



WIN
with
INTEGRITY

**EARNING CITIZEN TRUST
IN POLITICAL PARTIES**

Win With Integrity: Earning Citizen Trust in Political Parties

By The National Democratic Institute

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The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that responds to the aspirations of people around the world to live in democratic societies that recognize and promote basic human rights. Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to support and strengthen democratic institutions and practices by strengthening political parties, civic organizations and parliaments, safeguarding elections, and promoting citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. With staff members and volunteer political practitioners from more than 100 nations, NDI brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies. The Institute's work upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also promotes the development of institutionalized channels of communications among citizens, political institutions and elected officials, and strengthens their ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens. For more information about NDI, please visit www.ndi.org.

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FOREWORD

For decades, in most parts of the world, getting involved in politics has been synonymous with supporting, joining or promoting a political party. Political parties are still part of forming the backbone of democracy and should continue to play key roles in democratic governance by representing citizens and aggregating their concerns into policy, and by vetting, selecting and influencing political leaders. However, corruption, state capture, populism and opaque party organizations undermine public confidence in parties around the world, fueling political instability. Citizens increasingly perceive parties as elite-driven and unrepresentative of the broader citizenry; unwilling to include and empower women and other historically underrepresented communities; uncommitted to transparency and accountability; and generally untrustworthy.

To develop, prosper and survive in the world today, parties need better tools, plans and models to become more citizen-centered, inclusive, ethical, transparent and accountable. But first and foremost, they need to be truly committed to their core values and create a culture of integrity, openness and fairness, because as the saying goes, “culture eats strategy for breakfast.” We at NDI hope that this political party integrity assessment framework can be a useful instrument in that toolbox of change.



Birgitta Ohlsson

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DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Bullying	Bullying is unwanted behavior that is meant to harm (verbally and/or emotionally) someone who feels powerless to respond. ¹
Candidate Selection	The way in which political parties choose individuals to run as candidates for elections.
Candidate Vetting	The process of performing background checks to determine whether particular individuals are eligible (under party rules) to be selected as candidates.
Discrimination	The unequal treatment of someone or a group based on certain characteristics (e.g., ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, gender, age or physical ability). ²
Evaluation	A systematic process to assess changes resulting from integrity reform.
Diversity, Equity and Inclusion	The practice or quality of including and/or providing meaningful, equitable opportunities and platforms for power for historically underrepresented communities to participate on internal party bodies and in decision-making.
Harassment	The unwanted behavior that is meant to make someone feel intimidated or humiliated. ³
Monitoring	A systematic process to gather information to track progress toward integrity reform.
Party Elites	Individuals within the party who hold a disproportionate amount of power and privilege to control the system.
Political Party Integrity	A characteristic of political parties that are citizen-centered, inclusive of historically underrepresented communities, encourage inclusive decision-making, and demonstrate ethical, transparent and accountable behavior.
Historically Underrepresented Communities	Societal groups that are excluded from the dominant social, economic and/or political spheres. Examples vary depending on the environment and include—but are not limited to—people underrepresented because of race, social class, religion, ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex individuals—also referred to as LGBTQI+ to encompass the spectrum of gender and sexuality) and disability.
Young People	Anyone from 18-35 years of age, ⁴ including people with intersecting identities (women, persons with disabilities, members of the LGBTQI+ community, and ethnic, religious and visible minorities).

HOW TO USE WIN WITH INTEGRITY

Win With Integrity is intended for integrity reform-minded political parties and their members. It aims to assist political parties to self-assess their internal procedures and practices around issues of integrity (i.e., transparency, accountability, inclusive decision-making), and identify, prioritize and plan for internal party integrity reform.

Win With Integrity includes the following sections:

- What is Political Party Integrity and Why is It Important?
- The Win With Integrity Assessment
- Guidance on How to Implement Integrity Assessment Findings
- Guidance on How to Track Progress Toward Integrity Reforms
- Worksheets to help parties with the practical application of advancing integrity reform
- Guidance for Civil Society and the Media, which are critical partners for broader political integrity

Win With Integrity can be read from beginning to end, or political parties can read through and take the assessment sections of most interest. Throughout the guide, political parties are provided examples of other parties that have undergone integrity reforms, practical advice, suggestions and worksheets that will help to strengthen the way the party operates, with the ultimate goal of earning back citizen trust.



WHAT IS POLITICAL PARTY INTEGRITY AND WHY IS IT IMPORTANT?

WHAT IS POLITICAL PARTY INTEGRITY?

Political parties should play key roles in democratic governance by representing citizens and aggregating their concerns into policy, and by vetting, selecting and influencing political leaders. **However, corruption, state capture, populism and opaque party organizations undermine public confidence in parties around the world, fueling political instability.** Citizens increasingly perceive parties as elite-driven and unrepresentative of the broader public; unwilling to include and empower women and other historically underrepresented communities; uncommitted to transparency and accountability; and generally untrustworthy.

One solution, proven to make a difference in changing perceptions, is **when parties choose to design their systems, purpose and ethos around the principle of integrity.** Significantly, this is also the path that will lead to the most meaningful changes in the way that political parties are regarded by voters.

For purposes of this framework, internal political party integrity is broadly defined as:



Citizen-Centered Political Organizing. Party integrity involves acting in the best interests of citizens. A party elected into office has been given the opportunity and the privilege to serve through politics. Integrity is also about being service-focused: party leaders, elected officials, and rank-and-file and grassroots members come to politics and governance as public servants.



Embracing Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. Party integrity recognizes and seeks to address institutional, social, cultural and individual barriers of historically underrepresented communities (e.g., women, young people, persons with disabilities, sexual orientation and gender expression minorities, and ethnic and religious minorities). Integrity requires providing an enabling environment for these groups to meaningfully participate and be taken seriously in decision-making bodies and serve in other senior leadership roles.

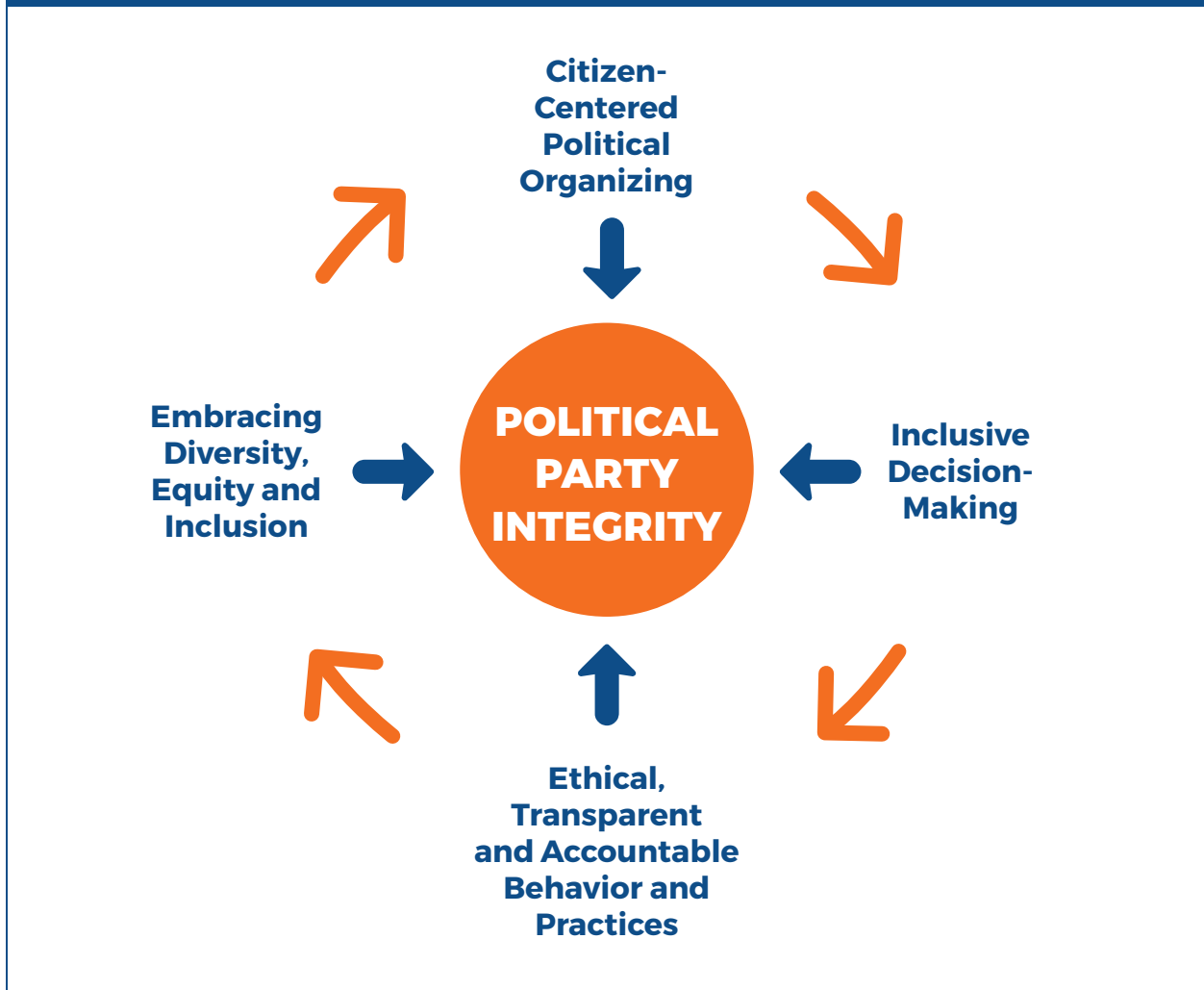


Inclusive Decision-Making. Party integrity builds and enforces mechanisms that ensure all party members (including historically underrepresented communities) and branches within the party structure have the opportunity to deliberate options, contribute ideas and influence party decision-making.



Ethical, Transparent, and Accountable Behavior and Practices. Party integrity builds systems and practices of ethical and accountable behavior for party leaders, elected officials, and rank-and-file and grassroots members that make the party function. It also extends to how the party treats others (i.e., political competitors) outside of the party. Further, integrity includes rigorous management of public funds and citizens' donations and preventing and rejecting acts that could lead to personal financial gain at the expense of public trust or judicious financial accountability.

FIGURE 1: INTERNAL POLITICAL PARTY INTEGRITY



To achieve political integrity, political parties should regularly assess internal practices, identify areas of improvement and implement sustainable reforms related to:

- **Organizational structures and internal processes** that involve inclusive decision-making, how members, staff and party leaders are selected, and how effective monitoring, compliance and grievance processes are implemented;
- **Organizational culture** that drives the ethical and accountable behavior of party members, staff, party leaders and elected officials, and emphasizes a citizen-centered focus on service;
- **Candidate vetting and selection processes** that set ethical and clearly defined standards for representing the party in governance;
- **Diversity, equity and inclusion, whereby women, young people and other historically underrepresented communities** are meaningfully included within the party structure, as candidates and in decision-making; and
- **Political fundraising and financial management** that is transparent, ethical and in line with the country's legal frameworks and internal bylaws that govern the party.

Integrity is both personal and collective. Its purpose is to rebuild citizens' trust in parties and improve democracy's ability to deliver citizens' evolving needs.

From the collective perspective, it is the principle around which parties build healthy operating systems. This means that a party's internal processes, procedures and behavior not only invite principled action but include prevention and response mechanisms to avoid unethical acts.

Genuine integrity also requires the commitment of individuals—a gesture or pledge that has to be renewed on a regular basis in the face of instability and complex challenges—and opportunities, which are inherent in political and public life.

The collective and individual aspects of integrity are symbiotic. Each can be strengthened and nurtured by the other. Equally, the misguided acts of one risk pulling the others out of alignment as well.

These internal party characteristics are recognized in academic and practitioner literature as something inherent in healthy political systems. Scholars point out that political parties with robust internal integrity advance credible elections, transparent political finance regimes, truly independent media, and political processes devoid of corruption and conflict of interest.

WHY IS POLITICAL PARTY INTEGRITY IMPORTANT?

Because parties' roles are fundamental to the health of social systems, when they fail, the consequences reverberate well beyond the limited sector of politics. Political instability is fertile ground for poverty, social and economic inequality, displacement, graft and human suffering. Citizens deserve the highest level of representation and that can only be delivered by political parties that commit to integrity and demonstrate honorable practices. Unfortunately, the global scale at which political parties achieve this is worryingly low.

Political parties must demonstrate greater commitment to values such as integrity, openness, and fairness to help rebuild public confidence.

- Trust and confidence in political parties are at disturbingly low levels worldwide.⁵
- The cost of engaging in politics is going up, making political participation less accessible and more open to financial corruption.⁶
- Political competition and debate are perceived as becoming less civil and, in many cases, more violent and divisive⁷, which is amplified through social and digital media.

To **improve a party's ability to earn citizen trust**, it must be a source of vision, deliver results and have connections among diverse populations. Parties must act as mechanisms through which citizens participate in decision-making. Society's expectations for integrity change over time as citizens expect increased transparency and principled behavior. Parties should periodically review and adjust over time. Whether in power or in opposition, political parties must be able to govern—to understand and solve complex, tricky and often expensive problems.

SECTION 2

HOW TO USE THE WIN WITH INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT

The Win With Integrity assessment is designed to improve internal party integrity. It is geared toward both individuals within the political party and the collective that commit to political leadership and integrity. Self-reflection and assessment should be a regular practice for any organization as part of its internal culture to learn, improve and grow. Assessments are useful building or recruitment tools and can help parties identify ways to improve their structures to earn citizen trust.

There is no “right,” “only” or “one-size-fits-all” way to conduct an internal assessment. How a party conducts an integrity assessment depends on several factors including the time available, the motivations behind an assessment, the commitment or willingness of senior party officials (at the national and sub-national levels) and the availability of resources. However, the basic principles about political party integrity are all the same.

Credible assessment processes should be inclusive of as many representative members of the organization as needed to obtain the desired information in an environment free of fear of reprisal or retribution for genuine feedback. Leaders should be open to criticism and feedback and find ways to demonstrate that they are listening to party members, supporters, elected officials and party personnel. People are usually more invested in organizations if they feel they have been given a fair hearing and the leadership has considered their opinions. A credible assessment process is not only about asking the questions, it importantly leads to developing responses and actions that indicate the party has considered the answers. Conducting an assessment with limited follow-up or feedback is the surest way to alienate people who cared enough to answer questions in the first place. Failure to act on assessment findings will also alienate dedicated party members who want to strengthen the party to be more effective and trustworthy.

