

Conflict Research Program

## **Mapping European Democracy Assistance**

Tracing the Activities and Financial Flows  
of Political Foundations

Working Paper 36

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## Preface

This working paper presents the findings of a recent research project into the financial flows and activities of the main European political foundations in the broad field of democracy assistance.<sup>1</sup> The project, entitled ‘European Political Party Assistance Flows’, was initiated by the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) and executed as part of the Conflict Research Programme (CRP) funded by the Peacebuilding and Good Governance Division (DMV/VG) of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This report provides an update and elaboration of an earlier paper by Jos van Wersch entitled *Europe in Democracy Assistance: Facts and Figures*, which was originally written under the auspices of the Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) as a preparation for the conference ‘Enhancing the European Profile in Democracy Assistance’, held in The Hague on 4-6 July 2004.<sup>2</sup> The present report provides updated figures and data from 32 European political foundations, covering the years 2003 and/or 2004. In addition, it includes annexes with relevant information about the 32 foundations, as well as the contact details of the main international organizations involved in democracy assistance. Here we would like to thank all the representatives from these foundations and international organizations who took the time to answer our questions and provide us with the (financial) information presented in this report.

The contents and views expressed in this paper are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Clingendael Institute, the organizations under study, or their staff.

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<sup>1</sup> In Annex 1 a list of all organizations surveyed is included. For practical reasons, this study includes the political foundations of the original 15 EU member states only.

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the conference ‘Enhancing the European Profile in Democracy Assistance’ and related research papers, please see the conference website: <http://www.democracyagenda.org>



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## Abbreviations

AMS-EFDS	Alfred Mozer Stichting – European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appèl
CDCDD	Christian Democrats Council for Democracy and Development
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CKID	Constantine Karamanlis Institute for Democracy
CPIF	Centre Party International Foundation
DCP-CU	Development Cooperation Project – Christian Union
DFID	Department for International Development
EEPT-SGP	Eastern Europe Project Team of the SGP
EFS	Eduardo Frei Stichting
EIDHR	European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FJJ	Fondation Jean-Jaurès
FMS	Fundação Mario Soares
FNST	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung
FPI	Fundación Pablo Iglesias
FRS	Fondation Robert Schuman
FSS	Foundation on Sustainable Solidarity
FUNDAES	Fundación para el Analisis y los Estudios Sociales
GFF	Green Forum Foundation
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit - German [Agency for] Technical Co-operation
HBS	Heinrich Böll Stiftung
HSS	Hanns Seidel Stiftung
HvSS	Haya van Someren Stichting
IDEA	(International) Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDI	International Democratic Initiative
IFLP	International Forum of the Left Party
IRI	International Republican Institute
Istame	Institute for Strategic and Development Studies – Andreas Papandreou
JHF	Jarl Hjalmasson Foundation
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
MATRA	MAatschappelijke TRAnsformatie (‘societal transformation’)
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NED	National Endowment for Democracy

NGO	non-governmental organization
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation
OAS	Organization of American States
ODA	official development assistance
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (of the OSCE)
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIKOS	Cooperação e Desenvolvimento
OPIC	Olof Palme International Center
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PA-ÖVP	Politische Akademie der ÖVP
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid
RI	Renner Institute
RLS	Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung
SGP	Staatkundig Geformeerde Partij
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SILC	Swedish International Liberal Centre
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie
WFD	Westminster Foundation for Democracy

## Summary

This study presents an overview of the budgets and activities of the 32 main European political foundations involved in democracy assistance. These organizations share a number of characteristics: a) they are all linked to one or more political parties; b) they receive their funds mainly from national governments; and c) they give special attention to political parties in their democracy assistance activities.

Through e-mail questionnaires and telephone interviews, information was collected on the following aspects of the work by 27 political foundations: annual overall budget, annual programme budget, thematic focus, programmatic focus and regional focus. Apart from disclosing quantitative (mainly financial) information on their activities, this paper also presents some qualitative information on the methods of evaluation and impact assessment used by the European political foundations. Lastly, the paper pays special attention to the Dutch situation, where ‘party-to-party’ foundations coexist with a multiparty foundation.

Our findings show that in 2004 the combined annual overall budget of 27 European political foundations was almost €400 million. With a combined annual overall budget of €358 million, the six German political foundations (*Stiftungen*) take the largest share. There are only seven European foundations that have an annual overall budget larger than €10 million. The annual overall budget of the other 20 foundations is much smaller, with 12 of them having less than €1 million to spend annually. The rapid growth of this particular form of official development assistance (ODA) is testified by the rise in recent years in the annual budgets of most of the European political foundations. Between 2002 and 2004, 27 foundations had an average budget increase of 19.1%. The relatively young Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) experienced the largest budget increase (198.4%) and saw its budget almost triple from €2,273,549 in 2002 to €6,785,613 in 2004. The largest decrease (31.5%) was reported by the Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation in Sweden, with a budget of €825,000 in 2002 against €565,000 in 2004. Overhead costs represent on average 19.7% of the annual overall budgets of European foundations.

Another important finding is that it is a relatively new form of assistance. Most European political foundations (approximately 70%) were founded after 1989. The German *Stiftungen* are an exception to this rule. With some of them having been established in as early as 1925 and with an average age of 38 years, the German *Stiftungen* are significantly older than the other European foundations, which on average are only 14 years old.

As far as their thematic focus is concerned, our findings show that for 21 of the 32 foundations, 72% of their work is concerned with the broad theme ‘Political Parties’. Strengthening the structure or organization of new parties receives most attention in this area. The other important theme in their work is ‘Civil Society’ (17%). The remaining activities supported by political foundations range widely and were labelled as ‘Other’ (11%). The latter category includes mainly activities related to elections. In terms of types of programmes supported, our findings show that for 20 of the 32 foundations, 56% of their assistance programmes can be described as ‘Training Activities’. With 12%,

‘Conferences and Seminars’ are another main programme category, followed by ‘Advice and Technical Assistance’ (14%) and ‘Other’ (18%).

Turning to the regional focus of assistance programmes, it becomes clear that countries in Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia receive most attention (25% of annual project expenditure). Central and South America come second with 21%, while Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa share third place with 20%. Countries in North Africa and the Middle East receive the least attention from political foundations, with only 14% of annual project expenditure being spent in this region. However, these figures are heavily influenced by the regional focus of the German *Stiftungen*, which account for a disproportionate share of the combined overall assistance budget available. If the *Stiftungen* are excluded from the calculation, the figures change to 39% (Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia), 22% (Sub-Saharan Africa), 15% (Central and South America), 13% (Asia) and 11% (North Africa and the Middle East) respectively.

The brief, more qualitative part of the research focused on the evaluation methods and impact assessments used by European political foundations. Our research shows that most political foundations in Europe do evaluate their work regularly. However, with a few exceptions, most of these evaluations are conducted by internal staff members and are not published in the public domain. Evaluations reportedly provide the foundations with much-needed ‘lessons learned’. The need to work together with local actors to create ownership and enlarge the credibility of the assistance programme was mentioned as the most common ‘lesson learned’. Of the 32 European political foundations studied, 15 indicated that it remains difficult to support political parties abroad, especially because the chances of survival of new and inexperienced parties are rather uncertain. Foundations try to overcome this constraint by working closely with trustworthy local partners – mainly political parties that share their ideology – and foster their organizational capacity.

The final part of our study focuses on the Dutch situation. Seven Dutch political foundations (EFS, AMS-EFDS, HvSS, FSS, EEPT-SGP, DCP-CU and IDI) are supported through the government-funded programme ‘MAatschappelijke TRAnsformatie’ or MATRA. These foundations, which work mainly on a ‘party-to-party’ basis, are predominantly active in Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia. In addition, there is a multiparty foundation – the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) – that is currently active in Africa, Latin America, Indonesia and Georgia. The combined budget of Dutch political party foundations was more than €8.7 million in 2004, but the size of individual organizations’ budgets varies widely (with NIMD taking the lion’s share). In contrast to other European foundations, Dutch foundations are primarily active in supporting political parties and party systems in new and emerging democracies (representing 96% of their thematic project expenditure), mainly through training activities (52% of their assistance programmes).

# I. Democracy and Political Party Assistance

## 1.1. Background

In recent years the international community has come to realize the importance of political parties and a well-functioning political party system for the process of democratization. Gradually, there is a growing recognition that support given to elections, civil society or public administration reform is not sufficient for helping to consolidate the long and difficult process of democratization in transitional and war-torn societies or other young democracies.

Bilateral and multilateral assistance agencies, political foundations as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have subsequently started to design political party assistance programmes, focusing on teaching political parties in new and emerging democracies specific skills (such as campaigning, membership development, developing party programmes, etc.) and helping them to become stronger institutions (strengthening party organization, fostering internal democracy and/or improving their financial administration).

Although political parties in young democracies increasingly receive attention from international actors, the question of how best to support them, and under what conditions, has not yet been resolved. Apart from the initial work done by Burnell, Carothers and Kumar,<sup>3</sup> there have been almost no evaluations or systematic studies looking at the impact and lessons learned of political party and democracy assistance. This paper is meant as a first attempt to map the activities and financial flows in this field, albeit of only one group of actors, i.e., political foundations.

## 1.2. Main Actors

There are many international organizations active in democracy assistance. Perhaps the best known for its work in democracy assistance is the European Union (EU) and its special programme, the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), with an annual overall budget of approximately €125 million (2004). This initiative funds projects on various themes, such as human rights (issues related to torture, death penalty, freedom of expression, gender), rule of law (ombudsmen, truth commissions, legal aid) and conflict resolution (mediation, socio-economic reintegration of ex-combatants).

In addition, there are several intergovernmental organizations involved in democracy assistance. Some are based in Europe but their activities have an almost worldwide reach. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), for example, is based in Stockholm but serves as a knowledge broker on issues related to democracy in numerous countries around the world. Its 2004 annual overall budget of €11 million was spent on various activities and programmes focusing on political parties, democracy-building and conflict management, electoral processes and women in politics. The activities of most other intergovernmental organizations are limited to a specific region. With a 2005 annual overall budget of €169 million, the Organization for Security and

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<sup>3</sup> See Peter Burnell, 'Promoting Parties and Party Systems in New Democracies: Is There Anything the "International Community" Can Do?'; Thomas Carothers, *Political Party Aid. Issues for Reflection and Discussion*; and Krishna Kumar, *International Political Party Assistance. An Overview and Analysis*.

Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is also active in democracy promotion. The activities of its Warsaw-based Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) are mainly focused on Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia. Outside Europe, the Organization of American States (OAS) is one of the more active intergovernmental regional organizations. With a 2004 annual overall budget of US\$72 million, OAS programmes cover many themes, including human rights, democracy assistance, anti-terrorism and social and economic development. Finally, there are several multilateral organizations within the UN family that are active in promoting democracy. With a 2004 annual overall budget of US\$4 billion, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the most prominent in this group. Its main focus areas are democratic governance, poverty reduction, crisis prevention and recovery, energy and environment, and HIV/AIDS.

Most of the funds for these regional and multilateral organizations come from bilateral agencies, either from separate ministries of foreign affairs and ministries of development cooperation, or from integrated agencies, as is the case in the Netherlands. The main European bilateral agencies involved in democracy assistance are the Department for International Development (DFID) in the UK, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Outside Europe, the most prominent bilateral agencies working on democracy issues are the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Despite the potential political leverage and financial power of the above-described international organizations, with the exception of IDEA, democracy assistance is often not their core business. The lion's share of democracy promotion activities on the ground is being carried out by a small number of NGOs and political foundations that receive funds from bilateral and multilateral institutions to implement democracy programmes. In Europe, the bulk of this work is done by just over 30 organizations, often described as democracy promotion or political foundations. Together with their counterparts in the United States (US), the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI), these organizations are the most actively involved in implementing democracy programmes at grass-roots level and working closely with political parties in young democracies.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3. Research Focus: Political Foundations

This paper takes a closer look at the main European political foundations that are active in supporting democracy and political party development abroad.<sup>5</sup> Together, these foundations had a combined 2004 overall budget of €398.9 million.<sup>6</sup> They generally share three characteristics:

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<sup>4</sup> Apart from these, there are a number of other (non-governmental) organizations involved in democracy programming. These include: European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA), Electoral Reform International Services (ERIS), International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), etc. In addition, there are bilaterally funded consulting firms and implementing contractors, such as Creative Associates (CREA), Management Systems International (MSI) and Development Alternatives Inc. (DAI). The activities of these two groups of organizations fall outside the scope of this study.

<sup>5</sup> In Annex 1 a list of the 32 political foundations is included. For practical reasons, this study includes the political foundations of the original 15 EU member states only.

<sup>6</sup> This figure includes the combined annual overall budgets of only 26 out of a total of 32 European political foundations. Moreover, in the case of the Fondation Robert Schuman (FRS), the budget figure relates to 2003.



- they are (closely) related to one or more political parties in their home country;
- they are for the main part officially funded by government agencies;
- they give special attention to political parties in their democracy assistance activities.

The first of these is the main distinctive characteristic of a political foundation. The relationship between a political party and a party foundation may vary in strength, but generally there is a clear link. In the case of the Dutch political foundations, each of them is closely linked to its respective political party; the work of the foundations is mentioned by the political parties on their websites as one of their core activities. The International Democratic Initiative (IDI), for example, is part of the international office of the Dutch social liberal party D66, and focuses on supporting democratization worldwide, particularly by stimulating international collaboration between parties. In the case of the six German political foundations, each *Stiftung* represents one of the political-ideological orientations found in the German political system. Although the *Stiftungen* object to being labelled as ‘party foundations’, the position of each foundation is ‘close’ to one or other of the German political parties.<sup>7</sup> The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), for example, is a social democratic foundation and is close to the Social Democratic Party (SPD); the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNST) is related to the liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP), etc. Moreover, most *Stiftungen* appoint a former high-level politician as their chairperson and consult party staff on the main direction of their programmes. Since most *Stiftungen* were established much earlier than their other European counterparts, the German model has been copied in many European countries.

The above description does not imply that all political party foundations are alike. However, there are differences in the way they are organized. This concerns the manner in which the political foundation is structured; the exact role of a supervisory or executive board in daily management; the relationship between the foundation and the political party; and the implications of this relationship for the execution of assistance programmes.

The second characteristic of a political foundation relates to its funding source. In most cases, the foundation receives its funds from a bilateral agency, such as a ministry of foreign affairs or a ministry of development cooperation. For example, the Swedish political foundations are for a large part funded by Sida, while the UK’s Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) is mainly funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). Political foundations, however, work together in their programme countries with domestic foundations from a related ideological background. This makes co-financing possible and in many cases the German foundations play a leading role in this regard. For example, the Eduardo Frei Stichting (EFS), of the Dutch Christian Democratic Party, has conducted projects in close relationship with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), which is linked to the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) in Germany.

The third defining characteristic of political foundations relates to their area of expertise. It is clear that they pay special attention to political party development in their democracy assistance activities. In most cases, they are approached for support by political parties in developing countries. Since most political foundations are linked to a political party, they generally have a reasonable understanding of some of the challenges that political parties face in developing and former communist countries. Foundations know the political arena and can share their knowledge with their local partners. Other international actors active in democracy assistance do not have this specific experience and expertise, and normally do not have the advantage that most political foundations

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<sup>7</sup> See Erdmann, *Hesitant Bedfellows: The German Stiftungen and Party Aid in Africa. Attempt of an assessment*, p. 3.

possess, of sharing a similar ideological background with their local partners. In addition, it should be noted here that political foundations do not work exclusively with political parties. Civic associations, trade unions and other interest groups are also among their beneficiaries. In some cases, however, this is because political foundations face legal prohibitions to work directly with political parties. Under German Party Law, for instance, the *Stiftungen* are not allowed to support any political party, at least within Germany. Whether the *Stiftungen* are allowed to support political parties abroad, especially through the ‘bi-party’ approach, remains unclear. The data presented in this study show that in practice the *Stiftungen* are involved in a number of party-related assistance activities.

Recently, a new type of political party foundation has emerged. Until a couple of years ago, the traditional form of assistance consisted of party-to-party assistance, whereby a western political foundation supported, trained or otherwise assisted a political party with a similar ideological background or political philosophy in a newly democratizing country. This ‘bi-party’ approach is still used by most of the German, Dutch, Spanish, French and Swedish political foundations. For example, the Foundation for Sustainable Solidarity (FSS), of the Dutch Green party ‘GroenLinks’, worked closely with the Green Democrats in Hungary in Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia. There are, however, a number of regions where the usual approach based on similar ideological backgrounds is difficult to apply. In regions like Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, North Africa and Asia, for instance, political foundations have found it difficult to find suitable partners as political parties in these regions have not yet developed their ideological profile or else they operate according to a different logic. In response to these challenges there are a few organizations that have been explicitly established as multiparty foundations. Their approach is to support the process of democratization by working with a wide spectrum of political parties in a particular country.<sup>8</sup> Notable among them is the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), which has programmes that bring Dutch parties together to collaborate in fostering the development of a democratic party system in young democracies.

#### 1.4. Research Questions

This report tries to fill the gap in the information available about the work of political foundations based in Europe. Apart from a few studies on the work of the German *Stiftungen*, there is little information on which groups are primarily supported by political foundations or on how this support is organized. The present study aims to investigate these questions to provide the ongoing debate on political party assistance with some basic (quantitative) material.

