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EVALUATION REPORT



**UDF-MOL-08-266: Women Can Do It – Balanced Participation in
Decision-Making**

Date: 9 May 2012

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Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the Evaluators. They do not represent those of UNDEF or of any of the institutions referred to in the report.

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I. Executive Summary

i. Project Data

This report is the evaluation of the project entitled “Women Can Do It – Balanced Participation in Decision-Making”, implemented by the Political Club of Women 50:50 (PCW), based in Chisinau, Moldova, between October 1, 2009 and September 30, 2011 (24 months). The project benefited from an UNDEF grant of \$150,000, with a project budget of \$135,000, plus an UNDEF monitoring and evaluation component of \$15,000. The grantee obtained additional funds (59,600 EURO) from Norwegian Peoples Aid (NPA).

The project was implemented by the grantee alone, in cooperation with the political parties of Moldova and members of its own network of women active in politics and civil society organizations. Through the project, PCW sought to address the unequal representation of women in national and local politics and decision-making in Moldova. More specifically, the purpose of the project was to empower women and encourage them to participate as candidates in the Local Elections of 2011.

As its name might suggest, the Political Club of Women 50:50 (PCW) is dedicated to strengthening the representation of women in political life, and seeks 50:50 participation by women and men at all levels. From the beginning, it has emphasized a non-partisan approach and has sought participation from women of all political persuasions. The strategy adopted by PCW in the UNDEF project is directly in line with the broad goals of the organization and focuses on a practical initiative to make a short-term difference, while, at the same time, making a contribution to addressing the longer-term goals of bringing women’s participation in public life to optimal levels.

The project’s methodology, as well as the philosophy and psychology of learning guiding it, derived from a remarkable training program begun by the women’s organization of the Norwegian Labour Party, which developed the theory and practice of *Women Can Do It* (WCDI) in the early 1990s. PCW had utilized the core methodology in earlier, smaller-scale projects since 2001-2002.

ii. Evaluation Findings

The issue of the under-representation of women as candidates in elections and in decision-making in the public arena is a critical factor in limiting the inclusiveness of Moldova’s political process. Accordingly, the project was certainly **relevant** to the broader goal of strengthening democracy in Moldova.

Interviews with project participants, trainers and PCW Board members, as well as a review of materials, confirmed the direct relevance of project activities and resource materials to the needs and interests of beneficiaries. As is suggested by the title, “*Women Can Do It*”, the emphasis throughout the project process was on building self-confidence and providing guidance on how to overcome barriers preventing women from realizing their potential as actors in the political process. The approach adopted proved highly pertinent to those involved, not only in relation to public life, but also in enabling them to rethink their place in the workplace, in the family, and in everyday life.

Overall, the project proved successful in achieving its objectives. Key factors in project **effectiveness** included, firstly, the soundness of project training and training-of-trainers methodology, as refined over the years since its launch in Norway, its adaptation in the Balkans and elsewhere, and by PCW through 10 years of experience in working with it in Moldova. Closely related to this in importance was the quality of the 26-member Training Team, the care taken in its selection and preparation, and the practical relevance and comprehensiveness of the Trainers' Guide and the WCDI Manual. In addition, particular mention must also be made of the strong guidance and leadership provided by PCW.

More fundamentally, a foundation of the project was the understanding on the part of PCW, based on earlier experience, that the women who were likely to participate were mainly working professionals and technical or administrative personnel, possessing the basic qualifications and capabilities to contribute to political life. Yet, it was also appreciated that, despite their competence and professional skills, most lacked the self-confidence and practical tools necessary to enable them to be effective, as candidates for election. It was the firm belief of project designers that these additional elements could be provided through a short-term, intensive program.

Along with this understanding went the recognition by the designers of the WCDI curriculum that a powerful force to be unleashed through a hands-on program, emphasizing role-playing and a sharing of experience, was a sense of solidarity among women trainees. In this, a vital element was the success of the trainers in enabling participants to put shared, gender-based issues before the party-based political differences that divided them.

In terms of Project Achievements, at local (village and town) and *rayon* (district) levels, women report greater openness by party leaders to putting forward larger numbers of women candidates at elections. Many of those who took part in the project were, or have become, heads of the women's organization of their political parties at the district level. They are now in a position to push for more favourable treatment of women, and more careful attention to gender equality issues and women's priorities, within party circles.

At a more tangible level, the project encouraged many women to seek adoption as party candidates at local and district levels, while also enabling them to mount effective campaigns. It established a national cadre of well-qualified and highly committed trainers and women capable of being effective decision-makers. It showed large numbers of women how to network and collaborate with their peers across party lines and demonstrated the benefits of such collaboration.

In terms of **Project Efficiency**, the project made effective use of the resources available in support of project objectives, and all costs reported in the final budget statement seem reasonable. The success of PCW in securing complementary funding from Norwegian Peoples' Aid (NPA) enabled it to broaden the scope of coverage of the project and to devote additional resources to the production and dissemination of materials for support of immediate project purposes, as well as for broader advocacy objectives.

The project succeeded in achieving the medium-term **impact** results sought, although the numbers of women candidates who won seats in the local and district elections did

not increase greatly. The Evaluation confirmed the effectiveness of the project in sensitizing women leaders, and women members of political parties at district and local level, to gender equality and to the urgency of working across party lines to achieve balanced gender participation in decision-making.

The greatest impact of the project was on its beneficiaries. The project enhanced their self-esteem and self-confidence, gave them the sense of being members of a community of women which transcends party lines and social divisions, motivated and empowered them to become active in public life, and provided the tools to enable them to do so successfully.

In considering **sustainability**, as in the case of other Moldovan NGOs, there is no prospect for PCW to achieve financial sustainability without continuing international funding. However, while money will remain a continuing challenge, PCW has succeeded in building a strong, organizational capacity by building up a roster of experts with the practical skills and experience to take forward the 50:50 agenda of achieving balanced participation of women and men in decision-making.

UNDEF Added Value: The principal benefit obtained from UNDEF support was in the ability it gave to PCW to extend the reach of its program. Further, in providing the means for PCW to take a systematic and sustained approach to addressing the problem, UNDEF filled a gap in donor support to enhance gender equality, by focusing on the representation of women in Moldovan politics.

iii. Conclusions

- **“Women Can Do It: Balanced Participation in Decision-making” was an excellent and exemplary project**, and represented a very good return on the investment of UNDEF funds.

- The project **was relevant in that it defined a particularly critical niche in the pattern of systemic gender inequality in Moldova** and designed a project with the prospect of making a difference.

- The project was **effective in its success in developing and applying a capacity development methodology highly relevant to the needs of beneficiaries**, and in selecting and preparing the trainers/organizers to deliver it. It succeeded in achieving both its outcomes and intended medium-term impact results.

- **Overall, the approach to budget design and implementation reflected the work of a thoroughly competent and professional organization**, which paid great attention to appropriate utilization of resources. This was a highly cost-effective project, with resources used strategically in support of achieving results.

- **The Impact of the project on its beneficiaries was profound, building self-confidence and a sense of personal empowerment, motivating large numbers of women to become candidates for local elections**, and equipping them with the means to be effective campaigners. It also enhanced the image of women as competent and capable political actors in the eyes of political leaders and among voters.

