

DEMOCRACY
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REPORT

GLOBAL MAPPING AND ANALYSIS OF PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTHENING



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GLOBAL MAPPING AND ANALYSIS OF PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTHENING PROGRAMS

A STUDY FOR THE SWISS AGENCY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION SDC

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Parliaments are a central component of effective, transparent and accountable democratic political systems. Globally, almost every national political system (190 of 193 countries) now has some form of representative assembly, accounting for over 46,000 national representatives.¹ Parliaments play a critical role in a democracy. They ensure oversight and accountability of government; represent citizens' views; legislate; shape public expectations and attitudes about democracy; and channel the interests of their constituencies.

Parliamentary strengthening is a relatively small component of international democracy assistance. The International Development Committee of the United Kingdom's House of Commons (HoC) estimates that globally approximately 330 million Euros are spent annually on parliamentary strengthening. Donor support has mainly focused on civil society, elections, and decentralisation, while parliaments (as well as political parties) have been considered politically sensitive areas of work. Recently, attention has increased for a more inclusive approach to governance assistance that includes parliamentary strengthening.

Over the past fifteen years, there has been a proliferation in the number and types of players that support parliamentary reform, among them international, governmental, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), national governments, parliaments, and academic institutions. The largest donors are the governments of the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK), Norway, Sweden, and the European Commission. The largest implementers among international organisations are the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank Institute (WBI), and the field missions of the Organization for Security and

Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). National parliaments are often overlooked in mapping exercises on legislative strengthening, but they have become important project implementers, with the US Congress and the Parliaments of the UK, France, and Australia the most active assistance providers. In addition to International Parliamentary Institutions (IPIs) and political party foundations, which have been active in the field of parliamentary support for a longer period, private contractors and consultancy companies play an increasingly important role in this area.

Analysing the methods applied in parliamentary assistance projects, one can distinguish between direct and indirect support, depending on whether the objective is to strengthen parliaments for democratisation purposes, the general institution building approach, or for specific policy objectives, the issue-based approach. Both methods open different entry points for a parliamentary project.

Recently, there is growing consensus among donors and implementers on key components of sustainable strategies for parliamentary development. These include the need for a thorough understanding of the political context – typically by conducting a Political Economy Analysis (PEA). However, many donors have found it difficult to use the insights emerging from a PEA to develop more strategic, realistic programs that target the underlying causes of parliamentary dysfunction. In many cases there is a gap between the PEA described in a parliamentary Project Document, or a governance-sector wide Project Document for that matter, and the envisaged project activities. While the PEA often reflects an in-depth understanding of the organisational issues, power structures, interests and patterns that hamper the development of a democratic and fully effective parliament, in many cases the envisaged project activities do not address the issues, structures, and interests. Often, project activities are low risk, entailing only technical capacity building, seminars, and trainings. While such activities are useful and important, the missing link is, in part, the policy advice, coaching, and the use of incentives. For consultations and advice to be successful depends to a large extent on the

¹ Data received from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

interests of a parliament's Speaker, Secretary General, and Committee chairpersons and their ability to learn and benefit from such advice, and a possible shift in power in the direction of parliament. Examples of PEA-based parliamentary development projects are scarce, but have begun to emerge (see Annex 6).

Another important element of developing a strategy on parliamentary development is the role of political parties. To understand parliament's weaknesses, one needs to understand the power balance among parties. Therefore, recognizing synergies between support to political parties and parliamentary development will strengthen a country's democratic governance.

For many implementers it is obvious that a parliamentary development strategy should be parliament-designed and that a project should be owned by parliament. However, for many funding organisations the concept of national ownership means agreement with the government, i.e. the executive branch of power. This results in executive influence over administrative, financial, and political aspects of parliamentary strengthening; this in itself is antithetic to the idea of parliamentary strengthening and the separation of powers.

Many parliamentary development organisations have identified lessons learned which include the need for better contextualization, long-term commitment, demand-driven donor support, integrated and target-group specific support, and opportunities to connect national and supra-national programs.

When developing parliamentary assistance projects, practitioners can rely on a comprehensive set of benchmarks for democratic parliaments. Donor agencies can find guidance in the new, IPU-drafted Common Principles for parliamentary support. These reference documents can provide useful guidance on questions of monitoring, evaluation, and measuring impact of parliamentary projects. If donors and other stakeholders are to become brokers of meaningful change by designing programs that help parliaments address the root causes of their dysfunction (rather than symptoms), program managers need the space to work with stakeholders in the early stages of a program to identify realistic, intermediate outcomes, as well as appropriate indicators, and to revise activities as conditions change. This requires M&E frameworks that focus on reporting against agreed processes and strategic objectives. M&E frameworks need to be designed with subjective and objective indicators to make a rounded assessment of progress while trying to ensure that there is space for flexible programming, adapting methods as needed throughout the course of the work.

Finally, it is important to consider the implementation modalities. While twinning and grants are widely accepted modalities, more discussion has emerged recently on the tendering process for larger donor contracts. To provide for consultancy services, studies, technical assistance, training and conferences, USAID, EC, DFID and other donors often contract private consultancy companies. Those donors often contract private consultancy companies for large-scale

projects. Such large projects in the parliamentary development sector, launched for reasons of management by the donor agency, can land heavily in a parliamentary institution, either trigger resistance against outside experts or increase dependency on external support. While there is a role for large technical governance programs, there is a strong argument for a greater variety in the programs commissioned. Innovative and not risk-averse programs, which will often be smaller-scale programs, are likely to be more effective, increasing the chance of local ownership and long-lasting impact on the effectiveness of parliament.

1. INTRODUCTION

This Study provides an overview of the players, methods, themes, strategies, reference frameworks, main activities and implementation modalities applied in the area of parliamentary strengthening.

The Study has been drafted with the input of relevant stakeholders, including donor agencies, implementing partners, practitioners, and parliaments. To collect the relevant input, the Study relied on a review of reference documents available online, documentation and data received from stakeholders, in-person and remote interviews.

Particular appreciation goes to Greg Power (Global Partners Governance), Dick Toornstra (formerly OPPD, European Parliament), Charmaine Rodriguez (UNDP), Norah Babic (IPU), Scott Hubli (NDI), David Harrison (House of Commons), Thomas Bridle (USAID), Apostolos Aravanis (EC), Anthony Staddon (University of Westminster), Tim Boden and Michayl Christov (European Parliament), and Mitch O'Brian (World Bank).

Information and analysis was collected between 1 December 2014 and 31 January 2015, including during an introduction meeting at Democracy Reporting International (DRI) on 4 December 2014, a visit to the House of Commons on 19 January 2015 and at the SDC Governance Seminar in Pristina on 28-29 January 2015. The Study was written by Franklin De Vrieze, consultant and parliamentary development specialist, and was edited by Michael Meyer-Resende and Ray Serrato of DRI.