The data presented in this paper was mainly gathered through two surveys that were sent out by e-mail to representatives of the 32 European political foundations. Additional information was obtained by way of follow-up telephone interviews and an analysis of annual reports, evaluation reports, websites, and academic literature. The two surveys consisted of two questionnaires. The ten questions in the first questionnaire were clustered around two categories: ‘budgets’ and ‘evaluation/impact’. The two questions in the second questionnaire were intended to gather more information on the focus of political party assistance activities and the division between programme and overhead costs in each organization’s budget. A total of 12 questions were asked.

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<sup>8</sup> Among such multiparty foundations are NIMD (established in 2000) and the Norwegian Centre for Democracy Support (NCDS, in 2002). In Canada and Finland parliamentary debates on whether to establish a multiparty institute are ongoing. The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in the US and WFD in the UK are organizations that were established as multiparty initiatives, but are designed to distribute funds to individual political parties that mainly work with a bi-party approach.

‘On ‘budgets’, the foundations were asked the following questions:

- What are the main themes your organization is working on? Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific thematic focus? E.g., civil society, elections, political parties, etc;
- What types of programme does your organization focus on? Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific programme focus? E.g., training, material support (equipment), technical assistance (advice), etc;
- What types of political party activity does your organization support?;
- Which regions does your organization focus on? Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific regional focus? E.g., Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and the Middle East, Asia and Central and South America;
- What was the annual overall budget<sup>9</sup> for your organization over the years 2002, 2003 and 2004?;
- What were your organization’s programme budget and overhead costs (estimate)?;<sup>10</sup>
- How has your organization’s budget changed over the past two to five years (2000–05)? If exact data is not available, how would you characterize the budget change (drastic/moderate increase, decrease, remained more or less the same)?

*On ‘evaluation/impact’, the foundations were asked the following questions:*

- How would you assess the chances for international assistance to influence political party development in the regions you are working in?;
- What are the main constraints you face when promoting political party development and democratization?;
- How has your organization tried to overcome these constraints?;
- Has your organization conducted any (internal or external) evaluations and/or impact assessments of its programmes in the past five years?;
- What types of lessons has your organization learned from its own or other organizations’ evaluations?

Of the 32 foundations, 21 (66%) answered all questions related to budget; 27 (84%) answered the questions on the ‘regional focus’ and ‘annual overall budget’; 15 (47%) responded to all questions in the questionnaires.

Because of the limited availability of data on the evaluation/impact question, the paper focuses mainly on the quantitative parts of the questionnaire, dealing with the thematic, programmatic and regional focus of European political foundations, as well as the annual overall budgets. A more in-depth qualitative and quantitative evaluation of international political party assistance and its effects on political party development in different settings would require a larger time-frame and additional (field) research, which exceeds the scope of this study.

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<sup>9</sup> The annual overall budget covers all costs/funds of a political foundation in the relevant fiscal year.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Overhead’ refers to all costs related to the running of their organization, i.e., administration, staff salaries, maintenance/rental costs for buildings, travel expenses, etc.; in other words, costs not directly spent on programmes in the field.



## II. Budgets and Activities of 32 European Political Foundations

### 2.1 Annual Overall Budgets

From the 32 political foundations in our sample, 27 foundations provided figures for their annual overall budget. This information is presented in table 2.1.

**Table 2.1. Annual Overall Budgets of European Political Foundations (N=27) in million euros (2004)**

FES	KAS	HSS	FNST	HBS	OPIC	RLS
123.5	102.9	42.7	40	37.2	12.5	9
NIMD	WFD	FRS*	RI	FPI	FJJ	CKID
6.8	6.2	3.3	2.8	2.3	2.1	1.5
AMSEFDS	SILC	JHF	CPIF	EFF	CDCDD	HvSS
0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
IFLP	GFF	FSS	IDI	DCP-CU	EEPT	
0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	

\* Figure relates to 2003

All these foundations provided their figure for the year 2004, except for the Fondation Robert Schuman (FRS), which gave its figure for 2003. This enables us to compare the sizes of all 27 foundations' annual overall budgets. Many foundations also provided their annual overall budgets for previous years (from 2002 onwards) until 2005. The average annual budget increase for all 27 foundations was 19.1% or €77,207.<sup>11</sup> The largest increase was noted by NIMD, whose annual budget rose by 198.4%, from €2,273,549 in 2002 to €6,785,613 in 2004.<sup>12</sup> The biggest decrease was experienced by the Swedish Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation (JHF), which saw its annual overall budget fall by 31.5%, from €825,000 in 2002 to €565,000 in 2004.

If we compare these figures with the annual overall 2004 budgets for the main US political foundations, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) (table 2.2)<sup>13</sup>, we see that the budgets of the US foundations are located somewhere between those of the largest German *Stiftungen*.

**Table 2.2. Annual Overall Budgets of US Political Foundations (N=2) in million euros (2004)**

NDI	IRI
45.7	29.3

<sup>11</sup> This figure has been calculated by using the figures for the annual overall budget for the years 2002, 2003 and 2004.

<sup>12</sup> NIMD's substantial budget increase is partly due to its recent establishment (in 2000) and subsequent late growth of program activities.

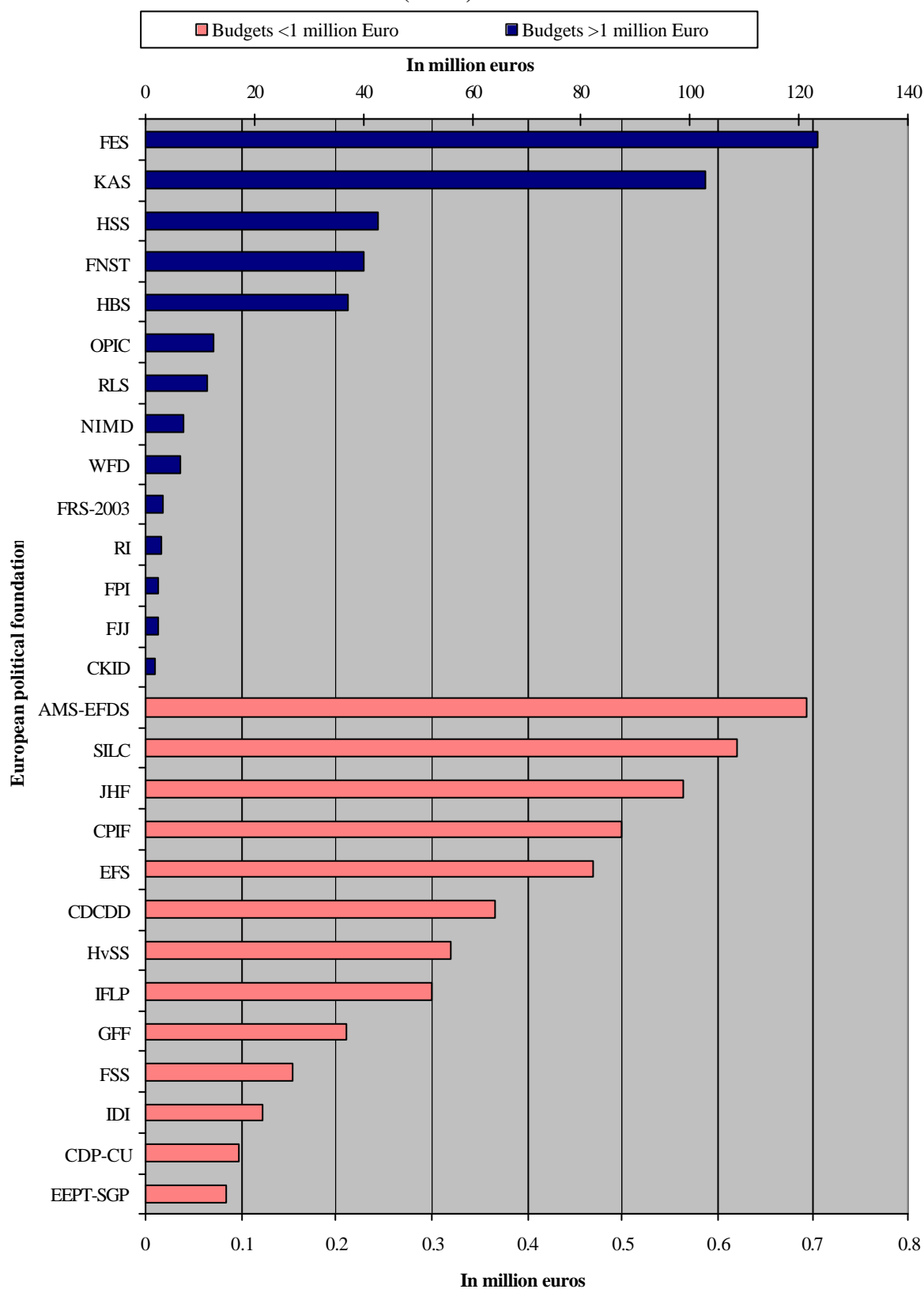
<sup>13</sup> IRI and NDI are loosely affiliated with the Republican Party and Democratic Party respectively. Both of them receive a substantial part of their funding through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), funded by US Congress.

Between 2002 and 2004, the annual overall budgets of NDI and IRI grew each year by an average of 15% and 35.3% respectively, mainly as a result of growing US policy interest in the Middle East. In the case of NDI, for example, US\$5.75 million (or €4.6 million) was reserved for its Iraq programme: more than 10% of its annual overall budget in 2004.

Graph 2.1 on the next page presents the same information on the European political foundations as table 2.1 (above), but this time in graphic form. The top half of the graph shows those foundations with an annual 2004 budget of more than €1 million (coloured in blue), while the lower half shows foundations with an annual 2004 budget of less than €1 million (coloured in pink).

**Graph 2.1 Annual overall budget per European Political Foundation, 2004**

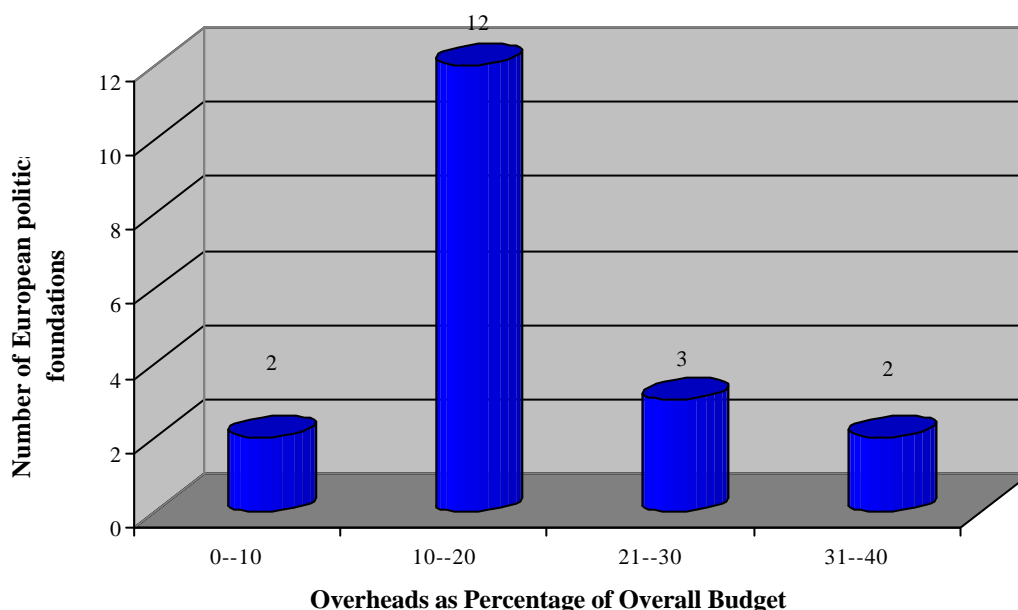
(N=27)



It is important to mention here that the annual overall budget of each political foundation cannot entirely be spent on programme-related activities. Some of it is spent on overhead costs, which include

costs related to the functioning of the organization, such as administration, staff salaries, maintenance/rental costs for buildings, travel expenses, etc.; in other words, costs not directly spent on programmes in the field. Nineteen of the 27 foundations (70%) provided information on their overheads. The data presented in graph 2.2 below shows that the majority of foundations (12 out of 19) spent between 11% and 21% of their annual overall budget on overhead;<sup>14</sup> the average for all 18 foundations was 19.7%.

**Graph 2.2 Number of European Political Foundations per Overheads Category, 2004 (N=19)**



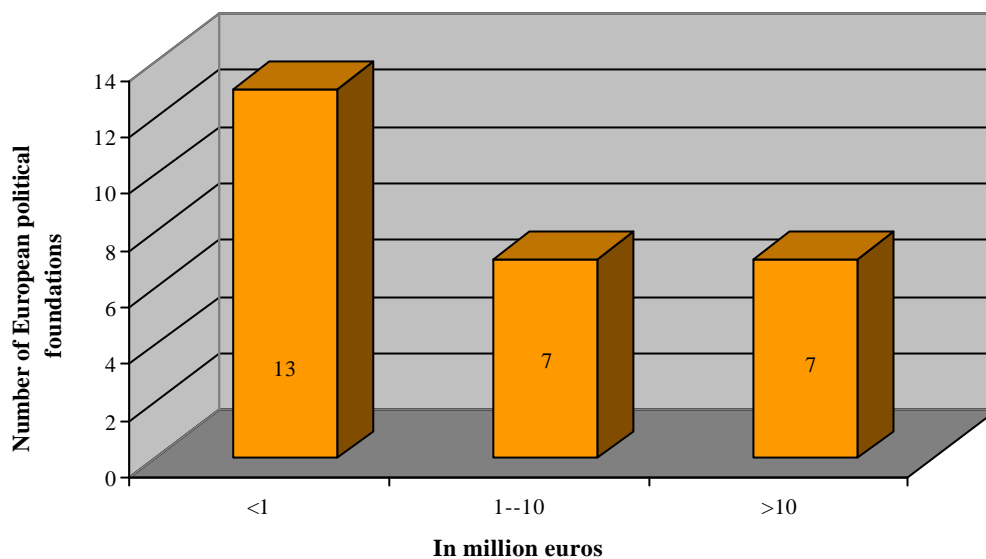
## 2.2 Different Budget Sizes

One of the striking findings concerns the differences in budget size of the individual European foundations. In total, only 7 political foundations out of the 27 that responded (or 26%), have an annual overall budget larger than €10 million. Another 7 foundations (26%) have an annual overall budget of between €1 million and €10 million. However, the majority, i.e., 13 of the 27 political foundations (or 48%), have an annual overall budget that is under €1 million. This means that 20 (or 74%) of the 27 European political foundations have an annual overall budget of less than €10 million. The next graph (2.3) shows the number of European political foundations for each of the three budget size categories: less than €1 million, between €1 million and €10 million, and €10 million or more.

<sup>14</sup> HSS and OPIC are in the 0-10% range; FNST, CKID, NIMD, GFF, AMS-EFDS, EFS, HvSS, EEPT-SGP, DCP-CU, FSS, IDI and WFD, 10-20%; RI, HBS and FPI, 21-30%; SILC and KAS, 31-40%. It is important to mention here that this picture might be slightly distorting as there is no uniform approach to calculating overhead costs. The figures presented here are those provided to us by the political foundations themselves, in most cases without specifying what particular costs are included in the overheads figure.



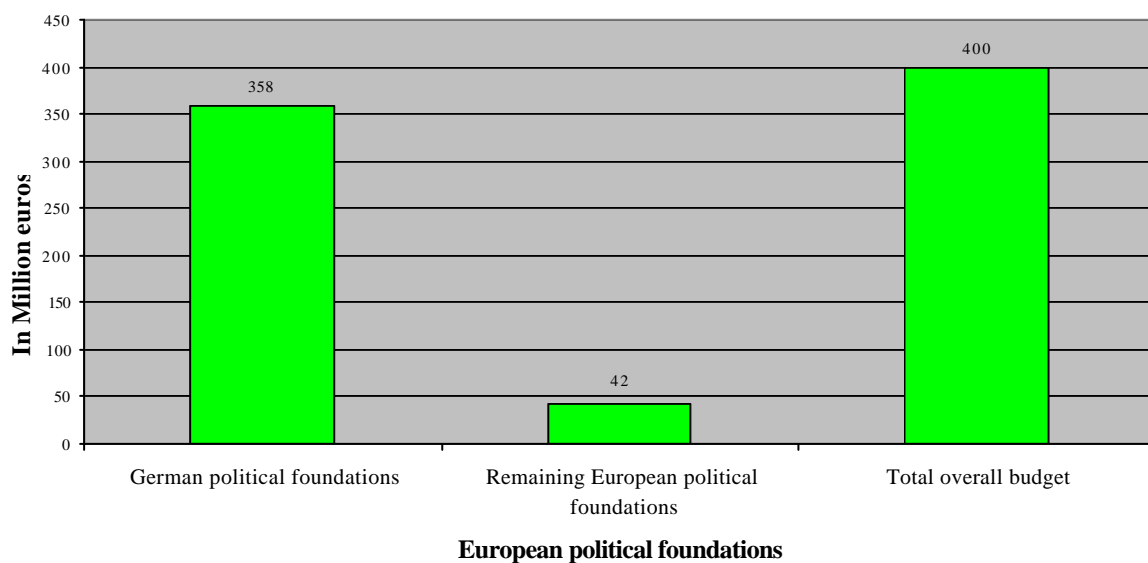
**Graph 2.3 Number of European Political Foundations per Budget Size Category, 2004 (N=27)**



### 2.3 The Predominance of the German *Stiftungen*

Graph 2.1 already indicated that the German *Stiftungen* have the biggest annual overall budgets among the European political foundations. The largest foundation in Europe is the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), which had a 2004 budget of €123.5 million. With an annual overall budget of €12.5 million, the Swedish Olof Palme International Center (OPIC) is the only foundation larger than a German foundation. The marked difference between the size of the budgets of the German *Stiftungen* and those of other European political foundations is clearly visible in the following graph (2.4).