BENEFITS OF CONDUCTING THE WIN WITH INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT

There are two significant benefits to parties in conducting integrity assessments. The first is an opportunity to engage party members in a meaningful activity in between elections. When party members are able to make a substantial contribution to party organization and culture, they are likely to feel a sense of ownership in promoting party values and success during elections. The second benefit is the party's ability to gain or rebuild trust among skeptical or disillusioned citizens.

Voters know when a political party is serious about internal integrity and improving its practices. Implementing reforms can be an effective party outreach strategy.

HOW TO CONDUCT THE WIN WITH INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT

The assessment tool in Win With Integrity has been designed for integrity-minded political parties to use on their own with or without external support. Some of the conversations around the culture or practices of a political party can be sensitive or difficult, and an insider-only environment can make it easier to initiate an internal debate and an appropriate integrity-reform plan. However, if a party is ready to do so, there is also unique value in bringing in an experienced, impartial and trusted external facilitator to guide the organization through the integrity assessment. It isn't always possible to see our own problems or challenges, particularly when changes occur over time. While it is best to undergo the full self-assessment, parties may choose to focus on one or more assessment sections if there are urgent matters that need to be addressed in a short period of time. Any progress on internal party integrity is valuable.

CREATING AN ASSESSMENT TEAM WITHIN THE PARTY

In addition to the tips above, if a party decides to initiate an integrity assessment, it must be organized and directed by a dedicated team. The ideal core assessment team should comprise individuals who demonstrate high levels of integrity and will preferably include both senior leadership at the national and branch levels that have the power and tools to change the system, and grassroots members and activists. Demographic diversity within the team is also crucial; women and men should be equally represented among assessment participants. Efforts should be made to include youth activists as well as representatives of historically underrepresented communities. While the assessment questions should be answered by a credible representative sample of party members, the core team is responsible for analyzing results, proposing recommendations and agreeing on an implementation plan.

USING AN INTERNAL FACILITATOR

As mentioned above, some conversations about internal party reform are sensitive and the party may prefer to conduct an integrity assessment without the involvement of an external facilitator. The core assessment team can select one or more individuals to organize the collection of responses to the assessment questions and even conduct focus groups or workshops to gain additional insight into assessment findings if certain party individuals have facilitation skills.

USING AN EXTERNAL FACILITATOR

Engaging an external facilitator allows for an impartial analysis of a political party's level of integrity after the assessment is complete. An external facilitator may also identify recommendations for reform. Identifying the right person is key to gaining trust and ensuring candor from party members in the analysis discussion. Including party members in nominating or suggesting trusted facilitators will help guide the decision to choose someone who is credible. An external facilitator should have unfettered, independent access to all party members and assessment results to effectively analyze the party's level of integrity and make possible recommendations for reform. The party leadership should not micromanage an external facilitator and should maintain an arms-length distance from

the process. In addition to this approach, an external facilitator may also conduct participatory focus group discussions with party members to gain further insight into the party's integrity.

EXPANDING INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT PARTICIPATION TO ADDITIONAL PARTY MEMBERS

The party's integrity scores reflect the assessment team's impressions and knowledge of how the party operates across the five dimensions:

- Organizational Structure and Internal Processes;
- Organizational Culture;
- Candidate Vetting and Selection;
- Diversity, Equity and Inclusion; and
- Fundraising and Financial Management.

While the core integrity assessment team should reflect a cross section of the party, it may want to expand participation to additional party members after the initial assessment is completed by the team.








In Colombia, one party's integrity assessment team expanded participation to include a broader swath of party officials and members. The results from the expanded assessment allowed the party to have a more holistic view of the extent to which integrity exists and how knowledgeable members are of the party's bylaws and internal practices. As a result, the party used the expanded results to inform strategic planning activities.



To expand the integrity assessment survey, the party should make strategic decisions by finding the right balance between having all of the party's membership base undergo the survey and strategically selecting members. For example:

Approach	Strengths	Weaknesses
Integrity Assessment Team only takes the survey	Includes a diverse set of individuals from party leadership, branches and internal party interest groups (e.g., women's wings, youth wings)	Represents a small sample of the party
Integrity Assessment Team expands survey participation to a highly selected group of additional members	Provides a more holistic view of the party's integrity by including a diverse set of individuals from the party who know how the party operates as well as others who may be removed from internal processes	Identifying and making a strategic selection of additional members outside of the Integrity Assessment Team may be a challenge
All party members take the survey	Includes a whole-of-party approach to understanding the extent to which the party has integrity	Findings from the survey, follow-up and identifying reforms become difficult to manage

Whether an assessment is an internal, self-run process or uses an external facilitator, the following are a few useful tips for preparing to use the assessment framework:

	<p>Determine the right time to conduct the assessment. Parties have competing priorities, and time-sensitive or urgent events like elections often push longer-term, process-oriented activities to the back burner. While election campaigns are, rightfully, urgent priorities, do not let them become an excuse to delay or cancel integrity reform initiatives.</p>
	<p>Decide who needs to participate. While collecting many opinions and points of view is desirable, it is not always efficient nor does everyone add value to every line of inquiry. For instance, rank-and-file members of the party do not necessarily know how the party's finances are managed, so engaging them in assessing financial integrity might not be significant. The party should find a balance between an inclusive and representative selection of party members and a manageable number of participants.</p>
	<p>Establish how the party will collect information. Will it conduct small facilitated focus groups or workshops? Will it ask respondents to fill out the Win With Integrity worksheets? Will people fill out hard copies of the worksheets or will the party design an online questionnaire?</p>
	<p>Be clear and transparent with party members on the objective of the assessment. Why is the party doing this now? Is there a crisis or will the assessment process be a regular tool for party growth?</p>
	<p>Assure party members that the party integrity team is genuinely interested in honest evaluations and there will be no retribution or retaliation for criticism or negative observations.</p>
	<p>Let party members know what is expected from them. How much time will they need to fill out a survey? Will they participate in a focus group? Will the answers be anonymous?</p>
	<p>Explain what will happen after the assessment and set realistic expectations. Who will know the results? Who will evaluate the assessment and make recommendations for change? How will results be implemented?</p>

THE INTEGRITY SCALE AND SCORING

An integrity scale is found at the end of each assessment section. The purpose of this scale is to assist the party's integrity team in prioritizing areas of reform. Different people have varied perceptions of how the party functions and how it implements and promotes issues related to integrity. Therefore, ideally, each member of the party's integrity team will conduct the assessment individually before coming together to compare and add all scores together. The integrity team will then take the average of all scores to determine where the party falls on the integrity scale.

Integrity Scoring Categories	Percent
High Level of Integrity	86%–100%
Integrity Present	71%–85%
Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices	51%–70%
Integrity Reform Required	50% or less

For example, imagine that a party's integrity team has five members. To find the average, the team should add all five members' scores together, then divide the total number by five. If the team has 10 members, then the party should add all 10 members' scores together, then divide the total number by 10, and so on.

To help with this process, the party can use tools such as Google Sheets or Microsoft Excel to input the responses and more easily calculate the integrity scores using the "Average Formula." Using tools to calculate the party's integrity scores ensures accuracy in the data that could otherwise become overwhelming and tedious.

Once the integrity team calculates their integrity score, they can then begin discussing why the party operates the way that it does and identify internal reforms to improve their party. Sections 4 and 5 in the framework will help parties implement, monitor and evaluate progress toward their integrity goals.

TABLE 1: ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE OF FINDING THE PARTY'S INTEGRITY SCORE

Assessment Section: Organizational Structure and Internal Processes	
Party Member 1	Score: 42
Party Member 2	Score: 59
Party Member 3	Score: 55
Party Member 4	Score: 67
Party Member 5	Score: 48
Total Score	271
Average (Total Score ÷ Number of Party Integrity Team Members)	54 My party's integrity score

Integrity Scale	Integrity Reform Required	Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices	Integrity Present	High Level of Integrity
Total Score	0-40	41-56	57-68	69-80

My party scored **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices** on the integrity scale for **Organizational Structure and Internal Processes**.

INTERPRETING INTEGRITY SCORES

- **High Level of Integrity:** Organizational structures and internal processes include a high degree of political integrity.
- **Integrity Present:** Organizational structures and internal processes include a degree of integrity. Monitor practices to maintain or improve political integrity.
- **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices:** Organizational structures and internal processes have limited degrees of political integrity. Evaluate practices and identify potential areas of integrity reform.
- **Integrity Reform Required:** Organizational structures and internal processes have a low degree of political integrity. Develop and implement a strategy to address gaps in integrity.

THE WIN WITH INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND INTERNAL PROCESSES

Political parties are vehicles for political expression that seek a role in public decision-making.⁸ As such, they require structure, order and internal regulations to ensure that they can perform this function professionally, effectively and ethically.



The regulatory framework that political parties adopt depends on the local legal requirements, geographic realities, the party's origins or formation, its size, resources and ambition and, to a certain extent, its ideology. Constitutions, bylaws, regulations, statutes, rule books and/or values and vision statements are all used by parties to outline their purpose and how they will conduct themselves as organizations. Documents that regulate organizational structures and processes should be "living" guides to be revised and updated as the party evolves. Whichever of these is employed, there are several characteristics that influence whether the party's primary guiding documents build or undermine integrity.

This section, therefore, focuses on the internal party regulations that guide organizational structures and decision-making processes. It examines rules that govern membership, leadership selection, and how the party manages debates and disputes within the organization.

Organizational Structures and Decision-Making

How decisions are made and communicated—and who makes those decisions—strongly influences how connected members and voters feel to political parties. Political party members do not usually feel sufficiently engaged when all they do is rubber-stamp leadership decisions. A truly inclusive party creates opportunities to deliberate, discuss and debate policies and issues from local branches to the party executive. In addition, an inclusive party encourages both members and voters to engage more with the organization.⁹

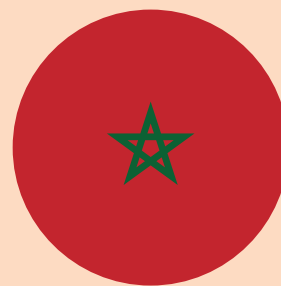
Party documents should define a party's internal bodies and committees (including auxiliary and local or regional branches) and delineate their authority, decision-making processes and how various bodies relate to each other. Party bodies should be sufficiently resourced (or empowered to raise and allocate resources), with a certain degree of autonomy to engage in activities that

contribute to the party's growth. Party statutes should also define the membership of bodies and establish how they are selected, in addition to prescribing standards that reflect the party's ideology, leadership and integrity. Written procedures should articulate how the organization's bodies integrate the equal representation of women and men and positive action for the integration of underrepresented populations, groups or communities as well as the accommodation for persons with disabilities.

Often, parties do not establish all the bodies foreseen in foundational documents, nor do they always follow the rules of decision-making or respect the authority of different bodies, but it is impossible to reform or hold to account processes that are not spelled out in party documents.

Improving Party Structures in Morocco

In Morocco, the Popular Movement (MP) and Constitutional Union (UC) parties initiated and implemented measures to increase the roles and responsibilities of their regional branches, which would enable more local control and improved citizen outreach. UC changed the directive of its regional councils from solely deliberative bodies to the main decision-making bodies in the region. Reaffirming the party's commitment to improved citizen outreach, MP's secretary-general publicly urged its regional branches to improve internal organization, explaining that effective citizen outreach takes place at the regional and local levels but cannot be conducted effectively if party branch offices are not appropriately structured and organized.



Selection of Membership, Leadership and Personnel

Who can be a member, lead and work for the party should be clearly articulated and defined by party documents.¹⁰ Party statutes or bylaws should define **membership** requirements and members' rights, roles and responsibilities within the party. Membership requirements may include a minimum age and provisions that prohibit membership in another party. Members' rights commonly include opportunities to participate in candidate or leadership selection procedures, as well as other party-specific, decision-making processes. Paying dues, promoting the party's goals and objectives, and adhering to party rules are standard membership responsibilities. Party rules will also typically spell out procedures for dismissing a member.

Political parties benefit from clear rules for the selection of party **leaders**. In most parties, the highest decision-making body is a congress, conference or convention. This structure often approves changes to primary party documents and policies, has certain leadership selection responsibilities and makes other significant decisions. Since these bodies meet with varying frequency, political

parties make provisions for a structure to oversee and lead the work of the party in between congresses. Typically, there is an executive council or board, headed by the party leader and composed of senior party executives. At a minimum, written guidelines should articulate which individuals or entities constitute the leadership team, how it (and its members) is selected, the term of office and to whom it is accountable. Parties with high levels of integrity tend to also have broad participation within the party in the selection of the party leadership.

Most parties distinguish officials who are responsible for setting party strategy and the **personnel** charged with implementing and administering the decisions that the party makes. Typically, administrative staff cannot seek other positions within the party—nomination as the party's candidate for a publicly elected office, for example. This separation helps to ensure that administrative staff are fully accountable to party leaders and do not use the party machinery for their own political goals. Often, officials with primarily political responsibilities are elected and thus enjoy a broad mandate from the party. Administrative staff may be appointed by the political leadership or elected, but will typically work under the close supervision of the political leadership.

In addition to articulating the criteria and selection for members, leaders and personnel, political parties should safeguard the roles and responsibilities of individuals who constitute the organization. Party documents should include codes of conduct, anti-harassment, anti-discrimination, and gender equity, diversity and pro-youth policies. To advance party integrity, parties should establish zero-tolerance rules for individuals who commit financial misdeeds within, or outside of, the party.

Monitoring, Compliance and Grievance Processes

All organizations committed to integrity have mechanisms to monitor and ensure that individuals comply with rules and conduct themselves ethically. Political party rules should clearly assert which body or committee is responsible for monitoring breaches of bylaws or codes of conduct. Party personnel and administrative staff should enjoy fair workplace conditions free from discrimination, bullying and harassment, guided by conventional human resources policies.

In democratic political parties, it is both inevitable and desirable that dedicated and passionate members participate in internal debates on decisions. Party rules should anticipate conflicts and should provide frameworks for fostering constructive intra-party debate. Rules for the internal adjudication of conflicts may prevent disputes from escalating, making it less likely that they will spill out of the party as aggrieved members take their concerns to the public. Statutes or bylaws may provide for internal independent appeals bodies that can review and adjudicate disputes between the party establishment and individual members or between various party structures. While aggrieved members deserve opportunities to seek redress, leadership should also have the option of sanctioning wayward members whose actions pose a threat to the party. Therefore, parties should consider a combination of measures that protect the party while addressing the potential needs and concerns of aggrieved members.

INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND INTERNAL PROCESSES



There are written provisions for my party's overall structure and governance that meet minimum legal requirements.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

There is a written commitment to equal participation by women in my party.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has assessed its bylaws for inherent barriers to the significant participation of women or historically underrepresented communities.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

There has been, in practice, an equal number of women and men on my party's national executive committee (or highest decision-making body) within the past 10 years.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's national executive committee (or highest decision-making body) is, in practice, inclusive of the women's wing.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's documents outline a commitment to diversity, equity and inclusion of historically underrepresented communities.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party's national executive committee (or highest decision-making body) is, in practice, inclusive of ethnic and religious minorities.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's national executive committee (or highest decision-making body) is, in practice, inclusive of young people (aged 35 and under).

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party's national executive committee (or highest decision-making body) is, in practice, inclusive of party branch leaders.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party has a clear, written internal governance on dual mandates (i.e., an elected politician's ability or inability to serve in senior internal party positions).

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has a clear, written internal governance and decision-making structure detailing party entities, including their roles and responsibilities.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Recall of the leader, by non-elite party members, is possible.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's national executive committee (or highest decision-making body) is, in practice, inclusive of the youth wing.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Mid-level and grassroots party activists influence party decisions.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Mechanisms or other opportunities exist to debate potential decisions.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's statutes or bylaws clearly define the rights and responsibilities of members.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

In practice, my party's grassroots members participate in selecting the leadership.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's statutes or bylaws establish a body responsible for monitoring breaches of party rules.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has written rules on the appeals and adjudication of intra-party disputes.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has written human resources policies governing the employment or engagement of administrative and professional staff.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND INTERNAL PROCESSES

Integrity Scale	Integrity Reform Required	Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices	Integrity Present	High Level of Integrity
Total Score	0-40	41-56	57-68	69-80

My party scored _____ on the integrity scale for Organizational Structures and Internal Processes.

INTERPRETING INTEGRITY SCORES

- **High Level of Integrity:** Organizational structures and internal processes include a high degree of political integrity.
- **Integrity Present:** Organizational structures and internal processes include a degree of integrity. Monitor practices to maintain or improve political integrity.
- **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices:** Organizational structures and internal processes have limited degrees of political integrity. Evaluate practices and identify potential areas of integrity reform.
- **Integrity Reform Required:** Organizational structures and internal processes have a low degree of political integrity. Develop and implement a strategy to address gaps in integrity.

2. ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE



The internal culture of any organization is a crucial driver of the behavior of members at all levels—from senior party officials to voters and supporters. Internal culture is the environment in which party members function and also defines an organization’s overall values and beliefs to internal and external audiences. A standard definition of organizational culture is “the way we do things around here.”¹¹ Substantial research in both the public and private sectors¹² has identified the types of practices and systems that are more likely to promote ethical choices—and healthier political parties overall as well as those that can lead to an increase in unethical conduct or actions.

Political parties frequently perceive themselves as organizations outside the standard framework of social and economic institutions. While parties perform a vital public duty—representing the needs and opinions of voters, and developing and proposing ideas to contribute to the governance of society—they do not provide a service in the same way that a school or hospital might. Nor are parties private businesses focused on products or profits. Most political parties are somewhere in the middle between public, service-delivery institutions and private businesses.

Moreover, political parties are shaped by those who lead them. Voters and supporters often focus disproportionate attention on political party leaders and expect them to be charismatic and compelling individuals, risking the development of a “cult of personality.” If party systems and practices defer to the preferences or whims of the leader at the expense of the best interests of the political party as a whole, ethical standards, and best practices, are at risk of being disregarded or ignored—even within political organizations that consider themselves entirely principled. Political parties that succumb to cults of personality usually face instability, internal conflict, and leadership succession crises—particularly once leaders’ power and influence begin to wane.

Ultimately, successful political parties rely on the constructive engagement of individuals (often volunteers) who, like most people, prefer positive environments where their contributions are respected. Volunteer-reliant organizations, in particular, suffer from negative work cultures. How organizations treat people can help them thrive or entice them toward failure or ethical compromise.

A political party’s internal culture strongly influences this spectrum between thrive and fail. Experiencing unfairness, abusive behavior, selfish attitudes, or retaliation and retribution will lead any party member or supporter to conclude that the party’s culture is not only unwelcoming but unethical, and their behavioral choices will match this environment.¹³ Equally, if a party is perceived to have built its systems and practices on trust, fairness and ethical standards applied to everyone in the organization, the party is more likely to cultivate higher levels of dedication, constructive innovation and loyalty within its ranks.

This section, therefore, focuses on the internal dynamics and practices of a political party that shape organizational culture, including standards of behavior, response to misconduct and leadership behavior. It examines the extent to which a party, as a workplace, is decent and respectful of all who contribute to the party’s structure and purpose.

Although this section focuses on internal organizational culture, **a political party's behavioral culture to external interlocutors is equally important to the health of a multi-party democracy.** Respect for other opposing parties, citizens, the media, civil society organizations and democratic institutions and their legitimate roles strengthens political processes.

Prevailing Standards of Political Party Behavior

Standards of behavior reflect the “social contract” or the shared code of conduct within a political party as a functioning entity. They are the way the party conducts business and how people relate to each other within the organization. While the party’s bylaws or internal regulations typically articulate formal aspects of standards of behavior, their more powerful aspects take form in what the party genuinely practices daily, including making and communicating decisions. Necessarily, standards of behavior and internal culture are consensus-driven norms that are followed and respected by everyone in the organization. If the party’s standards of behavior are not followed, the leadership should respond appropriately.

Response to Misconduct

How a political party responds to incidents of misconduct within its ranks is a crucial indicator of its ability to operate with integrity. Party documents should articulate transparent mechanisms to deal with misconduct. Three elements are essential to a party’s operations in this area. First, resources, systems and policies should allow staff, officials and relevant members to raise issues of impropriety with the knowledge that they will receive fair and professional treatment. Second, the internal culture must avoid retaliation or retribution against those speaking out or raising concerns. Finally, the party must act to implement mechanisms to prevent misconduct and penalize offenders, regardless of their role within the party.

An organizational culture grounded in integrity presupposes that those who contribute to the party as staff, officials, members and supporters feel that they have a certain level of control and responsibility for ethical outcomes and that there are systems in place to support action against unethical incidents or occurrences.¹⁴

Leadership Behavior

If a political party’s internal culture is compromised or has become toxic, the problems are likely to have a strong link to the choices of the senior leadership team or its failure to address the issues.

Leadership can have a profound impact on an organization’s internal culture, including whether or how it develops and changes over time. The ability to recognize the ethical implications of a challenge or situation is a critical component of principled decision-making.¹⁵ The actions and behavior of the senior leadership team set standards for the party’s operating environment and signal the party’s ethical orientation to all those within the organization. Leadership behavior also telegraphs to the public how a party would govern and treat citizens, if and when it gets the opportunity.

Assessing internal organizational culture is challenging since behavioral norms are often situational and subject to interpretation. Essentially, the fundamental question for organizational culture is whether leaders predominantly engage in behavior that strengthens or weakens the party's ethical orientation.

Improving Organizational Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Social Democratic Party launched an extensive consultative process to develop a code of ethics, involving various party structures. The process resulted in the new document that was officially adopted by the party's Main Board. Although this document is a recent development in the party, members have already started referring to its provisions during debates and party meetings. In Kosovo, the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK) and the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) sought to promote and enforce the norms of responsible and ethical behavior. AAK integrated a code of ethics into the party's statute, establishing the Committee on Ethics, while PDK has adopted a statutory provision on ethics. Both parties adopted these measures in 2019, and started implementing them when selecting and nominating candidates for the elections as well as promoting people with integrity in party and government positions.



INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS



ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Prevailing Standards of Political Party Behavior

I have read my party's internal code of conduct.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party embraces new ideas to implement change within the organization.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party has a written internal code of conduct and standards for behavior.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

The written code of conduct is enforced and upheld.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Anti-bullying is explicitly addressed in the code of conduct.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Anti-discrimination is explicitly addressed in the code of conduct.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Anti-harassment is explicitly addressed in the code of conduct.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Sexual harassment is explicitly addressed in the code of conduct.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Anti-violence is explicitly addressed in the code of conduct.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

The process for dealing with sexual harassment, bullying and other forms of harassment is upheld.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

There are clear, written processes for dealing with online and digital harassment and abuse that are upheld.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

There are clear, written processes for dealing with acts of violence that are upheld.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Senior party leaders treat staff, members and volunteers in my party with professionalism and dignity.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

There are equal opportunities for advancement within my party – either as candidates or party personnel—between women and men, regardless of age.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

There are internal processes and forums for dealing with disagreements.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

In general, all decisions within my party are made in a transparent manner.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

In general, decisions are communicated clearly.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party respects opposing political parties.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party respects civil society organizations and the media.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party values the input of civil society organizations on policy issues that impact citizens.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party incorporates policy proposals from civil society organizations into platforms/manifestos.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Response to Misconduct

My party has written guidelines for grievances or complaints.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Grievances or complaints processes are adhered to and resolved transparently.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Party members, elected officials, leaders and personnel who report abuse or unethical acts are dealt with fairly, without penalty or retaliation.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

I can disagree with, and constructively challenge decisions made by senior party leaders without fear of reprisal.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Leadership Behavior

Senior party officials engage in actions that are considered beneficial to my party and not in their own self-interest.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Behind the scenes, within my party, senior officials act in a way that matches the party's publicly stated beliefs and standards.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Senior party leaders are willing to be constructively challenged and engage in dialogue.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Senior party leaders are accountable for their decisions to an executive committee or similar party body.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party leader conducts themselves in a manner that is ethical and in compliance with the party's code of conduct.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Other members of the senior party leadership conduct themselves in a way that is ethical and in compliance with my party's code of conduct.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Senior party leaders treat staff and volunteers with respect.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Integrity Scale	Integrity Reform Required	Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices	Integrity Present	High Level of Integrity
Total Score	0-64	65-90	91-109	110-128

My party scored _____ on the integrity scale for Organizational Culture.

INTERPRETING INTEGRITY SCORES

- **High Level of Integrity:** Organizational culture includes a high degree of political integrity.
- **Integrity Present:** Organizational culture includes a degree of integrity. Monitor practices to maintain or improve political integrity.
- **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices:** Organizational culture has a limited degree of political integrity. Evaluate practices and identify potential areas of integrity reform.
- **Integrity Reform Required:** Organizational culture has a low degree of political integrity. Develop and implement a strategy to address gaps in integrity.

3. CANDIDATE VETTING AND SELECTION



Political parties are the gatekeepers of who runs for office, who speaks on behalf of parties and who represents citizens' interests in legislative bodies. Around the world, however, voters have an uncomfortable relationship with political parties and candidates who often, usually during election time, make grandiose promises that voters dismiss as unrealistic. Citizens increasingly perceive parties as elite-driven clubs with prohibitive rules of entry and participation; unresponsive to the broader citizenry; uncommitted to transparency and accountability; and unwilling to include and empower women and historically underrepresented communities within their structures. Moreover, issues of corruption, impunity and self-interest further undermine the public's confidence in political parties and their candidates. However, if a party is citizen-centered, inclusive, ethical, transparent and accountable, it can attract candidates who exhibit positive characteristics that legitimize the party and increase the public's confidence in politics more broadly.

In most countries, legislation or election rules establish minimum standards and qualifications for candidates. For example, formal regulations determine a minimum age for candidacy, and whether candidates should be citizens or residents of the electoral district in which they are standing. In many election systems, regulation prevents individuals from running for office if they have convictions for criminal or financial offenses. Where legislated gender quotas exist, parties must select a minimum number of women and men to run for office.

But formal legal regulations are not the only tools available to political parties when selecting candidates. **A critical element of rebuilding confidence in political parties includes strengthening internal candidate vetting and selection mechanisms to identify and choose high-quality candidates who can lead the charge on transparency and integrity, and genuinely represent the citizens they seek to serve. To do this effectively, political party bodies that vet and select candidates should be independent, values-based, inclusive and demonstrate high levels of integrity.**

This section, therefore, focuses on how political parties choose who will represent them as the face of the organization during elections. It examines if and what ethical standards potential candidates must meet for consideration, and who is involved in selecting candidates. This section also considers the cost of candidacy and whether parties make efforts to level the financial playing field.

Candidate Vetting

Party rules must clarify ethical standards for potential candidates for public office. Ideally, the party should articulate a process for vetting and standards in written party documents, such as bylaws or statutes. These standards should exceed the legal requirements to reflect party values and priorities that demonstrate a commitment to integrity. Explicit criteria (e.g., a checklist) will ensure that party officials evenly apply rules and standards when vetting candidates.

At a minimum, parties should vet potential candidates for criminal acts, financial misdeeds, incidents of violent behavior and conflicts of interest. Additionally, parties wishing to demonstrate tolerance and integrity should screen for expressions or acts of discrimination and behavior that contradict party values or ideology.

The vetting process for internal or external party official positions can take many forms, including interviews with potential candidates and their friends or associates. Background checks and searches of public records will flag any legal or financial liabilities. Searches and reviews of public statements, including on social media, help to understand a person's values and views. Finally, requiring candidates to sign an enforceable code of conduct signals to the candidate, and voters, that the party is committed to representation of the highest standards.

A rigorous vetting process takes time and personnel. To avoid burdening party officials during the busy pre-election period, parties can develop and vet a pool of potential candidates in between elections. If a party finds that potential candidates do not meet the minimum standards for political integrity, it should identify and select other potential candidates who do. While candidate vetting is only one step in the candidate selection process, it is a vital step in strengthening a party's integrity, and helps guide and inform the party to ultimately select the best individuals to represent it during and after elections.

A party's nomination committee—or similar body—is an important feature in this process. The committee or body should include a cross-section of the party (e.g., women's and youth wing representatives) that are independent of party leadership pressure and given enough agency and influence to recommend candidates for office. Such committees or bodies should be appropriately resourced financially and in human capacity.