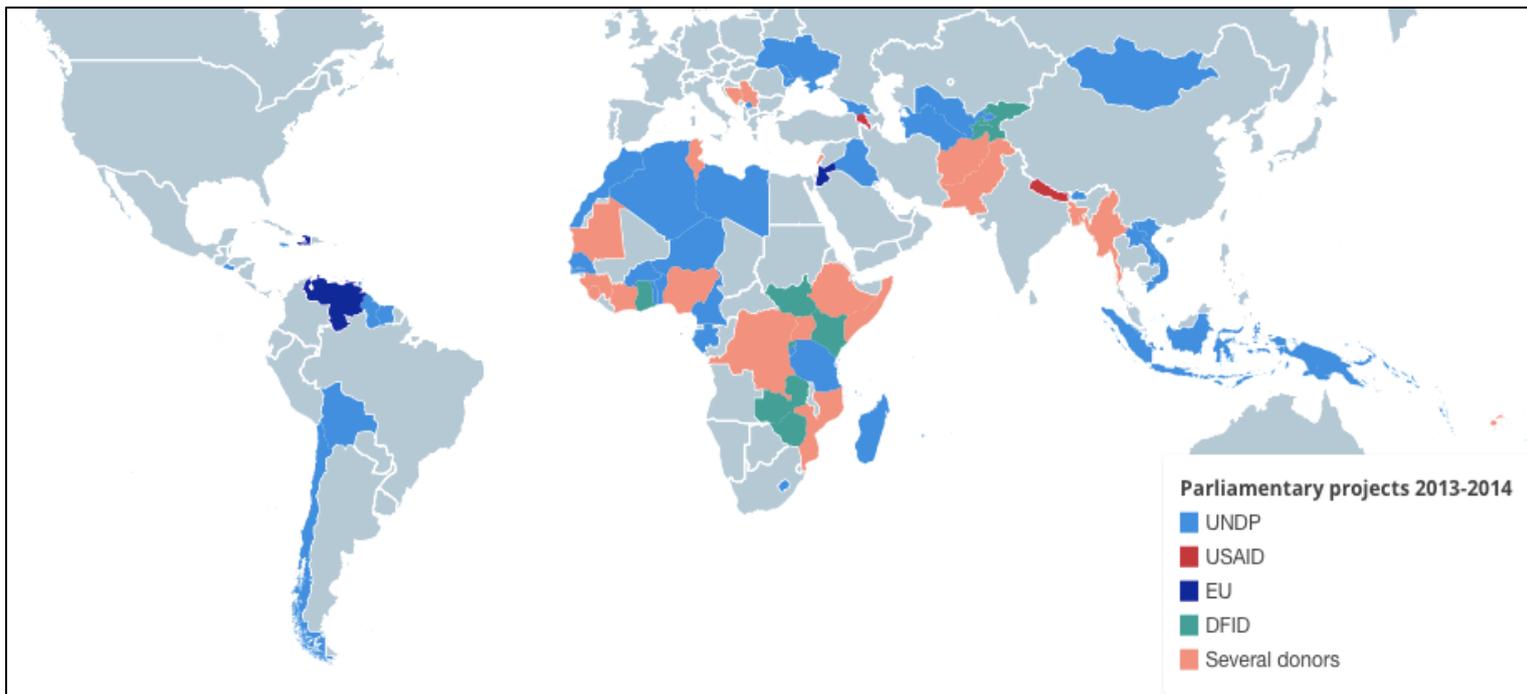


Figure 1

[Click here for the full interactive map](#)

2. THE PLAYERS

Over the past fifteen years, there has been a proliferation in the number and types of organisations that support parliaments and parliamentary reform. For the purpose of this report, we have identified ten different players:

1. United Nations Development Program
2. European Commission
3. Other multilateral organisations
4. National governments as bilateral donors
5. National parliaments as project implementers
6. International Parliamentary Institutions (IPIs) and parliamentary networks
7. Political party foundations
8. Non-profit institutions and professional organisations
9. Academic institutions and universities
10. Private contractors and consultancy companies.

In the following each actor/category will be briefly explained based on the data publicly available or information received.

2.1. UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (UNDP)

UNDP is the world's largest implementer of parliamentary strengthening programs. Over the past two decades, UNDP's parliamentary development portfolio has grown significantly. While in 1994–1995, only six UNDP country offices hosted

parliamentary strengthening projects, this number has increased to 70 countries in 2015.² Figures from 2012 state that UNDP's total budget for parliamentary projects in that year was 127,088,008 USD. Most of UNDP's current parliamentary strengthening projects are in Africa (35%) and the Asia-Pacific (26%), with 15% in the Arab region, 13% in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 10% in Europe and the former Soviet Union. Around 15% of these programs are implemented in countries in transition from conflict.

UNDP's new *Strategic Plan (2014-2017)* explicitly prioritises parliamentary development as part of a broader political governance agenda. While each project is tailored to the specific needs of the relevant Parliament, UNDP projects typically focus on building the capacity of MPs and technical staff to effectively carry out their three chief functions (legislative, representation, and oversight), with a focus on sustainable development (gender equality, anti-corruption, energy and environment, and the post-2015 development agenda).

The UNDP usually focus on one or more of the following specific objectives:

- Build the capacity of parliamentarians, including through post-election induction programs;
- Support the capacity development of parliamentary committees (both MPs and their staff) to engage with and report on crucial sustainable development issues;
- Promote effective budget oversight by parliament;
- Promote institutional reform through Parliamentary Strategic Plans;

² The full list of all active UNDP parliamentary projects is attached.

- Enhance the participation of marginalized groups with parliament (e.g. women, youth, minorities), for example, through the development of caucuses (e.g. women, youth) or parliamentary groups;
- Improve parliamentary communication and outreach;
- Strengthen parliaments' relationships with the executive, judiciary and civil society;
- Strengthen the capacity of MPs to engage in peace-building efforts, e.g., through training mediation techniques and advice on peace-building laws (eg. re transitional justice, security sector reform).

While UNDP's primary focus is providing direct country-level support to parliaments, at the same time UNDP's Inclusive Political Processes team is tasked to ensure that national-level efforts benefit from comparative good practice and lessons learned from around the world. The following services are provided:

- Provision of technical advisory services to Country Offices, to ensure that they meet international standards, are of a high quality, innovative, impactful and more likely to be sustainable;
- Provision of direct technical advice to Parliaments, including through training, drafting of rules and other parliamentary guides, and technical advice to MPs and staff upon request;
- Building a Community of Practice amongst UNDP parliamentary professionals and partners;
- Managing a parliamentary expert's roster;
- Development of partnerships with other international/regional parliamentary organisations; and support to global efforts for donor coordination;
- Policy guidance on key issues. In 2015 UNDP will publish policy guides on engaging with political parties and implementing support for constitutional reform processes (including through parliaments);
- Development of knowledge products, e.g. handbooks for parliamentarians, training modules, and toolkits on development-related topics;
- Increasing access to knowledge about the workings of parliaments, through cutting edge web-based platforms, namely: the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics (www.iknowpolitics.org); AGORA - the portal for parliamentary development (www.agora-parl.org); and Climate Portal (<http://www.agora-parl.org/climate>) - and through online courses such as the 'Induction for First-Time Parliamentarians' <http://learn.agora-parl.org/>. In 2014, AGORA repositioned itself as a full-fledged 'knowledge Portal'. The focus has been on providing knowledge materials and resources on existing and upcoming trends in parliamentary development.
- UNDP and IPU cooperated on the first "Global Parliamentary Report" (2012), dedicated to the topic of the changing nature of parliamentary representation.