**Graph 2.4 Annual Budgets of European Political Foundations combined, 2004 (N=27)**

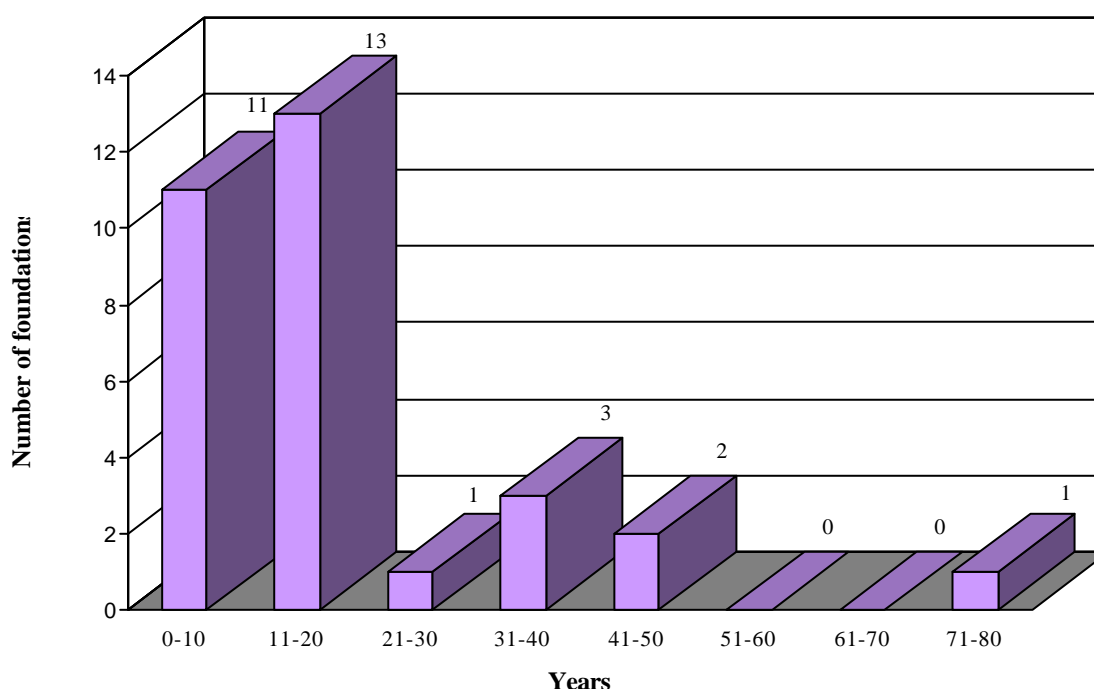


With a combined budget total of €358 million, the German foundations account for almost 90% of the aggregate budget of the 27 political foundations that responded to our survey. The remaining foundations, 21 in total, account for roughly 10%, with a combined budget total of €41,783,158. The average annual overall budget is €14,798,617. This figure drops to €1,989,674 when the German foundations are excluded from the calculation. Among the German *Stiftungen*, the average annual overall budget is €59,629,917, almost 30 times greater than the average budget of other European foundations.

## 2.4 Age of European Political Foundations

Compared with other international organizations and agencies, political foundations are relatively new actors in the field of international assistance. The following graph (2.5) depicts the age of the European political foundations under study. In total, 31 foundations provided information about the year in which they were established. Most (24 out of 31, or 78%) are less than 21 years old.<sup>15</sup> Twenty-three political foundations were in fact created after 1989. The German *Stiftungen* are much older, with an average age of 38 years. The average age of European political foundations is 19 years. If the German *Stiftungen* are excluded from the total sample, the average age of the European political foundations drops to 14 years.

**Graph 2.5 Age of European Political Foundations, 2005 (N=31)**



The oldest political foundation in Europe is the German Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), founded in 1925. The other six European political foundations more than 20 years old include the Konrad

<sup>15</sup> These include FJJ (1992), FRS (1992), HBS (1997), RLS (1998), Istame (1995), OIKOS (1987), CKID (1998), FMS (1991), FUNDAES (2003), OPIC (1992), CPIF (1998), IFLP (1995), GFF (1996), JHF (1994), SILC (1998), NIMD (2000), AMS-EFDS (1990), EFS (1990), HvSS (1993), FSS (1990), EEPT-SGP (1991), DCP-CU (1995), IDI (1990), WFD (1992).

Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) (1956), the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNST) (1958), the Hanns Seidel Stiftung (HSS) (1967), the Renner Institute (RI) (1972), the Politische Akademie der ÖVP (PA-ÖVP) (1973) and the Fundación Pablo Iglesias (FPI) (1977). In comparison, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) in the US were both founded in 1983.

## 2.5 Thematic Focus

One of the primary objectives of our research was to provide an overview of the activities of European political foundations. The main question asked in the questionnaire in this regard was: “What are the main themes your organization is working on? Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific thematic focus? For example, does assistance concern mainly activities in the field of civil society, elections, political parties, etc.?” Of the total group of 32 foundations, 21 responded to this question (66%).<sup>16</sup> The answers presented a wide variety of activities, which ranged from poverty reduction, media development, institution-building and political party development to economic development. The replies given can be divided into three categories:

- civil society;
- political parties;
- other.

The first category, civil society, refers mainly to activities targeted at a broad range of grass-roots associations, trade unions, local self-help groups, religious societies and NGOs. Certain political foundations have clear links with specific civil society organizations. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), for example, is very active in supporting trade unions. The Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNST) often cooperates with business associations and human rights groups.<sup>17</sup> Of course these foundations also have activities in other areas of civil society. In general, however, political foundations with a social democratic background tend to emphasize the role of trade unions in their civil society programmes. The more Christian-based foundations have a preference for working with civil society groups that have a religious (Christian) background and/or with business groups. The liberal foundations mainly stress the position of business associations and the rule of law in civil society-related democracy activities. The political foundations that are more left-wing oriented and/or have a political connection with ‘green’ parties, tend to focus more on ecological and gender issues in their civil society programmes. In this research, of the 21 political foundations, only one (i.e., OPIC) directed most of its funds (70%) to activities concerned with civil society.

The second category, political parties, is one of the core aspects of the work of political foundations. As already mentioned, political foundations have the skills and experience to work with political issues and party organization. The activities in assistance programmes vary, but all are designed to benefit political parties and their role in a democratic society. Examples of activities include training for party officials, leadership training for youth organizations, the role of women in politics, campaigning for elections, etc. Other activities reported by the foundations include conferences and seminars on values in politics or on political management. Also in this category of support, most political foundations work with parties that have a similar ideological background. The

<sup>16</sup> These were: RI, KAS, HBS, CKID, FPI, OPIC, CPIF, IFLP, CDCDD, GFF, JHF, SILC, NIMD, AMS-EFDS, EFS, HvSS, FSS, EEPT-SGP, DCP-CU, IDI, WFD.

<sup>17</sup> Mair, *The Role of the German ‘Stiftungen’ in the Process of Democratization*, p. 3.

Haya van Someren Stichting (HvSS) of the Dutch liberal party VVD, for example, organized a summer school for political youth organizations from Central and Eastern Europe with the Macedonian liberal youth party LiDem. This activity was co-financed by the FNST, which is related to the German liberal party, the FDP. The only foundation in our survey that works primarily on a multiparty basis is the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD). NIMD projects normally focus on the broader political party system. This includes projects designed to promote dialogue and interaction between different political parties, and those that enhance transparency and accountability in the parties' structure. The strong focus on political party-related activities of the European political foundations is testified by the information collected from the two surveys.<sup>18</sup> Thirteen of the 21 European political foundations (62%) spend 80% or more of their annual (programme) budget on political parties. They are: IFLP (100%), CDCDD (100%), JHF (100%), HvSS (100%), FSS (100%), EEPT-SGP (100%), IDI (100%), AMS-EFDS (98%), GFF (90%), EFS (100%), DCP-CU (85%), NIMD (90%) and SILC (84%).

Finally, the third category contains all the activities that could not be described as projects aimed at civil society or political parties. This is mainly the result of dissimilar methods of classification, which often vary from year to year, and varying styles of financial reporting (which in some cases has to be in a format required by the main donor agency). As a result, the following themes are included in the category 'other':

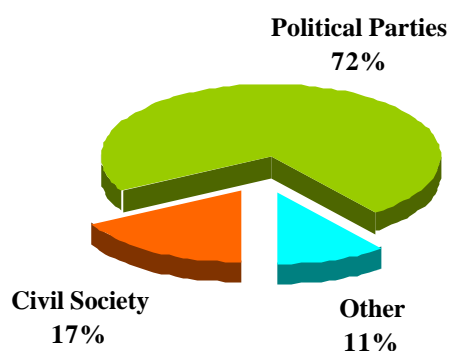
- election support;
- capacity-building;
- institution-building;
- democratic institutions affiliated to politics;
- economic structure promotion (economic development);
- good governance and sustainable development.

Under the heading 'other', activities most often mentioned are those related to elections: election campaigning, election expert meetings, electoral processes and programmatic support of elections. It is not clear, however, who or what exactly is supported in election activities. Support may include technical advice to political party leaders in election campaigning, but could also be voter education efforts. The activities mentioned under this heading that were not election-related varied even more widely, and it was impossible for the foundations to categorize these activities.

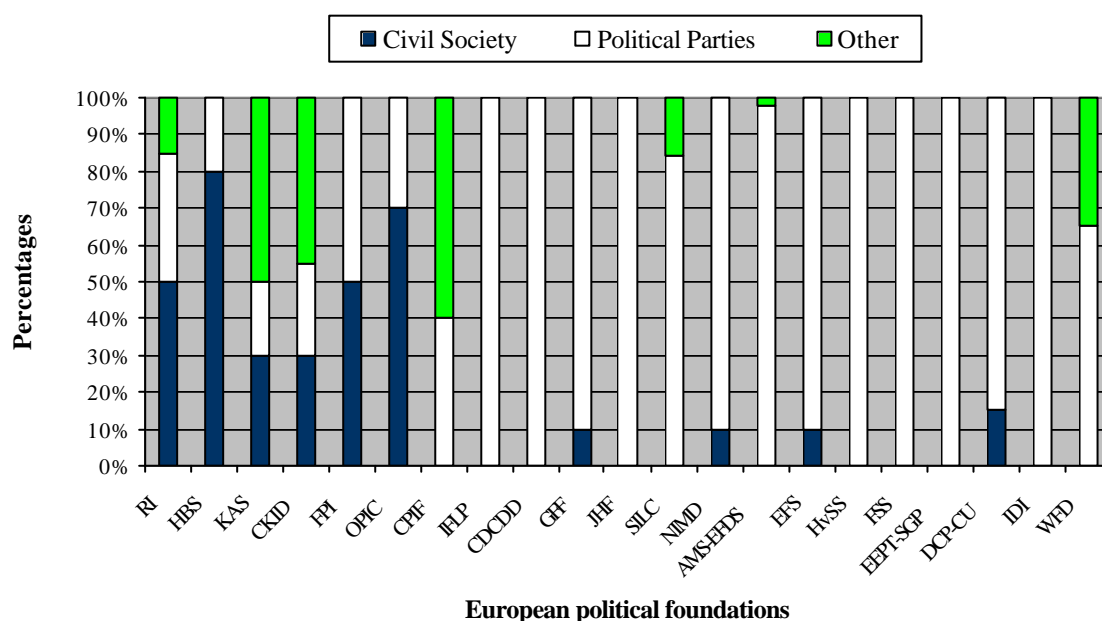
Graph 2.6 portrays the composition of the programme budgets of 21 European political foundations. As most foundations do not use a uniform budgetary system of programme classification, there is little or no information on the absolute figures for thematic annual project expenditure. Graph 2.5 is therefore not based on absolute data, but on estimates in percentages. Political party-related activities account for 72% of the foundations' work; civil society and 'other' activities account for 17% and 11% respectively. From this graph it becomes clear that assistance to political parties is the core business of the European political foundations.

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<sup>18</sup> Here it is important to emphasize that the data collected on the theme 'political parties' includes no absolute figures, but only relative figures (i.e., percentages). This is due mainly to the fact that most foundations do not use a uniform budgetary system of programme classification.

**Graph 2.6 Thematic Focus of Project Expenditure, 2003/04 (N=21)**

Graph 2.7 below presents the composition of project expenditure for each European political foundation.

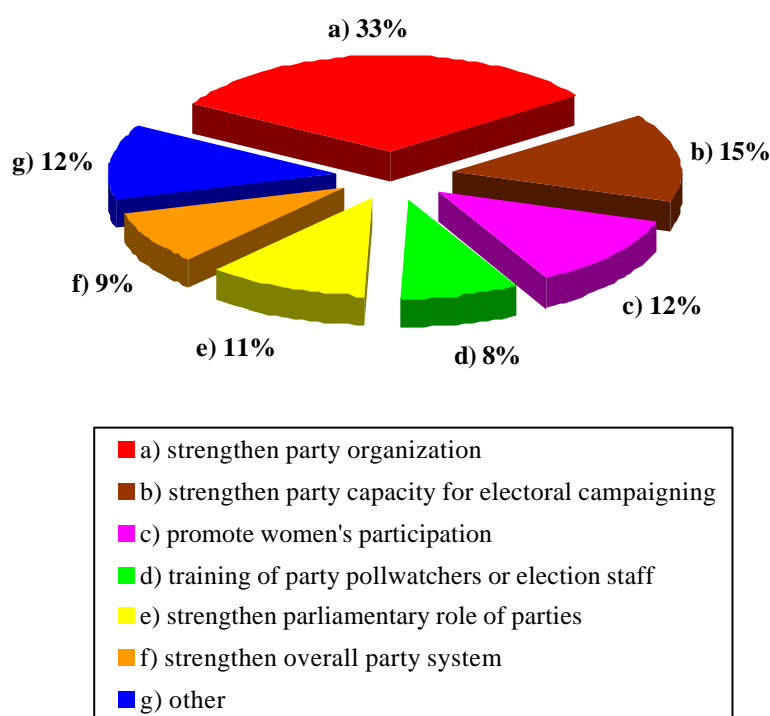
**Graph 2.7 Thematic Composition of Project Expenditure, 2004 (N=21)**

In order to find out what political assistance activities the foundations were involved in, we asked them to specify their political party-related activities according to seven types of assistance:<sup>19</sup> a) strengthening party organization; b) strengthening party capacity for electoral campaigning; c) promoting women's participation in politics; d) training party poll watchers/electoral staff; e)

<sup>19</sup> Adapted from Carothers, *Political Party Aid*, p. 4 and Kumar, *International Political Party Assistance*, pp. 7–13.

strengthening the parliamentary role of parties; f) strengthening the overall party system; and g) other. The response received from 15 foundations (47%) showed the following distribution: a) 33%; b) 15%; c) 12%; d) 8%; e) 11%; f) 9%; and g) other 12%. This information is also presented in graph 2.8 below.<sup>20</sup>

**Graph 2.8 Type of Political Party Assistance, 2004 (N=15)**



## 2.6 Programmatic Focus

Apart from providing an overview of the thematic focus of European political foundations, the survey also included a question on the programmatic focus of their work. Questions asked included “What types of programme does your organization focus on? In other words, what sort of assistance does your organization mainly give? Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific programmatic focus? E.g., training, material support (equipment), technical assistance (advice), etc.” Of the total group of 32 foundations, 20 (63%) responded to this question.<sup>21</sup> Again, the replies varied considerably, from train-the-trainers, interactive programmes, advisory services, to material support. The types of programme that were mentioned most often can be divided into four categories:

<sup>20</sup> The 15 foundations were: RI, HBS, FPI, CKID, OPIC, GFF, SILC, NIMD, AMS-EFDS, EFF, HvSS, EEPT-SGP, DCP-CU, FSS, IDI.

<sup>21</sup> These were: RI, KAS, HBS, CKID, FPI, OPIC, CPIF, IFLP, CDCDD, GFF, JHF, SILC, NIMD, AMS-EFDS, EFS, HvSS, FSS, EEPT-SGP, DCP-CU, IDI.

- training;
- conferences and seminars;
- advice and technical assistance;
- other.

The first category, training, can be illustrated by the following example: the Alfred Mozer Stichting-European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity (AMS-EFDS) of the Dutch social democrat party, PvdA, trained campaign managers from their sister party in Slovakia, the SDL. The training was aimed at teaching the campaigners how to design a political campaign. In this case the training was conducted by a Dutch trainer. In response to requests for capacity-building assistance, the AMS-EFDS has also run several train-the-trainer projects. In the Russian Federation, for instance, young party officials were trained to become local trainers, allowing the AMS-EFDS to conduct other training exercises with local rather than Dutch training staff. In our survey, 13 of the 20 European political foundations (or 65%) spent more than 50% of their project expenditure on training activities.