- In terms of **Sustainability**, while there is little prospect for PCW to become financially self-sufficient, ***the organization has succeeded in building a strong core group, capable of leading its ongoing work, both nationally and locally.***

- In giving recognition to the importance of the effort to build gender-balanced political representation, as championed by PCW, ***UNDEF provided support to an aspect of gender equality work which has lacked systematic attention by international donors.*** The provision of substantial funds also allowed the grantee to expand the geographic coverage of its program, as well as the numbers of women involved.

iv. Recommendations

In order to assist in solidifying and institutionalizing the gains made by the project in all regions of Moldova, ***It is recommended that:***

- Given the ongoing demand for participation in the program from Moldovan women, ***PCW seeks to obtain the resources to enable it to continue to implement WCDI activities.***

- ***PCW devises a strategy to maintain the engagement of its enlarged network of WCDI participants through regular electronic communication***, and by encouraging interaction and a sharing of experience and ideas among members of this large group.

- PCW considers how best to ***facilitate the establishment of Club branches at rayon (district) level, associated closely with the “mother organization”***, but driven by local initiative, supported through voluntarism, and operating principally on the basis of financial self-sufficiency.

II. Introduction and development context

i. The Project and Evaluation Objectives

This report is the evaluation of the project entitled “Women Can Do It – Balanced Participation in Decision-Making”, implemented by the Political Club of Women 50:50, based in Chisinau, Moldova, between October 1, 2009 and September 30, 2011 (24 months). The project benefited from an UNDEF grant of \$150,000, with a project budget of \$135,000, plus an UNDEF monitoring and evaluation component of \$15,000.

The project was implemented by the grantee alone, in cooperation with the political parties of Moldova and members of its own network of women active in politics and civil society organizations. Through the project, the grantee sought to address the unequal representation of women in national and local politics and decision-making in Moldova. More specifically, the purpose of the project was to empower women and encourage them to participate as candidates in the Local Elections of 2011.

UNDEF and Transtec have agreed a framework governing the evaluation process, set out in the Operational Manual. According to the manual, the objective of the evaluation is to “undertake in-depth analysis of UNDEF-funded projects to gain a better understanding of what constitutes a successful project which will in turn help UNDEF devise future project strategies. Evaluations also assist stakeholders to determine whether projects have been implemented in accordance with the project document and whether anticipated project outputs have been achieved.”

ii. Evaluation methodology

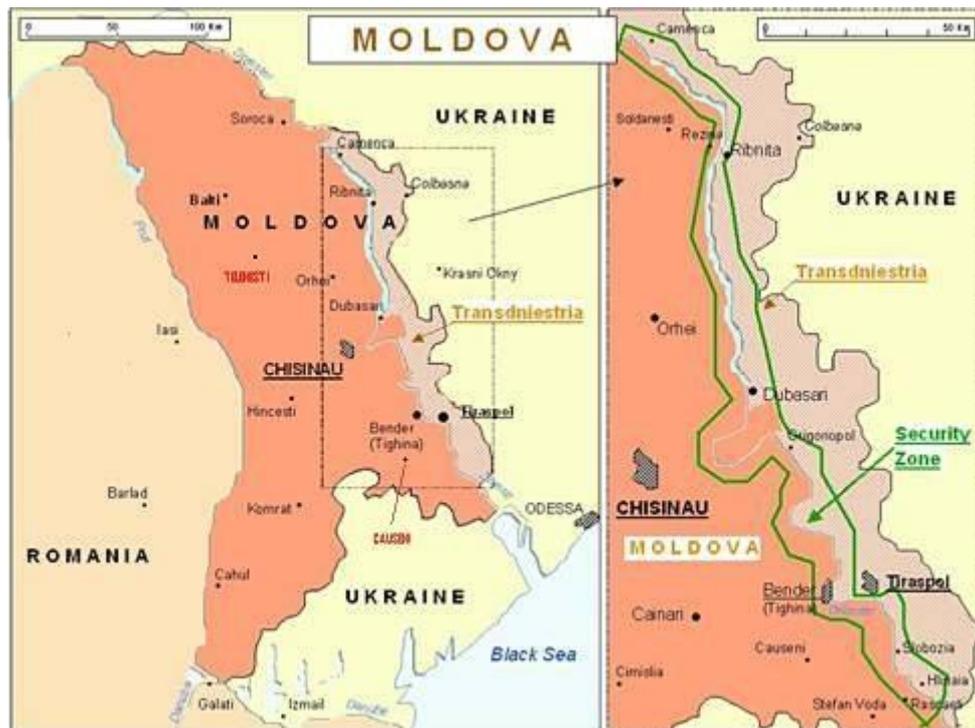
The evaluation was conducted by two experts, one international and one national, under the terms of a framework agreement between UNDEF and Transtec. The methodology of the evaluation is set out in the Operational Manual governing this framework agreement, as well as in the evaluation Launch Note. A set of project documents was provided to the evaluators in the weeks preceding the field mission. On that basis, they prepared the Launch Note (UDF-MOL-08-266) setting out key issues and particular areas of focus to be considered during the field mission, which took place from January 29 - February 3, 2012. Additional documents drawn on in the Evaluation were obtained from the Political Club of Women during the field mission, and from other relevant sources (see list of documents consulted in Annex 3).

The field mission included meetings with the President and Deputy Executive Director of the Political Club of Women, trainers and National Board members in Chisinau, at the offices of the grantee, as well as at the offices of members of the National Board, which guided the project. In addition, the Evaluation Team travelled by road to two centres outside the capital: Telenesti and Causeni, where, in each case, meetings were held with a group of trainers and trainees who had participated in the project.

iii. Development context

Situated in South-East Europe, between Romania and Ukraine, Moldova is a small country with a population of 3.5 million, two-thirds of whom are of Romanian descent, with those of Russian origin forming the largest minority. Most of the territory of the country consists of an area once known as Bessarabia. It was formerly part of Romania, but was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. The country also includes within its borders an unrecognized secessionist territory, “Transnistria”, which unilaterally declared independence from the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic in 1990, prior to the formal establishment of Moldovan independence in 1991, following the dismantling of the USSR.

This territory had once been an autonomous region within Ukraine, but, in 1940, was joined with the former Bessarabia to make up the Moldovan Socialist Republic. The pro-Russian leadership of the breakaway region (located along the Ukrainian border, see map below), whose population consists predominantly of Russian- and Ukrainian-speakers, wished to maintain Soviet-style governance and rejected the nationalism of the Moldovan leadership, along with the primacy given to the Moldovan (Romanian) language. Armed conflict broke out in April 1992, costing hundreds of lives. A ceasefire came into effect two months later, and Russian military peacekeepers were installed. Subsequent efforts to resolve the situation through the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), supported by the EU and US, have been unsuccessful.



Moldovan NGOs are not permitted to operate in Transnistria. Consequently, no project activities took place there. However, one seminar was held in the border region, with some participants coming from inside the Security Zone.