2.2. EUROPEAN COMMISSION (EC)

The 2009 EU Council "Conclusions on Democracy Support" and its "Agenda for Action" established that EU democracy support should include a special focus on the role of parliaments and political parties.

The EC is a significant donor in the sector of parliamentary strengthening, and spent around 150 million USD between 2000 and 2009, mainly through the European Development Fund. Currently, there are 13 on-going EC-funded parliamentary development programs:³ Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fiji, Georgia, Guinea (Conakry), Haiti, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Mozambique, Pakistan, Tunisia, Venezuela, and Palestine.. The total amount of the current, on-going projects is 16 million Euros. The implementers of these 13 projects include UNDP (4), non-profit organisations (1), private consultancy companies (6), academic institutions (1), and governmental institutions (1). The EC has supported parliaments in the candidate countries and potential candidates through IPA and TAIEX programs.

In the European context the European Centre for Parliamentary Research & Documentation (ECPRD) aims at inter-parliamentary cooperation and information exchange. Comparative surveys launched by the national correspondents and seminars on particular topics provide information exchange and a comparative look at parliamentary practices and legislative policies in other countries. The ECPRD members are the European Parliament (EP), PACE and the parliamentary chambers where the President is a member of the European Conference of Presidents of Parliament. ECPRD is co-chaired by the EP and the PACE. The EP hosts its Secretariat.

IPEX,⁴ the Inter-Parliamentary EU information eXchange, is a platform for inter-parliamentary cooperation and exchange of information between EU national Parliaments and the EP. IPEX is developed around a "Documents Database" which contains draft legislative proposals, consultation and information documents coming from the EC, national parliaments' documents and positions, as well as other information concerning the EU. IPEX contains a Calendar of inter-parliamentary cooperation meetings and events in the EU and links to relevant websites and databases in the field of inter-parliamentary cooperation. IPEX hosts the EU Speakers of Parliaments Conference website.

2.3. OTHER MULTILATERAL ORGANISATIONS

2.3.1. WORLD BANK

The World Bank Institute (WBI) is the World Bank's main capacity building instrument. The WBI works with policymakers, civil servants, technical experts, business and community leaders, parliamentarians, civil society stakeholders, as well as universities and local training institutes. The WBI supports regional associations of PACs and the global network of Parliamentary Budget Offices.

³ The full list of all active EC-funded parliamentary projects is attached.

⁴ <http://www.ipex.eu/IPEXL-WEB/about/guidelines.do>

According to the NORAD 2010 mapping, the World Bank invested about USD 7.8 million in parliamentary assistance projects over the preceding 10 years.⁵ The World Bank undertook a new stocktaking exercise of its parliamentary support activities in 2014.

The WBI policy focus is on financial management and the role of parliaments in the budget process. WBI's approach to parliamentary strengthening is three-fold: "individual approach (enhancing the capacity of individual MP and professional parliamentary staff); institutional approach (strengthen select institutions under the umbrella of parliament, such as the parliamentary administration or oversight committees) and network approach (bringing together like-minded MP/parliamentary committees at the regional and global levels using parliamentary networks)."⁶ WBI's strategy combines all three approaches according to changing circumstances and needs, and adopts participatory and adult-learning techniques.

The WBI identified three focus areas for its parliamentary development efforts, consistent with the World Bank's global mandate and priorities: open budgeting, extractive industries, and climate change. In addition, there are two crosscutting initiatives: Parliaments in fragile and conflict affected countries, and parliamentary staff training through the WBI's parliamentary e-learning portal⁷ and e-Institute.⁸

Recently, the Research Committee of Legislative Specialists (RCLS) – a group of about 120 parliamentary academics and specialists around the globe – reached out to the World Bank to suggest the establishment of a community of practice of academics and parliamentary strengthening practitioners.⁸

2.3.2. ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (OSCE)

The OSCE is an active player in the area of parliamentary assistance, through its field missions and through the work of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). The OSCE field missions in the Western Balkans have a governance or democratization department, which implements parliamentary projects that are financed by either the OSCE core budget or by extra-budgetary contributions. In addition, the OSCE field missions in the Western Balkans have developed a series of joint activities, which have facilitated increased communication between the parliaments of the Western Balkans: meetings of the Secretaries General of

parliaments in the Western Balkans, support to women parliamentarians, strengthening parliamentary oversight, conferences of Constitutional-Legal and Legislative Committees. Most of the OSCE Missions in the Caucasus and Central Asia have a Human Dimension component, which includes advice on the functioning of parliament in relation to broader governance issues (rule of law, anti-corruption, etc.)

ODIHR supports democratic law-making in several OSCE participating states. This involves assessments of the law-making process in parliaments and on parliamentary strengthening focused on political participation and codes of conduct. In 2012, ODIHR published a comparative analysis of the practical measures OSCE participating States can take to promote ethical parliamentary behaviour.⁹

2.4. NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AS BILATERAL DONOR

2.4.1. UNITED STATES

The US Agency for International Development (USAID) is the largest bilateral donor in the area of parliamentary development. Between 1999 and 2009, it allocated 240 million USD to parliamentary development.¹⁰ The USAID Office of Democracy and Governance of the Bureau of Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA/DG) handles parliamentary assistance. It helps USAID field missions to design country programs in the transition to and consolidation of democracy. Indicators of change in democracy and governance and quantitative measurements have been a focus for the USAID at least for a decade, with the development of handbooks, cross-national quantitative studies, support for research, and expert consultations. The DG office is currently undertaking a comprehensive review of all its legislative strengthening projects, with a view to incorporate the findings into future USAID program and prepare an updated version of the 2000 USAID Handbook on legislative strengthening.

There have been 110 programs since 1992.¹¹ The six projects that are currently active are: Afghanistan, Armenia, Bangladesh, Cote d'Ivoire, Nepal and Serbia. NDI is implementing two projects and SUNY is implementing another. Three private companies are implementing the remaining projects. The 2010 NORAD study identified a number of distinct features of USAID legislative assistance, such as not running programs benefiting regional parliaments or parliamentary organisations. According to the study, "the USAID differs significantly from the other donors by subcontracting a large share (some 36 per cent) of its aid effort to

⁵ Tostensen, A. and Amundsen, I., Support to Legislatures. Synthesis study, Oslo, January 2010, NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 82.

⁶ Mitchell O'Brien, Rick Stapenhurst and Brooke Prater, World Bank Institute's Approach to Parliamentary Capacity Strengthening, in: Parliamentary Affairs (2012) 65, p. 593–607.