Undergoing Candidate Vetting in El Salvador and Costa Rica

In El Salvador, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party's national electoral commission issues instructions explaining the requirements for candidate registration. Requirements include letters of recommendation from the party's local or sectoral bodies; a sworn statement attesting to the veracity of the information provided on the candidate's background; and a statement of commitment to the party constitution, which includes requirements such as a minimum period of membership, evident education and morals, and a life history generally consistent with the party ideology.¹⁶ In Costa Rica, the Citizens' Action Party (PAC) requires that prior to their nomination by the party's National Assembly, prospective candidates are required to participate in a political training course that culminates in an evaluation, which is taken into account in the nomination decision.¹⁷



Candidate Selection

Parties are influenced and guided by several factors when selecting candidates, including the electoral system, external laws, local political culture, internal rules, ideology, and past and future electoral prospects. Two significant factors, within a party's control, impact a political party's integrity in the candidate selection process. The first is the level of inclusiveness of the body or bodies responsible for selecting candidates, and the second is the level of centralization of the selection decision-making process.

The two factors are somewhat related. A highly centralized process usually means that fewer people participate in the selection of candidates. If the party leader, at the national level, is responsible for choosing candidates, there is limited political space for broader participation in the selection process. The democratic nature and integrity of the party are jeopardized if the party leader is the sole individual to select candidates, even when they are recommended or nominated by national or subnational party bodies. Engaging more members—particularly at branch-level party structures—in the selection of candidates, encourages active participation in the party and promotes competitive, democratic growth. Women's and youth wings can play a crucial role in nominating and suggesting candidates from within their ranks.

There are several reasons to encourage fair and democratic processes in the selection of candidates within political parties. Political parties that engage in democratic processes (not only the selection of candidates) create opportunities for citizens to perceive them as democratic and inclusive in government. Aspiring candidates are more likely to be interested in participating in fair and transparent processes in which they have a chance, increasing the likelihood that political parties will attract a higher caliber of candidates. Furthermore, when activists and members are involved in the selection process and have a role in choosing who represents them, they are invested in promoting and campaigning for the candidates.

How political parties select candidates must be written in party documents available to all. One of the purposes of clear, transparent and competitive candidate selection processes is to reduce the likelihood of choosing ethically unsuitable candidates.¹⁸ The absence of written rules risks subjecting candidate selection to the whims and preferences of party leaders, risking favoritism despite the findings or recommendations from the vetting process. Another reason to have clear, written processes is so that the party can identify areas for improvement and reform. An examination of candidate selection within a party can locate inequalities of opportunity and shortcomings in attracting high-caliber candidates who reflect the community.

The Cost of Being a Candidate

Non-elite and historically underrepresented communities (e.g., women, young people, persons with disabilities, members of the LGBTQI+ community, and ethnic, religious and visible minorities) are already profoundly underrepresented in formal politics, and the growing price tag to compete in elections is creating higher and more callous barriers.

The cost of politics has implications for the quality of representation that any political party can offer, as well as the party's ability to solve complex social and economic problems once elected to office. High-cost politics tends to create a system devoid of merit in which those who end up

in public office more often are those who can afford the price of getting there, rather than those who would do the best job and sometimes better understand the real issues confronting diverse citizens.

The most apparent shortcoming from the rising cost of politics is the absence of women and representatives of historically underrepresented communities who are significantly less likely to have access to requisite levels of disposable personal wealth, party connections or networks of high-value donors. As noted above, this not only undermines the principles of equality and fairness that are fundamental to democratic systems, but it deprives society of higher standards of governance and better policy outcomes. Parties that require potential candidates to pay for consideration, or that do not limit spending in competition to be selected, restrict their ability to attract the best talent. Individuals who can buy their candidacy with their own money or private donations—rather than earn it—are usually only loyal to one entity: themselves or their patron and not the party.

In assessing the party's candidate vetting and selection process, party integrity advocates should examine the party's process, including potential inequality and disadvantages that historically underrepresented communities face, and the extent to which party members outside of senior leadership are involved in the process.

INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS



CANDIDATE VETTING AND SELECTION

Candidate Vetting

Written party rules clearly articulate which party body is responsible for vetting candidates and the process and procedures this body follows.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has clear and specific criteria, written in party rules, that prevent individuals with past or current criminal convictions from standing as candidates.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has clear and specific criteria, written in party rules, that prevent individuals with past or current financial misconduct from standing as candidates.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has clear and specific criteria, written in party rules, that prevent individuals with a conflict of interest from standing as candidates.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has clear and specific criteria, written in party rules, that prevent individuals with past or current expressions or acts of discrimination from standing as candidates.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party regularly conducts background checks on candidates before they formally receive the party's endorsement or are allowed to register as candidates for election.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's rules state clearly what documentation and other information potential candidates must submit for consideration.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Candidate Selection

Candidate vetting results and recommendations influence my party's candidate selection process.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

The process for candidate selection for public office is clearly defined in written documents.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

Women and men are considered equally as candidates, regardless of age, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation or other visible minority status.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

The process for candidate selection for public office involves input from non-executive members.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

The process for candidate selection for public office involves input from branch-level members.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

In a proportional representation context, my party implements a quota policy that places women high on its candidate lists for public office (Skip if your country has a first-past-the-post system).

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

In a first-past-the-post context, my party selects women to run in competitive districts (Skip if your country has a proportional representation system).

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party selects young people to run in competitive districts.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Candidate selection places a priority on diversity and inclusion of historically underrepresented communities and strives to create a list representative of the public.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

The Cost of Being a Candidate

Potential candidates are not required to pay a fee or contribution to my party for consideration as a candidate.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Once selected, party candidates can expect financial support and resources from my party for the election campaign.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Campaign resources and financial support are allocated equally between women and men candidates.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

Campaign resources and financial support are allocated equally between older and younger (i.e., those 18-35 years old) candidates.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

CANDIDATE VETTING AND SELECTION

Integrity Scale	Integrity Reform Required	Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices	Integrity Present	High Level of Integrity
Total Score	0-38	39-53	54-64	65-76

My party scored _____ on the integrity scale for Candidate Vetting and Selection.

INTERPRETING INTEGRITY SCORES

- **High Level of Integrity:** Candidate Vetting and Selection includes a high degree of political integrity.
- **Integrity Present:** Candidate Vetting and Selection includes a degree of integrity. Monitor practices to maintain or improve political integrity.
- **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices:** Candidate Vetting and Selection has a limited degree of political integrity. Evaluate practices and identify potential areas of integrity reform.
- **Integrity Reform Required:** Candidate Vetting and Selection has a low degree of political integrity. Develop and implement a strategy to address gaps in integrity.

4. DIVERSITY, EQUITY AND INCLUSION OF HISTORICALLY UNDERREPRESENTED COMMUNITIES¹⁹



Many parties develop internal cultures that discourage engagement by new activists (such as women, young women and men, and other historically underrepresented communities) by protecting and relying on outdated procedures and practices and personalized networks that everyone else needs to relate/adjust to, all of which often reflect masculine gender norms, and dismiss new ideas and innovations. This internal party culture prevents the meaningful participation of historically underrepresented communities which inhibits diversity of opinion and experience. Not only is meaningful inclusion an essential element of democratic processes, representation and political integrity, but increased diversity also contributes to healthy, more successful parties. Additionally, women's political leadership delivers progress in policy areas vital for economic growth and improved quality of life^{20,21}—opportunities that are left behind when political parties do not prioritize women's genuine roles.

This section, therefore, focuses on the extent to which political parties include historically underrepresented communities. It looks beyond candidates to assess the meaningful and equal participation of women in internal structures and decision-making processes. This section also examines how political parties ensure the participation of representatives of underrepresented groups and communities.

Gender Equity

Political parties have an essential role in promoting and safeguarding women's equitable participation in public life. Although they are not a minority by population size, women's participation in politics remains largely unequal to men's participation, and institutional, socio-cultural and individual barriers to entering and staying in political life remain. Women continue to be underrepresented in politics and in senior levels of political parties. Women's underrepresentation creates a politically disenfranchised society and has negative impacts on political parties. When women do not participate equally in developing policies and strategic decisions, parties have limited credibility in the eyes of citizens. Gender equity will not happen by accident; it requires deliberate strategies and leadership to ensure that women are equal partners in public and private life.

Women's participation benefits parties directly and can lead to improvements in their performance in elections and overall strength. For example, following the implementation of a quota for women candidates at the local level in Spain, all political parties increased the number of women running under their banner. However, the parties that had **more substantial** increases in women candidates also had a much stronger showing than other parties in terms of increasing their vote share more than other parties did in the same locations.²²

But the meaningful equal representation of women in politics is not only about how many women candidates parties put forward at election time. Candidates and elected officials are, however, the most visible and public expression of a party's pledge to gender equity. The most transformative commitment to ensure equity goes beyond candidate selection. It requires gender equity within internal party structures, including where and how a party makes decisions, how gender-sensitive policy proposals are developed and implemented and the allocation of resources.

Promoting Gender Inclusion in South Africa

In South Africa, the African National Congress' (ANC) Women's League (ANCWL) was involved in key leadership positions early in the country's and the party's transformation in the 1990s. This early rise of women in key positions helped ensure that ANC women activists had a seat at the table, which they used to institutionalize a gender equity framework through important party documents. Strong advocacy efforts—including utilizing international pressure—on the part of women party activists led to the ANC putting in place several voluntary mechanisms and policies (e.g., an increase in the quota system from 30% to 50% in 2004) to ensure women's representation in South African politics. The ANCWL is influential not just based on their numbers in parliament. They hold office at virtually every level of government and have held positions such as deputy president, ministers, speaker of parliament and chief whip in the parliament. Women are also represented in growing numbers in municipal structures and councils.²³



The only way to achieve gender equity in politics and governance is by political parties taking gender equity seriously and actively promoting women as influential decision-makers within all levels of their organizations. Since internal structures are guided by formal rules and influenced by informal organizational culture, political parties need to examine both rules and culture when assessing barriers that exclude the equal participation of women.

Diversity, Equity and Inclusion

Being inclusive does not only mean ensuring the equal participation of women. It also means ensuring the involvement of other underrepresented groups, like young people, ethnic/religious minorities, LGBTQI+ communities and persons with disabilities. If political parties do not reflect the constituencies they wish to attract, they lack the credibility to speak and act on behalf of those constituencies. Societies are becoming increasingly diverse, requiring political parties to develop external and internal policies that reflect the concerns of underrepresented groups.

The inclusion and equity of a diversity of voices and opinions in developing political party priorities, including policies, strengthens the chances of a party's success. Most successful parties in democratic processes have one thing in common: broad support by diverse communities invested in the parties' success. Parties with inclusive policy-making and decision-making processes enjoy the support of loyal activists willing to work hard to get the party elected. Organizations that create an open and welcoming environment are more durable and attractive to voters.

The assessment questions here are not exhaustive on the inclusion of women and other historically underrepresented communities. Political parties who take the equal inclusion and participation of women seriously often conduct stand-alone, in-depth gender audits or assessments. These processes gauge women's and men's perceptions of women in leadership, the types of social norms held by members of political parties and society, as well as the individual, institutional and socio-cultural barriers that exist to prevent the full achievement of gender equity.

The following assessment questions will help to understand what the barriers are to the inclusion of historically underrepresented communities and how to mitigate them.

INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS



DIVERSITY, EQUITY AND INCLUSION OF HISTORICALLY UNDERREPRESENTED COMMUNITIES

My party provides anti-discrimination training and resources to party members.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's organizational culture actively encourages greater participation and leadership from historically underrepresented communities.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party has a gender parity committee outside of the formal women's wing that advises on internal gender equity issues within the party.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party produces and distributes materials in non-dominant languages.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party produces and distributes materials in braille, text-to-voice translation or similar resources for the visually impaired.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party uses sign-language interpreters at public events.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party chooses wheelchair-accessible locations for public events.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party ensures inclusion at internal and external meetings by convening them at times that are convenient for women and young members.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's women's wing is explicitly represented in party leadership structures.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's youth wing is explicitly represented in party leadership structures.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's women's wing has adequate financial and human resources independently controlled by the wing.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's youth wing has adequate financial and human resources independently controlled by the wing.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's women's wing is considered an influential or important body within the party.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's youth wing is considered an influential or important body within the party.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's code of conduct prohibits all forms of violence against historically underrepresented communities, both inside and outside the party.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has a clear reporting mechanism for violence against historically underrepresented communities that protects victims and issues appropriate punishment to offenders.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party's membership recruitment involves active outreach to historically underrepresented communities.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's policy development includes input from women.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's policy development includes input from young people.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's policy development includes input from persons with disabilities.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's policy development includes input from ethnic and religious minorities.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party's policy development includes input from members of the LGBTQI+ community.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party has pro-youth policies as part of its external political party policy platform.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has pro-women policies as part of its external policy platform.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has policies on accessibility for persons with disabilities as part of its external policy platform.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has ethnic and religious non-discriminatory policies as part of its external policy platform.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has pro-LGBTQ+ policies as part of its external policy platform.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

DIVERSITY, EQUITY AND INCLUSION OF HISTORICALLY UNDERREPRESENTED COMMUNITIES

Integrity Scale	Integrity Reform Required	Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices	Integrity Present	High Level of Integrity
Total Score	0-56	57-79	80-95	96-112

My party scored _____ on the integrity scale for Diversity, Equity and Inclusion of Historically Underrepresented Communities.

INTERPRETING INTEGRITY SCORES

- **High Level of Integrity:** Meaningful inclusion of historically underrepresented communities includes a high degree of political integrity.
- **Integrity Present:** Meaningful inclusion of historically underrepresented communities includes a degree of integrity. Monitor practices to maintain or improve political integrity.
- **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices:** Meaningful inclusion of historically underrepresented communities has a limited degree of political integrity. Evaluate practices and identify potential areas of integrity reform.
- **Integrity Reform Required:** Meaningful inclusion of historically underrepresented communities has a low degree of political integrity. Develop and implement a strategy to address gaps in integrity.

5. FUNDRAISING AND FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT



The cynical views many citizens have of political parties as corrupt entities arise from never-ending scandals related to politics and money. No issue causes more difficulties for political parties, both from an organizational and strategic point of view and as a public relations management challenge. Political parties require resources to compete in elections, to function as organizations in between elections, and to invest in development, growth and learning. But how parties collect and use resources determines whether they positively contribute to good governance or operate under the influence of external—even hidden—agendas. In short, how (and from whom) parties raise and spend funds, and how transparent they are about financing, determines their level of integrity—or lack thereof.

