education for women voters and capacity building for political party structures regarding the role of women in governance". Hivos has gone into full partnership of implementation with the Iraqi Al-Amal Association (Al-Amal).

The main focus of the MTR is to review progress in implementation of the WPP program, quality and relevance of the program, and the effectiveness and impact of the program. Furthermore, the MTR is aimed at further strengthening of the remaining activities to be implemented.

It was agreed that the evaluation will be qualitative in nature as HIVOS and Al-Amal have an abundance of qualitative data. Data collection methods included interviews with key program personnel, trainers, and other stakeholders. A desk study of relevant program documents produced during the period from May 2013 (program proposal) till 30th of September (4th quarterly progress report), as well as training evaluations and reports.

An overall look at the program action plan reveals a positive progress and that the different activities are achieved on time. A part of the activities is still under preparation, but by reading the plans, good results can be obtained out of them. The partnership between Hivos and Al-Amal has focused on results and the project has been able to report on its progress in a timely and accurate manner.

The project design, which was systematic in its approach, has been relevant for the Iraqi context setting. The project largely met its objectives and succeeded in reducing some of the barriers to women's political participation, and strengthening the capacity and skills of women in politics. This has been indicated by a list of outcomes and a number of successful activities.

The general elections held in 2014 saw the winning of 17 women from the WPP program of seats in parliament. The project has contributed its value added by advocating for the 25% quota system stipulated in the elections law. The project now has a base of potential female candidates supported to carry out public campaigns and meetings, provided and entry point for women to exercise their rights in political participation, and has helped female candidates to use their skills in a practical manner. Further initiatives in this sector need to sustain the existing objectives and goals, with more focus given to working with political parties, and further developing the skills of elected females.

III. Summary Program Description:

The Women Power in Politics (WPP) program was developed between Al-Amal Organization and Hivos and is committed to increasing the political participation of women. The aim of the program was to increase the quantity - and quality- of women in parliament and to ensure that as leaders they would work towards better representation of women and their issues. This is to be achieved through identifying 1,000 women, and providing them intense training and support during election period. In this way, they would be equipped with the skills and confidence to stand in the 2014 parliamentary elections, to be effective representatives in the event of their being elected.

Training was provided by trainers, who in turn received extensive training of trainers (TOT). The training focused on preparing the would-be candidates for election, covering campaigning skills, media, gender issues, among many other topics covered. Candidates also received ongoing support from WPP throughout the election period, and were assisted in developing their own campaign strategies.

This report provides the mid-term review and recommendations for the "Women Power In Politics" (WPP) implemented by the Iraqi Al-Amal Association and the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (Hivos) with funding from the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and Secretary's Office

of Global Women's Issues – United States Department of State – and the Dutch Ministry for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation.

This Evaluation is qualitative in nature.   Quantitative data was drawn from project documents provided by both implementing agencies.   Data collection methods included review of project documents, reports, and interviews with key stakeholders.

The main weight of this report lies in the recommendations and ways forward, both for this programme (WPP) and also for more in-depth interventions and investing in the process of truly putting women rights, leadership, and gender issues in the heart of future programing.

Aspects of Quality:

Relevance

The objectives proposed by WPP are strong and well defined. They are properly addressing medium-term outcomes (~18 months), providing proper funding allocations towards producing desirable outcomes. The objectives (and their respective outputs) have been cohesively linked, and activities were consistent.

Recent reforms (25% quota) mean women in Iraq now have the opportunity to stand for parliamentary elections. But many women in politics face discrimination and hostility from their male colleagues, and feel they lack the skills and confidence to carry out their roles effectively. The WPP is of very high relevance as it promises to continue supporting female parliamentarians even after they have been elected.

The WPP remains relevant to the MPs now and all trained female candidates through the training it provided and consultations conducted during elections. Another reflection of relevance is the fact that WPP is designed to continue supporting the MPs who were successful during elections through more training on how to be successful representatives in parliament.

More relevance of the WPP can be derived from international human-rights treaties and conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, and the third Millennium Goal on Gender Equality, all of which recognize that women have the right to participate equally with men at all levels and in all aspects of public life and decision making, whether it is deciding how the household income is spent or determining how the country (any country) is run.

Effectiveness

The WPP has accomplished all of its planned activities during the period under review (1 October 2013 till 30 September 2014), with the exception of the training of selected MPs which was supposed to take place n September, but has been delayed. This is particularly the case for the training and providing advice and guidance to women candidates. Training for female candidates (and the TOT prior to that) on understanding the political system, the electoral system, how to organize a campaign, public speaking, etc…has been highly valued by all evaluation informants. More high quality support for the elected MPs is still to be expected within the remaining project life to assist them in fulfilling their roles and mandates as legislators.

However, the effectiveness of the direct action interventions cannot be considered to be enough to achieving the main goals and vision of increasing the number of women in decision making positions and that women's issues will be high on the legislative agenda of decision makers.

This is in no way a negative criticism of the program. On the contrary, it is an invitation to consider the set of recommendation on where to go from where we are now, and a call for more and more interventions.

Efficiency

This evaluation has found the project to have been cost-effcient. The program was implemented with a relatively low cost (962,354 $) with an additional 201,940$ in cost-sharing. It is always an added advantage where there is clear cost-sharing between the back-donor and the implementing agencies.

Impact

It might be too soon to see the real impact of the WPP as parliament is not fully functional yet and it is unclear how women's issues will be presented, tackled, discussed, and ultimately changed.

Sustainability

It might be too soon to discuss the sustainability as the WPP has not been finalized yet. With that in mind the program has more than 800 (816, to be precise) trained women, with whom more and more activities can be undertaken to ensure women's issues remain on the forefront pushing for a more equitable society; through formal and informal channels, parliament and civil society respectively.

Nevertheless, the project used several approaches to strengthen its sustainability:

- Building on existing networks, under the coordination of an experienced local organization, Al-Amal;
- Selection of competent local trainers and further developing their skills;
- Development of training curricular, sensitive to the local culture and the needs of each governorate respectively;
- The existence of a loose women's network/caucus that can act as a nucleus for more work with women and building a strong link between them.

Challenges to Sustainability:

- Sustainability of the above mentioned small newly emerging women's networks/caucus will be tested over time as there is little indication that sufficient resources are available to support them;
- Commitment of political parties to maintain any level of women participation also needs very close monitoring in the future;
- Little indication was given to any systematic effort carried out to liaise and connect to the wider Donor/INGO supported programs that could have had a complementary role to that of WPP. This might have been useful in strengthening the sustainability of the project and could have been a great learning and networking opportunity.

Sustainability can be increased through:

- More in-depth gender training for MPs as well as candidates in next elections, but also for political parties, men, husbands, etc…
- More in-depth studies on barriers of women participation;
- Collaboration with other donors/INGOs

The WPP in Numbers:

The most important result of the WPP program is the election of 17 women who were trained, where 1 was elected by majority vote in her constituency, and the other 16 were selected by their parties on basis of the 25% quota. They represent 11 political parties and blocs; and are from 11 (out of 18) different governorates: 2 Anbar, 1 Baghdad, 1 Basra, 1 Dohuk, 2 Kirkuk, 1 Maysan, 2 Najaf, 1 Ninewa, 1 Qadesiya, 2 Salah Al-Din, 3 Sulaimaniya. None were elected from Arbil, Babil, Dhi Qar, Karbala', Muthana, and Wasit.