The second category refers to more interactive activities, such as workshops, seminars, summits and conferences. The Fondation Robert Schuman (FRS), for example, organized a seminar in Romania in 2004 on the topic 'Which Romania in which Europe? Europe seen by young Romanians'. The seminar had several round-table discussions on various topics. Another example is the conference organized in Hungary in 2003 by the Eastern Europe Project Team (EEPT) of the Dutch reformed political party SGP. This conference, on the market economy from a Christian perspective, was attended by some 120 people. The main participants were members of the Association of Protestants in Society.

The third category, advice and technical assistance, can best be described as the provision of assistance relating to specific technical challenges within the organization of the recipient party. This includes, for example, assistance for developing skills in using the Internet or in setting up a financial administration system. It also comprises activities targeted at knowledge exchange or mediation including, typically, discussion meetings on values and norms in politics, but also on topical issues such as the European Union (EU) and its rules and regulations.

The final category represents all activities that could not be categorized otherwise. The following types of activity were included in this 'other' category:

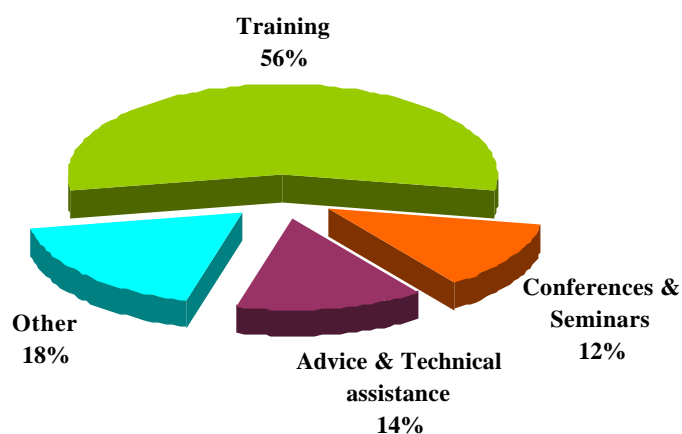
- international cooperation;
- capacity-building;
- exchange visits.

In view of this study's limited time-frame, it was not possible to gather more information on the exact nature of these programmes or provide specific examples.

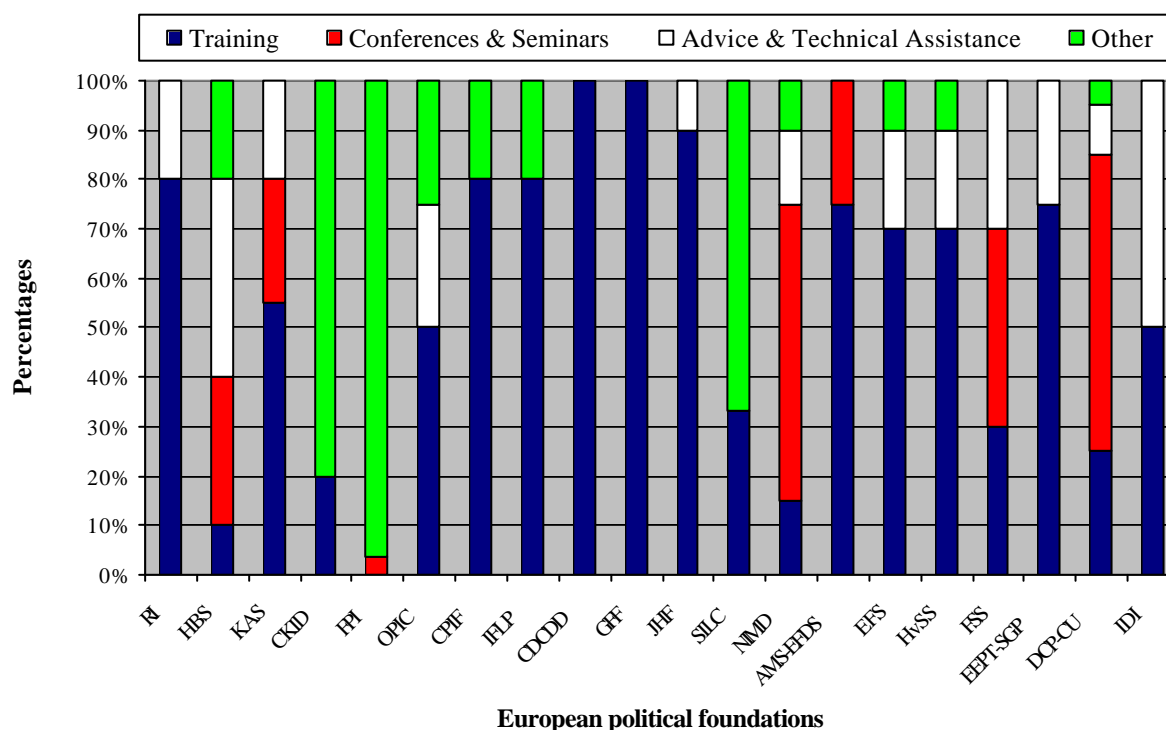
Graph 2.9 below shows the programmatic composition of the combined expenditure of the 19 European political foundations. Again, as no information on absolute data is available, the graph presents (estimated) percentages only. Training activities account for 56% of the expenditure; 12% is spent on conferences and seminars, 14% on advice and technical assistance, and 18% on other

activities.<sup>22</sup> Graph 2.10 presents the composition of the expenditure of each of the 20 European political foundations that responded to this survey question.

**Graph 2.9 Programmatic Focus of Project Expenditure, 2003/04 (N=20)**



**Graph 2.10 Programmatic Focus of Project Expenditure, 2004 (N=20)**



<sup>22</sup> The relatively large size of the 'other' category is mainly a result of the response by Fundación Pablo Iglesias (FPI). This organization reported only one activity under the 'programmatic' heading, namely the training of political leaders (of which 4% of the expenditure related to conferences).



## 2.7 Regional Focus

The last aspect in the quantitative part of our questionnaire concerned the regional focus of the work of European political foundations. The following questions were asked: “Which regions does your organization focus on? Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific regional focus? The regions that were identified are Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and the Middle East, Asia, and Central and South America. In addition, there are a few political foundations that run programmes in their own countries or support activities with an interregional or even global outlook. These activities are not accounted for in the next three graphs.<sup>23</sup> Of the 32 foundations, 27 (or 84%) provided information on their regional focus, both in absolute figures and in percentages.<sup>24</sup> There are some political foundations that have a 100% score for the region Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia, reflecting their exclusive focus on this particular geographical region. These organizations include the Eduardo Frei Stichting (EFS), the Haya van Someren Stichting (HvSS), the Foundation on Sustainable Solidarity (FSS), Eastern Europe Project Team-SGP (EEPT-SGP), Development Cooperation Project-ChristenUnie (DCP-CU) and the International Democratic Initiative (IDI). These foundations are all Dutch and receive special funding under the MATRA programme to work with their sister parties in Eastern Europe (see also Chapter 3).<sup>25</sup>

The first graph on regional distribution, graph 2.11, presents the percentage of annual project expenditure per region of 27 European political foundations. The graph shows that the regions Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia receive the largest share of assistance, with 25 %. The smallest share is reserved for North Africa and the Middle East, with 14%. The distribution between the regions can be measured by calculating the difference between the largest and the smallest portions in this graph the difference is 11 percentage points. Below the graph are the absolute figures for each region (table 2.3).

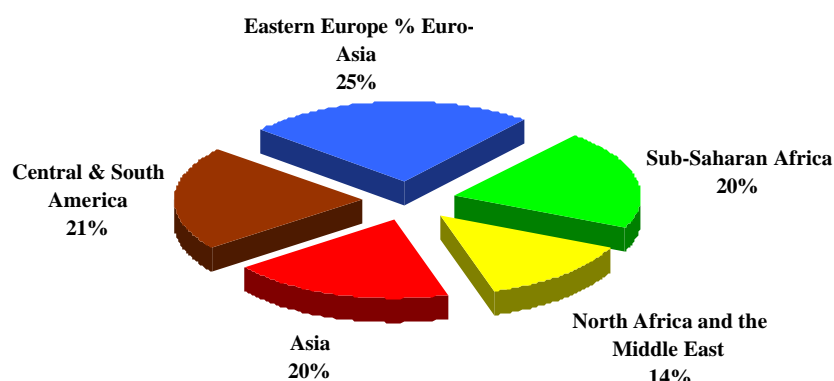
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<sup>23</sup> The excluded activities (domestic/global/interregional/other) total €20,633,345. Annex II gives further information on each foundation, including these other activities (under ‘regional focus’).

<sup>24</sup> These were: RI, FJJ, FRS, FES, HSS, HBS, KAS, FNST, RLS, CKID, FPI, OPIC, CPIF, IFLP, CDCDD, GFF, JHF, SILC, NIMD, AMS-EFDS, EFF, HvSS, FSS, EEPT, DCP, IDI, WFD. Most foundations provided the figures for 2004; three (FRS, FPI and SILC) provided figures for 2003.

<sup>25</sup> There are seven Dutch political foundations that make use of MATRA funding, the seventh being AMS-EFDS. Although most of its funds (98%) are spent in Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia, AMS-EFDS also runs activities in North Africa and the Middle East (2%).

### 2.11 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure, 2003/04 (N=27)

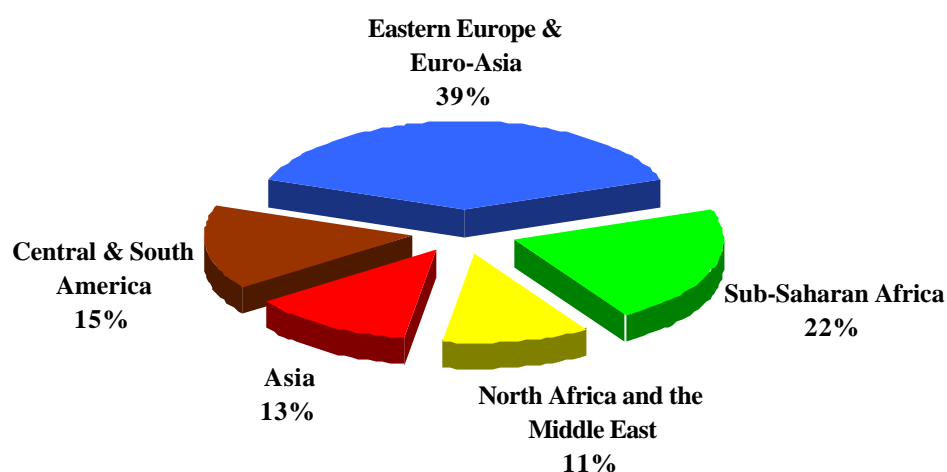


**Table 2.3 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure (2003/04) (N=27)**

Region	Annual Project Expenditure	Percentage
Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia	€48,067,923	25%
Sub-Saharan Africa	€39,234,009	20%
North Africa and the Middle East	€26,410,069	14%
Asia	€37,598,489	20%
Central and South America	€40,899,963	21%
Total	€192,210,453	100%

As already mentioned, the German *Stiftungen* have a large impact on almost all figures in this research, mainly because of their large budget size. To get a more balanced picture of the geographical focus of the other, non-German, political foundations, it is necessary to exclude the German *Stiftungen* from the calculation. Graph 2.12 shows that there are several notable changes in the pie chart as a result of this. First of all, the Eastern Europe and Euro-Asian region now receives 39% of the total amount of political foundation assistance available, compared with only 25% when the German *Stiftungen* are included. The portions of total funding received by the regions North Africa and the Middle East (11%), Asia (13%) and Central and South America (15%) are smaller than those shown in graph 2.11. The difference between the largest and the smallest portion is 28% in this graph. Below the graph are the absolute figures for each region (table 2.4).

**Graph 2.12 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure without German *Stiftungen* , 2003/04 (N=21)**

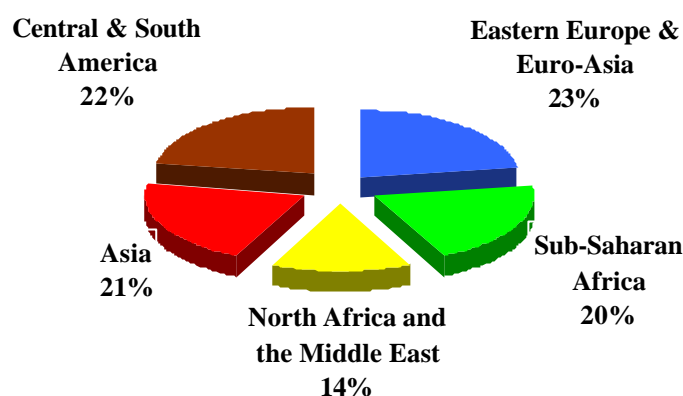


**Table 2.4 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure without German *Stiftungen* (2003/04) (N=21)**

Region	Annual Project Expenditure	Percentage
Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia	€1,255,591	39%
Sub-Saharan Africa	€6,284,000	22%
North Africa and the Middle East	€3,280,017	11%
Asia	€3,722,563	13%
Central and South America	€4,414,775	15%
Total	€28,956,946	100%

The significant differences between graph 2.11 and graph 2.12 can be explained by the regional distribution of funds by the German *Stiftungen* which have a strong influence on the overall data, in that their assistance is more evenly divided between the different regions. Graph 2.13 shows the percentage of annual project expenditure per region by all six German *Stiftungen* combined, for the year 2004. The constituent parts of the pie chart are relatively equal in size, as the difference between the largest and the smallest portion is only 9%. The main recipient region is Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia (with 23%), while the North African and Middle Eastern region receives the lowest level of German funding (14%).

**Graph 2.13 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure by German *Stiftungen*, 2004 (N=6)**



**Table 2.5 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure by German Stiftungen (2004) (N=6)**

Region	Annual Project Expenditure	Percentage
Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia	€6,812,332	23%
Sub-Saharan Africa	€2,950,009	20%
North Africa and the Middle East	€2,130,052	14%
Asia	€3,875,926	21%
Central and South America	€6,485,188	22%
Total	€163,253,507	100%

To summarize, graphs 2.11, 2.12 and 2.13 have shown that the six German *Stiftungen* have a (disproportionately) large influence on the overall figures for regional distribution of assistance. The region Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia was the largest in every graph, and that of North Africa and Middle East the smallest. When the German *Stiftungen* are excluded (graph 2.12), the distribution of project expenditure is quite uneven compared with the distribution shown in graph 2.11. This can be explained by the relatively large budgets of the German *Stiftungen*. The difference between the largest and the smallest segment in graph 2.12 is only 9%, while in graph 2.11 it was 28%. In Annex II, each of the 26 political foundations is presented with its regional focus and annual overall budget for 2004. Where available, data on thematic and programmatic focus is also presented.

## 2.8 Use of Evaluations and Impact Assessments

The qualitative part of the questionnaire focused on the evaluation methods of political foundations as well as their methods for assessing programme impact. Sixteen of the 32 political foundations (50%) replied to these questions. As it is difficult to generalize from the mainly narrative responses, the paragraph below presents an overview of the answers given to the following survey questions:

- How would you assess the chances for international assistance to influence political party development in the regions you are working in?;
- What are the main constraints you face when promoting political party development and democratization?;
- How has your organization tried to overcome these constraints?;
- Has your organization conducted any (internal or external) evaluations and/or impact assessments of its programmes in the past five years?;
- What type of lessons has your organization learned from its own or other organizations' evaluations?

In relation to question number 8, many of the 15 foundations stated that it is difficult to support political parties, especially when their chances of survival are rather uncertain. In addition, respondents indicated that it is not possible to rapidly transform political parties into democratic parties ("it is not an instant-coffee recipe"). This does vary, however, from one region to another and sometimes even from one country to another. Most respondents felt that strengthening political parties in multiparty systems has long been neglected. To conclude, respondents indicated that there are opportunities for supporting political party development, but that it is a long-term activity, requiring different strategies according to the region.

Regarding the ninth question, respondents reported a high turnover rate of party activists in the recipient countries. Political parties seem to come and go within years or even faster, and this is seen by many as symptomatic of political instability. In some countries, political parties are not allowed to accept direct support from foreign donors. Another constraint that political foundations face in working with political parties in other countries is the cultural differences between their own (often western) staff and their counterparts in the recipient country. Other obstacles mentioned in the responses include a lack of resources, corruption, problems concerning project proposals, lack of international coordination and the limited absorption capacity of recipient organizations.

With respect to question 10, the responses show that political foundations are trying to overcome these constraints by working with trustworthy local contacts or by asking assistance from or teaming up with other political foundations (mostly with similar ideology) who are active in a specific country. Another approach mentioned is to continuously evaluate the assistance projects and to be critical of the outcomes of such evaluations – even when this means putting the project on hold. Other ways of dealing with constraints included: working with small, manageable projects that involve direct (face-to-face) and frequent contact, and discussing problems openly with counterparts.

The feedback received in connection with the eleventh question indicates that most political foundations evaluate their projects regularly. However, most of these evaluations are carried out by (internal) staff members and remain for internal consumption only. Only a few foundations mention the use of external evaluations, often initiated by the main funding agency (a ministry of either foreign affairs or development cooperation). Some foundations send a questionnaire to all participants in their projects, for the purpose of evaluating the projects. In most cases, evaluations lead to the identification of 'lessons learned'. Constantly discussing the projects with other international organizations working in the same sphere, but also evaluating the projects with the local partners to learn from past mistakes, is a method that is regularly employed by political foundations.