⁷ www.parliamentarystrengthening.org

⁸ World Bank Group, Submission to the United Kingdom Parliament's International Development Committee Enquiry Examining DFID's Work on Parliamentary Strengthening, paper by Mitchell O'Brien, October 2014, p. 5

⁹ OSCE/ODIHR, *Background Study: Professional and Ethical Standards for Parliamentarians*, Warsaw, 2012, P. 120

¹⁰ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 76.

¹¹ Correspondence with Mr. Tomas Bridle, USAID official, January 2015. Overview table attached.

private, commercial companies (consultancy / academic companies such as SUNY/CID, ARD, and DAI). The USAID also differs significantly from the other donors by not relying on IGOs (inter-governmental organisations such as the WBI, the UNDP, and other UN agencies) as implementers, and by not emphasising partnership programs as a means of operation.¹² USAID staff emphasizes cooperation with other bilateral funding agencies,¹³ citing the USAID-DFID jointly funded program in Kyrgyzstan as an example.¹⁴

2.4.2. UNITED KINGDOM

After USAID, the Department for International Development (DFID) is the second largest bilateral donor to parliamentary strengthening projects worldwide.¹⁵ The total 2013/14 expenditure on parliamentary strengthening work is £22.5 million on bilateral programs and a further £3.5 million as a share of multilateral programs. The regional breakdown of these amounts indicates that the majority of spending is concentrated in two areas: South Asia, most of it in Pakistan (49 %), and East Africa (21 %). The amounts are based on figures drawn from 37 programs across DFID country offices and central departments.¹⁶ They are probably an underestimate, as in some cases it has not been possible to disaggregate expenditure, particularly where parliamentary strengthening is an indirect outcome from programs. Parliamentary strengthening work is currently, or has been recently, undertaken across three quarters of DFID's bilateral country programs. In addition to DFID, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office spent just over £7 million on parliamentary strengthening in 2013–14, including its contribution to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy.¹⁷

The starting point of DFID's approach to working with parliaments (and other parts of the political system) is the analysis of the country's political system and identifying the most viable and effective entry points for strengthening it. DFID estimates that, in fragile contexts particularly, organisations like parliaments are often driven much more by informal power relationships than by formal rules, and that it is essential to understand this underlying system of power and incentives before determining what support is feasible and to which part of the political system.

DFID programs take several forms: a) Democratic governance programs that support parliaments directly; b) Public Financial Management (PFM) projects which work with Public Accounts Committees (PACs) to strengthen parliament's oversight of the budget; c) Sectoral projects on, for example,

health or education, that include work with parliaments – e.g., security or health sector reform with relevant parliamentary committees; d) Citizen empowerment and public accountability projects, which include components designed to incentivise parliaments to improve their effectiveness – for example work with advocacy groups, which pressure relevant parliamentary caucuses to deliver; e) Centrally managed programs, working across a range of countries, such as the support to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD); f) Increasing women's political participation and women's role in parliament.¹⁸ DFID has an increasing focus on fragile and post-conflict contexts.

The current DFID thinking about parliamentary development will be summarised in a new 'How to Note' (HTN) on Party and Parliamentary assistance, which will be finalised following the House of Commons inquiry in Spring 2015.

2.4.3. NORWAY

The Norwegian actors operating in the field of parliamentary development are the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including embassies. Norway has provided support to a number of legislatures over the years and between 1999-2009 it was considered the third largest bilateral donor to parliament strengthening.¹⁹ In 2013, Norad and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs distributed around 7.1 million USD for projects in the field of parliamentary development, with implementers including the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the African Leadership Forum (ALF), other international organisations, and a mix of Norwegian NGOs.²⁰

Norway is extending direct support to parliaments (including parliamentary committees and government agencies) in recipient countries as contractual partners and implementing institutions. For Norway, international and national NGOs (including international parliamentary organisations) are less important. Norway seems to prefer IGOs to INGOs/NGOs.

2.4.4. SWEDEN

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) provided USD 20 million to parliamentary development between 1999 and 2009.²¹ Sida has implemented about 80 per cent of its contributions through basket funds. The implementing agencies of Sida's support are, for a large part,

¹² NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 77

¹³ Skype conversation with Thomas Bridle of USAID, 26 December 2014.

¹⁴ <http://dai.com/our-work/projects/kyrgyzstan%E2%80%94parliamentary-strengthening-program-kpsp>

¹⁵ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 77

¹⁶ House of Commons International Development Committee, Parliamentary Strengthening Report, HC 704, published 27 January 2015, London, p. 3, p. 16

¹⁷ House of Commons International Development Committee, Parliamentary Strengthening Report, HC 704, published 27 January 2015, London, p. 20

¹⁸ Written evidence by DFID to the House of Commons Inquiry, October 2014.

¹⁹ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 35

²⁰ Note that this includes some political party projects. These figures are based on data obtained from the Norwegian Aid Statistics, Sector "Good Governance," sorted by Sub-sector, "52 - Legislatures and political parties." This figure closely matches the Official Development Assistance (ODA) figure for 2013 as well, which is around 7.2 million USD. Source: Query Wizard for International Development Statistics. For a description of projects falling under the ODA code "15152 Legislatures and political parties," see Norad, *Statistical Classification Manual*, Norad Department for Quality Assurance, 2015, p. 41

²¹ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 78

international NGOs, including international parliamentary organisations and networks (e.g. AWEPA), IGOs and multilateral organisations such as the UNDP. Sida uses direct contracts with recipient parliaments and government institutions very rarely. Sida has made several thematic evaluations of its support to parliaments. In 2011 Sida commissioned an *Evaluation on Parliamentary Development Assistance* from the UK-based Overseas Development Institute (ODI) to review donor approaches and their effectiveness.²²

2.4.5. CANADA

The Canadian actor in parliamentary development was the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), until two years ago when the Agency was absorbed and merged in the Canadian MFA. During 1999 and 2009, CIDA committed approximately 20 million USD to parliamentary strengthening.²³ There are no figures at hand about the current MFA spending in this area. In terms of beneficiaries, CIDA stood out as having reported no projects benefiting parliament administration. It preferred to work through NGOs as channels of support, in particular the Canadian Parliamentary Centre (PC).

2.4.6. FRANCE

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has supported parliamentary projects for a long time, in particular in Francophone African countries. It provided financial support to UNDP's Global Program for Parliamentary Strengthening (GPPS) and AGORA, the portal for parliamentary development. The MFA financed, as one significant example, the training of 150 staff of the Afghan parliament. The *Assemblée Nationale* is France's main implementer of parliamentary activities.

2.4.7. AUSTRALIA

The Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) is a relative newcomer in the area of parliamentary support (since 2004). Its main geographical focus is the Pacific and South East Asia. AusAID has for instance helped to design and construct a parliament building for the legislature of the newly independent Timor-Leste, and it has assisted in improving the capacity of the staff and MPs of the parliaments of Timor-Leste, Solomon Islands, Indonesia, Vanuatu and other Pacific islands.