Other important results include:

- 200+ consultations provided to female candidates
- 27 trainers from all 18 Governorates attended the TOT
- 30 training workshops with 819 female aspirants
- 246 high potential female aspirants selected and received more intense training
- 15 Political Parties received information about women as political leaders
- Stakeholders conferences with 985 participants
- Local Community Meetings attended by about 700 participants
- Workshop conducted with influential media workers representing 13 different media channels

SWOT Analysis:

The following is a quick SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis:

Strengths	Weaknesses
- Strong local partnership/relations/experience - Strong relations and support (from e.g., speaker of parliament) - Valuing local trainers and their roles in the project - # of females trained - Increased awareness	- Lack of clarity on what will happen after funding ends - Lack of clear strategy to work with political parties and women's networks
Opportunities	Threats
- Caucus of local trainers - International support and attention - Funding for future programmes can be accessed - Tie remaining to plan for more sustainability - Stronger gender equality approach - Provision of experiences to other CSOs, donors, INGOs, etc…	- Social constraints on female participation and leadership - Volatile security situation - Lack of involvement of political parties

Conclusion and Recommendations

Overall, the program demonstrates that leadership training which addresses gender issues can play a vital role in correcting the imbalances that exist in prevailing power structures in societies, in this case by highlighting the crucial roles that women can play in the Iraqi parliament and empowering them to participate fully in decision-making processes. In order to counter these imbalances, and in addition to changing institutional structures and polices; both women and men need to be empowered with the appropriate skills, knowledge, resources, and motivation. If we are to achieve real social transformation we need to recognize that given equal opportunities, women have the power within to become strong leaders and advocates for the voiceless.

The program did undertake all planned activities under severely challenging circumstances and an increasingly difficult working environment. While meetings were held with senior members of political parties, no strong indication for fostering political party reform and women's participation in them could be made.

To achieve the objectives and sustainability it will require more work particularly with political parties, the elected parliamentarians, the media, organizing networks of trained beneficiaries and to use the created "social capital" for advocacy and other issues affecting women's lives and political participation

Key Recommendations

- While time is still allowing and funds are available a workshop can be organized with the purpose of establishing a network (more formalized) among elected female representatives, as well as women who have been trained but were not successful in elections.
- The project is considered a women specific program, and at the same times a gender equality project. "Gender" by definition means working with both men and women. While WPP has indeed worked (to some extent) with boys and men, a clear gender strategy was not specifically articulated in the proposal. The TOT included training material for women candidates, yet informants to the evaluation, indicated a strong need for the project to consider more in-depth specialized gender training for the candidates as well as the political parties.
- Revising the main assumptions of the program in relation to women's support of other women.
- More training for parliamentarians to help them write/develop policy papers and how to gain internal support (from parliament) to help pass bills. A particularly important starting point is to help them develop national "tools and mechanisms" for a National Gender Policy to ensure legislation always has a gender sensitive component.
- Much more work needs to be done with *select* political parties. Conduct wide ranging gender audit for political parties, provide technical assistance for them on gender mainstreaming, and start advocating for women to hold higher up positions in said parties.
- Form "pressure groups" (law allowing) or work more with civil society organization for advocacy based on the "on the ground needs". The 816 trained women will certainly have interested members to be part of similar initiatives.
- One of the constant criticisms of civil society at large is that very few coordination efforts are undertaken and carried through. Coordinate/connect with other conducting similar programs, e.g., NDI, UN, etc…
- Reform and res-structuring takes time. It is imperative for programs of this type to start the process of re-structure early on in the process of implementation to ensure sustainability of project interventions.
- Always factor-in delays in implementation and remain flexible and accommodating to such working environments. Start training early; candidates' right before elections are too busy campaigning.

IV. Project Description

The "Women Power in Politics" (WPP) is indeed a unique program that really hits the nail on the head when addressing women's political participation. Many "gender equity and equality" programs still focus on the traditional roles of women, still addressing and tacking women's issues from one angle; namely that women are still seen only as "mother, sister, daughter, and wife", but hardly seen as empowered (as an active verb) fierce fighters for their rights. A lot of the programs out there see and deal with women as weak helpless creatures and not as incredible driving forces of real long-lasting change. WPP is different and unique particularly to the Iraqi context in that it is breaking taboos and barriers, as well as addressing the needs of women themselves.

The program has two main goals as follows:

1. Compare to the current situation, more women will be in leadership positions in parliament and government. Various activities contribute to the achievement of these goals: capacity building of and support to candidates and elected representatives, including support to institutional structures within parliament, (output 1, 2, and 3) and influencing party leadership (output 4).
2. Legislation that is supportive of women's rights. More female leaders, but especially more effective leaders, supported by an enabling institutional structure, will be more capable to develop and promote women friendly legislation.

According to the project document the program has 5 main Outputs:

Output 1: Approximately 1,000 female aspirants have received basic skills training, support and encouragement.

Output 2: Approximately 300 high potential female aspirants and candidates have received intense capacity building and support, are organized in a solidarity network, and connected with civil society grassroots.

Output 3: All elected female representatives have received long-term support and assistance.

Output 4: At least 15 political parties received information and support on engaging women.

Output 5: Female voters have received balanced and non-biased information about the contribution of women political leaders to the democratic development of the country.

The start date of the program was October 2013 and ends in March 2015. Till the writing on this MTR report, there is no suggestion that the program will ask for an extension.

V. Evaluation Objectives and Methodology

This section provides an overview of the evaluation objectives and the methodology used including data collection and analysis.

It is important at this stage to point out that M&E framework used for the purpose of this MTR is the original one. The new M&E framework is included as Annex II. With the expectation of the 4th (and last available) quarterly report, all other reports and project related documents are based on the first M&E system.

4.1 Evaluation's Purpose

The Project Evaluation aims at providing an overall assessment of the project in terms of general achievements and contribution to achieving its goals. "The aim of this Mid Term Review is to evaluate the results of the programme in the first stage (the pre-election phase), also in relation to the project goals and time planning, and to formulate recommendations for improvement of specific aspects or corrective action, if necessary."

4.2 Focus of the MTR

The evaluation addresses the following issues:

1. Progress in implementation of the WPP programme
2. Quality and relevance of the WPP programme
3. Effectiveness and impact of the WPP programme

Evaluation of sustainability will reflect into an assessment of the key factors affecting the continuation of the remaining program activities as well as determining the likelihood of the initiatives supported by the project continuing after the project support has ended (i.e. does the program have a clear exit strategy, including how to ensure continuity of benefits and activities required to ensure long-term benefits and conservation of gains? What is the likelihood of continuation of initiated activities and lasting benefits after the project is closed?). The report will have a separate section for recommendations for the different stakeholders with a specific focus on gender issues.

4.3 Evaluation's approach

The evaluation approach relied primarily on qualitative methods. Quantitative data was drawn from project reports and incorporated in the analysis to the extent possible. The evaluation was conducted by an independent external evaluator.

4.5 Data Collection Methods

The MTR was conducted through a combination of a review of the key project documentation (as reflected in Annex III), including the original project document and reports generated throughout the LOP (Life of Project) to date. The process of assessment included consultations and interviews with key stakeholders, such as the project's staff as well as the trainers (local and international).

The data collection was done in phases as follows;

- Desk review of all available project documents. This involved a review of progress reports, project documents, work plans, M&E plans, amongst others.
- Interviews conducted though skype calls

4.6 Limitations

The MTR was conducted during the month of November and the first two weeks of December 2014. The main challenge for this evaluation was that the Evaluator was unable to travel to Iraq due to the security situation and

the impossibility of getting the visa to travel to Iraq and meet face-to-face with program implementers and beneficiaries on time.   Hence, all interviews were conducted on Skype and phone.

V. Relevance

This section examines the project design. It starts by a discussion of the appropriateness of the project design; review of the accuracy of the project assumptions and strategies; discusses the impact of the political changes in Iraq on the project and other design issues.

5.1 Appropriateness of Project Design

Women Power in Politics, as per the proposal, is geared towards institutionalization of experiences and skills of local trainers, political parties and the women's caucus. The engagement and training of local trainers ensures that the national capacities are developed and strengthened. The program is furthermore innovative and cost effective because of the focus on "high potentials" instead of working with all candidates.

The original project design has appropriately selected the main target groups and has had targeted activities to each of the stakeholders. Training and capacity building were directed to female aspirants (816 down from 1,000), "high potentials" (300), female representatives (82), male representatives (10), female voters (3,000-4,000), political parties (around 15), and media (10 individuals).

5.2 Accuracy of Project Assumptions

WPP developed some main assumptions/risks that could potentially have an impact on the program. These assumptions were:

- **Assumption 1**: Political Parties would be more involved and willing to push for women's presence in decision making positions. The irony is that the parties stating they are more "liberal" are less eager on real women's participation. This will be discussed in more details in the recommendations section below.