The replies to question 12 were fairly similar as most foundations indicated that one of the key lessons learned had been the importance of concentrating on only a few main goals in order to increase organizational effectiveness. In addition, foundations mentioned the positive effects of working

together with other political foundations and with local actors, and that this was essential in order for a programme to be successful.

Due to the short-term nature of this research project, unfortunately it was not feasible to draw more information from, or to further elaborate on, the qualitative part of our surveys. This would have required a broad range of in-depth interviews that exceeded the scope of this study.

### III. Political Foundations in the Netherlands

#### 3.1 The Dutch Party Assistance Context

Within the Netherlands there are eight political foundations involved in political party and democracy assistance. The Dutch situation is unique, as there are two different kinds of political foundations. The seven MATRA political foundations work mainly on a party-to-party basis, almost all of them in Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia. In addition, there is one multiparty foundation, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), which operates worldwide with all political parties within a programme country irrespective of their ideological backgrounds.

#### 3.2 The Seven MATRA Political Foundations

The seven Dutch ‘party-to-party’ foundations are mainly funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the so-called ‘MATRA Programme’.<sup>26</sup> Established in 1994, MATRA (‘MAatschappelijke TRAnsformatie’, or ‘societal transformation’) is a specific line within the Dutch Foreign Affairs budget, aimed specifically at supporting the (political) transition of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as Euro-Asia. In its first period, 1994–98, the MATRA Programme focused on civil society and local government issues. In 1998, the programme was divided into two subcomponents: ‘MATRA Pre-Accession’ and ‘MATRA Good Governance’. The ‘MATRA Pre-Accession’ component was renamed ‘MATRA for European Cooperation’ in 2004. The aim of this component is to establish partnerships with the new European Union (EU) member states as well as fostering partnerships with other EU neighbouring countries. The objective of the ‘MATRA Good Governance’ component is “to stimulate the desired transition to a multiform, democratic, constitutional state in the selected countries of Central, South-East and Eastern Europe”.<sup>27</sup> One part of this component consists of the ‘MATRA Political Parties Programme’, which provides the funds for the seven Dutch ‘party-to-party’ foundations. Their assistance is mainly focused on strengthening parties in young democracies through the training of mid-level political party activists. Almost all of their activities take place in Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia.<sup>28</sup> The Dutch political party foundations are expected to work with like-minded parties in countries that receive aid from the Dutch government.

In 2004, the total MATRA Programme budget amounted to €43 million, of which €15 million for ‘MATRA for European Cooperation’ and €28 million for ‘MATRA Good Governance’. Also in 2004, the ‘MATRA Political Party Programme’ had a budget of €1.7 million, representing the funds for the Dutch political party foundations. Each political foundation receives a minimum amount from the MATRA Programme, and this is supplemented by a certain amount according to the number of

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<sup>26</sup> In addition, by law, Dutch political parties represented in parliament may also apply for funds from the Netherlands Ministry of the Interior for their international activities and for supporting like-minded parties abroad through training activities, without the need to set up political foundations. However, to our knowledge none of the Dutch parties represented in parliament has yet applied for these national funds.

<sup>27</sup> Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Bijlage bij Kamerbrief inzake Beleidsvoornemens Matra-programma*.

<sup>28</sup> Recently it has become possible for the Dutch political foundations that are funded through the MATRA Programme to work also in Morocco and Jordan.

parliamentary seats held by the political party that is affiliated to that foundation. Thus the Haya van Someren Stichting (HvSS), for example, receives funding according to the number of seats held by the Dutch liberal party, the VVD.

The relationship between the seven MATRA foundations and their ‘sister’ political parties is relatively close. The Eduardo Frei Stichting<sup>29</sup> (EFS) is linked to the Christian democrat party (CDA); the Alfred Mozer Stichting (AMS-EFDS) to the social democratic party (PvdA); the Haya van Someren Stichting (HvSS) to the liberal party (VVD); the Foundation on Sustainable Solidarity (FSS) to the green party (GroenLinks); the Eastern Europe Project Team (EEPT-SGP) to the reformed Christian party (SGP); the Development Cooperation project (DCP-CU) to the Christian party (ChristenUnie); and the International Democratic Initiative (IDI) to the social liberal party (D66).<sup>30</sup> Training and assisting political parties abroad is perceived as one of the key activities that Dutch political foundations undertake. Political foundations are therefore often viewed, despite their separate legal status, as part and parcel of the political party they are linked to. Their activities abroad typically include training junior and mid-level party cadres and activists in political skills; organizing conferences and seminars on values and norms in politics; training in political leadership; empowering women in politics; and promoting international contact between partner parties and established parties (e.g., Socialist International, Liberal International, and political factions in the European Parliament, such as the European People’s Party, European Democrats, Group of European Greens/European Free Alliance).

### 3.3 The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD)

Apart from the MATRA political foundations described above, there is also the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD). This multiparty foundation was formed in 2000 by seven Dutch political parties, all represented in parliament as either government or opposition parties.<sup>31</sup> These are the same political parties that receive funding for their political foundations through the MATRA Programme. Each of the seven parties has one representative on the board of directors of NIMD, while staff of the participating political parties are also involved in the day-to-day management of NIMD assistance programmes. NIMD’s approach is characterized by its preference for working with all major legally registered political parties (and political groupings) in partner countries, including both governing and opposition parties. In addition, in NIMD’s activities there is a strong emphasis on inter-party dialogue and cooperation between political parties of differing ideological backgrounds in order to develop and improve a democratic and pluralistic party system.<sup>32</sup> Within NIMD, projects are generally grouped around one of three pillars: cross-party; bilateral; and the relationship between political parties and civil society.

‘Cross-party’ projects are mostly aimed at establishing dialogue between all parties in parliament, through the organization of seminars and conferences and the development of codes of conduct. At present, this type of programming is a central element of NIMD projects, concentrating mainly on the political party system of the recipient country. An example of a ‘cross-party’ project is the work done

<sup>29</sup> The Dutch word ‘stichting’ means ‘foundation’.

<sup>30</sup> There are two other Dutch political parties in parliament – the Socialist Party and the Party Pim Fortuyn – that are also eligible to receive funding for their international activities through political foundations. However, they have chosen not to apply for it.

<sup>31</sup> The NIMD is officially made up of eight political parties, but two parties merged in 2000 into the Christian Union; for more information, please see the NIMD website (<http://www.nimd.org>) and that of the Christian Union (<http://www.christenunie.nl>).

<sup>32</sup> NIMD, *Support for Political Parties and Party Systems. The IMD Approach*, pp. 6–8.



in Guatemala, where NIMD helped facilitate the signing of a Shared National Agenda by 21 Guatemalan political parties in October 2003.

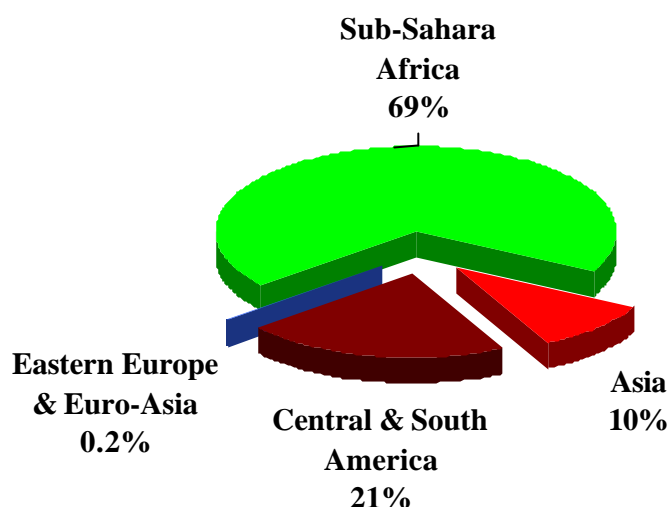
The second pillar deals concerns the party system in a particular country. ‘Bilateral projects’ are conducted by the country team and a local political party that has a specific need and has requested support from NIMD. The content of this type of NIMD work is mostly technically oriented; for example, to assist a political party that wants to organize internal elections for its leader. In addition to the technical component of projects, political parties are encouraged to carry out strategic planning. This approach is more content-oriented and is intended to help the parties develop a clear vision of their own role in the political party system. In both cases the party writes a project proposal and submits it to the NIMD country team for approval.

The last pillar looks specifically at the relationship between political parties and civil society. In many developing countries there is much intolerance between these two groups. Political parties, especially in the developing world, have often had a bad image owing to the fact that they were responsible for single-party, often authoritarian-style government leadership. In such cases, parties were not the transparent bodies, representing broad interests, that the electorate wanted them to be, but mere voting mechanisms for a political or military elite which, once in power, would personally benefit from the country’s wealth. In many countries, popular disenchantment with political parties has led to the emergence of numerous civil society organizations. These organizations are also much more popular with donors than political parties are, thereby adding to the tension between the two groups of actors. By organizing events where both groups can discuss national topics, NIMD is trying to bring these actors together and support the democratic progress of all groups.

NIMD is funded mainly by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but draws on a different funding source than the other Dutch political foundations. Whereas the Ministry’s South-east and Eastern Europe Department (DZO) is responsible for the MATRA Programme that funds the seven MATRA political foundations, the Human Rights and Peacebuilding Department (DMV) is responsible for administering the Theme-based Co-financing System (TMF) that provides the NIMD funds. For its work, NIMD has received a four-year budget of €30,958,000 for the period 2003–2006 through the TMF.

Although NIMD works worldwide, it focuses particularly on Africa, where 69% of its activities are carried out. Another important region for NIMD, in terms of budget size, is Central and South America, where approximately 21% of its funds are allocated. Graph 3.1 shows the regional breakdown of NIMD’s annual project expenditure in 2004.

**Graph 3.1 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure by NIMD, 2004**



### 3.4 Annual Overall Budgets of Dutch Political Foundations

The seven MATRA political foundations saw a significant increase in their budgets between 2002 and 2004/05, as the following table (3.1) shows. On average, the political foundations have had a 20% increase in their overall budgets over the period 2002–2004. The largest growth was experienced by AMS-EFDS, with an absolute increase of €324,000 (87%) between 2002 and 2004.

**Table 3.1 Annual Overall Budgets of Dutch Political Foundations (2002–2004) (N=7)**

Political Foundations	2002	2003	2004
AMS-EFDS	€70,000	€326,000	€694,000
EFS	€57,000	€57,000	€468,272
HvSS	€19,000	€256,000	€24,737
FSS	€160,000	€155,000	€155,000
EEPT-SGP	€67,000	€68,000	€85,000
DCP-CU	€21,204	€76,000	€97,293
IDI	not available	€103,000	€21,664
Total	€1,394,204	€1,341,000	€1,945,966

NIMD has received funding of €30,958,000 for the four years 2003–2006.<sup>33</sup> Table 3.2 shows its annual allocations during the period 2003–2005.

<sup>33</sup> NIMD receives a four-year funding package. For the first period (2003–2006) the budget increased significantly each year, mainly because of the growth of the new organization and its activities.

**Table 3.2 Annual Overall Budget of NIMD (2002–2005)**

Organization	2002	2003	2004	2005
NIMD	€2,273,549	€5,122,843	€6,785,613	€8,500,000 (preliminary)

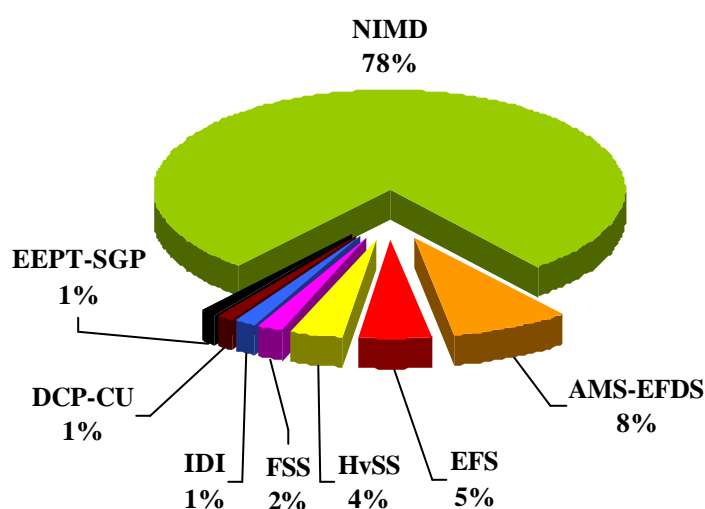
The overhead costs of the Dutch political foundations account for, on average, 17.5% of their annual overall budgets, compared with the average of 19.7% for other European political foundations. NIMD has by far the largest budget of all Dutch political party assistance organizations.

**Table 3.3 Annual Overall Budget of Dutch Political Foundations combined (2002–2004) (N=8)**

Political Foundations	2002	2003	2004
MATRA-funded foundations, combined	€1,394,204	€1,341,000	€1,945,966
NIMD	€2,273,549	€5,122,843	€6,785,613
Total	€3,667,753	€6,463,843	€8,731,579

The next graph (3.2) shows the relative size of Dutch political foundations' annual overall budgets.

**Graph 3.2 Relative Size of Dutch Political Foundations' Budgets, 2004 (N=8)**



### 3.5 Thematic Focus

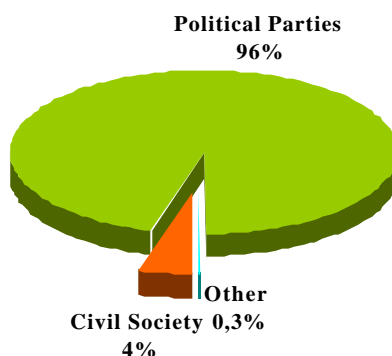
All Dutch political foundations responded to the first survey question: “What are the main themes your organization is working on? Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific thematic focus? E.g., civil society, elections, political parties, etc.” The answers were again classified in the following three categories:

civil society;

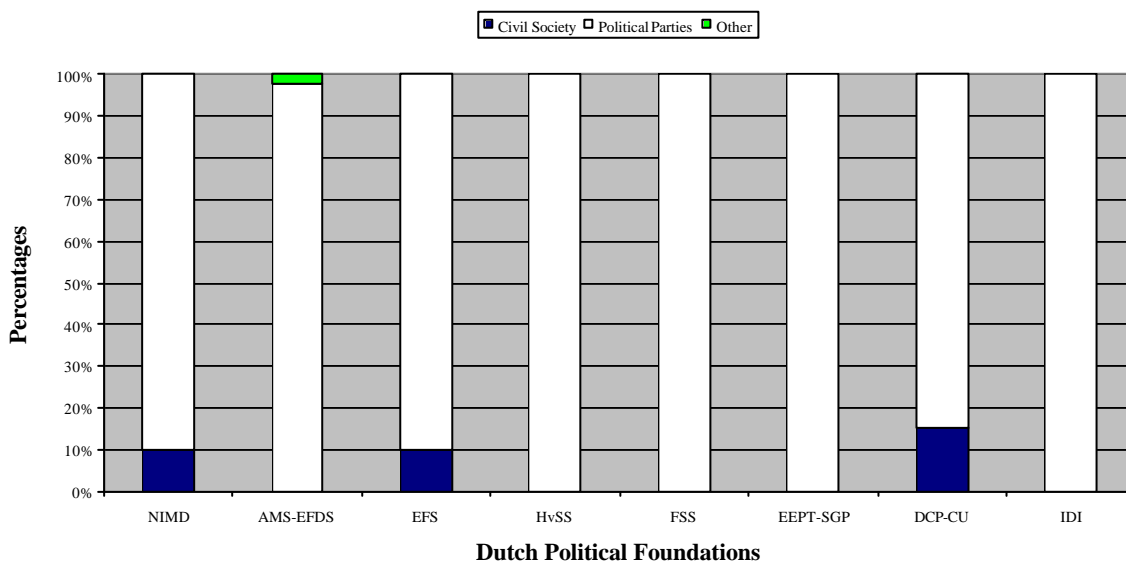
- political parties;
- other.

Graph 3.3 below shows that the vast majority of the activities of the Dutch political party organizations focus on assistance to political parties or political party systems (this assistance takes up more than 95% of their combined project expenditure). However, NIMD accounts for most of the support to political party systems. The other seven political foundations are mostly involved in training activities and working with one or more political parties, mainly in Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia. Some foundations also have small projects in other countries such as Turkey and Morocco. Graph 3.4 gives a breakdown, into the three thematic categories, of the project expenditure of each of the eight foundations.