Since independence in 1991, Moldova has had a troubled history. There are persisting high levels of unemployment and a substantial foreign debt as the country has struggled to find a place in the global economy in the context of the loss of protected

markets in the Soviet Union for its wine and other agricultural products. Today, it ranks as one of the poorest countries in Europe. With limited employment opportunities, the country has experienced persisting high levels of emigration. According to UN Moldova (*Country Analysis* 2011), it is estimated that some 40% of the Moldovan working-age population is working outside the country.

Politically, the country is divided between those supporting the Communist Party, on the one hand, and those allying themselves with social-democratic and liberal parties, on the other. Corruption is pervasive and the judiciary is unreformed. From 2001-2009, the Communist party was in power and efforts at democratic reform stalled. With the election of a pro-reform coalition, matters have improved subsequently and relations with the EU and US have improved. According to the European Commission, reforms specified under the EU-Moldova Action Plan (2010), many of them in the democratic governance field, are proceeding well. However, the position in the parliament of the 3-party, pro-Western governing coalition, which is made up of the Liberal-Democratic, Liberal and Democratic Parties, remains precarious, and relations among the members of the three parties, which together hold 59 of the 101 seats, are difficult.

Civil society has benefited from an increasing openness in social and political life since 2009 and the enabling environment for independent media and NGOs has greatly improved. NGOs active in pro-democracy work no longer feel the restrictions of earlier years (for example, in election monitoring). However, as in other countries in SE Europe, most remain entirely dependent on international funding and lack the resources to work towards sustainability. This is certainly true of NGOs concerned with gender equality. The recent USAID Gender Assessment of Moldova (March 2011) estimates that only 5 or 6 of this group of NGOs have the capacity to be effective and to maintain a high level of activity. *The Political Club of Women 50:50*, the UNDEF partner, is one of them.

Gender Equality. The constitution guarantees freedom from discrimination for all citizens, and *the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* was ratified in 1994 and 1998. While Moldovan legislation is recognized as providing a firm foundation for gender equality (GE), there are practical barriers to action to put the relevant laws into effect. Reportedly, most men and most public officials do not regard GE as an issue worthy of serious attention. However, it is reported that the pro-reform government is now cooperating actively with civil society on issues relating to GE.

Women face major challenges in economic life. In addition, there are high levels of domestic violence. Emigration, formal and informal, in search of a better life, is at a continuing high level, and many young women, as well as increasing numbers of young men, fall victim to sex trafficking.

Gender stereotypes persist, and the *USAID Gender Assessment* reports that many people believe that women are ill-equipped to take on decision-making roles. Consequently, women are under-represented at all levels in the political system. In a national election system based on party candidate lists and proportional representation, women candidates are not seen to have the capacity to deliver either money or votes. Hence, for the most part, they cannot command a high place on the lists of party candidates.

III. Project strategy

i. Project approach and strategy

The Political Club of Women 50:50 was founded in 1999, at a time when many new initiatives were taking place, with the aim of strengthening the democratic character of Moldovan society and politics. It was established on the foundation of a predecessor organization with similar objectives, the League of Christian Women of Moldova. As its name might suggest, the Club is dedicated to strengthening the representation of women in political life, and seeks 50:50 participation in decision-making by women and men at all levels.

From the beginning, it has emphasized a non-partisan approach and has sought participation from women of all political persuasions and from all political parties. While the Club has a broad network, the core group consists of perhaps 75 very active women, many of them holding prominent positions in politics and public life. Membership fees are set at a low level, and are no discouragement to joining the Club. However, the preference is to include as members only those who are firmly committed to its goals and willing to act on them.

The strategy adopted by the Political Club of Women in the UNDEF project is directly consistent with the broad goals of the organization and is based on a clear understanding of the current situation. It focuses on a very practical initiative to make a short-term difference, while, at the same time making a contribution to addressing the longer-term goals of bringing women's participation in public life to optimal levels.

The project document provides a solid analysis of the situation facing women in: (i) succeeding in elections, and (ii) succeeding once elected. It considers the constraints under which women operate at both levels, and documents the marginalization of women elected representatives from decision-making circles. In this context, the project aimed to build the self-confidence of participants, to provide them with a better understanding of political and organizational work, and to enhance their capacity to take an effective part in public life. It also aimed to encourage a sense of solidarity among women from different political parties, and different backgrounds, based on recognition of a core gender equality agenda, crossing political boundaries. The project had four related objectives:

- Building the self-confidence of women to become active in speaking up for themselves and their interests in the family, the workplace and in public life;
- Encouraging women to participate in decision-making at all levels;
- Increasing the number of women in the political and public arenas; and,
- Cultivating and boosting women's drive and potential to run for 2011 Local Elections in Moldova.

Project methodology and the philosophy and psychology of learning guiding it derived from a training program begun by the women's organization of the Norwegian Labour Party, which developed the theory and practice of ***Women Can Do It*** in the early 1990s.¹ The program documents, including very detailed instructions and guidelines on

¹See: Rina Mariann Hensen, *Women Can Do It! The Manual for Women Activists*. Oslo: Norwegian Labour Party – Women's Network, July 2007 Edition.

how to organize and lead the training, have been made available to anyone wishing to use them. They have been used very widely internationally, and formed the basis for a regional project initiated in the Balkans by Norwegian Peoples' Aid (an arm of the Norwegian Labour Party), funded by the Government of Norway.

The Political Club of Women (PCW) came to know of the program and their involvement in it was facilitated by a well-known Slovenian gender equality expert, Ms Sonja Lokar, who also took part in the initial efforts to implement the program in Moldova in 2001-2002 and subsequently. Funding for the initiative in Moldova has been obtained from a number of donors, including Norwegian Peoples Aid. The funding from UNDEF represents the largest single contribution to the program.

The project's principal activities were organized in two phases. They included:

Phase 1

- A Training of Trainers Workshop for 26 selected women leaders to take on training and facilitation roles throughout the project;
- Preparation of a guide for trainers and a manual for distribution to participants;
- Seminars to be held in 17 regional centres, aimed at 500 women leaders and activists;
- A National Campaign, "Equal Opportunities – Balanced Participation of Men and Women in Decision-Making", conducted through regional roundtables, targeting district-level political party leaders (men and women), and district-level heads of women's sections of political parties, as well as representatives of civil society, trade unions, local media and local public officials. The intention was to engage with 750 participants;
- Preparation of Guidelines for the round-tables.

This set of activities was viewed as contributing to building the capacity and specific skills of local women leaders, while also exposing them to concepts of gender equality (GE) and a practical agenda for strengthening GE.

Phase 2

The project had a critical focus for the culmination of its efforts in the 2011 Local Elections. Building on *Phase 1*, the key activity in *Phase 2* was the national campaign, "Women Can Do It: Run for Elections, Be the Change!" It was aimed at local women leaders and activists seen as having the potential to play an effective role in local politics, encouraging them to run for the position of mayor or councillor in the Elections. The campaign took place through the organization of a series of round-tables and public debates during the immediate pre-election period at sites throughout the country. The target audience was "1,000 gender-sensitive women and future candidates." An important element of "Be the Change" was the preparation and distribution to participants in the campaign of *the Guide for Successful Women in Election Campaigns*.