The regulation of political finance is one way to guarantee essential levels of independence, transparency and equality within the system of governance. However, these systems take time and require political will and leadership to be effective. **Thankfully, political parties do not need to wait for legislation. There are internal practices that parties can adopt, without delay, to foster honorable relationships with donors, funders and supporters that manifest the highest levels of integrity within and outside the organization.** For example, the party should first consider how effective its internal financial management and record-keeping practices are and make improvements as necessary, based on the integrity assessment findings. Once the party has established effective financial management and record-keeping practices, it should find ways to improve disclosure of donations and donors to contribute to broader financial transparency (see figure 2).

Keep in mind that depending on the state of a party's finances and record keeping, reforming systems and introducing more ethical processes are long-term efforts that require discipline and oversight to maintain.

This section, therefore, focuses on sensitive but crucial aspects of political parties' integrity—how they raise and spend money. It also examines if and how parties report on contributions and spending, and if campaign spending is ethical and transparent. Finally, and crucially, this section considers whether or not political parties employ internal financial management practices that promote integrity.

FIGURE 2: LADDER OF POLITICAL PARTY FINANCIAL TRANSPARENCY



Standards and Restrictions on Funds and Donors

Not every person or entity that wants to contribute to a political party should contribute. Too often, financial donors to political parties expect material gains or rewards in return for their contribution, which jeopardizes the integrity of the party. Many political systems ban donations from organizations and individuals whose involvement in the financing of parties could be damaging to, or compromise, the democratic process. Many systems establish limits on the amounts of donations political parties can receive, which not only reduces the incentive for illicit gain, it encourages political parties to reach out to many more citizens to solicit smaller donations, thus building support from ordinary voters.

Internal Financial Management and Record Keeping

Many parties are reluctant to be publicly transparent about their finances because doing so would reveal weak internal financial management practices, as well as an overall inadequate organizational infrastructure. However, it is vital that parties prioritize accurate record keeping and accountable systems or processes for managing party funds to advance the integrity of the organization. Clear procedures for financial management contribute to internal party accountability by helping to ensure funds are used only for approved party business. Parties may use their statutes or bylaws to outline financial reporting responsibilities and to create internal oversight boards or committees responsible for auditing internal party finances. Written record-keeping procedures that are upheld by dedicated staff and regularly reviewed enable party officials to see where and how funds are spent and help prepare the party for obligations to file accounts to relevant authorities.

Parties must have robust procedures for recording financial transactions that include internal systems of **checks and balances** to ensure oversight and control. An **internal auditor or finance committee** that is independent of the leadership should have access to all records of financial transactions, including branch-level and candidate expenditures. Parties should regularly engage **external, independent auditors** to review the organization's financial records.

There must be transparency concerning the sources of income, how the party spends its money and the decision-making process on expenditures. Parties should maintain a **system to track and record** all revenue and donations, including in-kind or material contributions. **Procurement policies** must ensure that funds spent on services meet the test of merit, competition and independence. Party documents should outline criteria for awarding contracts to vendors, and an internal party committee should be responsible for reviewing bids and executing procurement.

The absence of comprehensive and transparent procedures for managing funds compromises internal party democracy and integrity and, ultimately, the management of party funds becomes vulnerable to fraud.

Disclosure of Donations and Donors

There are different approaches to ensuring transparency of political party finances and adherence to regulations on donations. Some systems require public reporting of donations and donors at regular intervals. In some cases, parties only need to reveal the identity of donors who give over a certain amount. Others do not obligate parties to disclose the identity of donors but compel parties to provide summary reports on their income and spending.

In some countries, opposition parties are reluctant to reveal the identity of donors who fear retribution from punitive ruling authorities; opposition parties argue their ability to raise money decreases with increased transparency. While this is, unfortunately, a reality for many opposition parties, there are those with a commitment to financial disclosure that serves as additional pressure on other parties to do the same.

Transparency

Political parties that voluntarily practice the highest possible levels of transparency in their fundraising and spending—regardless of legal requirements—are far more likely to build a relationship with voters based on trust. To guarantee maximum integrity, political parties should keep sound and proper financial records, which serve to generate confidence, enhance credibility and encourage contributions to finance party operations. Citizens are more likely to donate if they know parties are using their money responsibly and fairly.²⁴ The transparency of political party finances is also a valuable party building and recruitment tool. Understanding how—and on what—the party spends funds is a considerable incentive for party members to promote the party and participate in fundraising efforts.

Financial Disclosure and Transparency in India and Spain

In part because of the youth of its members, the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) in India has made significant use of tech to improve outreach and transparency in management of party finances. A main feature of AAP's efforts toward greater fiscal transparency is their aim to publicly declare all expenditures and rupees collected by donation on the party's website—including information on the donation's origin, month and amount—updated in real time. AAP's [#iFundHonestParty](#) challenge allows supporters to make a donation via a mobile app, sends the donor a receipt via SMS or email and posts the contribution online.²⁵ In Spain in 2014, the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) signed an agreement with Transparency International Spain (TI-E) to release financial and other internal party documents, through TI-E promoting increased transparency of the party.²⁶



Vote Buying and the Use of Material Incentives for Voters

Vote buying is a widespread phenomenon and a vicious circle to break. To effectively eliminate this practice, all parties should refrain from buying votes. If only one party or candidate continues the tradition, voters—particularly those with low incomes and in need—will willingly accept cash and gifts. But although voters may be in need, they are not naive, and parties that distribute cash or gifts compromise their integrity in the eyes of citizens.

There is a fine line that is often blurred by legitimate campaign expenses. For instance, providing refreshments at campaign events or transportation to polling stations may be viewed as vote buying. These examples are, however, reasonable campaign expenses in many democracies. The costs of legitimate campaign expenses must be declared and transparent.

Political parties with a genuine commitment to integrity should have internal rules that prohibit vote buying and robustly punish candidates who use cash or gifts to attract votes. To reinforce this commitment, parties can find allies in civil society organizations that work on issues of election integrity and transparency. Parties must take the lead in promoting financial transparency, including the rejection of vote buying, to build and gain trust.

INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS



FUNDRAISING AND FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

My party has clear restrictions in party regulations on who can and cannot donate, in addition to what is required by law.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party bans contributions from public bodies or institutions.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party bans contributions from foreign entities.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party bans contributions from anonymous donors.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party bans contributions from corporations with government contracts.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party discloses contributions from all corporations.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party bans indirect donations (contributions given through another person or entity).

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party prohibits the use of state resources (other than public financing to parties) for party purposes.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party limits how much individual donors can contribute.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party regularly makes public a complete list of individuals and organizations who donate funds to the party.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party regularly makes public comprehensive statements of expenditures.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party explicitly prohibits vote buying by party officials or candidates.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has a dedicated professional team to handle party finances.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has written guidelines or policies on financial accounting and record keeping.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has clear guidelines or policies on who can receive and spend funds on behalf of the party.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has an internal financial oversight committee that is independent of the leadership.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party regularly submits the organization's financial record to an independent, external auditor for review.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

My party has written policies on procurement.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party has an internal procurement committee that reviews and oversees the awarding of contracts to vendors.

Don't Know	No	Yes
0	1	4

My party's financial management process is accountable and transparent to party members.

Don't Know	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

FUNDRAISING AND FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

Integrity Scale	Integrity Reform Required	Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices	Integrity Present	High Level of Integrity
Total Score	0-40	41-56	57-68	69-80

My party scored _____ on the integrity scale for Fundraising and Financial Management.

INTERPRETING INTEGRITY SCORES

- **High Level of Integrity:** Fundraising and financial management include a high degree of political integrity.
- **Integrity Present:** Fundraising and financial management include a degree of integrity. Monitor practices to maintain or improve political integrity.
- **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices:** Fundraising and financial management have a limited degree of political integrity. Evaluate practices and identify potential areas of integrity reform.
- **Integrity Reform Required:** Fundraising and financial management have a low degree of political integrity. Develop and implement a strategy to address gaps in integrity.



GUIDANCE ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT FINDINGS

If the party has conducted an integrity assessment, it has already achieved a significant milestone. By agreeing to examine the areas of internal functioning in this assessment tool, the party leadership has demonstrated an interest in the results and a commitment to improving the party's integrity.

Once the party has collected all the answers to the integrity assessment questions, it will likely find discrepancies among individuals' answers. Different people have varied perceptions of how the party functions and how it implements and promotes issues related to integrity. Compiling and collating all the responses in each category will, however, allow the party to average out the final tallies and develop an overall scale of integrity for each of the five categories:



Organizational structure



Organizational culture



Candidate vetting and selection



Diversity, equity, and inclusion



Fundraising and financial management

If the party scored the **highest level of integrity** in one or more of the categories, it is worth asking why and examining the factors that contributed to the high level. Understanding where the party succeeds in promoting and implementing integrity will help it design and implement reform measures in areas that need improvement. The two levels of integrity that require attention and analysis will be the lowest two: **integrity at risk** and **integrity reform required**.

INTERPRETING INTEGRITY SCORES

- **High Level of Integrity:** A high degree of political integrity.
- **Integrity Present:** A degree of integrity. Monitor practices to maintain or improve political integrity.
- **Integrity at Risk! Evaluate Internal Practices:** A limited degree of political integrity. Evaluate practices and identify potential areas of integrity reform.
- **Integrity Reform Required:** A low degree of political integrity. Develop and implement a strategy to address gaps in integrity.

If the party scored better on the integrity scale in one category than others, that may be an excellent place to start. Improving practices or processes in the party where it already has some traction will make success more likely and will build momentum for tackling the more difficult areas where the party has scored lower on the integrity scale.

The party may find that, within a category, it scores higher on some issues than others. For example, it may discover that the party has a broad and inclusive process to select candidates but does not engage in any form of candidate vetting. To increase the party's integrity scale in this category, the overall objective should be, therefore, to increase the integrity of candidate vetting.

Ultimately, the **team overseeing the assessment needs to discuss and analyze the results** in each area and commit to moving forward with the necessary reforms. The need for substantial improvement can sometimes be overwhelming with an endless list of elements that need changing.

GETTING THE CONVERSATION STARTED WITH PARTY LEADERSHIP

By agreeing to examine the areas of internal functioning in this assessment tool, the party leadership has demonstrated a level of interest in the results and improving the party's integrity. After the integrity team conducts the assessment, the next step is to begin conversations with party leadership.

The assessment team should brief senior party members on the results of the assessment, noting where the party scored high and areas for improvement.

As part of these conversations, **the integrity assessment team should develop a list of priority areas for reform, gauge party leadership's openness or reluctance to reform, and develop an implementation plan** (see Table 4).

As part of this process, the integrity assessment teams should:

- Define where, and on what, the integrity team is willing to compromise so it is ready to negotiate (see “Reaching Compromise on Integrity Reform” in this section);
- Identify allies and spoilers for reform (see “Power Mapping” in this section); and
- Develop risk mitigation strategies to advance integrity reforms where and when possible (see Table 4).

If the integrity assessment team believes that party leadership will be reluctant to change, the team should take additional steps, including:

- Engaging senior members to understand their perceived risks and benefits for integrity reform;
- Prioritizing integrity areas for reform that speak to party values and current priorities that could generate leadership support; and
- Adjusting the implementation plan to take into account additional activities with leadership and a longer-term pace for reform.

For more information, consider the various guidance in this section, as well as NDI’s [Taking the Wheel and Piloting Change: A Framework for Party Reformers](#).

PRIORITIZING INTEGRITY REFORMS

The party may choose to conduct a facilitated workshop or focus group with the party leadership to gauge their support and engage them in setting priorities and suggesting solutions. Involving senior members of the party will also help it understand “red line” areas—boundaries or limits which should not (or cannot currently) be crossed. Since communication is as much about listening as it is talking, the party will gain insight into how to proceed by listening to the party leadership on the assessment results.

The most obvious areas to improve integrity are those that have the support of the party leadership. **Tackling integrity reforms that everyone agrees are needed will provide the party with “quick wins” and evidence that the party can make changes.** Quick wins will also give the party the confidence to continue with more difficult reforms in the long term.

In addition to the party leadership, the party may share the results and solicit feedback from key groups within the party. **While the assessment will show what the party’s integrity score is, it will not explain why.** If, for example, the party scored low on the financial management assessment, it should consult the team or party officials charged with managing the finances to explore where the problems are and how they might be fixed. It may be as simple as a lack of training or oversight. Listening to different groups within the party will also help it identify allies to support integrity reform. **The party’s integrity team should also brief the women’s wing, the youth wing and other possible official associations inside the party (e.g., national executive committee, LGBTQI+ wing, etc.) to seek feedback and suggestions for ways to improve integrity. Reaching out to the people most affected by the integrity issue will help it prioritize areas for reform and recruit champions for its efforts.**

GETTING STARTED ON THE JOURNEY TOWARD INTEGRITY REFORM

Reforming a party and implementing **change begins with small steps**. It also starts by having a vision for what the party wants to change, breaking down that vision into manageable parts and developing a plan to implement that change.

Planning is a constant and evolving process, with the inherent components of a solid plan being flexibility and structure. A plan must be able to adapt to internal and external change while simultaneously providing a framework to keep objectives on track.

A plan's success is linked to the information upon which it is based. The assessment results should guide the plan and help the party set goals.

Most plans answer three fundamental questions:

- Where do we want to go?
- How will we get there?
- When will we arrive?

SETTING INTEGRITY GOALS

The first task of planning reform is articulating the goals that will contribute to the party's change. Although goals can be the broad primary outcomes it seeks to achieve, they must also be S.M.A.R.T. (see Worksheet 1 to identify the party's S.M.A.R.T. goal).



Being **specific** about a goal will help the party focus its efforts and communicate the change it wants to make. For instance, if the party's overall objective is to increase its integrity on candidate vetting, it needs to articulate, specifically, the goal(s) required to achieve overall integrity on candidate vetting, using the assessment answers as a guide. For example, if there is no internal body responsible for vetting candidates, the goal may be to see the party establish a committee charged with candidate vetting. However, creating a committee is not, in itself, very specific, nor is it an indicator that candidate vetting occurs in the party. The party must articulate who will be involved in selecting and participating in the committee and answer other questions. For example:

- What does the party want the committee to accomplish?
- How will the committee conduct its work?
- What criteria will the committee use to vet candidates?
- Which candidates will the committee vet?
- By when will the committee vet candidates for which election?
- To whom does the committee report?