**Graph 3.3 Thematic Focus of Project Expenditure by Dutch Political Foundations, 2004 (N=8)**

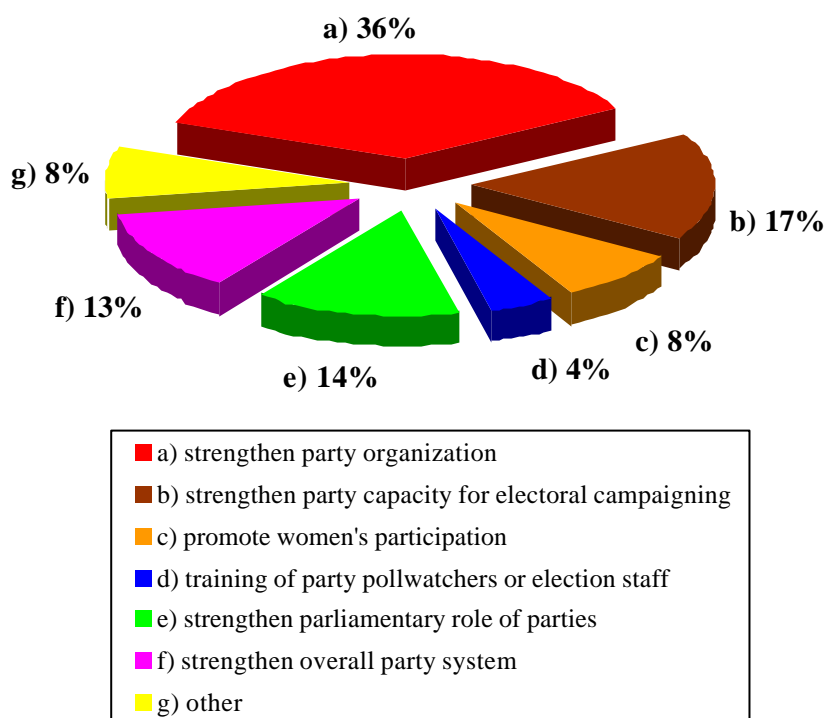


**Graph 3.4 Thematic Composition of Project Expenditure by Dutch Political Foundations, 2004 (N=8)**



In order to find out what political assistance activities the Dutch foundations were involved in, we asked them to specify their political party-related activities according to the seven types of assistance mentioned earlier in Chapter 2. The response of the eight Dutch foundations is presented in graph 3.5 below.

**Graph 3.5 Type of Political Party Assistance, 2004 (N=8)**



### 3.6 Programmatic Focus

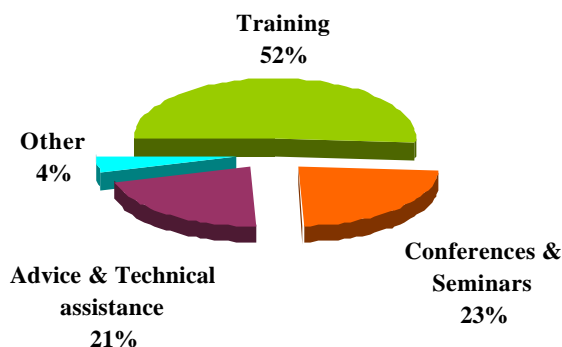
For this aspect, the Dutch political foundations were asked the following question: “Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific programmatic focus”? The answers given by the Dutch foundations can be divided into four categories:

- training;
- conferences and seminars;
- advice and technical assistance;
- other.

The next graph (3.6) gives a breakdown, by programmatic category, of the combined annual project expenditure all eight Dutch political foundations. Similar to graph 2.8, where 19 European political foundations were presented, graph 3.6 shows that training (with 52%) is also the most important of the Dutch political foundations’ assistance activities. The MATRA mandate that the seven Dutch political foundations have to operate with in this connection is “to work with their sister parties mainly through

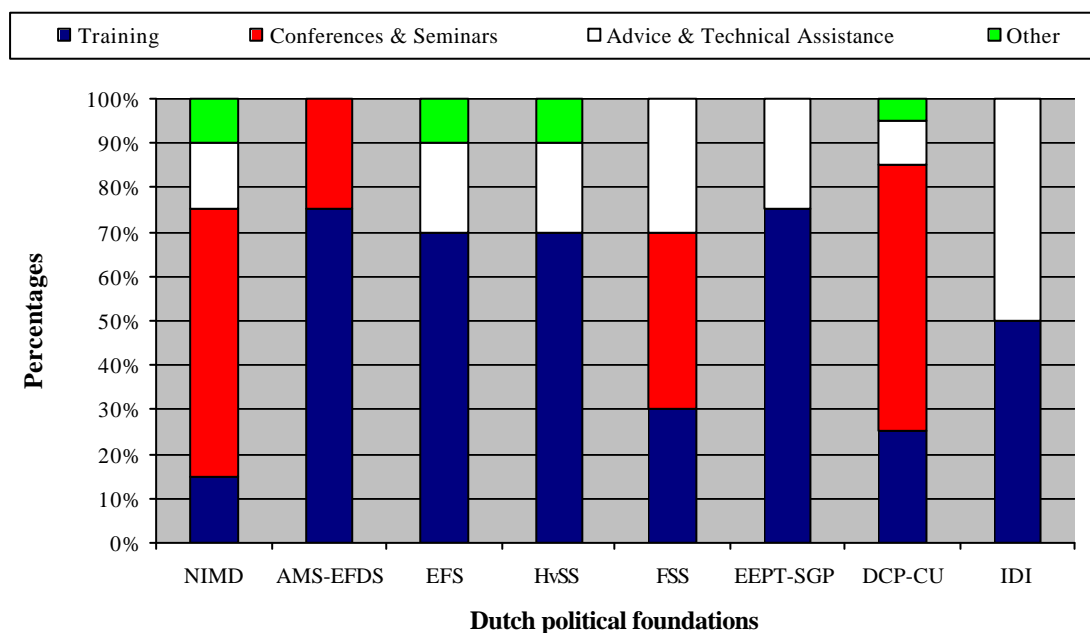
training with a clear development and educational intent”.<sup>34</sup> Examples are summer schools for youth organizations that are linked to political parties; training and activities related to party building and party management; and strengthening party officials’ understanding of/appreciation of certain values and norms in politics.

**Graph 3.6 Programmatic Focus of Project Expenditure by Dutch Political Foundations, 2004 (N=8)**



Graph 3.7 below gives a breakdown, into the four thematic categories, of the project expenditure of each of the eight foundations.

**Graph 3.7 Programmatic Focus of Project Expenditure by Dutch Political Foundations, 2004 (N=8)**



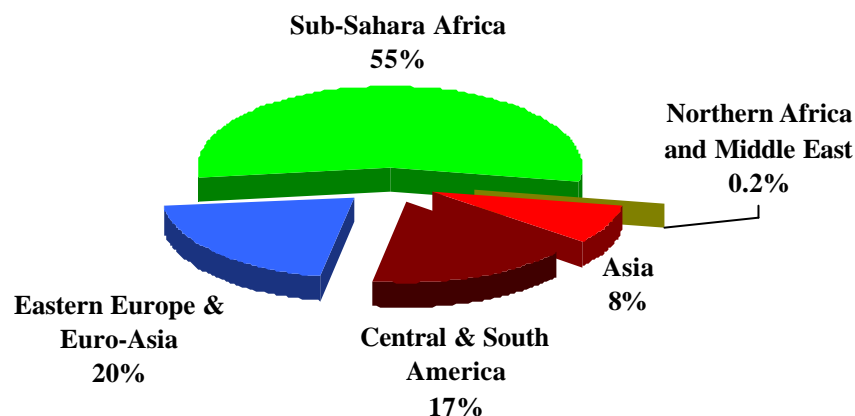
<sup>34</sup> Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Bijlage bij Kamerbrief inzake Beleidsvoornemens Matra-programma*.

### 3.7 Regional Focus

Since most Dutch political foundations conduct their projects almost exclusively in the Eastern European and Euro-Asian region, the following question in the survey questionnaire was less relevant to seven of the eight foundations: “Can you give an estimated breakdown of expenditure, in percentage and absolute terms, by specific regional focus?” NIMD is alone among the Dutch organizations in being active in more than two regions.

Graph 3.8 makes clear that with 55%, the Sub-Saharan African region receives the most funds from Dutch political foundations. The regions that receive relatively modest funds are Asia, and North Africa and the Middle East, with only 8% and 0.2% respectively. Since NIMD’s budget accounts for 78% of the total government funds distributed to Dutch political foundations, this has a major impact on the distribution in this graph. Excluding NIMD, the seven Dutch political foundations spend almost 100% on the Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia region.

**Graph 3.8 Regional Distribution of Project Expenditure by Dutch Political Foundations, 2003/04 (N=8)**







## IV. Concluding Remarks

By presenting a wide range of quantitative data on the work and financial flows of European political foundations, this paper has sought to shed light on a dimension of international (democracy) assistance that has so far received little (scholarly) attention. The main conclusions we can draw from this overview are that:

- Democracy and political party aid by European political foundations totalled some €400 million in 2004, which in financial terms means that is a fairly modest field of assistance<sup>35</sup>;
- in terms of political foundations' spending capacity there are many 'small players' and only a few 'large players';
- most political foundations active in this field are relatively young, the majority having been established after 1989;
- European political foundations focus primarily on political party-related activities in their assistance programmes;
- strengthening the organization and structure of new and young parties is the most common type of assistance;
- training of party cadres and activists is the most common method of assistance by European political foundations;
- countries in Asia, North Africa and the Middle East have received the least amount of assistance from European political foundations;
- the Dutch political party aid context is unique as 'bi-party' foundations coexist with one 'multiparty' foundation.

These outcomes represent only a few aspects of the work by the European political foundations. Although budget size, programme focus and type of assistance say something about the nature of democracy and political party assistance, this information does not tell us much about the quality of assistance programmes or their effectiveness in terms of stimulating (democratic) party development. A qualitative assessment of party assistance programmes requires the much wider, and more empirically grounded, approach of an evaluation or learning exercise – one that exceeds the scope of this particular study.

It is important to mention here that such learning initiatives are increasingly being explored. In Sweden, the UK and the Netherlands, for example, assessments of political party assistance programmes have been or are currently being undertaken. Moreover, organizations such as the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), the University of Warwick, the University of Amsterdam, the Clingendael Institute and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have either started or are considering starting (collaborative) research projects on party development in developing countries and the role of international actors.

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<sup>35</sup> €400 million accounts for only 0.64% of the €62.8 billion Official Development Assistance (ODA) in 2004. See OECD, *Official Development Assistance Increases Further*.

In addition, in the past three years there have been a number of meetings for democracy promotion and political foundations (in Paris, The Hague, Washington, DC, and Stockholm among others) that were specifically intended for sharing experiences, learning lessons from each other's programmes and identifying potential opportunities for closer collaboration in the field. Moreover, there are several new initiatives within major international organizations, including the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN), that seek more attention for democracy and political party building. Within the UN, this is reflected in the establishment of a new Democracy Fund as well as the publication by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) of a booklet on political party programming (which was due at the end of 2005). Within the EU, on the initiative of the European Foundations for Democracy (EFD) alliance, the European Parliament has recently formed a Democracy Caucus committed to promoting democracy worldwide, particularly in the EU's 'new neighbours'.

Although the outcomes, in terms of concrete results, of these meetings and initiatives may vary, it is at least clear that there is growing interest in the field of democracy and political party assistance. Further research based on in-depth interviewing and case studies is needed, however, if we are to learn more about the impact of, and devise successful strategies for, international democracy and political party assistance.

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## Annex I: List of European Political Foundations

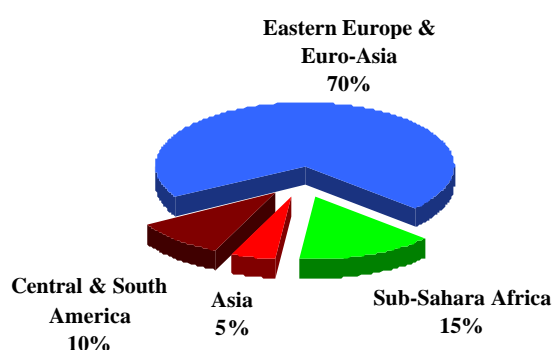
RI	Renner Institute***	Austria
PA-ÖVP	Politische Akademie der ÖVP	Austria
FJJ	Fondation Jean-Jaurès*	France
FRS	Fondation Robert Schuman*	France
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*	Germany
HSS	Hanns Seidel Stiftung*	Germany
HBS	Heinrich Böll Stiftung***	Germany
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung***	Germany
FNST	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung*	Germany
RLS	Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung*	Germany
Istame	Institute for Strategic and Development Studies – Andreas Papandreou	Greece
CKID	Constantine Karamanlis Institute for Democracy***	Greece
OIKOS	OIKOS	Portugal
FMS	Fundação Mario Soares	Portugal
FPI	Fundación Pablo Iglesias***	Spain
FUNDAES	Fundación para el Analisis y los Estudios Sociales	Spain
OPIC	Olof Palme International Center***	Sweden
CPIF	Centre Party International Foundation***	Sweden
IFLP	International Forum of the Left Party**	Sweden
CDCDD	Christian Democrats Council for Democracy and Development***	Sweden
GFF	Green Forum Foundation***	Sweden
JHF	JarlHjalmarsson Stiftelsen***	Sweden
SILC	Swedish International Liberal Centre***	Sweden
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy***	The Netherlands
AMS-EFDS	Alfred Moser Stichting – European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity***	The Netherlands
EFS	Eduardo Frei Stichting**	The Netherlands
HvSS	Haya van Someren Stichting***	The Netherlands
FSS	Foundation on Sustainable Solidarity***	The Netherlands
EEPT	Eastern Europe Project Team of the SGP***	The Netherlands
DCP	Development Cooperation Project Cristian Union**	The Netherlands
IDI	International Democratic Initiative**	The Netherlands
WFD	Westminster Foundation for Democracy**(only thematic focus)	United Kingdom
<p>* political foundation that provided information on its regional focus and annual overall budget.</p> <p>** political foundation that provided information on its regional focus and annual overall budget as well as its thematic and programmatic focus.</p> <p>*** political foundation that provided information on its regional focus and annual overall budget, thematic and programmatic focus, as well as on its evaluation/impact assessment methodology.</p> <p><i>Note:</i> The figures from the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), based in the United Kingdom, have been converted into Euros (€) at £1 = €1.45 (exchange rate on 30 May 2005). For the Swedish political foundations: 1 SEK = €0.11 (exchange rate on 30 May 2005). For the US political foundations: \$1 = €0.80 (exchange rate on 30 May 2005).</p>		



## Annex II: Information on Individual Political Foundations

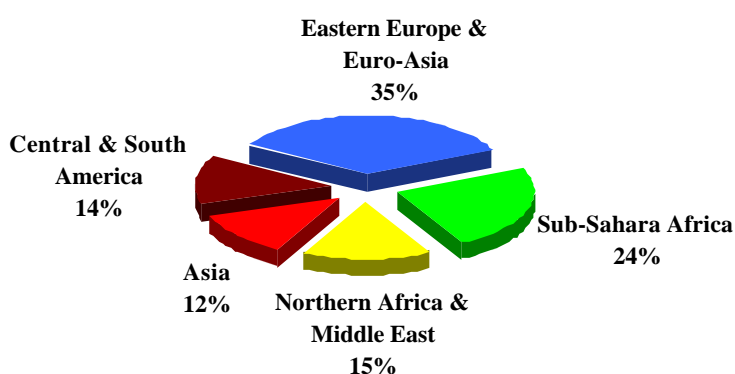
The graphs below present the percentage of annual project expenditure per region by each political foundation. In addition, there are three extra ‘country overviews’: France (Graph II.4), Sweden (Graph II.19) and United States (Graph II.24) that include more than one political foundation.

**Graph II.1 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by RI, 2004**



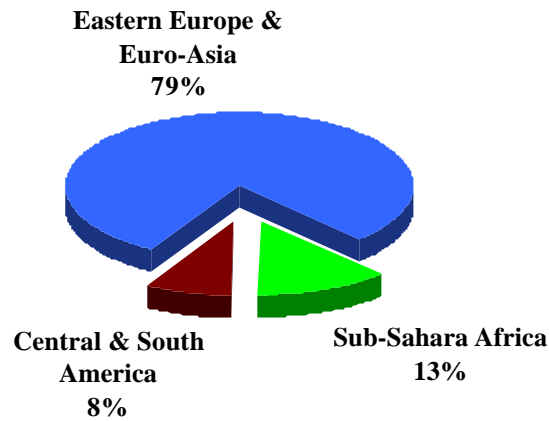
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 50%, Political Parties 35%, Other 15% (Programmatic support of elections)
- Programmatic Focus: Training 80%, Advice and Technical Assistance 20%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €2,800,000

**Graph II.2 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by FJJ, 2004**



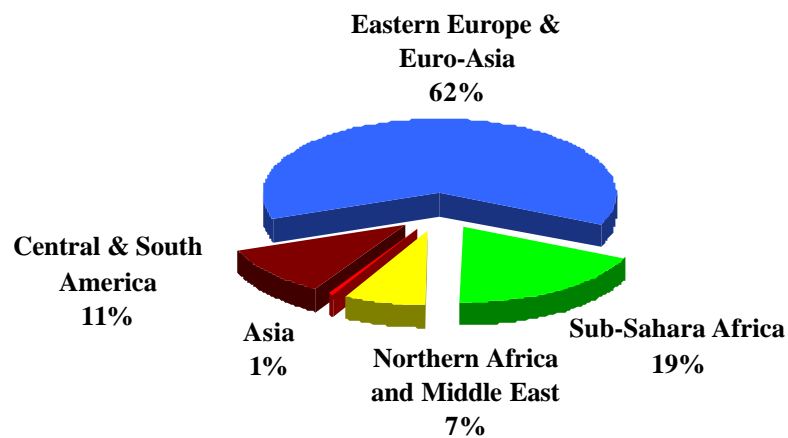
Annual overall budget, 2004: €2,100,000

**Graph 1I.3 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by FRS, 2002**



Annual overall budget, 2003: €3,134,699

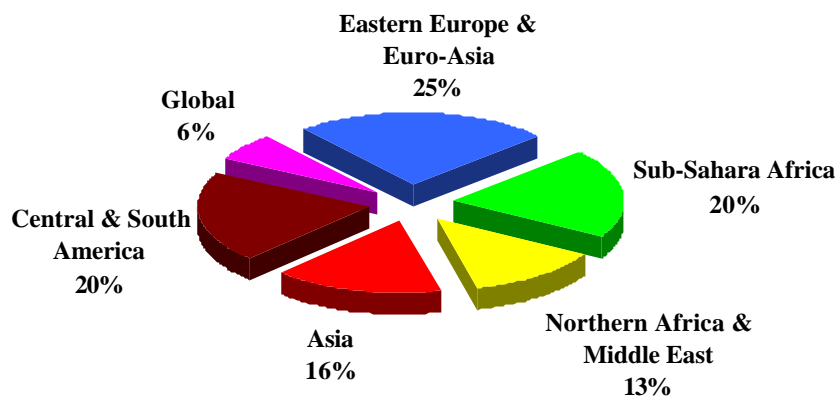
**Graph II.4 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by French Political Foundations, 2002/04 (N=2)**