2.4.8. GERMANY

Parliamentary strengthening is primarily the area of work of the German political party-affiliated foundations. However, the German International Cooperation (GIZ) has also financed directly parliamentary projects in Kosovo, Serbia, and Montenegro. Also the German Federal Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation (BMZ) has financed some parliamentary strengthening projects. However, precise figures on number of projects and amounts have been difficult to collect.

2.4.9. SWITZERLAND

Switzerland carries out its support to parliaments mainly through three agencies: the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the Division for Human Security (DHS) are both part of the Federal Department for Foreign Affairs; the third agency is the Parliamentary Services of the Federal Assembly.

The Division for Human Security engages in supporting parliamentary structures such as constitutional assemblies as part of peace processes in post-conflict situations. The Parliamentary Services engage in peer-exchange and learning. SDC programmes work on national and sub-national levels, while a few even tackle supra-national issues, such as in Southern Africa, where the capacity of relevant parliament commissions on accountability regarding HIV/AIDS is addressed in five countries.

The furthest-reaching interventions at the national level are currently underway in Macedonia and Cambodia, where the SDC supports the setting-up and functioning of parliamentary institutes. In the case of Macedonia, this includes the construction of the actual physical infrastructure inside the Parliament building.

SDC tries to foster participative and consultative processes on national and sub-national levels and a general opening of parliament work towards citizens. Some programmes, for instance in Kosovo, are designed to assist local parliaments in reaching a better understanding of decentralisation processes, with a focus on fiscal decentralisation. Support is also directed to the development of parliamentary journalism. SDC applies methods such as trainings, working directly with MPs or staff (peer exchange or learning), assistance in formulation of procedures or policies, direct support to women MPs or candidates. In some instances, associations of local assemblies are supported.

In the period 2012-2025, the planned engagement of SDC amounts to some 60 million CHF, with programmes in more than twenty countries.

²² Rocha Menocal, A. and O'Neil, T., *Mind the Gap: Lessons Learnt and Remaining Challenges in Parliamentary Development Assistance – A Sida Pre-Study*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI) & Sida, Stockholm, 2011, p. 114

²³ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 79

2.5. NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS AS PROJECT IMPLEMENTERS

2.5.1. US CONGRESS

The US Congress parliamentary strengthening activities are run through the House Democracy Partnership (HDP),²⁴ a bipartisan, twenty-member commission of the US House of Representatives that works directly with 16 partner countries: Afghanistan, Colombia, Georgia, Haiti, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Liberia, Macedonia, Mongolia, Pakistan, Peru, Timor-Leste.

Established by the House in 2005, the HDP uses peer-to-peer exchange programs, training seminars for members and staff, and targeted material assistance to build capacity in key areas such as legislative oversight, budget analysis, committee operations, constituent relations, and library and research services.

Its singular focus on parliament and its unique ability to bring together American legislators and their peers from around the world have made the commission a valuable forum for strengthening democratic institutions and deepening bilateral relations. The HDP brings Members of Congress to other parliaments and brings to Washington DC the MPs of a number of countries. The HDP is congressionally funded. The scope of its funding depends on which party holds the leadership of the House.

2.5.2. FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND SENATE

In 2014, the French National Assembly hosted 107 foreign delegations and conducted 43 visits abroad by either MPs or civil servants. Assistance is usually of a technical rather than of a political nature. This implies that support usually concerns the Rules of Procedure and the parliament organisation, and less frequently help in the actual legislative work *per se*, i.e. in the drawing-up of a given bill.

Multilateral programs are initiated through agreements with international organisations (United Nations, World Bank, OSCE, USAID) or by responding to EU tenders. In cooperation with UNDP, the National Assembly assisted the parliament of Afghanistan, the Comoros, Lebanon, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, Iraq, Turkmenistan, Moldova, etc. In addition, the National Assembly trains every year UNDP staff members who are in charge of parliamentary affairs.

In recent years, EU-funded programs included work with the parliaments of Russia, Poland, Madagascar, Romania, Kosovo, Vietnam, Moldova, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Libya, Guinea and Lebanon. Bilateral programs include working visits for foreign MPs and training sessions for parliamentary staff. Often, meetings with the French Senate, the Constitutional Council, the *Conseil d'État*, the General Secretariat of the Government and with specific ministers are arranged. The bilateral programs also include parliamentary needs assessments, technical assistance, and information/training missions. The Senate also conducts parliamentary support.²⁵

2.5.3. UK HOUSE OF COMMONS AND HOUSE OF LORDS

The UK Parliament's engagement in parliamentary strengthening abroad is facilitated through the House of Commons Overseas Office, House of Lords Overseas Office, British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (BG IPU) and the United Kingdom branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (UK CPA). In 2013/2014, through these institutions and offices, the UK Parliament spent approximately £3 to 4 million.²⁶ There is also *de facto* cooperation with non-public sector intermediary bodies such as "Global Partners Governance." The House Overseas Office contributed to the IPU-initiated 'Common Principles for Support to Parliament', and to the DFID 'How To Note' on Party and Parliamentary assistance.

BG IPU has overall responsibility for the UK Parliament's engagement with the IPU.²⁷ It has a membership of over 600 MPs from both Houses, and some 200 former MPs. The BG IPU's primary aim of advancing the parliamentary dimension of Britain's foreign relations is undertaken through inter-parliamentary exchange visits, multilateral and bilateral dialogue at IPU Assemblies, conferences and events. In recent years, the BG IPU has undertaken targeted capacity-building activities in Somalia, Haiti, Sudan and Guinea-Bissau. It has facilitated UK contributions to the UNDP/IPU Parliamentary Strengthening Project in Myanmar.

CPA UK is one of the most active branches of the CPA and undertakes international parliamentary outreach and parliamentary strengthening programs, e.g. with the Sierra Leone Parliament.²⁸

Distinct themes within all UK parliamentary strengthening initiatives are the work and networking of Public Accounts Committees, in cooperation with the Steering Committee of the Commonwealth Association of Public Accounts Committees (CAPAC).

²⁵ <http://www.senat.fr/international/guide.html>

²⁶ House of Commons International Development Committee, Parliamentary Strengthening Report, HC 704, published 27 January 2015, London, p. 20

²⁷ Written evidence submitted by the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to the House of Commons Inquiry, October 2014

²⁸ Written evidence submitted by CPA UK to the House of Commons Inquiry, October 2014

²⁴ <http://hdac.house.gov/>

In autumn 2014, the International Development Committee of the House of Commons started an inquiry into parliamentary strengthening.²⁹ The inquiry reviewed whether DFID should give a higher priority to Parliamentary strengthening and, what DFID can learn from other donors, the value of the Westminster brand and whether DFID should fund more UK institutions in the work to strengthen parliaments.

2.5.4. GERMAN BUNDESTAG AND BUNDESRAT

The German Bundestag supports foreign parliamentary administrations through study visits in Berlin, secondment abroad of experts from the Bundestag or, occasionally, donations in kind. The study visits to Berlin are generally one-week programmes, mostly for six participants (two staff members each from three different countries or staff from one a single country which has been designated a focal point). The Bundesrat is regularly involved. For 2015, the planned study visits to Berlin are by participants from Albania, Croatia, Georgia, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco and Ukraine.