The project also planned to monitor and document the project process on a continuing basis and to sum up and analyse lesson learned in an Evaluation Seminar towards the end of operations.

ii. Logical framework

The chart is based on information included in the project's results table, as well as additional material found in the initial and final reports.

Project activities	Intended outputs/outcomes	Medium-term impacts	Long-term development objective
<p>Holding of 17 "Women Can Do It" (WCDI) Seminars</p> <p>Conducting National Campaign on Balanced Participation in Decision-Making through 24 round-tables; prepare brochure and reference materials</p>	<p>500 trainees complete WCDI Seminar; Women's political leadership skills are enhanced</p> <p>Exposure of 800 local women leaders and local party leaders, male & female, to a fuller appreciation of the benefits of balanced participation in public life</p>	<p>Women leaders and members of political parties, as well as party leaders at local & district levels, are sensitized to GE and the importance of balanced participation by gender in decision-making</p>	<p>Changes in individual and community-wide attitudes concerning Gender Equality</p> <p>Balanced participation of women and men in decision-making</p>
<p>Conducting national Campaign on "Women Can Do It: Run for Elections"; Development & distribution of guidebook for women candidates</p>	<p>One thousand participants take part in campaign; Large numbers of women are motivated and equipped to take part in the political process</p>	<p>Increased numbers of women run as candidates and are elected as mayors or councillors in 2011 Local Elections</p>	
<p>Preparation and Holding of Training of Trainers (ToT) Workshop for selected women leaders, to enable them to organize and conduct project training, dialogue and knowledge-sharing activities; Preparation of ToT Manual;</p> <p>Guided experience of women trainers in planning and conducting activities to enhance women's role as political actors</p>	<p>26 Trainers are prepared to deliver WCDI program; Increased capability of women trainers to build the self-confidence and skills of women as political candidates and decision-makers</p>	<p>Cadre of women trainers established to support women's leadership capacity development on an ongoing basis</p>	
<p>Development of monitoring system for project, involving management team & National Board; holding end-of-project Evaluation Seminar</p>	<p>Effective monitoring & documentation of all project activities</p>	<p>Systematic review and analysis of lessons learned to inform future work and the quality of work of trainers</p>	

IV. Evaluation findings

This evaluation is based on a set of Evaluation Questions or EQs, designed to cover the Development Assistance Committee's (DAC) criteria: relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, sustainability, and value added by UNDEF. The Evaluation Questions and related sub-questions are presented in Annex 1.

i. Relevance

As emphasized above in the section entitled Development Context, the issue of the under-representation of women as candidates in elections and in decision-making in the public arena is a critical factor in limiting the inclusiveness of Moldova's political process. The project's emphasis on the empowerment of women, by encouraging and facilitating their entry into the political arena, was certainly relevant to the broad effort to strengthen democracy in Moldova.

As to project strategy, there was a clear logic to the project design, which was based on a thorough understanding of the circumstances and needs of the target audience for the project, and refined knowledge of how to work with a proven and tested training-and-learning methodology. The project was implemented through a sequence of distinct events, supported by the distribution of reference and guidance materials for participants, and PCW succeeded in maintaining momentum and continuity between events up to the period of the 2011 local elections, as intended.

The project strategy and the timing of activities was managed in such a way as to provide *just-in-time* support to a well-motivated group of women beneficiaries. The effectiveness of the strategy is also a testimony to the quality of the work done by the women of the Norwegian Labour Party, who refined the core training and training-of-trainers methodology adopted in the project.

On paper, it appeared that the amount of involvement of the participants with the project, through the initial seminar and the roundtables and final brief campaign event, would be insufficient to motivate them and give them the resources they needed to become effective political candidates. If this had been the case, it would have limited the relevance of the design as a means to meeting beneficiary needs. Much would depend on the identification of participants who were motivated to succeed and the quality of the support provided. The years of experience of PCW in organizing and implementing the *Women Can Do It* program provided the project team with the necessary knowledge and skills to get the job done.

Relevance to beneficiaries and their needs: The comments from project participants, trainers and PCW Board members with whom the Evaluation Team met, as well as a review of materials, confirmed the direct relevance of project activities and resource materials provided to the needs and interests of beneficiaries. As will be discussed in more detail below, and as is suggested by the title, "*Women Can Do It*", the emphasis throughout the project process was on building self-confidence and providing guidance on how to overcome barriers preventing women from realizing their potential as actors in the public realm. The approach adopted proved highly pertinent to those involved, not only in terms of their political roles, but also in enabling them to rethink their place in the workplace, and in the family and everyday life.



Aliona Nastas

Risk: The principal risk (and a highly relevant one) identified which might have undermined the effectiveness of the project in attracting its target audience and achieving planned results was the possible refusal of political parties to cooperate. This was critical, since it was the parties locally which were asked to nominate possible participants. A second risk was the possible lack of interest of women across Moldova in taking part in the project, and of considering putting themselves forward as candidates in local elections.

In practice, for the most part, there was no difficulty in attracting the interest of suitably-qualified women. PCW is an organization with an established reputation, and many of its trainers were well-known in their home areas. As to the cooperation of the political parties, there was no major difficulty at national level, despite continuing inter-party tensions throughout the period of project implementation. At local level, in some cases, party leaders were unhelpful. In such cases, the training teams, at least one of whom came from the district, would use their networks to contact women councillors or mayors, or women who were prominent in the party concerned at the local level, in order to achieve buy-in. This risk mitigation strategy was successful.

PORTRAIT OF A TRAINER: ALIONA NASTAS

Dr Nastas is a former general practitioner, and now the Director of the Family Health Centre in Telenesti. She is Chair of the women's organization of the Liberal Democratic Party at district level, and won a seat on the Telenesti District Council in the local elections of June 2011. She joined the Political Club of Women and was selected as a WCDI trainer, after being nominated by her party, in 2009.

While she had participated in other training programs, she gives particular credit to WCDI. On the Training of Trainers Workshop, she reflected that "I learned everything there (about training and organization)...I come from the medical field, and I had no experience in management. It also helped me in my professional life."

"In the election, I had to compete against a woman who had more political experience than I did, but fighting the campaign made me stronger, more resilient, and more engaged...Happily, my family was always behind me, encouraging and supporting me in my political ambitions. Otherwise, I don't think I would have succeeded."

"I believe that political success comes from the strength of one's beliefs, competence and professionalism and a sense of responsibility, as well as skills in communicating with others...Gaining access to decision-making circles, in politics or other public activities, is the way to succeed. This is our only chance to be heard, to influence and change things for better in our communities."

Sources: Interview in Telenesti during Field Mission; profile included in Women Can Do It! Ten Years in the Republic Of Moldova (translation by National Consultant).