- **Assumption 2:** Possibly the least directly related to program design but rather it relates to the security situation. The assumption was almost "it can't get much worse than it already is". But with the rise of strength, control, and fear of ISIS (or ISIL) the security situation has become much more complicated and complex than it was. What can be assumed in relation to the security situation is to "expect the unexpected".

- **Assumption 3:** The program will be able to have a wider reach. With the rise of women in parliament (but to a much lesser extent in the Executive branch) our influence does not reach that far and it might have been a very ambitious assumption.

- **Assumption 4:** Training of local trainers and they will train well; and they did.

- **Assumption 6:** Quota system will advance women's issues. Women who do succeed in reaching leadership roles may be unaware of the need (or be unwilling) to champion women's rights and influence their male colleagues to do the same. If the 'political will' to implement the quotas is lacking, and no mechanisms exist to enforce compliance, political parties and state structures may simply ignore them.

- **Assumption 7:** CSOs will welcome suggested changes. Even in NGOs and CSOs which claim to represent the community, women are much less likely to be leaders than men, and women's shared interests are less likely to be on the agenda.

5.4 Challenges to Women and Implementation:

Women candidates and program team reported many hostile attitudes among men *and* women towards the very concept of women standing for election. These range from men stating that they would only ever vote for male candidates, to women passing moral judgment on female candidates, and saying that they should stay at home and attend to their families, rather than trying to assume "male" positions of leadership. The lack of solidarity from women voters was particularly difficult for female candidates, as was the lack of support they received from their close circles of family and friends. Both indicate the need for widespread awareness raising of male and female voters, to encourage people to accept that women have the right to enter the political arena and have vital contributions to make for the benefit of all.

Women candidates also identified their *own* lack of confidence and experience as an obstacle to their standing for elections, and to fulfilling their duties if they were elected. Many different factors contributed to this lack of confidence, not least the fear of entering into a "male" domain where they were likely to face isolation and hostility.   Women who were elected also reported that they felt they would benefit from ongoing training, to boost their confidence and improve their skills, to be more effective representatives.

Candidates were faced with many other structural barriers grounded in patriarchal attitudes regarding the unsuitability of women in parliament, and the desire of men to maintain control over the political arena. There was a lack of support from their own political parties, from failing to financially support them, to placing women low down their own lists of candidates or replacing them with male candidates all-together.

In addition to the lack for support from their own parties, Al-Amal also reported that the Iraqi Independent High Electoral Commission (IHEC), the institution organizing elections, had made their experience (Al-Amal included) somehow more difficult and inefficient. The official final list of candidates was not issued till the end of March 2014, even after the official campaigns period started. As a result of which the selection of trainees and high potentials was accordingly delayed

Another challenge to the program was time. Elections were announced at very short notice, leaving candidates with just a few months to register, organize their campaigns, and attend trainings. This meant that the TOT, which was followed by training the candidates,) was held only a few weeks before the start of campaign period. This meant that some female candidates who could have benefited from the training (particularly the second workshop for high potentials) did not attend as they decided to priorities their campaign instead.

VI. Assessment of Project Achievements:

This section examines the effectiveness of the project interventions and activities. In addition this section discusses key project achievements and challenges faced during implementation.

6.1 Achievements towards stated Objectives and results

This evaluation has found that despite all challenges in the working environment of the WPP program, it has managed to deliver on all of its stated activities. It is too soon to discuss impact and achievement of overall goals as the project is still on-going.

In order to achieve this, preparatory work had to be done during which two trainers (one Iraqi and one Dutch) have been contracted. Meanwhile, Hivos and Al-Amal have worked together on selecting 27 trainers to attend the first TOT (Training of Trainers) that was conducted in Erbil in January 2014. According to the main (Dutch) trainer, Ms. Anne Graumans, Al-Amal was very successful in their selection process. Al-Amal had applications from about 1,300 people from the 18 Governorates. While some applications were naturally irrelevant, the sheer number shows that there is great potential to conduct any further training using local trainers. The criteria of selection of trainer included experience in training, some gender awareness and dedication to women's participation, and an understanding and experience in politics. While making the selection of the trainers Al-Amal and Hivos made sure that there was a good gender balance and wide geographical coverage so all governorates were covered. The final selection was for 14 men and 13 women, which is a very positive gender balanced team.

While the two trainers contracted to conduct the TOT were not involved in the selection process they were both happy with the selection and the diversity of trainees they were then working with. As per the project proposal Al-Amal was responsible for the selection of the Iraqi trainer, while Hivos was responsible for the selection of the Dutch trainers. Accordingly, Hivos approached the 3 political parties involved in the WPP program; namely the Labour Party, Liberal Party, and Christian-Democratic Party, by sending them the elaborate TOR developed. According to Mr. van der Heijden, the following process was followed to make the selection "the 3 party foundations in the Netherlands was just one of the channels to get suggestions for trainers. I have also received suggestions from Women's Democracy Network and I have also approached individual experts. The end result was a list of 17 candidates, all suitable trainers of trainers. I spoke to several of them and in the end, Anne Graumans was selected and contracted". Eventually the application of Ms. Anne Graumans was selected.[1] Meanwhile, Al-Amal selected Ms. Ilham Makki Hammadi, and Iraqi citizen currently residing in Beirut, Lebanon; to work on her post-graduate studies.

In January 2014, the first TOT took place. The international trainer explained the process as follows:

- The Dutch Labour Party has been training on political participation since the 1980s and has about 30 ready module of training to be used. The modules cover different areas such as political culture, culture of women, etc…

- Following many preparatory meetings and discussion the TOT was prepared. The trainer (Ms. Anne) brought the 30 modules with her to Erbil, where the general outline was discussed with the other trainers, Ms. Ilham. During that time the two trainers participated in developing the material of the training with a particular focus on training women as well as conducting a SWOT analysis of the program.

- The trainees (27) then were involved in developing the training material they will later on use to train the women candidates (1,000). The trainees were relaxed as they did not feel that anything was imposed on them and they had rich material they could adapt and adjust to their specific needs creatively.

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[1] In Holland, like in many other European countries (e.g. Germany), each political party that wins seats in Parliament, has the right to establish a "political foundation" to be the development arm of the party. Ms. Anne is a trainer for the Foundation Max van der Stoel (FMS) which is linked to the Dutch Labour Party.

- The different trainees representing the different regions were using their own examples to contextualize their training material and messages, starting with "what we want to accomplish".

- The training was the same for all regions, the main differences lie in how it is presented later on. This is a great success as the training was contextualized to fit the needs of each region separately.

As mentioned above the trainer was happy and satisfied with Al-Amal's selection of the trainees selected to attend the first TOT calling Al-Amal "the glue" that brought everyone together. As for the trainees, she called them "…very brave people. Constantly finding creative solutions to complex problems". The training workshop was seen as a "key" to open many doors to more in-depth research for those interested.

The topics covered during the training are the following:

1) Gender: definition of gender, the social and cultural dimensions of gender, the social structure of gender and sex, definitions and concepts of gender and its current condition in Iraq. Gender based labour division, social values, and social institutions: levels of developing gender concept.

2) The political systems: definition and introduction to the political systems, political system in Iraq.

3) Elections: the electoral process in Iraq, division of sets on basis of election results.

4) Women's participation in the political process: general aspects of women participation in politics, types of political participation, obstacles that women face in participating in politics including the national and international agreements (approved and ratified by Iraq) and examples from former Iraqi female parliament members as case studies.

5) Campaigning part 1: "campaign preparations", how to prepare a campaign, mechanism of communicating with voters, evaluation of campaign needs, how to use different tools such as SWOT analysis and focus groups, methods of defining the central message for the campaign (depending on the general or individual election programme), how to use 6Cs, AIDA, KiSS methods. Campaigning part 2: "communication with voters", how to communicate with communities and voters, target groups, how to attract voters in communities. Campaigning part 3: "communicating through media", how to develop communications, how to deal professionally with media, how to reach to voters through media, how to create and deliver a powerful speech, topics which attract media and journalists, introduction to social media, creation of private media (examples from worldwide experiences).