The more specific a goal is, the more **measurable** it is. How can the party measure the success of establishing a party committee that engages in candidate vetting? Since there will be a few steps to getting the committee up and running, the party should develop measurable milestones to track the progress of the reform and establish benchmarks for success. Once the party forms a committee, it can track and measure, for example, who and how many members comprise the committee. It might also set targets for the number of criteria the committee uses and the number of candidates vetted by the committee.

To determine if the goal is **attainable**, ask what skills and information are required to attain the goal. For example, do the people who will be involved in the various steps of establishing—and participating in—the candidate vetting committee have time to devote to it? If not, are there others who can be brought in to contribute to this reform? Does the party have sufficient information on vetting criteria and good practices to establish a process to begin vetting candidates? If not, where can it get this information? Ultimately, the party will need to determine if the goal is achievable. Will the reform be something that can actually get approved and adopted by the party?

While a goal may seem necessary and likely to increase the party's integrity, the party should determine if it is **relevant**. Political parties have countless priorities competing with each other and strategic considerations that often revolve around election cycles. Establishing a functioning candidate vetting committee, for example, will take time and energy away from other activities. The party should consider if the goal fits in with the party's overall strategy and if this is the right time to be implementing the reform.

Finally, goals must be **time based**. A commitment to a deadline helps focus everyone toward completion of the goal and prevents the reform from being overtaken by other, unrelated events.

IDENTIFYING INTEGRITY ALLIES

Once the party has articulated and prioritized integrity goals, it must determine how it will implement those goals. Who are the reforms' natural allies and opponents? Examine the party's organizational hierarchy and identify who would benefit from the change and who stands to lose influence, power and resources. Even the best reforms have internal opposition. Inevitably, there will be colleagues, elected officials and influential members who will work to stop the debate or implementation of changes. **Before beginning to build a support base, it is important to answer: Who is invested in maintaining the status quo, and who benefits from it?**

Once determining which individuals and groups are likely to oppose reform, identifying where the change will find support is the next logical step. **Supporters within the party** may not necessarily be the leadership; and different members will support different aspects of integrity reform

initiatives. For instance, members of the women’s wing may want to prioritize the party’s inclusion integrity scale over other areas of reform.

There may be **allies outside the party**, especially **civil society organizations (CSOs)** that focus on integrity issues or the inclusion of historically underrepresented communities and have a realistic understanding of and collaborative approach to party reform. For example, if the party is interested in understanding what reforms are necessary to make it more inclusive of people with disabilities (PWD), consulting CSOs that promote the rights of PWD will strengthen proposed reforms and will add weight to convincing people within the party of the needed changes. To determine who might support the initiative, it is helpful to identify stakeholders and supporters and understand what motivates them. It is essential to know who might resist the reform and why. The following template is a useful tool (see Worksheet 2 to identify the party’s integrity allies).

TABLE 2: IDENTIFYING INTEGRITY ALLIES

OUR PARTY INTEGRITY GOAL IS: _____				
Consider and answer the following questions.				
WHO DO YOU NEED TO INFLUENCE?				
Stakeholders	How much will they be affected by this action?	What change will they have to adjust to?	How will they react initially?	What do they need to support the policy?
Supporters	Is their support strong or weak?	Why do they support my goal or reform?	How can I maximize their support?	Who influences them, and can they be enlisted to help?
Opponents	Will their opposition be strong or weak?	What will their opposition look like?	How can I minimize their opposition?	Who influences them, and can they be enlisted to help?

In addition, there are certain necessary personal skills that should be developed and refined over time.

Influencing: Develop and share a vision of the desired outcome for integrity reform. Focus on motivating allies to work together toward making the vision become a reality, rather than by using force or coercion. Influence is a foundation for trust and credibility over time.

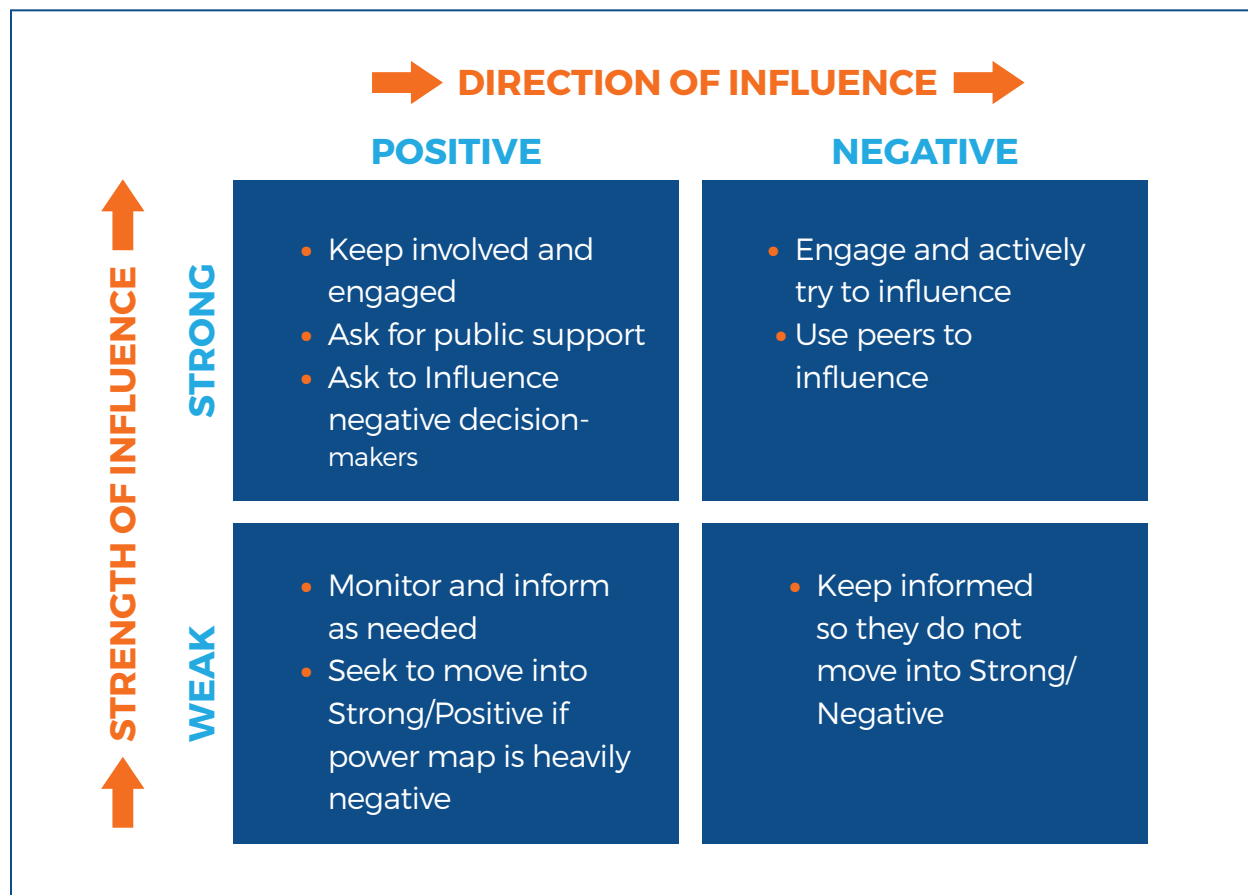
Advocating: Champion and support the integrity reform, by analyzing what the issues are, why changes are needed and who should be the target of integrity advocacy efforts.

Effective Listening: Absorb information, show interest and provide feedback to the speaker so that they know the message was received. Listening matters because it shows concern, builds

trust, displays commitment and highlights the integrity team’s values of empathy and respect as leaders.

Public Speaking: Convey messages clearly and effectively. As mentioned, one fundamental condition for gaining buy-in for integrity reform is building trust-based relationships. As such, the integrity team should demonstrate and effectively communicate why the reform is needed and how it benefits the party.

FIGURE 3: POWER MAPPING FOR INTEGRITY REFORM



POWER MAPPING

When the right opportunity presents itself, reformers must prepare to act. Whether it’s done in advance or as part of the reform initiative, **understanding power relationships within the party is essential**. Some people will support reform, and others will oppose it. Some people, or groups of people, will be directly affected, others will not. Some individuals are influential, others are not. Take time to identify the stakeholders, supporters and opponents specifically to understand how they relate to the reform and to each other. An excellent way to do this is power mapping. The template above can help with learning where everyone stands and provides suggestions on how to approach them during the implementation of the plan (see Worksheet 3 to undergo the power mapping exercise).

Reaching Compromise on Integrity Reform

Often, the integrity team will have to compromise on some aspects of reform initiatives to win over certain supporters and generate quick wins for reform. The integrity team needs to define where, and on what, it is willing to compromise so it is ready to negotiate with potential allies. Some individuals seek to co-opt reforms or attempt to strip or amend crucial components. **Identifying who is looking to compromise and who is interested in co-option will be a persistent activity throughout the reform process.** Building a coalition of internal and external supporters for change is not easy. The integrity team needs to be authentic and capable of delivering results.

Integrity reform itself must be captivating and innovative while remaining practical. However, the combination of a savvy change agent and a compelling reform make building a coalition of dedicated supporters to help the reform come to fruition all the easier.

DETERMINING THE BEST MOMENT TO IMPLEMENT INTEGRITY REFORMS

A central element of success in achieving meaningful change is timing. Crises and unexpected events can derail the best thought-out plans and distract the most committed reformers. Some moments are better than others to gain the attention of allies and decision-makers. For example, an election campaign is not the best time to propose major internal organizational change that might take months to realize. However, it is a good time to propose changes to election-related integrity issues such as the cost of politics for candidates or communicating the party's opposition to vote buying. Understanding when party officials and activists are most open to considering change is vital to a reformer's strategy, so that integrity interventions have maximum impact.






Recognizing unexpected occasions for change can also influence the timing of implementing reform. Opportunities for reform can sometimes present themselves at unanticipated moments. Often a crisis in a party or the country provides a possibility for change. If change agents are unprepared, it can be challenging to take advantage of an invaluable window for transformation.

COMMUNICATING PROGRESS TOWARD INTEGRITY TO THE PUBLIC

If the party has successfully implemented integrity reforms, it is crucial to communicate this success to party members and citizens. Most citizens outside of the party do not always grasp the importance or role of internal party practices, bylaws or statutes. If the party's reform has resulted in a change of party documents, the party should interpret these changes in a way the public will understand. Speak about the behavioral change that will result because of the reform and identify a variety of people to communicate the party's success.

Since party members are excellent champions of positive party change, meaningfully engage them in the effort to communicate the party's message. Seek out external allies who were engaged in reform efforts or who will be interested in the party's move to improve its integrity. Anti-corruption organizations and activists promoting the inclusion of historically underrepresented communities will be supportive of reforms.

When designing a communications plan, consider the following:

	Develop and distribute messages about reforms that can be adopted by members around the country and can be used in public communications pieces.
	Develop and distribute talking points and short messages that supporters can post on their social media platforms (with photos and hashtags).
	Draft an opinion piece by the leader to distribute to journalists to broaden the party's reach beyond its supporters and members.
	Record a video of the party leadership discussing the reforms that can be easily digested, circulated and integrated into party promotional materials.
	Host a roundtable meeting with relevant CSOs and media to get feedback (and support) for the reforms.

Remember, communicating about change and reform in the party is not about the party, but about the voters and why integrity reforms are good for the public. Design the party's communications messages and strategies to show how citizens benefit from improved political party integrity.

TABLE 3: TIPS FOR IMPLEMENTING INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT FINDINGS

Tips for Implementing Integrity Assessment Findings	
	Develop a clear vision and outline of the scope of the change. What will it do? Whom will it impact? How will this reform benefit the party?
	Develop a team of allies. Reach out to stakeholders and supporters who might be impacted by the reform—particularly those representing historically underrepresented communities.
	Create a comprehensive list of the necessary tasks to complete the reform. Be specific! Each task should have an objective with a timeline to complete it. Assign tasks to specific individuals. Be realistic about how much one person can do. Multiple individuals can contribute to the same job, but there should be one person responsible for tracking progress and ensuring its completion.
	Identify which actions require money. Identify sources of income for tasks that require money and make contingency plans if resources are unavailable.
	Take time to do the necessary research on the reform areas so that the party is equipped to implement the integrity reform.
	Study and know the rules inside and out—this means party rules of procedures, bylaws or the constitution. Sometimes the greatest advantage comes with knowing the rules better than anyone else.
	Identify red lines—boundaries and limits that should not be crossed—and determine how to manage an approach to them.
	Identify incentives that motivate the party leadership and the necessary committees to change. Assess avenues to leverage these incentives.
	Research the formal and informal processes the party uses to adopt and amend statutes and bylaws. Map out where the opportunities are to influence the decision-making process(es) and key stakeholders.
	Articulate the risks to the plan and develop mitigation strategies if the reform initiative stalls.
	Develop talking points about what issue the reform will solve, why the solution will be effective and how it can successfully be implemented. Speak to how change will positively impact the party and increase integrity. Prepare examples of how similar initiatives have helped other parties.