Secondment of experts abroad happens in response to requests from other parliaments, international organisations (e.g. IPU, UNDP), political foundations or NGOs. Duration of the secondment is generally three days to a week. Longer-term secondments (e.g. more than six weeks) are normally not possible. The secondment of experts in 2015 will be entirely focussed on Myanmar.³⁰

2.5.5. PARLIAMENTS OF AUSTRALIA

Australia's federal, state and territory parliaments have supported Pacific Island parliaments for many years.³¹ Under the AusAid-funded twinning modality, there is 1) a program coordinated by the New South Wales Parliament to support the parliaments of Bougainville and Solomon Islands; 2) a program coordinated by the Australian Parliament in association with the Australian Capital Territory Legislative Assembly, the South Australian and Victorian Parliaments and UNDP Pacific Centre to support the Parliaments of Kiribati, Tonga and Tuvalu; and 3) a program coordinated by the Australian Parliament in association with the Queensland, Tasmanian and Western Australian Parliaments and the UNDP Pacific Centre for the Parliaments of Cook Islands, Samoa and Vanuatu. The Pacific Parliamentary Partnerships is focused on professional development of MPs; capacity building of parliamentary secretariats; and community outreach for parliaments.³²

2.6. INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS (IPIS) AND PARLIAMENTARY NETWORKS

There exist a growing number of international parliamentary institutions (IPIs) and networks. They are the subject of increased academic research.³³ Some of them are active in the field of parliamentary support.

2.6.1. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT (EP)

For many years, the European Parliament (EP) has been an active player in democracy support outside of the EU through the Office for the Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy (OPPD)³⁴ and the Pre-Accession Action Unit (PAAU). As of January 2015, both offices are part of the Directorate for Democracy Support.

The OPPD support was aimed at parliaments in new and emerging democracies. Members and staff of these parliaments benefit from training, strategic counselling and long-term fellowships provided by the OPPD as well as through networking with members and relevant services of the EP. The OPPD's capacity-building assistance approach was demand-driven, peer-to-peer and technical.³⁵ OPPD thus developed activities in up to 40 countries. Its team includes 8 to 10 full-time dedicated staff, in addition to the active input by senior staff working for various Committees of the EP, and the Members of the EP. The European Parliament is seen as a role model by many trans-border and regional parliaments. This has allowed the OPPD to offer considerable support to the Pan-African Parliament and to the parliaments of ECOWAS, SADC, as well as to the regional parliaments of Latin America.

Currently, the EP Democracy Support and Election Coordination Group (DEG) is preparing a new, comprehensive democracy support approach to link democracy assistance throughout the electoral and political cycle. For 2015, this new approach will be applied to six countries: Tunisia, Morocco, Ukraine, Moldova, Myanmar and Tanzania, and evaluated and adjusted after 2015.

The EP's Pre-Accession Actions Unit³⁶ works with parliaments of the Western Balkans and Turkey through seminars, conferences, workshops, the Pre-Accession Fellowship Program for staff of the parliaments of the Western Balkans

²⁹ <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/international-development-committee/inquiries/parliament-2010/parliamentary-strengthening/>

³⁰ Information received from Administration of German Bundestag, February 2015.

³¹ Parliament of Australia, Presiding Officers' Annual Statement on Pacific Parliamentary Partnerships, 2013, p. 10

³² www.pacificparliaments.net

³³ Rocabert, J.; Schimmelfennig, F.; Winzen, T., The Rise of International Parliamentary Institutions? Conceptualization and First Empirical Illustrations; ECPR Joint Sessions, Salamanca, 10-15 April 2014, p. 21

³⁴ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/008407cea1/Office-for-Promotion-of-Parliamentary-Democracy.html>

³⁵ European Parliament, Strengthening Parliaments Worldwide - OPPD Overview of Activities 2009 - 2013, Brussels, 2014, p. 18

³⁶ De Vrieze, F., Study on Parliamentary Cooperation. Overview of Parliamentary Capacity Building in EU Candidates. Brussels, December 2014, European Commission, p. 76

and Turkey, and study visits of MPs/staff of enlargement parliaments to Brussels.

2.6.2. INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION (IPU)

IPU annual Assemblies offer MPs opportunities to network, exchange experiences and learn from each other. So do the regional, sub-regional and national conferences, seminars and workshops. These activities are complemented by technical assistance projects. IPU pays particular attention to building parliamentary capacity in the areas of human rights and gender. The IPU places a premium on accompanying parliaments in countries coming out of conflict and/or in transition towards democracy.³⁷ The IPU supports some 30 parliaments on an annual basis.

The IPU manages a database, PARLINE, which is an online information tool that provides access to data about the world's 188 national parliaments, with country-specific data pages and the possibility of comparing data across countries.³⁸ The IPU published a number of knowledge products, such as the Self-assessment Toolkit for Parliaments, "Parliament and Democracy in 21st Century," and in cooperation with the UNDP the first "Global Parliamentary Report" on the changing nature of parliamentary representation.

In 2014, a working group composed of the EP, the French National Assembly, UNDP, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and IPU developed a draft set of Common Principles.³⁹

2.6.3. NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY (NATO PA)

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA) has its own contribution in parliamentary capacity building through its Rose Roth program, consisting of three to four seminars per year.⁴⁰ MPs from NATO member and partner countries meet with government officials as well as experts from universities, think tanks and NGOs to discuss one specific security issue of common interest. Rose-Roth seminars help build a sense of partnership and co-operation at the legislative level. They also help improve mutual understanding among legislators of their various problems and perspectives. DCAF has worked with NATO PA in offering long-term capacity building on security related issues to parliaments in SEE, through induction seminars for new parliamentarians taking place each year in Brussels and Rose Roth Seminars in different locations.

2.6.4. COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY (CPA)

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) consists of the national, provincial, state and territorial parliaments and legislatures of the countries of the Commonwealth. The CPA works with parliaments of the developing world in two ways: first, the CPA contributes to professional development by channelling expertise between the parliaments of the Commonwealth (induction courses for newly elected members, academic and practical training courses), and second, the CPA assists parliaments through its donor-financed, technical assistance programs. CPA supports parliaments through the Annual Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, regional conferences, inter-parliamentary visits, seminars and publications notably, 'The Parliamentarian', newsletters on CPA activities, the parliamentary information and reference centre for research and communication.⁴¹

2.6.5. GLOBAL ORGANIZATION OF PARLIAMENTARIANS AGAINST CORRUPTION (GOPAC)

GOPAC is the international network of parliamentarians focused on combating corruption. Its members represent more than 50 countries in all regions of the world.⁴² GOPAC's programming model uses Global Task Forces (GTF) to promote agendas identified through a regionally representative group of MPs that champion each topic. The GOPAC Board and Secretariat support GTFs with handbooks and capacity building for MPs. Through its GTFs GOPAC can support the introduction of legislative and oversight changes in national parliaments to control corruption, promote good governance, and hold the executive more accountable.