6) Training skills part 1: "learning", how to become a trainer and not a teacher, how can achieve learning process through five steps, how do people learn, what are the important things for a trainer, training and facilitating gender sensitivity. Training skills part 2: "work with groups", how to manage the energy within a group, how to ensure a positive environment for training, how to provide feedback, how to give instructions to the group. Training skills part 3: "training women in politics", how to train women in the political sector in the future, training challenges in political atmosphere and communication and interaction with supporters.

7) Follow-up: the future training in the framework of the Women Power in Politics programme in Iraq, two phases of the programme. Also introducing trainers to the tools and training materials that will be used.

In February and March of 2014, 30 workshops took place for 816 women in all 18 Governorates, with participants representing many political parties. Due to the worsening security situation during that time, the target number of 1,000 had to be reduced to 816.

After the training was conducted, all trainees interviewed commended the fact that the trainers as well as Al-Amal representatives continued their support and consultation services well into the elections and during campaigning. WPP trainers continued to provide consultation and support services to the candidates till Election Day, April 30th, 2014, adding-up to about 200 consultations covering various topics were conducted. The topics covered during the consultations included communication with audience and with voters, negotiation skills and how to lead progressive discussions with political parties or blocs, campaigning and public meetings, dealing with the media.

As planned, a second TOT was conducted for 14 trainers (out of the original bigger group of 27). The training was conducted in March, 2014 in Erbil. The main topics of the advanced TOT were:

a) Negation skills within political parties or political blocs, and
b) Communication with media.

Two main recommendations came from the main trainer:

1) The first recommendation is to have an additional training workshop focused primarily on gender issues, empowerment, and challenges facing Iraqi women in particular (such as the effect of tribalism on women).
2) It was a successful strategy that the trainees attending the TOT developed their own training materials and messages.

The most important recommendation in relation to this is to build on the list of consultations requested and to include these topics (or give them more attention and focus) in upcoming trainings.

According to available project documents and discussions with project staff, Output 1 has been completed as planned.

Output 2: Approximately 300 high potential female aspirants and candidates have received intense capacity building and support, are organized in a solidarity network, and connected with civil society grassroots.

The selection of the 311 "high potentials" took place in March 2014, almost around the same time as selecting the smaller group of trainers who would attend the advanced TOT. The number was slightly increased (from 300 to 311) to accommodate any changes prior to the elections.

The selection of the 300 high potential candidates was based on the following criteria:

- Women candidates in the big political blocs who are expected to win in the elections;

- Women candidates who were active and dedicated during the training workshops;

- Women candidates with a strong desire/eagerness to participate in the advanced trainings;

- Women candidates who have leadership roles in the institutions where they work.

According to the evaluation of the first and second TOT and further training conducted it was clear that both the trainers as well as trainees (high potentials) have gained more confidence and experience.

As per the results of the elections, of the 17 women who were elected, 8 had been considered "high potentials" and attended the second more intensive training. The other 9 had been considered as high potential as well, but were unable to participate in the second training due to commitments and extremely busy schedules prior to the elections.

There is no strong indication that those who attended the training have indeed "organized in solidarity network" except as per the training report from the 2nd TOT. The report mentions the following:

- The women in Kirkuk set up a network straight away and exchanged emails. One of the participants organised a meeting after the training with community organisations and invited all the participants to the workshop, the trainer and Al Amal. Most of them attended the meeting.
- The women in Basra and other governorate made a (private) Facebook group to inform each other on the campaign and to explore ways to work together and support each other.

Despite of the lack of current evidence that those networks are in any way still functional or if they are sustainable, while WPP is still being implemented, additional support to these groups and networks would be highly regarded.

Output 3: All elected female representatives have received long-term support and assistance.

Activities under this Output have not commenced yet as till the end of the period under review, the federal parliament has not started sessions yet. Despite of that, the training has been planned from the beginning to include the following topics:

1) Gender equality, gender sensitivity, gender responsible budgeting,
2) Women's leadership, communication skills, facilitation and conflict management,
3) Structures, procedures, rules, and bylaws of the parliament (in combination with MP exchange/mentoring).

The last activity under this Output is the "exchange visit of Dutch MPs" has not taken place until the writing of this report. The visit is planned to take place during February 2015.

Output 4: At least 15 political parties received information and support on engaging women.

Several political parties were contacted and an informative meeting was held with a number of representatives (exact number not specified). The big challenge was to be inclusive of all political views and ideologies. In a highly divided country like Iraq this is a very brave endeavor. That said, it might have been an easier task to be more selective in whom the program contacted or chose to work with. The bigger disappointment came from the so-called "liberal" parties who claim they believe in equality and women's rights, yet their actions did not

reflect that. Men were always put on the top of elections lists, as their winning of elections was more secure than women.

Additionally, the political parties were very busy during the time of elections and had very little time to change their strategies or even to attend meetings. The WPP still has time now to work with the political parties as this remains to be the most solid venue through which women's participation can be institutionalized.

With that in mind, political parties are the main groups that have the highest potential to work with in the future. Political parties (particularly newly established ones) need a lot of work, financing, internal organization, adoption of issues that align with their vision, knowing how to build alliances during elections and even after that in parliaments; and remain to be the highest hope in building a strong block within any governmental institution either legislative or the executive branch. More on the work that needs to be done with the political parties is discussed in more details in the recommendations section.

Output 5: Female voters have received balanced and non-biased information about the contribution of women political leaders to the democratic development of the country.

In April 2014, a number of stakeholders meetings were held to gain support from community leaders, political parties, candidates, state officials, and media. The stakeholders meetings are usually huge meetings with about 150-200 participants each. Some of these community stakeholders meetings did not happen or were delayed, as it was decided that priority and focus should be given to the TOTs and the training of candidates.   Despite that around 985 participants have attended the various meetings.

Seminars and meetings were held with journalists in order to sensitize them about the importance of covering and promoting women candidates. A training workshop was held for journalists and media workers in April 2014. According to the project reports, both State and private TV and radio channels, as well as printed newspapers and magazines, covered the training session and interviewed some women candidates who were participating in the training workshops. Several of the trained women candidates had meetings with audiences, conducted press conferences and did radio interviews in all Iraqi provinces. It is believed that this gave an opportunity for the candidates to practice what they have learned during the training. Unfortunately, some candidates were not "allowed" by their parties or blocs to talk to the media. This again, brings us back to the recommendation regarding the additional needed work with the political parties and the internal processes required to be undertaken by them.

It was noted that during the media interviews with female candidates, and as per the WPP reports the following were are the most frequently asked questions:

1. What would you do to support media freedom in Iraq, in case you would win in the upcoming elections?
2. Would you unite as female MPs to advocate for legislation concerning women's rights, regardless to which political party you belong to?
3. Would you be prepared to take a stand against the political party you belong to for the sake of advocating women's rights?
4. What is your opinion about the Jaafari status law?
5. What are the steps you will take in case a violation of women's rights occur in some legislations or laws?

This Output is directly related to Output 2, the main recommendation is to analyze the performance of the candidates during campaigning in order to identify common needs and accordingly revising the training materials in order to better prepare candidates to be more confident in their answers but also to prove that the candidates are not separate from the issues that are of importance to the voters.

WPP has undertaken all activities under this Output. Though it is always a difficult to measure outputs concerning "receiving information", nevertheless the price of actually *not* engaging in such activities is very high.

VII - Sustainability

The sustainability of the WPP Program lies mainly in the building on the previous achievements and activities. As will be discussed in the recommendations, working with political parties, building formal and informal pressure groups composed of the already trained aspirants, as well as continue working with the media; are all factors that contribute to the long term sustainability of WPP.

The sustainability of this program is already built-in for the following reasons:

- Cadres of trainers have already been trained and have trained others. Sustainability is enhanced through having a cadre of 27 local trainers.
- Training materials and curricular have been developed and used. The developed curricular have been contextualized and are focused on improving skills and taken into consideration the specific nature of each governorate in Iraq.
- Trainers and program teams were available and visited women candidates to help them through consultations and overall support.
- Informal women groups and connections have emerged and with some additional attention can thrive into something more organized and formal.