TABLE 4: SAMPLE INTEGRITY IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION PLAN WORKSHEET

Party Name: The Paldovian Workers' Party							
Integrity Reform Goal: All party decision-making bodies comprise 50% women in two years.							
Integrity Allies: Secretary-General, Chairs of the Women's Wing, Youth Wing and Political Wing							
Activity	Budget	Person Responsible	Progress Indicator	Timeline	Frequency of Evaluation	Status	Are there risks to this activity and what can be done to mitigate them?
<p>Activity 1: Consultations with the Secretary-General, Youth and Women's Wing Chairs and Political Wing Chair</p>	\$100 for refreshments and light snacks	Integrity Team Member "A," under supervision of Integrity Team Lead	Meaningful commitments and support from Chairs	Months 1-3	Weekly	<p>Meeting with the Youth and Women's Wing complete.</p> <p>Currently scheduling meetings with the Political Wing and Secretary-General.</p>	<p>Risk: Scheduling conflicts with the various chairs.</p> <p>Mitigation: Plan meetings in advance and confirm schedules before consultations occur.</p>
<p>Activity 2: Increase membership of women by 50%</p>	\$5,000 for printing party fliers, transportation and follow-up	Integrity Team Members "B" and "C," with support from Women's Wing, Youth Wing and Political Wing, under supervision of Integrity Team Lead	Number of women recruited as members on a monthly basis	Months 3-24	Biweekly	<p>Door-to-door plans in progress in partnership with Women's Wing Chair, Youth Wing Chair and Political Wing Chair.</p> <p>[Party Name] Women's Political Conference planning not yet started.</p>	<p>Risks: Women may not want to join the party.</p> <p>Mitigation: Develop a strong communications plan and target women in party strongholds and in competitive districts.</p>

Activity	Budget	Person Responsible	Progress Indicator	Timeline	Frequency of Evaluation	Status	Are there risks to this activity and what can be done to mitigate them?
<p>Activity 3: Implement reform to increase women's participation in party decision-making</p>	<p>\$3,000 for additional printing of meeting materials, larger meeting space and additional refreshments and light snacks.</p> <p>\$100 for refreshments and light snacks for consultations, if needed.</p>	<p>Integrity Team Members "A" and "D," with support from Women's Wing and Youth Wing Chair, under supervision of Integrity Team Lead</p>	<p>Number of new appointments of women to decision-making positions</p>	<p>Months 10-24</p>	<p>Biweekly</p>	<p>Internal advocacy in progress, starting with meetings of various party chairs and officials on the value of having women in decision-making positions.</p> <p>Surveying potential meeting spaces in progress.</p>	<p>Risks: Members in decision-making positions do not agree that women should play this role within the party.</p> <p>Mitigation: Identify incentives for greater participation of women and communicate to skeptical members.</p>

See Worksheet 5 to begin designing the party's integrity implementation plan.

GUIDANCE ON HOW TO MONITOR AND EVALUATE PROGRESS TOWARD INTEGRITY REFORM

WHY IS MONITORING AND EVALUATION IMPORTANT TO INTEGRITY REFORM?

Monitoring and evaluation provide a system for ongoing collection of information to reveal whether party reform efforts are on track and whether expected results are being achieved. Evaluations that are based on evidence and collected over time through monitoring provide an insight into the party integrity reform process and identify the strengths and weaknesses of the process. The information that comes out of the evaluation will serve as a basis for feedback to party leadership, members and activists and other diverse audiences, including decision-makers, political donors, staff and other relevant constituencies or stakeholders. It helps to influence decision-making and policy formulation with evidence-based information.

As mentioned in the previous section, implementing integrity reforms requires developing a plan. Part of the planning process should include a methodology to monitor the progress and evaluate the effectiveness of the party's reform efforts. Monitoring and evaluation are not afterthoughts or something the party designs or implements after the integrity reforms have started. It should be a fundamental element of the party's integrity reform planning and implementation process.

- **Monitoring** is an ongoing process that gathers information to track the party's progress toward integrity reforms.
- **Evaluation** assesses changes resulting from the party's integrity reforms. It determines if the party's reform succeeded and delivered what was expected.

Monitoring and evaluating progress and outcomes take time and human resources to collect and analyze information. There are several benefits to monitoring and evaluating integrity reforms:

- **Accountability**—holds the leadership to account for its commitment to integrity reform and provides members with confidence that the party is moving toward increased integrity.

- **Supervise the progress of implementation**—provides a clear roadmap for the team tasked with implementing integrity reforms, including targets of what needs to be done.
- **Learn and improve**—allows for reflection and an opportunity to adjust to circumstances. It also lends to the efficiency of work, particularly if everyone understands the goals of the reform.
- **Evidence for advocacy**—data collected through monitoring and evaluation allows for evidence-based arguments for the reform and continuing efforts for integrity.
- **Public relations**—information and stories collected through monitoring and evaluation allow the party to package information for use in promoting the political party.
- **Resource allocation**—allows the party to map out the resources it needs to implement the reform.
- **Measure impact**—allows for the collection of data that demonstrate the impact of the party's reform.

There are several different approaches to monitor and evaluate the party's reform efforts, but they all answer four universal questions:

- Is my party implementing integrity reforms?
- Are integrity reforms making a difference?
- Are integrity reforms prioritized appropriately?
- What does the data tell me?

MONITORING AND EVALUATION TECHNIQUES

There are several monitoring and evaluation techniques used to assess the progress and results of integrity reforms. For monitoring, the party should identify one or two people who will collect and analyze progress toward integrity reforms. Choosing the best technique for evaluation depends on the stage of the integrity reform process the party is in. Each can help the party make better decisions by giving it information. Here are some evaluation techniques that the party can apply:

- **Formative evaluations are evaluations for learning.** They are often informal and are done internally. Their aim is to provide the party with a gauge of how the reforms are being implemented at the current moment and enable the party to adjust the implementation process accordingly.
- **Process evaluations focus on how the reform was implemented and how it operates.** Similar to formative evaluations, process evaluations also happen as the party is carrying out integrity reforms. The aim is to see if the reform is meeting its intended goals. This includes looking at how the reform is implemented and what it achieved.
- **Outcome evaluations happen after the integrity reform implementation is completed.** Outcome evaluations measure the short-term impact of the integrity reform. This can help gauge the initial impact the reform has and how it is being received. The party should also measure the reform's long-term impact and the overall effectiveness of realizing its goals. To do so, the party should keep track of changes that occur over longer periods of time. Long-term evaluations give a broader, more complete view of the outcomes of the integrity reform.

How to Monitor and Evaluate Progress

How and what to monitor and evaluate will depend on the integrity reform the party is implementing. When planning to monitor and evaluate integrity reforms, involve the core assessment team. The team that analyzed the assessment results and designed the goals for reform is best placed to know what can be monitored and what the anticipated results will be. If the party developed S.M.A.R.T goals for its implementation plan, the party would be in an excellent position to evaluate integrity reforms.

When monitoring and evaluating the party's interventions, it will need to determine:

- The baseline information against which the party will monitor and evaluate progress.
- Which indicators the party uses in its implementation as measurements.
- The source(s) of the party's indicators.
- How the party will collect and analyze the data.
- When, or how often, the party will collect and analyze the data.
- Who will collect and analyze the data.

When monitoring or evaluating program implementation and achievements, the party needs **baseline** information against which it can compare and evaluate. If the party has conducted its own integrity assessment, it has its baseline data. For example, if the party has decided it wants to establish a committee to engage in candidate vetting because there is currently no committee, then the party's baseline information is zero for all indicators. Indicators must also be precise and defined in clear terms.

Indicators are measurements that provide evidence of change. There are several characteristics of good indicators. At a minimum, indicators must be valid in that they measure, in fact, what they intend to measure. They must also be reliable so that they can be continuously measured, in the same way, by different observers. Indicators must also be precise and clearly defined.

Using these characteristics as a guide, the party can choose indicators to determine if it has achieved its goal. For example, a new party bylaw establishing a candidate vetting committee is not a valid indicator that the party actually has a functioning committee. A more reliable, valid and precise indicator would be the number of party officials participating in the committee. Other indicators might include the specific criteria the committee uses to vet candidates, the number of candidates vetted by the committee and the number of reports the committee issues related to its activities.

When monitoring and evaluating the party's integrity reform, the party should also articulate **the source(s) of its indicators**. For example, one crucial source to collect indicators on a candidate vetting committee is the members of the committee itself. They will be able to provide the party with information on their processes. The party can also consult minutes from the meetings of the committees as well as potential candidates themselves who met with the committee.

Knowing **how the party will collect and analyze the information** helps the team understand the tasks or resources needed for monitoring and evaluation. For example, will the party conduct face-to-face interviews with members of the candidate vetting committee and candidates? Will the party interview the party leadership for its feedback on the work of the committee? Will the

party ask members of the committee to fill out a questionnaire? Will the party hold a focus group discussion with the committee or potential candidates? Or, will the party review party documents and minutes of meetings? Once the party collects the data, think about the different ways that it can analyze it. If it's qualitative data, will the party do a trend or content analysis? Is the party going to code them using specific software? If it's quantitative data, will the party run statistical analysis? What software will the party use? Will the party hire a data analyst to help with the analysis?

Knowing **when or how often the party will collect and analyze the data** also helps the team plan time for the tasks. Since there may be several steps to establishing and operationalizing a committee, the party will have different timelines for the collection and analysis of different indicator data.

Finally, it is essential to articulate **who will collect and analyze the data**. Without assigning specific people to certain tasks, the party's plan to evaluate its integrity reform risks falling victim to ambiguity (see Worksheet 4 to begin planning for evaluation data collection).

TABLE 5: SAMPLE WORKSHEET FOR EVALUATION DATA COLLECTION

Our party integrity goal is: The Paldovian Workers' Party decision-making bodies comprise 50% women in two years				
Baseline/Current Number: 10 women across all decision-making bodies			Target Increase: 40 women, comprising 50% of all decision-making bodies	
Indicator	Source of Data	How we will collect and analyze data	When we will collect and analyze data	Who will collect and analyze data
Number or percent of women on decision-making bodies	Party documents, including meeting minutes and decision memos	Brief meetings with women members of each body	Monthly	Integrity Team Member "A" and Integrity Team Lead
Number or percent of decisions made by women	Party documents, including meeting minutes and decision memos	Meetings with members of each body	Monthly	Integrity Team Member "D" and Integrity Team Lead
Number or percent of party reforms implemented as a result of decisions made by women	Party documents and observations of party processes, structures and behavior	Meetings with senior party leaders on feedback on the reforms	Quarterly	Integrity Team Lead

INTERPRETING EVALUATION INTO ACTION

Evaluating integrity reform is not an end in itself. Since evaluation is a systematic feedback process, it is vital that the party turn the results of the party evaluation into action. The party's course of action will, necessarily, depend on the outcome of the party evaluation.

If the party evaluation finds the party has successfully implemented integrity reform:

Congratulations! Whether the party's goal was small or large, reforming party structures and behavior to embrace integrity is cause for celebration. It is also an excellent opportunity to leverage the party's success to continue the reform journey to tackle additional gaps in the party's integrity and propose new reforms for further improvement.

Most importantly, successful integrity reform is a tremendous outreach tool and an opportunity to engage citizens. Communicating reform initiatives outside of the party shows voters that the party has prioritized integrity and will attract activists and new members with energy to contribute to the party's growth and success.

If the party's evaluation finds the party has only partially implemented the integrity reform:

Not all change is linear or happens in the way we want or might predict. If the party's integrity reform has stalled or not been implemented in its entirety, it needs to understand why and how the party should improve it.

Review the party's plan to identify what might have gone wrong. Ask:

- Were the party's goals realistic?
- Were the activities not relevant to the goal?
- Did unexpected events (internal and external) distract the process?
- Was opposition to the party's reform stronger than it anticipated?

Review the risks and mitigation strategies the party developed in its plan. Engage the party leadership and senior members of the party in open and honest conversations about the challenges in implementing the party's reform in its entirety. Once the party understands what went wrong, it can decide how to readjust its strategy and proceed with implementation. Meet with the party's allies in the party and engage reform-minded members and activists in planning a way forward.

The party may decide that half a reform is better than none. Can the party work with or build on achievements thus far? If the party can demonstrate the effectiveness and value of even a partial reform, it may find support for more comprehensive integrity reform down the road. Further, does the party need more time to realize its goals? If the party needs more time or finds that it is unlikely the reform will proceed beyond where it is right now, perhaps it is time to turn to less controversial integrity reforms.

Most importantly, do not give up! If the party has already engaged in an assessment of its integrity, there is some willingness with someone to improve the party.

WORKSHEET 1



DEFINING THE PARTY'S INTEGRITY GOAL

Most plans answer three fundamental questions:

- Where do we want to go?
- How will we get there?
- When will we arrive?

Setting Integrity Goals

The first task of planning reform is articulating the goals that will contribute to the party's change. Although goals can be the broad primary outcomes the party seeks to achieve, they must also be S.M.A.R.T.: Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Relevant and Time Based.

PARTY INTEGRITY GOAL

WORKSHEET 2



IDENTIFYING INTEGRITY ALLIES

Before beginning to build a support base, it is important to answer: Who is invested in maintaining the status quo, and who benefits from it?

OUR PARTY INTEGRITY GOAL IS: _____				
Consider and answer the following questions.				
WHO DO YOU NEED TO INFLUENCE?				
Stakeholders	How much will they be affected by this action?	What change will they have to adjust to?	How will they react initially?	What do they need to support the policy?
Supporters	Is their support strong or weak?	Why do they support my goal or reform?	How can I maximize their support?	Who influences them, and can they be enlisted to help?
Opponents	Will their opposition be strong or weak?	What will their opposition look like?	How can I minimize their opposition?	Who influences them, and can they be enlisted to help?

WORKSHEET 3



POWER MAPPING FOR INTEGRITY REFORM

Some people will support reform, and others will oppose it. Some people, or groups of people, will be directly affected, others will not. Some individuals are influential, others are not. Take time to identify the stakeholders, supporters and opponents specifically to understand how they relate to the reform and to each other.

		→ DIRECTION OF INFLUENCE →	
		Positive	Negative
↑ STRENGTH OF INFLUENCE ↑	STRONG		
	WEAK		

WORKSHEET 4



EVALUATION DATA COLLECTION

Part of the planning process for integrity reform should include a methodology to monitor the progress and evaluate the effectiveness of the party's reform efforts. Monitoring and evaluation are not afterthoughts or something the party designs or implements after the integrity reforms have started. It should be a fundamental element of the party's integrity reform planning and implementation process.

Monitoring is an ongoing process that gathers information to track the party's progress toward integrity reforms.

Evaluation assesses changes resulting from the party's integrity reforms. It determines if the party's reform succeeded and delivered what was expected.

OUR PARTY GOAL IS: _____				
Baseline/Current Practice:			Target:	
Indicator	Source of Data	How we will collect and analyze data	When we will collect and analyze data	Who will collect and analyze data



WORKSHEET 5

INTEGRITY IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION PLAN

Reforming a party and implementing change begins with small steps. It also starts by having a vision for what the party wants to change, breaking down that vision into manageable parts and developing a plan to implement that change.

Party Name:							
Integrity Reform Goal:							
Integrity Allies:							
Activity	Budget	Person Responsible	Progress Indicator	Timeline	Frequency of Evaluation	Status of Reform	Are there risks to this activity and what can be done to mitigate them?