A major unanticipated risk arose from the fact that the period of project implementation coincided with a time of rather dramatic political instability in the country, at a time when public opinion has been almost evenly divided between support for the Communist Party, on the one hand, and reformist, liberal democratic parties, favouring a closer association with the EU, on the other. From the beginning of 2009 to June 2011, the country experienced 3 parliamentary elections, a referendum on the constitution and local elections. This set of circumstances had some effect on the project schedule and, not surprisingly concentrated the attention of political leaders on the on-going crisis, rather than on issues of women's participation. However, the activities of the project were completed as expected, though with some delays, and with targets for numbers of events and participants roughly met.

ii. Effectiveness

With several years of experience in implementing *Women Can Do It*, often with modest funds, PCW has learned how to adapt the program to the local context. The strategy adopted for the UNDEF Project was built on what had been learned before and also included some adjustments and additions to the core approach developed by the Norwegian Labour party and tested in the Norwegian Peoples' Aid (NPA) regional project in the Balkans, including the drafting of new training and resource materials. The geographic reach of the program was broader than in earlier years and the numbers of women involved also exceeded earlier levels.

Overall, the project proved effective in achieving its objectives, and the sequencing of the project, as described in III (i), above, seemed to work well. In the project plan, 500 women were expected to complete the WCDI seminar; the actual number of "graduates" was 430. Similarly, according to PCW records, 750 women took part in the subsequent roundtables, rather than the 800 projected. While actual numbers did not quite meet the targets, the totals were substantial, and close to those projected. Twenty-six trainers were selected and prepared, and all completed their assignments.

Factors in project Effectiveness: Among the factors which proved critical in project effectiveness, the following stand out:

- The soundness of project training and training-of-trainers methodology, as refined over the years since its launch in Norway, adaptation in the Balkans and elsewhere, and through 10 years of experience in working with it in Moldova;
- The high quality of the Training Team, and the care taken in its selection and preparation, along with the practical relevance and comprehensiveness of the Trainers' Guide, the WCDI Manual, and other materials provided to trainers and trainees;
- The strong commitment of the PCW and its leadership. The core members of PCW, including a number of women prominent in public life - many of whom have been both WCDI participants and trainers – stand out as role models for women who would follow in their footsteps; mention should also be made of the inspirational and dedicated leadership, in the project and more broadly, of Ms Ecaterina Mardarovici.

- Effective groundwork by the trainers (who were also organizers), guided by PCW and notes in the Trainers' Guide, in setting up the local seminars and round-tables. They sought the cooperation of the local administration, and, in selection of participants, worked through *rayon* (district)-level political party leaders and heads of party women's organizations at the same level (where these existed). Most participants in the WCDI seminars were nominated by their political parties. The thoroughness of preparations is indicated by the guideline, followed faithfully, that each participant was to be contacted twice by telephone prior to the event, to confirm her attendance.
- The utilization of resource materials, which were tailored to the needs of the target audience, by participants, beyond the WCDI seminars.
- Understanding by PCW that the women who were likely to participate were mainly working professionals, technical and administrative personnel, possessing the basic qualifications and capabilities to contribute to political life.² At the same time, it was recognized that most lacked the self-confidence and practical tools necessary to enable them to be effective as candidates for election. These additional elements could be provided through a short-term, intensive program.
- Through The elements of the WCDI seminar, the trainers take participants on a journey (through short presentations, small group discussion, dialogue and role-playing) of self-discovery and building self-knowledge, linking their roles in the household, the work place and in political life. The effectiveness of the program went beyond the encouragement and empowerment it provided to women as candidates in local elections. A number of those interviewed by the Evaluation Team, reported that they gained the confidence to apply for promotions and new jobs and succeeded in obtaining them. Others indicated that they had made changes at home, with the cooperation of their spouses.
- Recognition by the designers of the WCDI curriculum that a powerful force to be unleashed through the program was the sense of solidarity among women trainees, based on a recognition that professional and middle-class career women faced similar challenges, and that a key element in advancing on a political career was to overcome a gender-based view of the appropriate roles for men and women in decision-making.
- Along with this, WCDI showed large numbers of women how to network and collaborate with their peers across party lines and demonstrated the benefits of such collaboration.
- In a socially conservative society, feminists, like environmentalists, have learned to be pragmatic (although, it must be said, the same seems to apply to socially-progressive Norway). The message of WCDI, as understood by program participants is a) that women can be leaders in the family, in the work place, *and* in politics, and b) that success in public life need not be at the expense of family life. Most women participants, and all trainers, were in full-time employment. In addition, all had family responsibilities, which they took

²Those participants interviewed in Telenesti and Causeni included: doctors and health administrators; lawyers; school directors; local government officials; local NGO leaders; and, administrative personnel in the private sector.

extremely seriously. According to unsolicited comments provided in participant interviews with the Evaluation team, the reassurance contained in the message was extremely important.

- Building on the reinforcement of self-belief, in the second phase of the project, the provision of a hands-on guide to potential political candidates on everything-you-need-to-know about running for election was of great benefit to relevant participants. This handbook covered the widest range of issues and topics any potential candidate would need to come to terms with in running an effective campaign.

Achievements of the Project: Moldova is a small country, and as a result of the range of its geographic coverage, the numbers of participants involved (including members of local political elites), and media coverage, *Women Can Do It: Balanced Participation in Decision-Making* succeeded in increasing attention given to gender equality throughout the country. At local (village and town) and *rayon* (district) levels, women report greater openness by party leaders to putting forward larger numbers of women candidates. Many of those who took part in the project were, or have become, heads of the women's organization of their political parties. They are now in a position to push for more favourable treatment of women, and more careful attention to gender equality issues and women's priorities within party circles.

At a more tangible level, the project encouraged many women to seek adoption as party candidates at local and district levels, while also enabling them to mount effective campaigns. It established a national cadre of well-qualified and highly committed trainers. It showed large numbers of women how to network and collaborate with their peers across party lines and demonstrated the benefits of such collaboration.

In terms of electoral performance, there was a small increase in the numbers of women elected as local mayors and councillors and as district councillors. Drawing on figures provided in the project's Final Report of September 2011, following the 2011 local



WCDI Roundtable

elections, there are now 166 women majors (18.51% of the total), as compared with 163 in 2007. There are also 202 women district councillors (18.04% of the total), compared with 191 in 2007.

Those women who were elected as district councillors, an estimated 38.6% have been project participants. In one district, Drochia, 12 women of the 25 who participated in the WCDI seminar and both national campaigns, were candidates in the local elections. Of the 12, 5 were elected as local councillors and 4 as

regional councillors. In addition, 12 of the WCDI trainers ran as candidates in the election: 6 succeeded in winning seats as district councillors.³

iii. Efficiency

The project made effective use of the resources available in support of project objectives, and all costs reported in the final budget statement seem reasonable. Given the scope of the project, expenditures for salaries and program support were quite low, at \$19,146 and \$28,520, respectively, or 14% and 21% of the total. The costs for holding activities were relatively low, with \$53,181 allocated to “Meetings and Training”, or 39.4% of the total.

As noted above, human resource costs were low. There were 4 members of the project team, two of whom were full-time: a Project Assistant (now the Deputy Executive Director of PCW), responsible for project administration and administration, and a Financial Assistant/Accountant. There were also two part-time assistants. The members of the team reported to the Project Director, the Executive Director of PCW.