Annual overall budget, 2003/04: €5,234,699

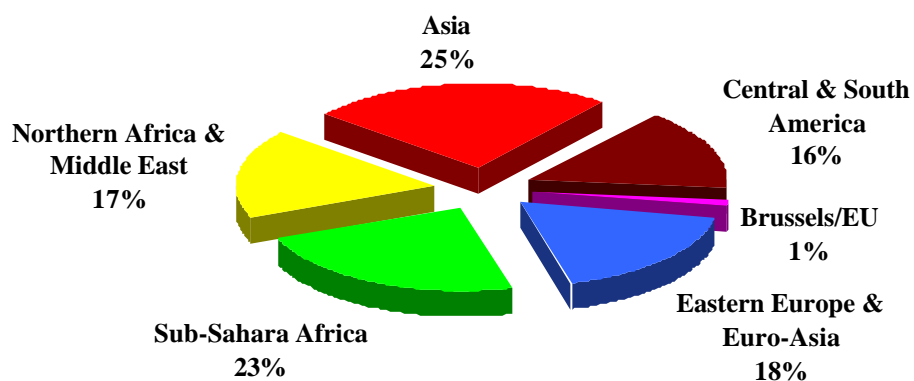


**Graph II.5 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by FES, 2004**



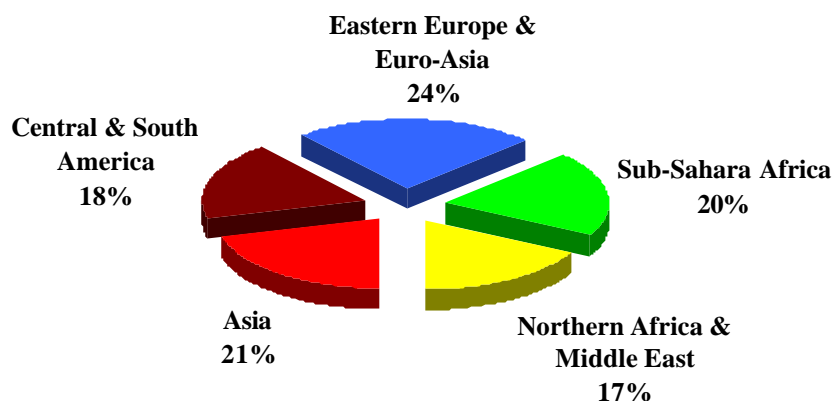
Annual overall budget, 2004: €123,500,000 (preliminary)

**Graph II.6 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by HSS, 2004**



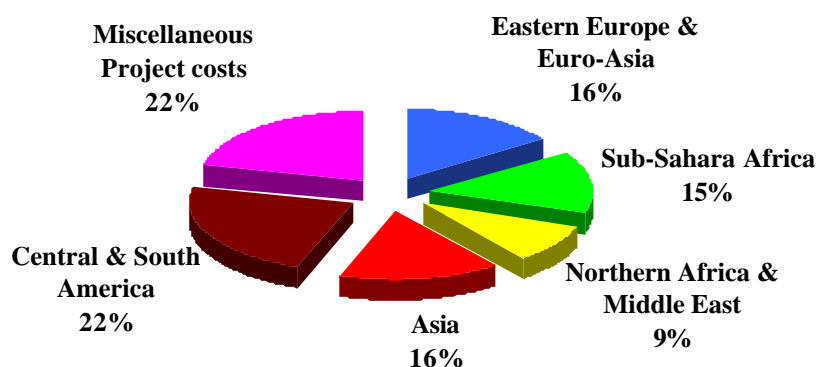
Annual overall budget, 2004: €12,700,000

**Graph II.7 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by HBS, 2004**



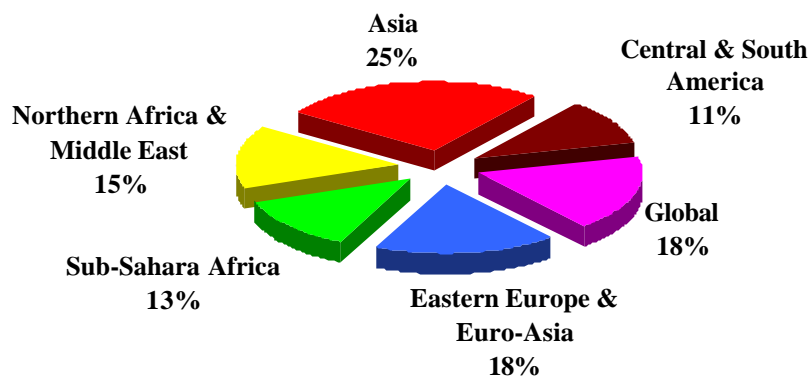
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 38%, Political Parties 20%,
- Programmatic Focus: Training 10%, Conferences and Seminars 30%, Advice and Technical Assistance 40%, Other 20% (Capacity-building)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €37,200,000

**Graph II.8 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by KAS, 2004**



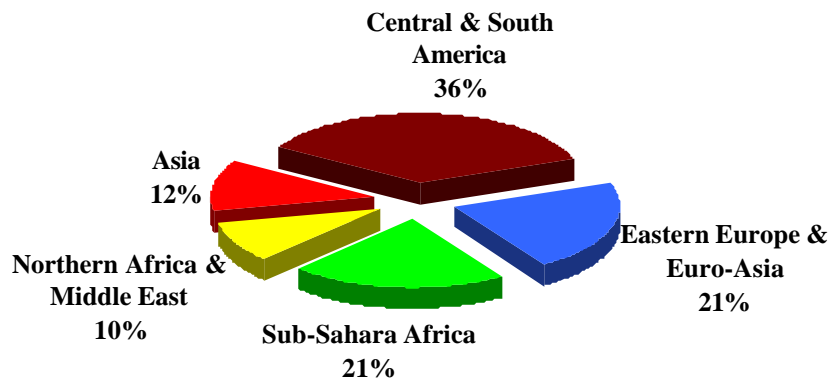
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 30%, Political Parties 20%, Other 50% (Poverty Reduction and Economic Structure Promotion)
- Programmatic Focus: Training 55%, Conferences and Seminars 25%, Advice and Technical Assistance 20%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €102,900,000

**Graph II.9 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by FNST, 2004**



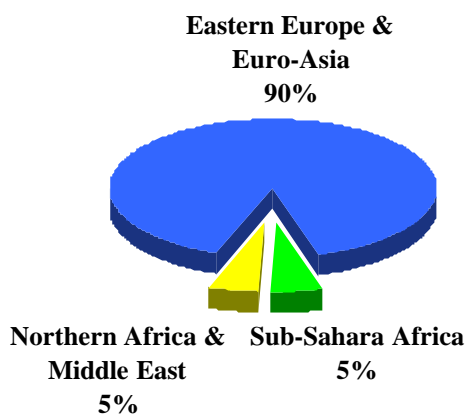
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €40,000,000

**Graph II.10 Percentage of annual project expenditures per region by RLS, 2004**



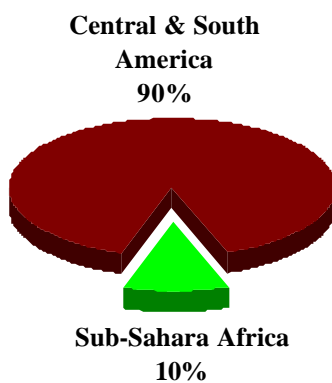
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €1,479,500

**Graph II.11 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by CKID, 2004**



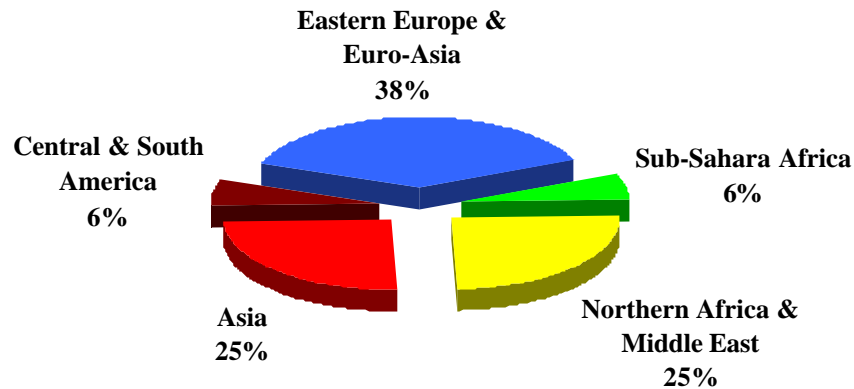
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 30%, Political Parties 25%, Other 45% (Elections, International Cooperation)
- Programmatic Focus: Training 20%, Other 80% (Information Campaigns, Research Programmes, International Cooperation)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €1,500,000

**Graph II.12 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by FPI, 2003**



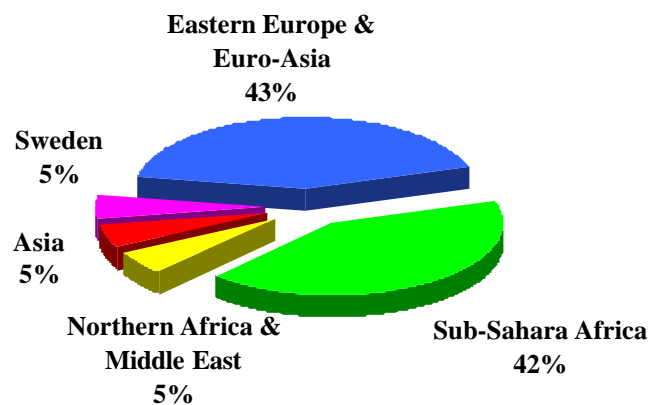
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 50%, Political Parties 50%
- Programmatic Focus: Other 100% (Training of Political Leaders)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €2,300,000

**Graph II.13 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by OPIC, 2004**



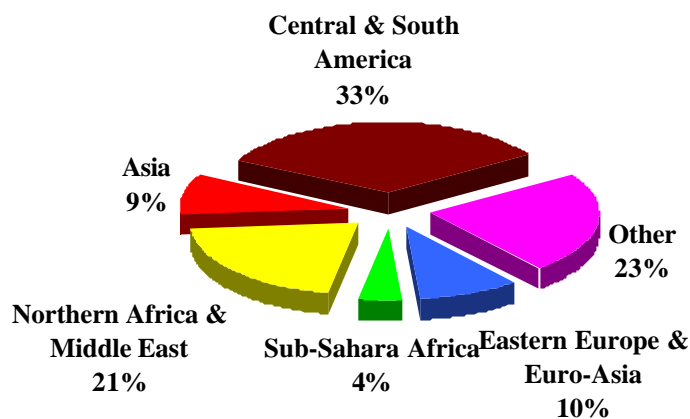
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 70%, Political Parties 30%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 50%, Advice and Technical Assistance 25%, Other 25% (Capacity-building)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €12,500,000

**Graph II.14 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by CPIF, 2004**



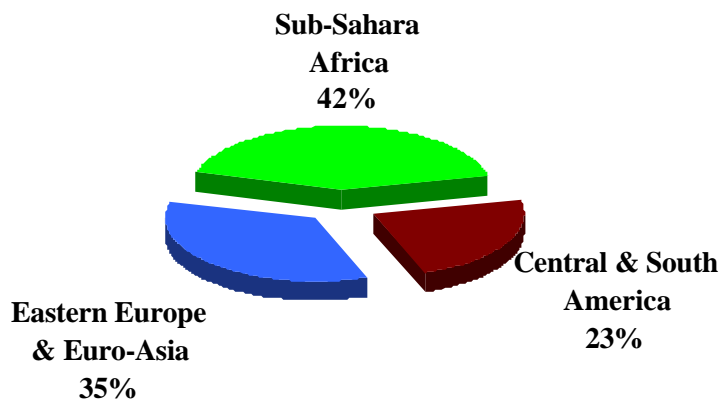
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 40%, Other 60% (Electoral Processes, Conflict Resolution, Good Governance and Sustainable Development)
- Programmatic Focus: Training 80%, Other 20% (Dialogue)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €500,000

**Graph II.15 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by IFLP, 2004**



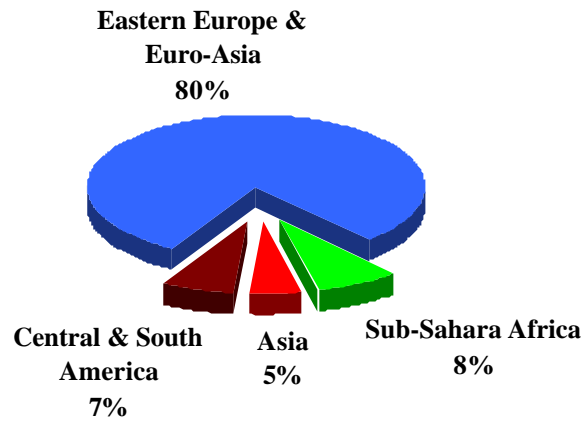
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 100%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 80%, Other 20% (not specified)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €300,000

**Graph II.16 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by CDCDD, 2004**



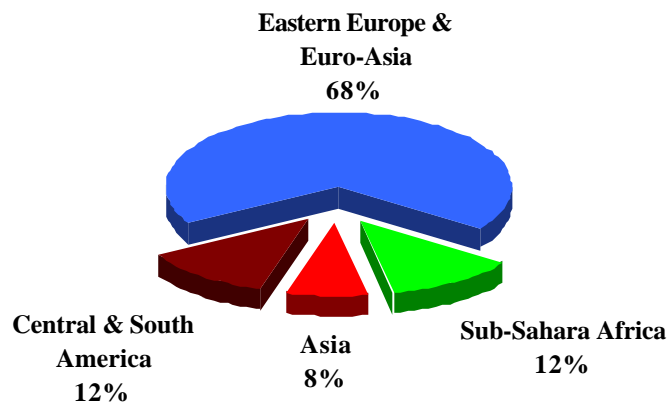
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 100%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 100%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €366,627

**Graph II.17 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by GFF, 2004**



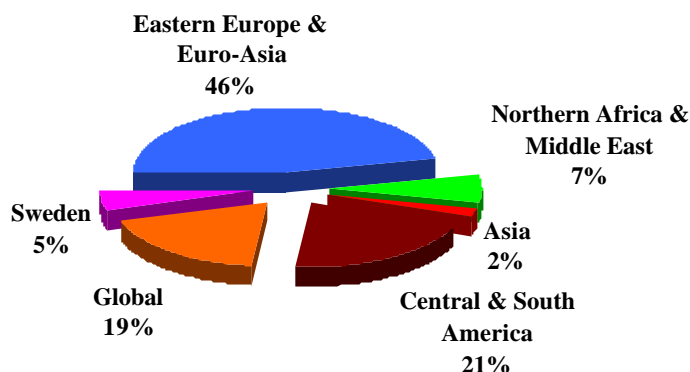
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 10%, Political Parties 90%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 100%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €209,967

**Graph II.18 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by JHF, 2004**



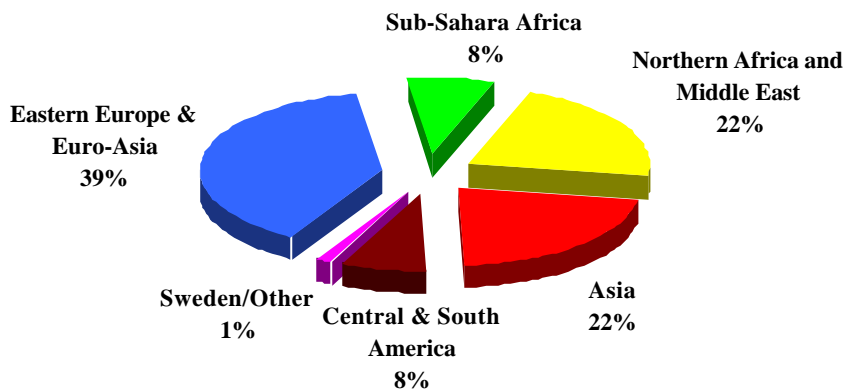
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 100%
- Programmatic Focus: Training (90%), Technical Assistance (10%)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €565,000

**Graph II.19 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by SILC, 2003**



- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 84%, Other 16% (Democratic Institutions affiliated to Politics, Information)
- Programmatic Focus: Training 33%, Other 67% (Organizational Development, New Contracts)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €620,111 (preliminary)