VIII –Main Findings, Lessons Learnt and Final Recommendations

This section provides an overview of the main findings and lessons learnt and provides recommendations to donors and project management.

8.1 Main Findings and Lessons Learnt

There were many factors, unrelated to the WPP program, which contributed to the low numbers of women elected. Chief among these are attitudinal and structural barriers to women's full participation in the political arena: the widespread acceptance of gender inequality, gender violence, and an overall worsening security situation. Perhaps the most important lesson is that increasing the number of women in politics on its own, might have very little impact on women's lives unless there is strong focus on gender, women's rights, designing training that is contextualized, as well as working more and more with men and political parties. That said there are numerous findings and lessons learned from the first part of the WPP program.

- WPP has created a solid TOT curriculum used in the training of local trainers training female candidates.
- All those who attended both TOT workshops were active participants in developing the material they later used and adapted themselves.
- One of the big successes of the program was no "standardization" (no one size fits all) approach and trainees were given the chance and the skills to develop their own messages that resonate best in their respective governorates.
- This kind of "interactive training" gives far more reaching results that traditional "top-down" training.
- Another finding is that even though activities for media campaigns were carried out, it is unfortunate that no systematic assessment on the effectiveness of the training conducted was carried out.
- WPP is a relevant and appropriate intervention. Stakeholders acknowledged the quality of interventions and training provided.
- WPP's strategy to intentionally select a partner CSO with strong knowledge and competence in the electoral sector as well as strong networks on the ground is considered a strategic and good practice.
- WPP is following a good practice by building a strong project team with relevant experience.
- Working in some governorates has proven to be more challenging than in others. This might require special attention, noting the very complex tribal (and hence equally complex political) nature of these governorates.
- Capacity building takes time to implement and to produce results, particularly in a challenging context such as Iraq, where women's political participation is regularly questioned and not widely supported. Without focused and systematic work with political parties, such initiatives might be less sustainable.
- Providing targeted training to women who want to assume positions of leadership is one way of enabling more women to influence decision making processes. The WPP is an example of a program giving training leadership, campaign skills, knowledge of political systems and structures. While training and support are important for women as they seek to attain positions of leadership, women find that they are left to "fend for themselves" in what can be a very hostile operating environment. Once elected, many women feel overwhelmed by how ill-equipped for the duties that they were expected to undertake. In any future programming, ongoing mentoring support has to be given to women parliamentarians to help them be more effective in their roles.
- Program participants have come to realize that here is a link between violence against women and the general tendency for men to limit women's opportunities to participate in formal organizations outside the home, which greatly impacts and limits their capacity to assume leadership positions.
- Very strong stereotypes still prevail and put more limitations on women's participation. Women are still seen as "soft", emotional, and unable to make up their mind, all of which are considered factors making them less effective as leaders. Men are still seen as strong, rational, and reliable, ignoring the fact that this makes men less flexible and unyielding when they make decisions.
- Providing a mix of training venues within the community and outside contributes to the success of the training. Activities outside the community can provide relief for women and allow them to explore place they normally would not be able to visit. Meanwhile, activities organized within the community help to prevent household conflicts by ensuring that women participating do not have to be away from home very often.
- As discussed in the "assumptions" section, the prevailing notion is that women who have succeeded in becoming leaders are these who have demonstrated effective communication skills, assertiveness and the ability to function within a very challenging environment drowning in patriarchal "status quo" lovers. But these "strong women" do not necessarily adopt an agenda that is favorable to women and other disempowered groups. Of course, running gender-sensitivity workshops alone does not equip women with the skills to implement their agenda. Thus, there is a need to gradually improve women's competencies to translate gender analysis into achievable interventions,

- No one program is an arena of "quick fixes" and instant impact. Change happens gradually, as women leaders and would-be leaders are nurtured and supported to engage with and participate in decision-making processes in a way that challenges inequalities and injustice.
- There are many factors which constraint women's ability to participate on an equal footing with men and to take up positions of leadership; these factors always impact hardest and most negatively on women. Institutional gender bias represents a challenge to all women seeking equal participation and competing for leadership positions. Skepticism and mistrust of women's ability to lead, and the stereotypes and prejudices about their role in society and their lack of access to leadership roles and decision-making, are other major challenges to all women.
- Electoral reform can provide new opportunities for women seeking to become leaders in the political arena. The implementation of quotas and reservation of seats have been somehow key instruments in increasing women's political representation. However, women's interests as a collective group have not necessarily been advanced by quotas, as women who do succeed in reaching leadership roles may be unaware (or even unwilling) to champion women's rights and influence their male colleagues to do the same. If used in isolation or understood as being sufficient to bring about women's wider equality, quotas are vulnerable to political manipulation and have limited transformative power. If there is no political will to change that, and no mechanisms exist to enforce compliance, political parties and state structures simply ignore them, and do the bare minimum to look good "on paper".

8.2 Recommendations to Hivos and Al-Amal

- Continue to invest in the trainers whose capacities have been built. A plan needs to be developed to ensure that there is continual investment in this cadre of trainers.
- It is highly advisable that the upcoming Dutch parliamentarians visit to take some time to discuss important lessons on how the Netherlands achieved a high level of women political participation and what lessons can be derived from history. (when talking to Anne this seems to be an issue she was asked a lot about)
- The development of a reference book and material for training for women candidates and elected female MPs Including Q&A results of consultations) is highly advisable.
- Attention to the introduction of gender equality values into the families/husbands as well as within the political parties is critical.
- While working with political parties is challenging and expensive (for training, communication, and campaigning), it remains highly needed (a more detailed action plan to working with political parties can be found below).
- More attention and focus has to be given to the newly emerging formal and informal women's networks. Pressure and advocacy efforts can be one of the areas these women's groups can focus on in the future.
- Existing leadership-training modules rarely take gender into consideration as a factor in leadership development, despite it having considerable influence. The WPP did touch upon some basic gender training, but it is highly advisable that this training be extended even further to be more in-depth.
- Ensuring women's participation in the entire program cycle: problem analysis, planning, implementation, evaluation;
- Making available resources (human and financial) to address gender issues and to encourage more women and men to become advocates for gender equality;
- WPP, through Al-Amal, could work on setting up mechanisms at the organizational and program level for women and men to discuss, negotiate, and agree on priority gender issues and interventions;
- Working more with men to increase their awareness of the relevance of gender issues and to encourage their support for women leaders and gender mainstreaming initiatives.

In the remaining implementation period of WPP a visit is planned (in February 2015) where Dutch parliamentarians will visit Iraq for an exchange visit with the Iraqi parliament and representatives from Dutch political parties foundations for the simultaneous exchange with Iraqi political parties (on women's political participation). In broad terms there are three areas that could be useful to tackle:

1) Overcoming structural barriers;
2) Supporting women and men to carry out leadership roles which challenge inequalities of power and recognize and promote women's rights.
3) Success stories and historic events that led to more women's empowerment in the Netherlands in particular.

8.3 Recommendations to Working with Political Parties:

"No Self Respecting Woman Should Wish or Work for the Success of a Party That Ignores Her Sex."
Susan B. Anthony 1872

In the WPP reports and in this report as well, reference was made many times on how political parties were approached but still remain to be resistant (for various reasons) to the inclusion of women on their candidates lists and they also refrained from any other kind of support to female candidates. The below is an organized approach to working with these parties.

Stage 1: To begin with, some analysis has to be undertaken to measure the extent to which each of the political parties have succeeded in addressing gender issues in their own policies and programs. This should include a wide ranging gender audit, particularly to the parties positioning themselves as being more "liberal/progressive". An Assessment of training needs and gaps regarding gender mainstreaming, rapid appraisals, as well as gender balance in the organizational structure. The results would in turn form the basis for the next stages, planning activities that would strengthen women's capacities and opportunities for participation and leadership within each of the political parties.

Stage 2: Identifying gender issues or particular relevance to them (the parties) and to work on formulating a gender action plan, leadership training, as well as a more focused gender training, knowledge about law relating to women's rights.