2.6.6. ASSEMBLEE PARLEMENTAIRE DE LA FRANCOPHONIE (APF)

The *Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie* (APF)⁴³ is an association of the parliaments of francophone countries. The APF is the advisory body of the Francophonie. The decision-making bodies are the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of countries that share the French language, the Ministerial Conference of the Francophonie, and the Permanent Council of the Francophonie.

Two to three times a year, APF in collaboration with the Francophonie organizes seminars for all MPs of a member country or regional seminars. APF organizes courses for French speaking parliamentary staff in the context of

³⁷ IPU, Technical Cooperation project, Overview paper, November 2014, p. 9

³⁸ <http://www.ipu.org/parline/parlinesearch.asp>

³⁹ <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/principles14.htm>

⁴⁰ <http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=2731>

⁴¹

<http://www.cpahq.org/cpahq/Main/About/Organisation/About/About%20CPA.aspx>

⁴² <http://gopacnetwork.org>

⁴³ <http://apf.francophonie.org/>

partnerships, cooperation programs or in collaboration with ENA (France), French National Assembly and Senate. APF works with NORIA, a program for capacity building of French speaking parliaments in the developing world.

2.6.7. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS WITH AFRICA (AWEPA)

The Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)⁴⁴ is an international NGO that supports parliaments in Africa. Headquartered in Amsterdam, AWEPA maintains offices (or staff) in Belgium, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Southern Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.

AWEPA currently works with 30 parliaments in Africa through jointly agreed institutional and thematic capacity building programs. These include national parliaments, continental and regional parliamentary institutions, as well as decentralised authorities. AWEPA receives financial support from European governments and international NGOs.

2.6.8. REGIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR PARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE (RSPC SEE)

The Parliaments of the South East Europe Cooperation Process (SEEC) agreed on a Memorandum of Understanding for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation (2008). A Regional Secretariat for Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE was established in Sofia. Amongst others, the RSPC SEE promotes capacity building and institutional strengthening of SEE Parliaments, and promotes the exchange of information, experience and best practices between national parliaments in SEE at all levels (e.g. Speakers, committees, parliamentary staff). Activities are organized in partnership with, amongst others, the PAU of the EP. In May 2014, the Parliamentary Dimension of the SEEC was transformed into the Parliamentary Assembly of the SEEC.

2.7. POLITICAL PARTY FOUNDATIONS

2.7.1. NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE (NDI) - US

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) works in more than 100 countries with political parties, governments, parliaments and civic groups to strengthen democratic institutions and practices. While NDI has an explicit focus on political parties, it is also involved in broader democracy support such as citizen and women's participation, election processes, and strengthening of legislatures in a complementary approach.

An example of NDI work is the SDC-funded project in Macedonia on the renewal of the parliament, the Parliamentary Institute and the constituency relations offices for MPs. NDI supports a regional initiative of cooperation between Western Balkans parliaments, with funding from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).⁴⁵ Utilising experience from Central European legislatures, the regional initiative supports the EU approximation process, legislative research services, and e-parliament legislative tracking systems.

2.7.2. INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE (IRI) - US

The International Republican Institute (IRI) works with parties, legislatures, and governments in more than 100 countries.⁴⁶ It advises political parties to become more issue-based and responsive, assisting citizens to participate in government planning. IRI views parliamentary strengthening from two perspectives, focusing on both the "supply side" (institutions of government and parliaments) and the "demand side" (citizens and civil society). According to the NORAD-commissioned study, IRI is very strong in its ideological commitment to fight for democracy in authoritarian countries such as Cuba, Belarus, Burma, and Zimbabwe.⁴⁷ In several countries, the NDI and the IRI often work closely together.

2.7.3. WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY (WFD) - UK

The Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) provides support to both parliamentary strengthening and party-to-party activities. Half of its grants are distributed between the UK parties for bi-party cooperation, via the Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrats and the smaller parties, on a proportional basis. The other half is allocated by the WFD to democracy support projects, partly run by the WFD itself and partly allocated to national and international organisations.⁴⁸ WFD is currently preparing a new Strategic Framework that brings together more clearly the political party and parliamentary programs.⁴⁹ The WFD is sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and is accountable to the UK parliament.

Currently, WFD implements parliamentary projects in 14 countries: 4 in Africa, 2 in Asia, 3 in Europe and 5 in Middle East and North Africa.⁵⁰ In addition, there is the WFD regional Western Balkans program,⁵¹ the Network of Parliamentary

⁴⁵ <https://www.ndi.org/regional-parliamentary-initiative>

⁴⁶ <http://www.iri.org/>

⁴⁷ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute p. 92

⁴⁸ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 91

⁴⁹ WFD Written Evidence for the HoC Inquiry on Parliamentary Strengthening, November 2014.

⁵⁰ Information provided by WFD for the purpose of this Study.

⁵¹ <http://www.wfd.org/upload/docs/Western%20Balkans.pdf>

⁴⁴ <http://www.awepa.org/>

committees on Economy, Finance and European Integration of Western Balkans (NPC).⁵²

2.7.4. NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY (NIMD) - THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (NIMD)⁵³ is a cross-party foundation focused on long-term multiparty support. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs finances NIMD. NIMD is active in over 20 countries and works through local NGOs and parties to establish multiparty dialogue. NIMD draws upon a solid base of experience and expertise, and it incorporates party support with broader elements of democracy support. It advocates for an integrated approach to parliamentary and political party assistance.

2.7.5. KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION (KAS) - GERMANY

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) implements parliamentary support programs alongside other programs in support of political parties, media, political education, women in politics and rule of law. The importance of KAS programs involving engagement with national parliaments and MPs has grown over the last few years. The KAS supports approximately 100 such activities each year around the world: short-term consultancies, training seminars, conferences, publications and visitor programs.⁵⁴

2.7.6. FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION (FES) - GERMANY

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) implements parliamentary programs as part of a broader program on democratization that includes political parties, political dialogue, women's participation, decentralisation, constitutional reform, media, and trade union support. Since 2008, FES has assisted the SEECP Parliamentary Dimension and its RSPC in Sofia. FES's financial and expert support for the meetings of the European Affairs Committees of Western Balkans through COSAP played an important role in consensus building on the format of the SEECP Parliamentary Assembly.

2.8. NON-PROFIT INSTITUTIONS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS

2.8.1. PARLIAMENTARY CENTRE (PC)

The Parliamentary Centre (PC)⁵⁵ is a Canadian organisation with a long-standing, strong relationship with the Federal Parliament of Canada and the provincial legislatures. It has implemented more than 80 projects in more than 50 countries around the world. It has offices in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, and Sudan, in addition to the Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program and the Legislative Accountability Program in Southern Africa (South Africa and SADC).