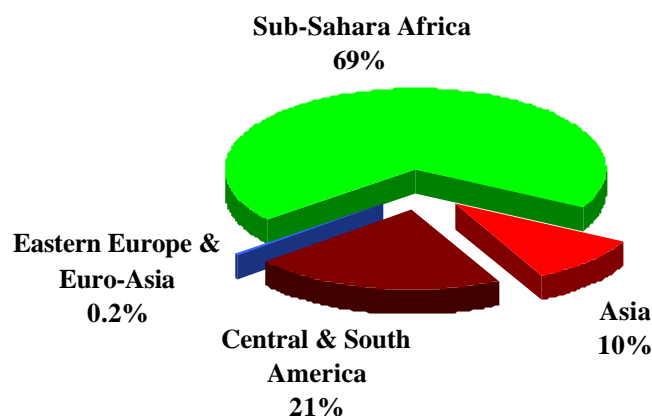
**Graph II.20 Percentages of annual project expenditure per region by Swedish foundations combined, 2003/04 (N=7)**



- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 11%, Political Parties 78%, Other 11%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 76%, Advice and Technical Assistance 5%, Other 19%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €15,061,705



**Graph II.21 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by NIMD, 2004**



- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 10%, Political Parties 90%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 15%, Conferences and Seminars 60%, Advice and Technical Assistance 15%, Other 10% (not specified)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €6,785,613

#### AMS-EFDS

- Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia 98%, North Africa and the Middle East 2%
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 98%, Other 2% (Election Expert Meetings)
- Programmatic Focus: Training 75%, Conferences and Seminars 25%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €694,000

#### EFS

- Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia 100%
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 10%, Political Parties 90%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 20%, Advice and Technical Assistance 20%, Other 10% (Translation and Publications, Exchange Visits)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €468,272

#### HvSS

- Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia 100%
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 100%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 70%, Advice and Technical Assistance 20%, Other 10% (Information Material)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €324,737

## FSS

- Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia 100%
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 100%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 30%, Conferences and Seminars 40%, Advice and Technical Assistance 30%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €155,000

## EEPT-SGP

- Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia 100%
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 100%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 75%, Advice and Technical Assistance 25%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €85,000

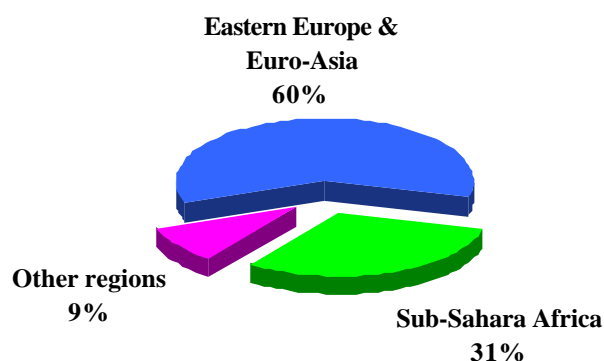
## DCP-CU

- Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia 100%
- Thematic Focus: Civil Society 15%, Political Parties 85%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 25%, Conferences and Seminars 60%, Advice and Technical Assistance 10%, Other 5% (Organizational Assistance)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €97,293

## IDI

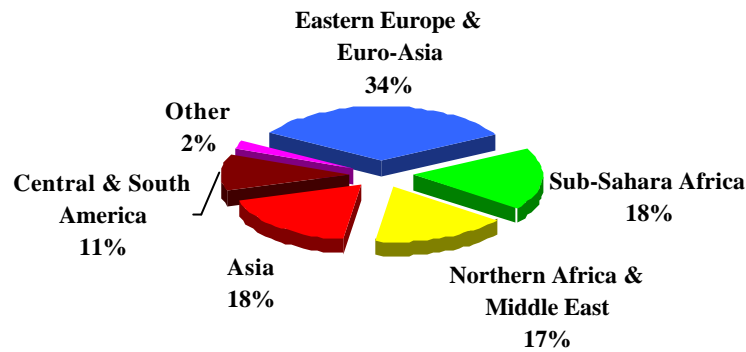
- Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and Euro-Asia 100%
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 100%
- Programmatic Focus: Training 50%, Advice and Technical Assistance 50%
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €121,664

**Graph II.22 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by WFD, 2003-2004**



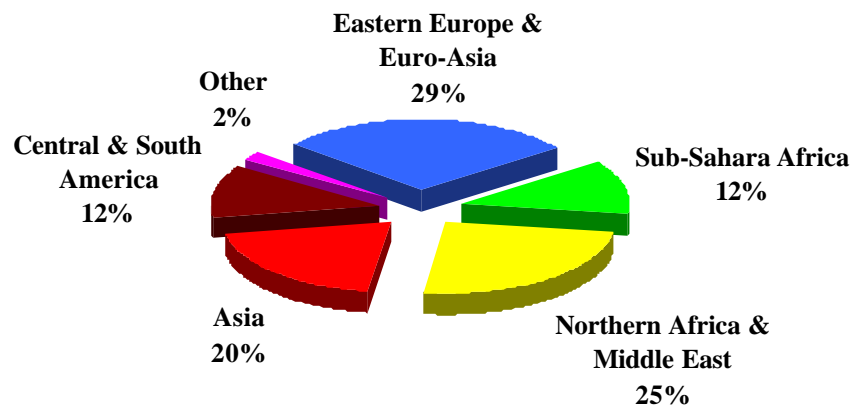
- Thematic Focus: Political Parties 65%, Other 35% (Inclusiveness, Institution-building, Media, Human Rights, Local Government)
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €6,207,184

**Graph II.23 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by NDI, 2004**



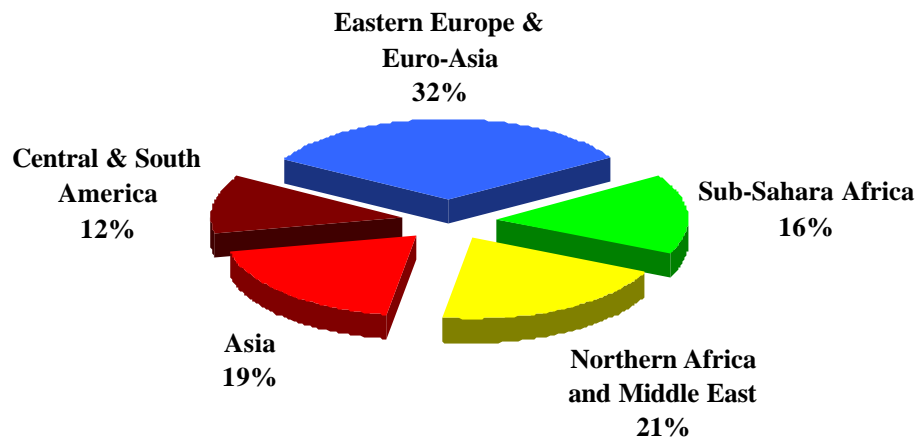
- Annual overall budget, 2004: €45,722,544

**Graph II.24 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region by IRI, 2004**



Annual overall budget, 2004: €29,313,408

**Graph II.25 Percentage of annual project expenditure per region of United States political foundations combined, 2004 (N=2)**



- Annual overall budget, 2004: €75,035,952

## **Annex III: Contact Details of Political Foundations and International Agencies**

This section presents relevant contact details of each political foundation surveyed. In addition, we have included contact information for the major international agencies involved in democracy and political party assistance.

### **Renner Institute (RI)**

A-1120 Wien, Khleslplatz 12, Austria

Tel. +43 1804650130

Fax +43 18040874

<http://www.renner-institut.at/>

### **Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)**

Rathausalle 12, 53757 Sankt Augustin, Germany

Tel. +49 3026996216/540

Fax +49 22 41246591

<http://www.kas.de/>

### **Politische Akademie der ÖVP (PA-OVP)**

Tivoligasse 73, 1120 Wien, Austria

Tel. +43 181420-28/-75

Fax +43 18142022

<http://www.modernpolitics.at/>

### **Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNST)**

Karl Marx St. 2, 14482 Potsdam, Germany

Tel. +49 33170190

Fax +49 33 1/7019-188

<http://www.fnst.de/>

### **Fondation Jean-Jaurès (FJJ)**

12 cité Malesherbes, 75009 Paris, France

Tel. +33 1 40 23 24 00

Fax +33 1 40 23 24 01

<http://www.jean-jaures.org/>

### **Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS)**

Franz-Mehring-Platz 1, 10243 Berlin, Germany

Tel. +49 3044310127

Fax +49 30 44310180

<http://www.rosalux.de/>

### **Fondation Robert Schuman (FRS)**

29 boulevard Raspail 75007, Paris, France

Tel. +33 1 53 63 83 00

Fax +33 1 53 68 83 01

<http://www.robert-schuman.org/>

### **Institute for Strategic and Development Studies – Andreas Papandreou (Istame)**

4, Acadimias Stra., 106 71, Athens, Greece

Tel. +30 21036317458

Fax +30 103625616

<http://www.istame-apapandreou.gr/>

### **Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)**

Hiroshimastraße 17, 10785 Berlin, Germany

Tel. +49 3026935-901

Fax +49 30 26935960

<http://www.fes.de/>

### **Constantine Karamanlis Institute for Democracy (CKID)**

10 Vas. Sofias St., P.O. Box 106 74, Athens, Greece

Tel. +30 2107257495

Fax +30 2107257510

<http://www.idkaramanlis.gr/>

Hanns Seidel Stiftung (HSS)  
Lazarettstrasse 33, 80636 Munich, Germany  
Tel. +49 891258-0  
Fax +49 089/1258-356  
<http://www.hss.de/>

Heinrich Böll Stiftung (HBS)  
Hackesche Hofe, Rosenthaler Str. 40/41, 10178,  
Berlin, Germany  
Tel. +49 3028534-202  
Fax +49 30 28534109  
<http://www.boell.de/>

Fundacion Pablo Iglesias (FPI)  
c/ Monte Esquinza 30-3-D, 28010 Madrid, Spain  
Tel. +34 913104313  
Fax +34 913194585  
<http://www.fpabloiglesias.es/>

Olof Palme International Centre (OPIC)  
Internationella Centrum, Sceavagen 68, plan 5,  
P.O. Box 836, 101 36 Stockholm, Sweden  
Tel. +46 86775789  
Fax +46 86775771  
<http://www.palmecenter.se/>

International Forum of the Left Party (IFLP)  
P.O. Box 12660, SE 112 93, Stockholm, Sweden  
Tel. +46 86540820  
Fax. +46 86532385  
<http://www.vansternsinternationellaforum.se/>

Green Forum Foundation (GFF)  
Box 2136, SE 103 14 Stockholm, Sweden  
Tel +46 822459 Fax +46 822460  
<http://www.mp.se/greenforum.asp/>

Cooperação e Desenvolvimento (OIKOS)  
Rua de Santiago 9, 1100-493 Lisboa, Portugal  
Tel. +351 218823637  
Fax +351 21 8823638  
<http://www.oikos.pt/>

Fundação Mario Soares (FMS)  
Rua de S. Bento 176, 1200-821 Lisboa, Portugal  
Tel. +351 21 396 4179  
Fax +351 21 3964145  
<http://www.fmsoares.pt/>

Fundacion para el Analisis y los Estudios Sociales  
(FUNDAES)  
c/ Juan Bravo, 3C, 7 28006 Madrid, Spain  
Tel. +34 915766857  
Fax +34 915754695  
<http://www.fundaes.es/>

Centre Party International Foundation (CPIF)  
P.O. Box 2200, SE-103 15 Stockholm, Sweden  
Tel. +46 8 617 38 66  
Fax +46 8 617 3810  
<http://www.cis.centerpartiet.se/>

Christian Democrat Council for Democracy and  
Development (CDCDD)  
International Center  
Box 3137, 103 62 Stockholm, Sweden  
Tel. +765 272527  
Fax +46 86127953  
<http://www.kicsweden.org/>

JarlHjalmasson Stiftelsen (JHS)  
P.O. Box 2080, SE 103 12, Stockholm, Sweden  
Tel. +46 86768000  
Fax +46 86768086  
<http://www.moderat.se/>

Swedish International Liberal Centre (SILC)  
Box 650, SE 113 83, Stockholm, Sweden  
Tel. +46 8 7864621  
Fax +46 8203895  
<http://www.silc.se/>

Alfred Mozer Stichting – European Forum for  
Democracy and Solidarity (AMS-EFDS)  
P.O. Box 1310, 1000 BH, Amsterdam,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 20 5512155  
Fax +31 20 5512250  
<http://www.alfredmozerstichting.nl/>

Haya van Someren Stichting (HvSS)  
Koninginnegracht 55A, 2514 AE The Hague,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 70 3613006  
Fax +31 70 3631951  
<http://www.vvd.nl/>

Eastern Europe Project Team–SGP  
Laan van Meerdervoort 165, 2517 AZ The Hague,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 70 3029074  
Fax +31 70 365 5959  
<http://www.sgp.nl/>

International Democratic Initiative (IDI)  
P.O. Box 660, 2501 CR, The Hague,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 70 3566066  
Fax +31 70 364 1917  
<http://www.d66.nl/>

International Republican Institute (IRI)  
1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington,  
DC 20005, United States  
Tel. +1 202 4089450  
Fax +1 202 4089462  
<http://www.iri.org/>

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy  
(NIMD)  
Korte Vijverberg 2, 2513 AB The Hague,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 703115464  
Fax +31 70 3115465  
<http://www.nimd.org/>

Eduardo Frei Stichting (EFS)  
Dr. Kuyrerstraat 5, P.O. Box 30453, 2500 GL  
The Hague, The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 70 3424835  
Fax +31 70 360 3635  
<http://www.cda.nl/>

Foundation on Sustainable Solidarity (FSS)  
Oude Gracht 312, 3511 PK Utrecht,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 30 2399900  
Fax +31 30 2300342  
<http://www.groenlinks.nl/partij/>

Development Cooperation Project–CU  
P.O. Box 439, 3800 AK Amersfoort,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 33 4226969  
Fax +31 33 422 6968  
<http://www.wi.christenunie.nl/>

Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD)  
2nd Floor, 125 Pall Mall, London, SW1Y 5EA,  
United Kingdom  
Tel. +44 207930 0349  
Fax +44 2079300449  
<http://www.wfd.org/>

National Democratic Institute (NDI)  
2030 M Street, NW, Fifth Floor, Washington,  
DC 20036-3306, United States  
Tel. +1 202 7285500  
Fax +1 202 7285520  
<http://www.ndi.org/>

**Other (Donor) Assistance Agencies**

European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)
EuropeAid Co-operation Office, Unit 4	Department for Democracy and Social Development
European Commission	SE-105 25 Stockholm, Sweden
Office L-41 02/11	Tel. + 46 86985000
B-1049 Brussels, Belgium	Fax +46 8208864
<a href="http://europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/eidhr/">http://europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/eidhr/</a>	<a href="http://www.sida.se/">http://www.sida.se/</a>

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)
Strömsborg, SE-103 34 Stockholm, Sweden	Aleje Ujazdowskie 19, 00-557 Warsaw, Poland
Tel. +46 6983700	Tel. +48 225200600
Fax +46 8202422	Fax +48 335200605
<a href="http://www.idea.int/">http://www.idea.int/</a>	<a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/">http://www.osce.org/odihr/</a>

Organization of American States (OAS)	United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
17th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006, United States	Democratic Governance Group
Tel. +1 2024583000	Bureau for Development Policy
<a href="http://www.oas.org/">http://www.oas.org/</a>	304 East 45th Street, FF-10th Floor, New York, NY 10017, United States
	<a href="http://www.undp.org/governance/">http://www.undp.org/governance/</a>

Department for International Development (DFID)	Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD)
1 Palace Street, London, SW1E 5HE, United Kingdom	P.O. Box 8034 Dep., 0030 Oslo, Norway
Tel. +44 845 300 4100	Tel. +47 22242030
<a href="http://www.dfid.gov.uk">http://www.dfid.gov.uk</a>	Fax +47 22242031
	<a href="http://www.norad.no/">http://www.norad.no/</a>

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)	German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ)
200 Promenade du Portage, Gatineau, Quebec, K1A 0G4, Canada	P.O. Box 5180, 65726, Eschborn, Germany
Tel. +1 8199975006	Tel. +49 6196790
Fax +1 8199536088	Fax +49 6196791
<a href="http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/">http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/</a>	<a href="http://www.gtz.de/">http://www.gtz.de/</a>



United States Agency for International  
Development (USAID)  
Office of Democracy and Governance  
Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian  
Assistance  
1300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20523, United States  
<http://www.usaid.gov/>

European Parliament Democracy Causus  
<http://www.europeandemocratic.net/>

Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Peacebuilding and Good Governance Division  
(DMV/VG) or Southeast and Eastern Europe  
Department (DZO/UM)  
P.O. Box 20061, 2500 EB, The Hague,  
The Netherlands  
Tel. +31 703486486  
Fax. +31 703484848  
<http://www.minbuza.nl/>



## About the Authors

*Jos van Wersch* is currently finalizing his studies in Public Policy and Administration (with a specialization in International Relations) at the Twente University (NL). He was previously an intern at the Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) where he wrote a conference paper on European democracy assistance, which served as the basis for the present study.

*Jeroen de Zeeuw* is a development sociologist, with a research interest in democracy and political party assistance and post-conflict reconstruction. He is currently studying (part-time) for a PhD degree in Political Science at the University of Warwick (UK), focusing on political party development in post-conflict countries. He has been working at the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of the Clingendael Institute since 2000, particularly as coordinator of the Democratic Transition Project, an international comparative research project on democracy assistance to post-conflict societies.