Stage 3: In this phase, each Party undertakes, on its own, the targeted activities based on the plans developed and information collected in the previous 2 stages. Together, all the parties take a more serious "path to empowerment".

8.3 Recommendations to working with Elected Parliamentarians:

Since WPP is still providing continued support to the newly elected MPs, it is advisable to conduct a needs assessment for them and further build their capacity. The training can be on one or more of the following areas:

1) 1) Strengthen self-confidence and leadership skills; Build skills to improve female parliamentarians' performance;
2) Strengthen cooperation and solidarity among them;
3) Form a network to share experiences and provide mutual support;
4) Jointly develop strategies to solve the problems participants face in their work;

5) Make female parliamentarians more visible (particularly in the different committees of parliament).

XI - Annexes

Annex I: WPP Updated M&E Scheme

	Updated Monitoring & Evaluation Scheme Women Power in Politics Program Iraq (2013-2015) Hivos and Al-Amal Grant SLMAQM-13-GR-1229						
Targeted results	**Indicators**	**Baseline data**	**Targets**	**Verification sources**	**Data disaggregation**	**Reporting frequency**	**Related activities**
Goal 1 Compared to the current situation, more women will be in leadership positions in parliament and national/federal government	*Goal indicator 1.1* % increase in # of women in key leadership positions in parliament & national/federal government	5 committees headed by women and 1 female minister	5 committees will be heading by women and at least 2 female ministers Minister of State for Women Issues and health minister	Official sources(Iraqi Parliament, public relations and outreach Dept.), media	By committee, geographical base and political party/faction in parliament	Twice: after assignment of posts in new cabinet and in parliament	**1. Capacity building and assistance to female aspirants:** 1.0.Preparatory meeting for Training of Trainers 1.1. Training of trainers 1.2. Local seminars for basic skills
	Goal indicator 1.2 % increase in # of women's affairs institutions, such as women's affairs caucus, women's affairs committee, women's affairs ministry	1 woman headed the women and family affairs committee in parliament, a female minister (state minister of women's affairs)	1 women will be heading the committee of Women's affairs, 2 female ministers will be appointed (state minister for women's affairs and minister of health), 1 woman will become a member in 1 state commission, 1 woman will head caucus	Official sources (Iraqi Parliament, public relations and outreach Dept.), media	By committee, geographical base and political party/faction in parliament	Twice: after assignment of posts in new cabinet and in parliament	1.3. Assistance during elections 1.4. Elections (30 April) **(All done)**
Outcome A Female aspirants are skilled and confident candidates in the	*Outcome indicator A.1* # and % of women nominated	2010: nearly 1/3	2014: 29% (almost 2600 women)	Candidates list issued by IHEC, info from political parties	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Once: before elections	**1. Capacity building and assistance to female aspirants:**

election campaign	**Outcome indicator A.2** # and % of women in parliament, both on basis of votes and on basis of quota	83 female MPs (25% of MPs) 5 women elected into parliament (6%)	83 female MPs (25% of MPs) 22 women will be elected in the parliament (26.5%)	Official sources (Iraqi Parliament, public relations and outreach Dept.), IHEC, media	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Once: after elections	1.0. Preparatory meeting for Training of Trainers 1.1. Training of Trainers for (27) trainers 1.2. (30) Local seminars for basic skills for (816) female candidates 1.3. Assistance during elections by (5) support units **(All Done)**
	Outcome indicator A.3 # of female candidates who report improved skills and confidence	No one from the targeted groups had the required skills	612 of (816) candidates will report improved skills and confidence after training and support WPP	Questionnaires	By geographical base	Once: after training and support	
	Framework indicator GNDR-3 proportion of females who report increased self-efficacy at the conclusion of USG supported training/programming	12% of the targeted groups	65-70%	Follow ups, inputs from females candidates, questionnaires, Q1 &2 reports	By geographical base	Twice before/after training and support	
Output 1 816 female election candidates in all 18 governorates of Iraq have been trained and supported on development of a political agenda, campaigning, use of media, communication with voters and communities in the run-up of the federal parliamentary elections of April 2014. It is a group of 23-27 local trainers from all governorates of Iraq (after having been trained themselves on leadership and gender sensitivity) who have trained these 816 women, built their capacities	**Output indicator 1.1** # of female candidates trained and supported # of training seminars	0 trainees 0 seminars	816 candidates 30 seminars in all governorates of Iraq	Presence of WPP team, reports from local trainers, media coverage about seminars	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Twice: for quarterly reports Q1 and Q2 2014	**1. Capacity building and assistance to female aspirants:** 1.0. Preparatory meeting for Training of Trainers 1.1. Training of Trainers for (27) trainers 1.2. (30) Local seminars for basic skills for (816) female candidates 1.3. Assistance during elections by (5) support units, **(All Done)**
	Output indicator 1.2 # of local trainers trained # of TOTs	0 trainers 0 TOTs	27 local trainers 1 TOT	Presence of WPP team, reports from TOT trainers, feedback from local trainers, blogs	By geographical base and by sex (f/m)	Once	
	Output indicator 1.3 # of support units in Al-Amal offices and local NGOs	0 support units	5 support units	Reports from local trainers, Al-Amal offices and local NGOs	By geographical base	Twice: for quarterly reports Q1 and Q2 2014	
	Output indicator 1.4 Extent to which trained female aspirants apply basic skills for building/strengthening their political career such as development of a political agenda, campaigning, use of media, communication with voters and communities	No one from the targeted groups was applying these skills for political campaigning for federal parliament	150 trained female aspirants will implement the acquired skills	Reports from local trainers, Al-Amal offices and local NGOs	By geographical base	Twice: for quarterly reports Q1 and Q2 2014	

and supported them from support units. Trained female aspirants apply basic skills for building/strengthening their political career such as development of a political agenda, campaigning, use of media, communication with voters and communities.	*Framework indicator 2.2 - 3* # of activities supported with USG assistance that are designed to retain women or recruit women into positions within the national or local government	0 activities					
Output 2 311 high potential female candidates have received intense capacity building and support, are organized in solidarity networks, and connected with civil society at grassroots level. These high potential candidates may to be able to act as role models in their electoral communities	*Output indicator 2.1* # of high potential candidates who have been intensively trained and supported # of training workshops # of network meetings	No one of the high potential candidates received required training	311 high potential candidates 15 workshops in almost all governorates of Iraq	Presence of WPP team, reports from local trainers, media coverage about seminars	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Twice: for quarterly reports Q1 and Q2 2014	**2. Capacity building and assistance to high potentials:** 2.0. Training of trainers for (23) trainers 2.1. Selection of (311) high potentials 2.2. Support to trainers 2.3. (15) Advanced trainings and networking sessions for high potentials 2.4. Practical support to high potentials **(All Done)**
	Output indicator 2.2 # of local trainers trained # of TOTs	No one of the local trainers had required training	23 local trainers 1 TOT	Presence of WPP team, reports from TOT trainers, feedback from local trainers	By geographical base and by sex (f/m)	Once	
	Output indicator 2.3 Extent to which trained candidates apply advanced skills in terms of development of a political agenda, campaigning, use of media, communication with voters and communities	-Limited media coverage -Limited community visits	Each candidate: will establish 10 media contacts, launch 10 campaigns, will actively share experiences and best practices on importance of women leadership	Media coverage, reports from local trainers, feedback from candidates and communities	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Once	
Outcome C Female representatives in parliament and national/federal government will be more effective leaders who can promote women's	*Outcome indicator C.1* # of women-friendly, gender-sensitive legislative initiatives by women # of female MPs who actively work towards a leadership function within their political party or within a political committee	None of formal female representatives in parliament,	10-15 new female representatives will be elected to of parliament, 1–5 female MPs	Qualitative assessment of performance (effectiveness and influence) of female MPs and cabinet members, end term evaluation	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Once: at end of project period	**3. Long term assistance to elected female representatives:** 3.1. A Training of trainers for (9) mentors **(Done)** 3.2. Continuous support to female MPs