The Guide for Women to be Successful in Election Campaigns (2011)

The Guide was developed by PCW to provide guidance to *WCDI* participants who contested the 2011 local elections. However, it also stands out as a key resource for all women candidates in elections at all levels in Moldova. The Guide was prepared by a US-based Moldovan jurist, well-known to PCW, and knowledgeable about elections in the US as well as Moldova. She worked closely with the Executive Director of PCW and a senior National Board member in shaping the text. The document drew on materials to support the election of women candidates running for the Democratic Party in the US, as well as the experience, positive and negative, of women who have succeeded in winning parliamentary elections in Moldova. Prior to publication, it was reviewed and approved by women MPs and the heads of the women’s organizations of all political parties.

As many of those interviewed by the Evaluation Team explained, the Guide provided a template for organizing the campaigns of large numbers of the women who ran successfully in the local and district elections. Reportedly, parts of it were also used, to good effect, by male candidates, who learned of the Guide from female colleagues.

The document provides an extraordinarily detailed package of practical advice to candidates. It begins with a set of searching questions candidates should ask themselves as they determine whether they will seek adoption as party candidates (e.g. *what would you reveal about yourself and what would you hide?*). It then provides a detailed explanation of election procedures and information on how to register and the documentation required. The Guide then goes on to advise on, for example: *how to present yourself to the public; what-not-to-wear; body language; how to craft your message and determine the target groups to receive it; how to “know your audience”; the kind of language to use in addressing voters; how to work with the media and organize a press conference; preparing a speech; how to build a campaign team.*

Effectively, the Guide provided a detailed, point-by-point formula on how women could do it, and how they could put their newly-won self-confidence to work.

Source: Interviews for Evaluation and review of the Guide

³All figures included in this section of the report are from the project’s Final Report.

The success of PCW in securing complementary funding from Norwegian Peoples' Aid (NPA) enabled it to broaden the scope of coverage of the project and to devote additional resources to the production and dissemination of materials for support of immediate project purposes, as well as for broader advocacy objectives. The funds received were Euros 33,200 for 2009-10 and Euros 26,400 for 2011. The funding was blended with UNDEF resources within an integrated project. At the same time, for accounting and accountability purposes, care was taken in the management of two separate donor budgets. For example, in expenditures relating to the WCDI seminars, 17 were paid for by UNDEF and 8 by NPA. As for the roundtables (Phase 1), costs for 10 were covered by NPA, with UNDEF paying for the other 30.

An interesting approach was adopted by PCW in its funding for the seminars (Phase1) and roundtables (Phases 1 and 2). For each event, the training team was responsible for allocating funds from an assigned budget to support the activity. The teams were responsible for all aspects of local organization and for arranging payments. However, control of funds remained with PCW in Chisinau, which approved planned expenditures and paid out funds on receipt of invoices submitted.



Ekaterina Mardarovici, is in the centre of the front row)

Budgets assigned for these purposes were relatively modest, but viewed by the training teams as adequate to cover essential costs. Such arrangements were effective in ensuring cost effectiveness and accountability.

As is not unusual for projects involving women's NGOs, payments made to trainers (or experts, in the case of other projects) were low. In this case, despite their contractual basis, and the preparation of detailed terms of reference, payments were viewed as honoraria, rather than as fees for services provided. Essentially, the payments represented a form of recognition of the trainers, who put in long hours of work. The relationship between PCW and the trainers was one of partnership in a shared enterprise, based on mutual respect. It also reflected the ethos of the Club. Trainers viewed it as an honour to represent the organization.

Overall, the approach to budget design and implementation reflected the work of a thoroughly competent and professional organization, which paid great attention to detail in order to ensure that its beneficiaries (and its trainers) received the support they required. The work to be done was clearly-defined, costs associated with activities were estimated accurately, and financial management was handled effectively. In the

view of the Evaluation Team, this was a highly cost-effective project, with resources used strategically in support of achieving results.

iv. Impact

In considering impact, it must be appreciated that the UNDEF-supported project represented a continuation, though on a broader scale, of work PCW had begun in 2001-2. Some of the impact of WCDI is cumulative. During the ten year period (2001-2011) of implementing WCDI programming, both the reputation and visibility of the grantee have grown, as have the numbers of prominent women in parliament and the political parties, nationally and at district level, who have benefited from the program.

The project succeeded in achieving the medium-term impact results sought, although, as discussed above, the numbers of women candidates who won seats in the local and district elections did not increase greatly. The Evaluation Team's interviews and discussions with project trainers, and with participants in Telenesti and Causeni, confirmed the effectiveness of the project in its effort to sensitize women leaders and women members of political parties at district and local level to gender equality. It also succeeded in building an understanding of the urgency for women to work across party lines to achieve balanced gender participation in decision-making.

Moldova is a highly-politicized society, where political affiliations are important and rivalries intense. Cooperation of the kind promoted by the project is difficult, and tensions remain among women from different parties. Despite this, it is evident that considerable progress has been made. There is deep hostility between the Communist Party and its principal adversaries, the three member parties of the governing coalition. One of the three parties ran in the 2009 parliamentary elections, which immediately preceded the WCDI Training-of-Trainers Workshop, using the slogan: *"a Country without Communists!"* At one point during the workshop, the Communists present threatened to walk out. However, the calming diplomacy of PCW's Executive Director was effective in persuading the trainers to put partisan rivalries aside. Subsequently, training teams involving representatives from both sides of the political divide were able to work together harmoniously and effectively.

Parties are now more actively seeking women candidates. Within the parties, nationally and locally, notably among the parties of the governing coalition, there have been efforts, led by WCDI "graduates" or trainers, to utilize the WCDI materials in providing further training to women party members. In Causeni and Telenesti, several project participants are now heads of the women's organization of their parties at district level, and in a position to pursue the gender equality agenda. Thus, the head of the women's organization of the Democratic Party in Causeni succeeded in her efforts to have her party adopt a 50:50 party list for the district elections. At local and district levels, there is anecdotal evidence of a willingness on the part of women mayors and councillors from different parties to work together on issues of common concern relating to women's priorities.

The goal of establishing a cadre of women trainers has been achieved. The 26 trainers involved in the project included 10 newcomers, drawn principally from the parties of the governing coalition, which had been represented in smaller numbers before. All of the trainers with whom the Evaluation Team met (11 altogether), indicated that

participation had been a very positive experience, reinforcing their own commitment to the 50:50 agenda and their sense of solidarity with other women in Moldova.

All indicated a strong commitment to continue working with PCW and expressed the hope that the WCDI program would continue. The 26, along with other experienced trainers who had worked on the program in earlier years, represent an important resource of women leaders and “influencers”, well-regarded in their own communities, and capable of playing important roles in future projects and campaigns.



Dr. Loretta Handrabura

Probably, the greatest impact of the project, as should be the case, was on its **beneficiaries**. The project enhanced their self-esteem and self-confidence, gave them the sense of being members of a community of women which transcends party lines and social divisions, motivated and empowered them to become active in public life, and provided with the tools to enable them to do so successfully. All of the participants with whom the Evaluation Team met, included several who had been exposed to other training, testified to the personal impact of WCDI. The impact, all agreed, went beyond public life and into the home and the workplace.

Women in Politics: the Challenge that Remains:

“We face the reality of male leaders in politics paying lip service to gender equality, and now, generally they consider that GE issues are women’s issues and that they should be kept for women to deal with. Even a “gender partnership” is seen as a woman’s concern...