GUIDANCE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE MEDIA TO HELP PARTIES WIN WITH INTEGRITY

Political parties should play key roles in democratic governance by representing citizens and aggregating their concerns into policy, and by vetting, selecting and influencing political leaders. **However, corruption, state capture and opaque party organizations undermine public confidence in parties around the world, fueling political instability.** Increasingly, political parties are perceived as elite-driven and unrepresentative of the broader citizenry; unwilling to include and empower women and other historically underrepresented communities; uncommitted to transparency and accountability; and generally untrustworthy.

One solution, proven to make a difference in changing this reality, is **when parties choose to design their systems, purpose and ethos around the principle of integrity.** Significantly, this is also the path that will lead to the most meaningful changes in the way that political parties are regarded by voters.

While the responsibility to increase political integrity lies firmly with political parties, civil society—organizations, media and activists—has a role to play in combating corruption and promoting greater inclusion in political processes. Civil society should hold policymakers accountable and inform citizens of actions and options. Democracies prosper from dynamic civic engagement in policy development and political action. Transparency International's (TI) 2019 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) found that “political systems that enhance the integrity of both political recruitment and decision-making processes are less vulnerable to political corruption.” TI noted there is a correlation between broad consultation in political decision-making and lower levels of corruption.²⁷ Not every civil society organization has the same level of interest in political parties and their influence within parties. Some civil society organizations play the watchdog role by engaging in political process monitoring as a way of holding parties to account. Other organizations actively attempt to influence political parties by advocating for specific reforms or policies. In most countries, the media is not always entirely objective. Even the most professional and respected media outlets have some biases toward certain parties.

There are two areas in which civil society is uniquely positioned to advance and strengthen political party integrity: advocacy and monitoring.

Advocacy: Civil society can advocate for improved political integrity—both in law and in practice. In highly competitive election environments, there are few incentives for political parties to voluntarily act with high levels of integrity unless they are legally obliged to do so. Policy advocacy by civil society for robust political party finance and campaign spending legislation can level the playing field and cultivate a culture of ethical behavior.

Civil society can be instrumental in providing spaces for policy dialogue and collaboration in decision-making and reform. For example, civic actors have a crucial role to advocate for and support inclusive political processes. While many jurisdictions do legislate inclusion in politics, to a point, with quotas or reserved seats (particularly for women and ethnic or religious minorities), civil society organizations can contribute to increased inclusivity through action and advocacy. In many countries, civil society organizations are often the starting point for politically active women who join political parties. These organizations can, and should, be the strongest advocates for gender equality within all party bodies. Similarly, organizations representing historically underrepresented communities are effective voices for increased inclusion.

Civil Society Advocacy in Mexico

In Mexico, a provision in the federal election code designating 2% of federal political party funding for women’s leadership training went largely ignored by major political parties. In response, civic activists and academics formed a broad coalition with political parties and the National Institute for Women (INMUJERES) to advocate for proper enforcement of the provision. The coalition, called “2% and More Women in Politics,” developed a media strategy, circulated an online petition, and successfully pressured the election commission to pass reforms setting clear guidelines for parties’ training expenditures and mandating disclosure of their plans to empower women political leaders. The following election saw a historic 5.4% increase of women in the national legislature, prompting the advocates and NDI to release a [toolkit on how to organize a civil advocacy campaign](#).²⁸



Monitoring: In many countries, civil society monitors political processes, playing the role of “watchdog” to keep political parties answerable for their actions. Election monitoring and observation groups routinely report on election processes, including campaign activities of political parties. Organizations that monitor elections have particular expertise and knowledge of political parties’ roles in election campaigns, especially in financing and the cost of politics. Investigative

journalists could contribute to candidate vetting and selection processes by publicizing information on political party representatives who run for office.

Tracking government and legislative action holds political leaders accountable and allows civil society to educate citizens on the negative impact of corruption. However, monitoring of political processes also provides civic actors an opportunity to support the efforts of parties and other institutions when they demonstrate a commitment to increased integrity. Publicizing integrity reform within political parties will contribute to increased confidence in the democratic system.

Civil Society Monitoring in Uganda

In Uganda, the Alliance for Election Campaign Finance Monitoring (ACFIM) is a coalition of civil society activists pushing for transparency in party finance and election campaigns. ACFIM operates primarily through the monitoring of party and campaign expenditures for corruption during elections. During the 2016 elections, ACFIM identified instances of vote buying by candidates, and ran a campaign against the practice that resulted in 65% of targeted villages passing anti-vote-buying resolutions. In Kagoma, an election petition about vote buying even led to the nullification of the 2016 result and a new election. By closely monitoring party and campaign expenditures, ACFIM created an opportunity to push parties toward better financial integrity.²⁹



There are, however, challenges to civil society engagement in supporting the integrity of political parties. Not all political systems favor the political engagement of civil society. Many countries restrict the political activity of civil society organizations with legal controls or punitive measures, making advocacy, monitoring or collaboration difficult for civic actors wishing to promote integrity.

Additionally, there is sometimes a conflict in collaborative and cooperative relationships between civil society and political parties. In some instances, independent civil society organizations may believe that supporting political parties, even on needed integrity reforms, jeopardizes their independence and results in reputational damage. Conversely, parties in many countries often have close relationships with affiliated organizations and fail to reach out beyond those organizations to civic actors who might contribute independent, credible advice and expertise.

Media Monitoring in Costa Rica

Just like civil society, media organizations play a large role in monitoring parties and holding them accountable. In Costa Rica, the newspaper *La Nación*

The logo for the newspaper 'LA NACIÓN' is displayed in a bold, blue, sans-serif font. The letters are thick and closely spaced, with a slight shadow effect behind them.

published a series of reports leading up to the 2014 election titled “#Novotoaciegas” (“Don’t Vote Blind”). The journalists reported at least 12 legislative party candidates were facing criminal investigations or accusations during their campaigns. The reports revealed the parties’ failure to properly vet their candidates before the election. Eventually, the resulting scandals led to the withdrawal of at least five legislative candidates in later election cycles. By monitoring the actions of political parties, media organizations can both hold parties accountable and reward progress toward integrity.³⁰

Ultimately, collaboration in the pursuit of political integrity is a mutually beneficial goal for political parties and civil society. For political parties, civil society organizations can provide sectoral expertise and public support for integrity reform initiatives. For civil society organizations, supporting parties to reform their institutions and practices satisfies their goals and priorities of improved governance.

ISSUES TO CONSIDER FOR IMPROVING POLITICAL PARTY INTEGRITY

Organizational Structures and Internal Processes

Political parties are vehicles for political expression that seek a role in public decision-making. As such, they require structure, order and internal regulations to ensure that they can perform this function professionally, effectively and ethically.

The regulatory framework that political parties adopt depends on the local legal requirements, geographic realities, the party’s origins or formation, its size, resources, ambition and, to a certain extent, its ideology. Constitutions, bylaws, regulations, statutes, rule books, and values and vision statements are all used by parties to outline their purpose and how they will conduct themselves as organizations. Documents that regulate organizational structures and processes should be “living” guides to be revised and updated as the party evolves. Although political parties make decisions of structure and organization internally, ethical parties should be transparent to the public about how they function.

Civil society and the media should consider:

- Do political parties have clear and transparent statutes and bylaws?
- Do political parties follow and abide by their own rules?
- Is there gender equity on all decision-making bodies of political parties?
- Do political parties include members of historically underrepresented communities in their decision-making processes?
- Do political parties have inclusive and transparent processes to select leaders?

Organizational Culture

The internal culture of any organization is a crucial driver of the behavior of members at all levels—from senior party officials to voters and supporters. Internal culture is the environment in which party members function and also defines an organization’s overall values and beliefs to internal and external audiences. A standard definition of organizational culture is “the way we do things around here.”

A political party’s internal culture strongly influences its success or failure. Experiencing unfairness, abusive behavior, selfish attitudes, or retaliation and retribution will lead any party member or supporter to conclude that the party’s culture is not only unwelcoming but unethical, and their behavioral choices will match this environment. Equally, if a party is perceived to have built its systems and practices on trust, fairness and ethical standards applied to everyone in the organization, the party is more likely to cultivate higher levels of dedication, constructive innovation and loyalty within its ranks.

Civil society and the media should consider:

- Do political parties have transparent codes of conduct and standards for behavior?
- Do political parties deal ethically with issues of sexual harassment and violence?
- Do political parties have anti-discrimination and anti-harassment policies for their members?
- Do political party officials engage in actions that are considered beneficial to the parties and not in their self-interests?
- Do political party leaders conduct themselves ethically?

Candidate Vetting and Selection

Political parties are the gatekeepers of who runs for office, who speaks on behalf of parties and who represents citizens’ interests in legislative bodies. Around the world, however, voters have an uncomfortable relationship with political parties and candidates who often, usually during election time, make grandiose promises that voters dismiss as unrealistic. Citizens increasingly perceive parties as elite-driven clubs with prohibitive rules of entry and participation; unresponsive to the broader citizenry; uncommitted to transparency and accountability; and unwilling to include and empower women and historically underrepresented communities within their structures. Moreover, issues of corruption, impunity and self-interest further undermine the public’s confidence in political parties and their candidates.

A critical element of rebuilding confidence in political parties includes strengthening internal candidate vetting and selection mechanisms to identify and choose high-quality candidates

who can lead the charge on transparency, integrity and genuinely represent the citizens they seek to serve.

Civil society and the media should consider:

- Do political parties vet potential candidates for potential conflicts of interest, criminal or financial misconduct, and expressions or acts of discrimination?
- Do political parties have transparent processes for the selection of candidates?
- Do political parties have an equal number of women and men as candidates in elections?
- Do political parties include members of historically underrepresented communities as candidates in elections?

Diversity, Equity and Inclusion of Historically Underrepresented Communities

Many parties develop internal cultures that discourage engagement by new activists (such as women, young women and men, and historically underrepresented communities) by protecting and relying on outdated procedures and practices and personalized networks, all of which often reflect masculine gender norms, and dismiss new ideas and innovations. This internal party culture prevents the promotion of historically underrepresented communities, which inhibits diversity of opinion and experience. Not only is meaningful inclusion an essential element of democratic processes and political integrity, but increased diversity also contributes to healthy, more successful parties. Additionally, women's political leadership delivers progress in policy areas vital for economic growth and improved quality of life—opportunities that are left behind when political parties do not prioritize women's genuine roles in politics.

Being inclusive does not only mean ensuring the equal participation of women. It also means ensuring the involvement of other historically underrepresented communities, like young people, ethnic/religious minorities, LGBTQI+ communities and persons with disabilities. If political parties do not reflect the constituencies they wish to attract, then they lack credibility to speak and act on behalf of those constituencies. Societies are becoming increasingly diverse, requiring political parties to develop external and internal policies that reflect the concerns of non-dominant and historically underrepresented communities.

Civil society and the media should consider:

- Is there an equal number of women and men among representatives of political parties?
- Are political parties equally represented by women and men at public events, including media interviews, public meetings, television and radio panels?
- Do political parties hold public events that are accessible for people with disabilities?
- Do representatives of political parties reflect the ethnic, religious and cultural makeup of this country?
- Do political parties support and implement anti-discriminatory policies, including comprehensive rights for members of the LGBTQI+ community?

Fundraising and Financial Management

The cynical views many citizens have of political parties as corrupt entities arise from never-ending scandals related to politics and money. No issue causes more difficulties for political parties, both from an organizational and strategic point of view and as a public relations management challenge. Political parties require resources to compete in elections, to function as organizations in between elections, and to invest in development, growth and learning. But how parties collect and use resources determines whether they positively contribute to good governance or whether they operate under the influence of external—even hidden—agendas. In short, how (and from whom) parties raise and spend funds and how transparent they are about financing, determines their level of integrity—or lack thereof.









The regulation of political finance is one way to guarantee essential levels of independence, transparency and equality within the system of governance. However, these systems take time and require political will and leadership to be effective. Thankfully, political parties do not need to wait for legislation. There are internal practices that parties can adopt to foster honorable relationships with donors, funders and supporters that manifest the highest levels of integrity within and outside the organization.

Civil society and the media should consider:

- Does our country have comprehensive legislation governing political party and campaign financing?
- Do political parties regularly make complete public lists of individuals and organizations who donate funds to them?
- Do political parties regularly make comprehensive and accurate statements of expenditures?
- Do political parties engage in vote buying during elections?

SUPPORTING THE ETHICAL BEHAVIOR OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Civil society and the media should consider ways to support political parties committed to improving their integrity. There are several ways they can work with parties in this process, including:

	Advocate for legislation that ensures greater transparency and accountability from political parties, in particular on issues of political party and campaign financing.
	Work with parties to recommend women, young activists and activists from historically underrepresented communities to include in decision-making positions and processes.
	Collaborate with political parties on policy development by advocating for providing resources about policies that are responsive to citizens' needs and desires.
	Host public discussions on integrity issues relevant to political parties.
	Invite political parties and candidates to sign codes of conduct or pledges on integrity issues.
	Agree to publicly endorse political parties and candidates that meet specific integrity benchmarks.
	The media, in particular, can insist that political parties are represented equally by women and men on panel discussions or in interviews.
	The media can ensure that they give equal coverage to women and men candidates during elections.

While civil society cannot replace political parties, activists do have a role in holding them accountable and supporting initiatives that strengthen democratic and political processes. Understanding the challenges to political party integrity and collaborating on mutual areas of interest can contribute to increased ethical behavior of citizens' representatives.

ENDNOTES

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- 6 Wardle, Pete (2017). Cost of Politics. Westminster Foundation for Democracy. <https://bit.ly/2ZeDOYK>
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- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Casas, Kevin & Quesada, Tomàs (2019). Legislative Candidate Vetting Mechanisms in Latin American Political Parties. The National Democratic Institute. <https://bit.ly/38J2Hik>
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 See NDI's [Legislative Candidate Vetting Mechanisms in Latin American Political Parties](#) for more on why these practices are vital for parties committed to integrity.
- 19 Who constitutes an underrepresented group varies among communities and contexts. Members of historically underrepresented communities may include – but not be limited to – women, ethnic, religious and visible minorities, members of the LGBTQI+ community, persons living with disabilities, and youth.
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- 23 See [Women's Mobilization and Transformation in South Africa's ANC \(p. 101-104\)](#).
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The background is a vibrant blue gradient with a pattern of radiating lines and scattered stars of various sizes, creating a sense of depth and movement.

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