rights, and engage in grassroots outreach	*Outcome indicator C.2* Level of outreach of female MPs and cabinet members Existence and quality of partnerships with local NGOs / CSOs	No one of female MPs had reached out to stakeholders	80% of female MPs and cabinet members will reach to stakeholders	Qualitative assessment of relations of female representatives with civil society and grassroots communities, end term evaluation	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Once: at end of project period	and institutions **(Ongoing)** 3.3. (1) Advanced training workshops to elected MPs in Baghdad **(In preparation)** 3.4. (1) Advanced training workshops to elected MPs in Erbil **(In preparation)** 3.5. A Visit and exchange workshop from MPs from the Netherlands **(Postponed)** 3.6. Meetings to create more support from civil society **(Ongoing)**
Output 3 At least 50 elected female members of parliament have received long-term support and assistance until almost a year after the elections	*Output indicator 3.1* # of MPs participated in workshops # of training workshops for MPs	No one of female members had received workshops and trainings	50 MPs will participate in 2 workshops	Presence of WPP team, reports from local trainers, media coverage about seminars	By geographical constituency and by political party/coalition	Quarterly	**3. Long term assistance to elected female representatives:** 3.1. A Training of trainers for (9) mentors **(Done)**
	Output indicator 3.2 # of mentors trained # of TOTs	No one of the target group received mentoring and TOT	9 local trainers and Counsellors will receive mentoring 1 trainer will receive a TOT	Presence of WPP team, reports from TOT trainers, feedback from local trainers, blogs	By geographical base and by sex (f/m)	Once	3.2. Continuous support to (17–20) female MPs and institutions **(Ongoing)** 3.3. (1) Advanced training workshops to (50) elected MPs in Baghdad **(In preparation)** 3.4. (1) Advanced training workshops to (50) elected MPs in Erbil **(In preparation)** 3.5. A Visit and exchange workshop from MPs from the Netherlands **(Postponed)** 3.6. (10) Meetings to create more support
	Output indicator 3.3 # of MPs receiving longer term support/coaching/mentorship	None of the of the target groups received such support	17-20 MPs will receive support	Reports from local trainers, feedback from MPs	By geographical constituency and by political party/coalition	Quarterly	
	Output indicator 3.4 # of MPs involved in international MP exchange # of exchange visits	No one of the target groups were involved in international exchanges No exchange visits.	15-50 Iraqi MPs and 3-6 Dutch MPs will be involved in 1 exchange visit	Feedback from MPs, presence WPP team, media coverage about exchange	By geographical constituency and by political party/coalition	Once	
	Output indicator 3.5 # of meetings with civil society	2-3 meetings	10 meetings	Feedback from MPs and CSOs,	By geographical constituency	Quarterly	

				presence WPP team, media coverage	and by political party/coalition		from civil society. **(Ongoing)**
Outcome B Political parties show more gender sensitivity by offering women's leadership training and women's support programmes, and appointing more women in influential/ leadership positions	*Outcome indicator B.1* # of women as party leaders # of high level female party officials	1 woman 1 woman	4 women 10 women	Official data, media coverage	By political party/coalition	Once: at end of project period	**4. Engagement of political parties:** 4.1. Discussion and educational meetings with Iraqi political parties **(Postponed)** 4.2. Exchange with Dutch political parties **(Postponed)** 4.3. Training and engagement of high potentials in influencing parties **(Postponed)**
	Outcome indicator B.2 # of political parties that have provided leadership training and women's support programmes for female aspirants	3 parties	5 parties	Reports from parties and female politicians	By political party/coalition	Once: at end of project period	
	Outcome indicator B.3 # of political parties that actively engage with civil society and women groups about the importance of women in leadership functions	1-2 parties	5 parties	Reports from parties and civil society organisations	By geographical basis and by political party/coalition	Once: at end of project period	
	Outcome indicator B.4 # of political parties that have adopted a gender quota for their own staff and representatives	2 parties	5 parties	Reports from parties and female politicians	By political party/coalition	Once: at end of project period	
Output 4 15 political parties received information and support on engaging women on influential positions, offering women leadership training and implementing gender support programmes	*Output indicator 4.1* # of meetings with political parties on women's political participation	3-4 meetings 2 parties/blocs	18 meetings 8 parties/blocs	Reports from parties and WPP team	By political party/coalition	Quarterly	**4. Engagement of political parties:** 4.1. Discussion and educational meetings with Iraqi political parties **(Postponed)** 4.2. Exchange with Dutch political parties **(Postponed)** 4.3. Training and engagement of high potentials in influencing parties **(Postponed)**
	Output indicator 4.2 # of exchange meetings with Dutch political parties on women's political participation	No meetings were conducted	1 meeting	Reports from parties	By political party/coalition	Quarterly	
	Output indicator 4.3 # of training to high potential election candidates # of high potential election candidates trained	0 trainings No one of high potentials were trained	2 trainings 15 participants	Presence of WPP team, reports from local trainers, reports from politicians	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Quarterly	
	Output indicator 4.4 # of efforts to influence party policies	No efforts indicated	2-3 efforts	Reports from politicians	By political party/coalition	Quarterly	
	Framework indicator 2.3.3 - 6 # of USG-assisted political parties implementing initiatives to increase the number of candidates and/or members who are women, youth and from marginalized groups	0	8 parties/blocs	Reports from parties and WPP team	By geographical base and by political party/coalition	Quarterly	

Targeted results	Indicators	Baseline data	Targets	Verification sources	Data disaggregation	Reporting frequency	Related activities
Goal 2 Legislation and environment that is supportive of women's rights	**Goal indicator 2.1** # of draft laws that are gender-sensitive and/or supportive of women's rights in Iraq, proposed by female and male MPs # of women in parliament who push for women-friendly legislation	No gender sensitive draft laws or support for women rights were indicated during last parliamentary round	3-4 gender sensitive and women's right supportive draft laws 11 women in parliament	Qualitative assessment of legislative agenda supportive of women's rights, and of effectiveness of women in parliament to push for women-friendly legislation, end term evaluation	By political party/coalition	Once: at end of project period	**3. Long term assistance to elected female representatives:** 3.1. A Training of trainers for (9) mentors **(Done)** 3.2. Continuous support to (17–20) female MPs and institutions **(Ongoing)** 3.3. (1) Advanced training workshops to (50) elected MPs in Baghdad **(In preparation)** 3.4. (1) Advanced training workshops to (50) elected MPs in Erbil **(In preparation)** 3.5. A Visit and exchange workshop from MPs from the Netherlands **(Postponed)** 3.6. (10) Meetings to create more support from civil society **(Ongoing)**
Outcome C Female representatives will be more effective leaders who can promote a legislative agenda, supportive of women's rights, and engage in grassroots outreach (see under goal 1)	See above						
Outcome D Media have more attention for female politicians and their contributions to	**Outcome indicator D.1** % increase in # of stories published in (online) newspapers/magazines and broadcasted on TV/radio that positively portray female politicians	> 2 publications and broadcasts on national media	> 25 publications and broadcasts in/on national media	Publications and broadcasts in media on national,	By geographical basis and by political party/coalition of	Quarterly	