It is true that whenever roundtables are organized, men do not come, or they come and do not participate...they see themselves as having more important issues to deal with than women...with them, social problems can be dealt with by women, but the main subjects of finance and management must be left for men. This is absolutely false.”

Interview: Dr. Handrabura MP, Deputy Minister of Education, Head of the Women’s Organization of the Liberal Democratic Party; member of the PCW National Board

As one participant from Telenesti explained: *Because of the project, I started to put things straight – first, in my own family. My husband is now proud of me. He says: “the women are so organized, we are almost afraid of them! Because of the experience of WCDI, and the friendships I developed, I decided to compete for my current position (as Regional Director for the Red Cross)... I now felt I could manage things (home and work), and I’m very happy that I could find the courage to go for the job.*

As to the project’s contribution to the Long-Term Development Objectives, the work undertaken by project certainly had an influence in building up and expanding the numbers and reach of those who are capable of playing a leading role in achieving these goals in the longer term. Certainly in urban areas, there are signs of positive

change in attitude towards gender equality. However, there is a long way to go in challenging and overcoming gender-based stereotypes in the broader society and political system.

v. Sustainability

As with other Moldovan NGOs, there is no prospect for PCW to achieve financial sustainability without continuing international funding. However, on the human resource side, the organization has done an excellent job of nurturing its network of volunteers, all of them highly-qualified women professionals, and in drawing on the energies of the members of the network in designing and implementing major initiatives, including WCDI. The organization has contributed to furthering the careers of most of the women who have achieved prominence in Moldova's political life in recent years. In turn, members of this group have shown themselves willing to play an active role in PCW initiatives. They also support one another and exchange knowledge, ideas, experience and advice. Hence, while money will remain a continuing challenge, PCW has succeeded in building a strong, renewable capacity in terms of the presence of a roster of experts, some older and some younger, with the practical skills and experience to take the 50:50 agenda forward.

Through UNDEF funding, PCW was able to broaden the geographic range of its network and increase the numbers of women involved in WCDI training. A particular challenge will be for the organization to make effective use of its expanded network of WCDI "graduates" to work collectively for its agenda, while also providing support to them. At local and district level, as well as in parliament, women, once elected, need additional support to be effective representatives and build their careers. Further, continual assistance and networking will be valuable in facilitating efforts by women from all parties at district and local level to develop joint strategies to promote "pro-women" agendas..

PCW has done much to build from below in contributing to the enabling environment for balanced participation in Moldova's political life. However, its gains are at risk unless there are continuing flows of international funding to support further steps in the organization's work.

The organization has the following plans for the next steps to be taken⁴:

- To continue to "train and encourage" women from political parties, because of the continual turnover of people, and because of the need to continue to promote the gender equality dimension in the programs of political parties, and within local councils. It is also hoped to work on new topics, including gender-sensitive budgets;
- Revising and improving the *Guide for Successful Women in Electoral Campaigns*;
- A new initiative to support the strengthening of women's organizations within political parties, and the enhancement and broadening of their role;
- Continued monitoring of the programs and election platforms of political parties; and, most important,

⁴The list of next steps is based on a note prepared, at the request of the Evaluation Team, by Ms Ekaterina Mardarovici, Executive Director of PCW, and translated by Ms Olga Sirbu, Deputy Executive Director. Ms Mardarovici was on extended leave in the US at the time of the Evaluation Field Mission.

- Launching a substantial new program “to cultivate the ambitions of young women (high school and university students).

None of this will be possible without continuing international donor support.



Women wearing aprons and carrying clipboards in a public event demonstrate that they can manage both in the household and in politics

vi. UNDEF Added Value

The principal benefit obtained from UNDEF support was in the ability it gave to PCW to extend the reach of the WCDI program. Review of a list of donor contributions to fund WCDI over the 10 years of implementation in Moldova indicates that, during that time, support has been received from 7 international agencies. Of these, NPA, with funding from the Government of Norway, has been the only regular supporter. The level of funding has been modest throughout, limiting the numbers of beneficiaries involved. Following the lead of the Norwegian Government, NPA has now ceased funding projects in Europe, and is focusing on Africa and the Middle East. Although PCW is an extremely resourceful organization, the prospects for funding for *WCDI* and other initiatives planned, supporting women’s empowerment and leadership, remain uncertain.

While other organizations, including the International Republican Institute (IRI) and UNDP, through its parliamentary development project, have provided training to women party members and candidates for election, no donor has given, or is giving, systematic and continued attention to the issue of women’s representation. In this respect, UNDEF filled a gap in donor support to enhance gender equality by focusing on the representation of women in Moldovan politics.

V. Conclusions

All conclusions are derived from the findings of the Evaluation, presented above.

i. The under-representation of women as candidates in elections and in decision-making in the public arena is a major factor in limiting the inclusiveness of Moldova's political process. ***The project's emphasis on the empowerment of women, by encouraging and facilitating their entry to the political arena, was certainly relevant to the overall effort to strengthen democracy in Moldova.***

ii. The project strategy and the timing of activities was managed in such a way as to provide just-in-time support to a carefully selected group of women beneficiaries. ***The effectiveness of the strategy is also a testimony to the quality of the work done by the women of the Norwegian Labour Party, who developed the methodology for Women Can Do It (WCDI), and refined the training and training-of-trainers methodology adopted in the project.***

iii. ***Project participants confirmed the direct relevance of project activities and resource materials provided to the needs and interests of beneficiaries.*** As is suggested by the title, "Women Can Do It", the emphasis throughout the project process was on ***building self-confidence and providing guidance on how to overcome barriers preventing women from realizing their potential as actors in the public realm.*** The approach adopted proved highly pertinent to those involved, not only in terms of their political roles, but also in encouraging them to rethink their place in the workplace, and in the family and everyday life.

iv. ***The grantee dealt with risk effectively, although a continuing period of political crisis and repeated parliamentary elections*** required some adjustments in the project schedule.

v. Overall, ***the project proved effective in achieving its objectives.*** The factors which were decisive in accounting for the project's effectiveness included:

- The ***strong commitment, reputation visibility of the PCW*** and its leadership. The core members of PCW, including a number of women prominent in public life – many of whom have been both WCDI participants and trainers – stand out as role models for women who would follow in their footsteps;
- The selection and quality of preparation of the Training Team; ***the strong capabilities and motivation of the trainers;***
- The practical relevance and ***comprehensiveness of project resource materials;***

vi. The project succeeded in increasing attention given to gender equality throughout the country. At local (village and town) and rayon (district) levels, women report greater openness by party leaders to putting forward larger numbers of women candidates. Many of those who took part in the project were, or have become, heads of the women's organization of their political parties. They are now in a position to push for more favourable treatment of women, and more careful attention to gender equality issues and women's priorities within party circles.

vii. At a more tangible level, the project encouraged many women to seek adoption as party candidates at local and district levels, while also enabling them to mount effective campaigns. It established a national cadre of well-qualified and highly committed trainers. It showed large numbers of women **how to network and collaborate with their peers across party lines** and demonstrated the benefits of such collaboration.