politics, show more balanced media coverage of female politicians		> 2 publications and broadcasts on provincial and local media	>50 publications and broadcasts in/on regional and local media	regional and local level	women portrayed		
Output 5 The wider public (voters), authorities and other stakeholders have received balanced and correct information about the contribution of women to the democratic development of the country	**Output indicator 5.1** # of stakeholders conferences on women's political participation # of stakeholders participating in stakeholders conferences on women's political participation	0	8 stakeholders conferences in various governorates 985 participants	Reports from WPP team, feedback from stakeholders	By geographical basis and by stakeholders' interests	Quarterly	**5. Awareness raising and education of female voters:** 5.1. 8 Regional stakeholder conferences **(Done)** 5.2. 66 Local community meetings for direct awareness raising **(Done)** 5.3. Engaging and informing influential media and journalists **(Done)** 5.4. Workshop with journalists and media professionals **(Done)**
	Output indicator 5.2 # of community meetings on women's political participation # of people participating in community meetings on women's political participation	0	66 community meetings in 15 governorates 700 people from communities	Reports from WPP team, feedback from communities	By geographical basis	Quarterly	
	Output indicator 5.3 # of workshops with journalists and media professionals on women's political participation # of participants in these workshops	0	1 workshop with journalists 16 participants (journalists and media workers)	Reports from WPP team	By geographical base	Quarterly	
	Output indicator 5.4 # of publications/broadcasts about women and politics	No balanced and positive/constructive publications and broadcast about women and politics	> 75 publications and broadcasts about women and politics	Media coverage	By geographical basis	Quarterly	
	Output indicator 5.5 # of news releases about WPP programme and female politicians # of readers/receivers	0	20-25 news releases about WPP	Websites and twitter, newspapers	By geographical basis	Quarterly	
	Output indicator 5.6 # of participants in end term conference	0	50-100 participants will participate in the end term conference	Reports from WPP team	By geographical basis	Once at end of program	
	Output indicator 5.7 # of readers of success stories Level of feedback to publication	0	150-300 readers	Reports from WPP team	By geographical basis	Once at end of program	
	Framework indicator 2.3.2 - 12 # of individuals receiving voter and civic education through USG-assisted programs	0	60,000 individuals will receive voter and civic education	Reports from WPP team	By geographical basis	Twice Q2 and at end of the program	
	Framework indicator 2.4.2 - 12 # of training days provided to journalists with USG assistance	0	48 person-days of training (3x16)	Reports from WPP team	By geographical basis	Once Q1 report	

Annex II: Interview Questions:

List of People Interviewed:

- Mr. Marcel van Der Heijden – Programme Manager, Women Power in Politics Iraq and CSO Capacity Development Iraq
- Jamal Al-Jawahiri, National Programme Manager WPP programme
- George Nichola, National Coordinator WPP programme
- Ms. Anne Graumans – International (Dutch) Trainer
- Ms. Ilham Makki Hammadi – Iraqi Trainer of first TOT

For Trainers:

- How were the trainers identified?
- What was their background?
- How were the training modules constructed?
- Are all 18 Governorates' training identical?
- What was the feedback of the trainees?
- What would you change and what would you keep the same?
- How did the cultural background of the different Governorates affect the training?
- Where was it most successful?
- What were the main success factors?

For Al-Amal:

- How were trainees selected? What were the criteria of sections?
- Were the candidates helped with practical analysis of their electoral cohort?
- How were "high potentials" identified?
- How did the candidates communicate and campaign with the voters?
- What do you think were the common factors of those who won? Particularly first-timers?
- What were typical consultation questions/topics?
- Can you give me an example of a success that you are most proud of?
- This is the mid-term review; from your point of view what is the best way forward?
- If this was to be repeated, what should be given more attentions? And are there activities that should be dropped?

For Hivos:

- This is the mid-term review; from your point of view what is the best way forward?
- If this was to be repeated, what should be given more attentions? And are there activities that should be dropped?
- How do you think your main assumptions have changed since the proposal/inception was developed?
- Are you aware of any other programs of the sort?
- Some activities/expected outcomes are harder to measure than others (e.g. media exposure) how did you measure it and its effectiveness?
- Why was the M&E Framework still being revised in Q4?

- Annex III: List of Documents Reviewed:

Original approved application

Quarterly reports of WPP programme

Budget (revised)

Scope of work (revised)

Monitoring & evaluation scheme (revised)

Internal Evaluation of Training

Contract between Hivos and back-donor

Contract between Hivos and Al-Amal

Contracts between Hivos and trainers of trainers

Terms of references for training of trainers

Annex IV: Scope of Work:

Revised Scope of Work Women Power in Politics Programme Iraq (2013-2015) Hivos and Al-Amal Grant SLMAQM-13-GR-1229
Goal 1: Compared to the current situation, more women will be in leadership positions in parliament and national/federal government
Goal indicators: ⬚ % increase in # of women in key leadership positions in parliament & national/federal government ⬚ % increase in # of women's affairs institutions, such as women's affairs caucus, women's affairs committee, women's affairs ministry
Outcome A: Female aspirants are skilled and confident candidates in the election campaign
Outcome indicators: ⬚ # and % of women nominated ⬚ # and % of women in parliament, both on basis of votes and on basis of quota
Framework indicator GNDR-3 proportion of females who report increased self-efficacy at the conclusion of USG supported training/programming
Output 1: Approximately 1000 female election candidates in all 18 governorates of Iraq have been trained and supported in the run-up of the federal parliamentary elections
Output indicators: ⬚ # of female candidates trained and supported ⬚ # of training seminars to female candidates
Framework indicator 2.2 – 3 # of activities supported with USG assistance that are designed to retain women or recruit women into positions within the national or local government
Output 2: Approximately 300 high potential female candidates have received intense capacity building and support, are organized in solidarity networks, and connected with civil society at grassroots level
Output indicators: ⬚ # of high potential female candidates who have been intensively trained and supported ⬚ # of training workshops to high potential candidates
Outcome C: Female representatives in parliament and national/federal government will be more effective leaders who can promote women's rights, and engage in grassroots outreach
Outcome indicators: ⬚ # of women-friendly, gender-sensitive legislative initiatives by women ⬚ level of outreach of female MPs and cabinet members

Output 3: At least 50 elected female members of parliament have received long-term support and assistance until almost a year after the elections
Output indicators: ⬚ # of MPs participated in workshops ⬚ # of training workshops for MPs ⬚ # of MPs receiving longer term support/coaching/mentorship
Outcome B: Political parties show more gender sensitivity by offering women's leadership training and women's support programmes, and appointing more women in influential/leadership positions
Outcome indicators: ⬚ # of high level female party officials ⬚ # of political parties that have provided leadership training and women's support programmes for female aspirants
Output 4: 15 political parties received information and support on engaging women on influential positions, offering women leadership training and implementing gender support programmes
Output indicators: ⬚ # of meetings with political parties about women's political participation ⬚ # of exchange meetings with Dutch political parties about women's political participation
Framework indicator 2.3.3 - 6 # of USG-assisted political parties implementing initiatives to increase the number of candidates and/or members who are women, youth and from marginalized groups
Goal 2: Legislation and environment that is supportive of women's rights
Goal indicators: ⬚ # of draft laws that are gender-sensitive/supportive of women's rights, proposed by MPs ⬚ # of women in parliament who push for women-friendly legislation
Outcome C: Female representatives will be more effective leaders who can promote a legislative agenda, supportive of women's rights, and engage in grassroots outreach

(see under goal 1)

Outcome D: Media have more attention for female politicians and their contributions to politics, show more balanced media coverage of female politicians

Outcome indicators: ▢ % increase in # of stories published in (online) newspapers/magazines and broadcasted on TV/radio that positively portray female politicians

Output 5: The wider public (voters), authorities and other stakeholders have received balanced and correct information about the contribution of women to the democratic development of the country

Output indicators: ▢ # of participants in stakeholders conferences and in community meetings on women's political participation ▢ # of workshops with journalists and media professionals on women's political participation ▢ # of publications/broadcasts about women and politics

3 / 3

Framework indicator 2.3.2 - 12   # of individuals receiving voter and civic education through USG-assisted programs

Framework indicator 2.4.2 - 12 # of training days provided to journalists with USG assistance

Framework indicator GNDR-3 proportion of target population reporting increased agreement with the concept that males and females should have equal access to social, economic, and political opportunities

F Framework Indicators

2 Governing Justly & Democratically

2.2 Good Governance Indicator 2.2 -3 Number of activities supported with USG assistance that are designed to retain women or recruit women into positions within the national or local government.

2.3.2 Elections and Political Processes Indicator 2.3.2 -12 Number of individuals receiving voter and civic education through USG-assisted programs

2.3.3 Political Parties Indicator 2.3.3 -6 Number of USG-assisted political parties implementing initiatives to increase the number of candidates and/or members who are women, youth and from marginalized groups.

2.4.2 Media Freedom and Freedom of Information 2.4.2 -12 Number of training days provided to journalists with USG Assistance

Gender GNDR-3 Proportion of females who report increased self-efficacy at the conclusion of USG supported training/programming

GNDR-3 Proportion of target population reporting increased agreement with the concept that males and females should have equal access to social, economic, and political opportunities