viii. The project made effective use of the resources available in support of project objectives, and all costs reported in the final budget statement seem reasonable. Given the scope of the project, *expenditures for salaries and program support were modest.*

ix. The project succeeded in achieving the medium-term impact results sought, although, as discussed above, the numbers of women candidates who won seats in the local and district elections did not increase greatly. Large numbers of those who took part in the project **ran in the Local Elections of 2011 and many succeeded in winning seats.**

x. The project enhanced the self-esteem and self-confidence of women participants, gave them the sense of being members of a community of women which **transcends party lines and social divisions**, and motivated them to become active in public life. It also gave them the tools to enable them to do so successfully. All of the participants with whom the Evaluation team met testified to the personal impact of WCDI.

xi. On the project's contribution to the Long-Term Development Objectives: the work undertaken by project certainly had an influence in building up and expanding the numbers and reach of those who are capable of playing a leading role in achieving the goal of 50:50 male/female political representation in the longer term. Further, **in urban areas, there are signs of positive change in attitude towards gender equality.** However, there is a long way to go in challenging and overcoming gender-based stereotypes in the broader society and political system.

xii. As with other Moldovan NGOs, there is no prospect for PCW to achieve financial sustainability without continuing international funding.

However, while money will remain a continuing challenge, ***PCW has succeeded in building a strong, renewable capacity in the form of a roster of experts***, some older and some younger, with the practical skills and experience to take the 50:50 agenda forward.

xiii. UNDEF support filled a gap in donor support of efforts to enhance gender equality in Moldova by focusing on the representation of women in politics.

VI. Recommendations

In order to assist in solidifying and institutionalizing the gains made by the project in all regions of Moldova, ***It is recommended that:***

i. Given the continuing demand for participation in the program from Moldovan women, PCW seeks to obtain the resources to enable it to continue to implement WCDI activities.

ii. PCW devises a strategy to maintain the engagement of its expanded network of WCDI participants through regular electronic communication, and by encouraging interaction and a sharing of experience and ideas among members of this large group.

iii. PCW considers how best to facilitate the establishment of Club branches at *rayon* (district) level, associated closely with the “mother organization”, but driven by local initiative, supported through voluntarism, and operating principally on the basis of financial self-sufficiency.

VII. Overall assessment and closing thoughts

“Women can Do It: Balanced Participation in Decision-making” was an excellent and exemplary project, and represented a very good return on the investment of UNDEF funds. The project was particularly effective in matching its inputs with the needs and interests of its beneficiaries. It is unusual to see a project where provision of short-term training can have such an impact. The explanation is found in the shrewd understanding of the audience for *WCDI* on the part of the curriculum designers. They succeeded in crafting a training-and-learning methodology with a strong experiential character, and a capacity to influence and reinforce the sense of self-confidence of women trainees. It is also found in the character, capabilities and personal qualities of the members of the training team, inspired by the leadership of PCW, its Executive

Director and project team, and in the strong role played by the members of the National Board.

The design of the project and the adaptation of an international training program to local needs were well done. The sequencing of the project was also effective. The holding of the final campaign during the pre-election period reinforced what had been done before, and the preparation and distribution of the *Guide to Successful Women Candidates* made a significant difference to the ability of many of those seeking election to get their message to the voters and establish rapport with them. The media attention to the final campaign, nationally and locally, was also helpful in strengthening the visibility and credibility of women candidates among “the political class”.

VIII. ANNEXES

Annex 1: Evaluation questions

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context? Should another project strategy have been preferred rather than the one implemented to better reflect those needs, priorities, and context? Why? Were risks appropriately identified by the projects? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse?
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent have the project's objectives been reached? To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not? Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives? What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this?
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs? Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives?
Impact	To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent has/have the realization of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address? Have the targeted beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative? To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization? Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples?
Sustainability	To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact? Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)?
UNDEF value added	To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What was UNDEF able to accomplish through the project that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc.). Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF's comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues?

Annex 2: Documents Reviewed

European Commission, *Country Report, Republic of Moldova*, Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2010: Brussels, 25 05 2011, SEC (2011) 643

European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, Moldova, *Country Report*, June 2011 (www.europeanforum.net/country/moldova)

Freedom House, "Moldova", *Nations in Transit 2011*

Political Club of Women 50:50, *Women Can Do It! Ten Years in the Republic Of Moldova*, 2011. (in the Moldovan language)

UN Moldova, *Country Analysis*, June 2011

USAID Gender Assessment Moldova, Final Report, March 8, 2011

"Women Can Do It" Website (Norway) (www.womencandoit.no)

Annex 3: Persons Interviewed

January 29, Sunday	
Preliminary meeting with National Consultant to review Field Mission Plan and Schedule	
January 30, Monday	
Ms. Olga Sirbu	Deputy Executive Director, Political Club of Women (PCW)
Ms. Silvia Guzun	President, PCW
January 31 Tuesday	
Scan and review of project documents in Moldovan with National Consultant	
Meeting with members of Project Training Team: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ms Ecaterina Bucur; ▪ Ms Svetlana Guzman; ▪ Ms Olga Stratulat; ▪ Ms Margarita Ursu; ▪ Ms Maia Zlotea; ▪ Ms Angela Ursachi ▪ Ms Eugenia Iurco; ▪ Ms. Natalia Miron; ▪ Ms Christina Boaghi 	
Meeting with National Board Members, Ms Valentina Stratan, MP, and Ms. Valentina Bodrug, Director, Gender Center	
Continue document review with National Consultant	
February 1, Wednesday	
Travel to Telenesti by car; Meeting with Project Participants and Trainer: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ms Aliona Nastas, Trainer ▪ Ms Natalia Ilescu; ▪ Ms Galina Druta; ▪ Ms Natalia Varlen; ▪ Ms Alina Pascaru; ▪ Ms Nelia Stegarescu; ▪ Ms Diana Manole; ▪ Ms Eugenia Ioese; ▪ Ms Aurelia Clementovschi; ▪ Ms Angela Sirbu; ▪ Efimia Giobenu. 	
Lunch Meeting with Ms Aliona Nastas	
Return to Chisinau by car	
Meeting with Ms Loretta Handrabura, MP, Deputy Minister of Education, National Board Member	
February 2, Thursday	
Travel to Causeni by car; Meeting with Project participants and Trainer: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ms Vera Ciuchitu, Trainer ▪ Ms Elizabeta Iordan; ▪ Ms Liuba Lupan; ▪ Ms Lilia Grigoras; ▪ Ms Svetlana Sarcenko; ▪ Ms Nadegda Stimca; ▪ Ms Elena Asan. 	
Return to Chisinau by car; Meeting with Ms Maria Saharneau, President NGO, "In Doi", journalist with Radio "Vocea Basarabiei", and Member of National Board	
February 3, Friday	
Complete Document Review and identify materials for translation with national Consultant;	
Departure of International Consultant for Vienna.	

Annex 4: Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EQ	Evaluation question
EU	European Union
GE	Gender Equality
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPA	Norwegian Peoples' Aid
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UN	United Nations
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
US	United States
USAID	United States International Development Agency
WCDI	Women can Do It!