The Parliamentary Centre employs a variety of methodologies, including assessment missions, seminars and workshops, and inter-parliamentary networking. The Centre provides expertise on research and information systems, budgetary analysis, parliamentary committees, organisation, and administration. The Centre focuses on the role of parliaments in public policy making, with an emphasis on anti-corruption, poverty reduction, and gender equality. The PC has worked on developing parliamentary performance indicators.⁵⁶

2.8.2. BRITISH COUNCIL (BC)

The British Council (BC) is the UK's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities.⁵⁷ BC had little involvement in parliamentary assistance until 2012 when it was awarded the EC-funded parliamentary project, Improving Parliamentary Performance in Pakistan.⁵⁸ Parliamentary strengthening forms part of the BC's *Building Capacity for Social Change* pillar of work.

2.8.3. GENEVA CENTRE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES (DCAF)

DCAF has an extensive track-record supporting parliaments in oversight of the security sector, specifically with defence, security and intelligence oversight committees. DCAF contributes to human resources, organisational and legal framework development in parliament. DCAF has provided substantial assistance to the parliaments of the Western Balkans. In Bosnia and Herzegovina especially, DCAF support has been substantial and of a long-term nature, addressing both elected members and staff advisors of the Joint Committees for Defence and Security and for Intelligence Oversight, and supporting the Office of the Parliamentary Military Commissioner.

⁵² <http://www.npcbalkan.net/>

⁵³ <http://www.nimd.org/>

⁵⁴ Written submission by KAS to the House of Commons Inquiry on Parliamentary Development, January 2015.

⁵⁵ <http://www.parlcent.org/en/>

⁵⁶ Parliamentary Centre's written submission to the HoC Inquiry on parliamentary development, November 2014.

⁵⁷ <http://www.britishcouncil.org/>

⁵⁸ <http://ip3.org.pk/>

2.8.4. DEMOCRACY REPORTING INTERNATIONAL (DRI)

DRI supports the meaningful engagement of legislatures on democratic institutions, such as constitutional reforms, electoral reforms, judiciary reforms or parliamentary rules of procedures, as well as supporting the establishment of consultative mechanisms by parliaments. For example, DRI facilitated the first-ever parliamentary hearing on election reforms in Parliament and supported the National Constituent Assembly of Tunisia for three years on constitution-making and other political reforms. In Eastern Europe DRI engages also in monitoring parliament's legislative activities on political reforms. DRI's work with parliaments is embedded in broader engagement on democracy support, usually involving civil society as well.

2.8.5. PARLIAMENTARY MONITORING ORGANISATIONS (PMOS)

There are over 191 PMOs in more than 80 national parliaments worldwide.⁵⁹ Most are found in Latin America (42) and Central and Eastern Europe (28). Most PMOs (94 %) monitor national parliaments, while 24% monitor sub-national legislatures. Many PMOs focus on individual MPs, although some also monitor parliaments as institutions, or components of parliament, such as parliamentary groups or committees.

2.9. ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS AND UNIVERSITIES

2.9.1. STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK (SUNY)

The Centre for International Development in the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy at the University at Albany, State University of New York (SUNY/CID)⁶⁰ is among the world's leading university-based providers of technical assistance and training to parliaments, particularly in the areas of legal and regulatory reform, policy analysis and capacity-building. SUNY/CID uses research, as well as monitoring and evaluation tools, to learn from and improve upon donor-funded development projects. SUNY/CID work encompassed over 50 projects in more than 30 countries.

2.9.2. MCGILL UNIVERSITY

The McGill School of Continuing Studies (SCS) in Montreal is an international leader in continuing education. One of these courses is the International Professional Development

Program for Parliamentary Staff.⁶¹ Founded by the World Bank and McGill University in collaboration with the CPA, the Parliamentary Centre and SUNY/CID, this intensive professional development program includes a one-week residency seminar at McGill University followed by expert-moderated e-learning courses and one-on-one professional mentoring.⁶²

2.9.3. UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The University of Hull (UK) has a Centre for Legislative Studies.⁶³ It offers a number of acclaimed undergraduate courses and postgraduate research. It also facilitates the latest country-specific and internationally comparative research and disseminates the findings to the scholarly community and practitioners through a program of international conferences, graduate workshops, seminars, publications and an international, refereed quarterly journal - *The Journal of Legislative Studies*.

2.10. PRIVATE CONTRACTORS AND CONSULTANCY COMPANIES

Large donor agencies such as USAID, EC and DFID work with consultancy companies and private contractors as service providers of parliamentary assistance projects. Examples are the Association for Rural Development (ARD), Development Alternatives Inc. (DAI), Global Partners Governance (GPG), the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), B&S Europe, SOFRECO, Transtec, and many others.

An issue of concern raised at the House of Commons inquiry is the large scale of the many parliamentary projects entrusted to private contractors or consultancy companies. As noted by the representative of Global Partners Governance, smaller scale and targeted parliamentary projects might be easier to manage and more effective in specific political circumstances. As a small sample, following is a short presentation of two companies invited by the House of Commons to provide input for its inquiry: Global Partners Governance and DAI.

2.10.1. GLOBAL PARTNERS GOVERNANCE (GPG)

Global Partners Governance (GPG) is a London-based company working to strengthen political institutions and improve the quality of political representation in countries around the world. GP advises politicians, parliaments and ministries; and provides strategic analysis, advice and

⁵⁹ Mandelbaum, A.G., *Strengthening Parliamentary Accountability, Citizen Engagement and Access to Information: A Global Survey of Parliamentary Monitoring Organizations*, published by NDI and World Bank Institute, September 2011, 250 p.

⁶⁰ http://www.cid.suny.edu/about_us/about_rockefeller.cfm

⁶¹ <http://www.mcgill.ca/continuingstudies/programs-and-courses/leadership/courses-and-workshops/parliamentary>

⁶² Pozer, V., An Innovation in Parliamentary Staff Training, in: Canadian Parliamentary Review/Winter 2012, p. 4

⁶³ http://www2.hull.ac.uk/fass/politics/research/research-centres-and-groups/cls_updated.aspx

evaluation to international donor agencies and funders to improve the way that international governance support is developed and delivered.⁶⁴ GPG is also involved with PEAs and program evaluations.

2.10.2. DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES INC. (DAI)

DAI is an international development company with offices in the US and the UK, and representation worldwide. The firm currently fields more than 2,500 professional staff managing projects for USAID, DFID and other donors in more than 100 countries. Between 2005-2010, DAI implemented the USAID-funded Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Program (PLSP).⁶⁵ In 2007-2010, DAI implemented the USAID-funded Parliamentary Program in Azerbaijan (PPA).⁶⁶

3. METHODS

3.1. DIRECT AND INDIRECT SUPPORT

Parliamentary literature, such as the mentioned NORAD study, makes a distinction between direct and indirect support, depending on whether the objective is to strengthen parliament for democratisation purposes or for specific policy objectives.

Direct support should be understood as support to parliaments for the purpose of democratisation, checks and balances, and good governance. Normally, the project counterparts are parliamentary sub-units, including commissions, secretariat, and groups of parliamentarians. The contractual partners can be the parliament, parliamentary networks and organisations, NGOs and intergovernmental organisations. As indicated in the NORAD study, direct support can be reviewed under three components: 1) infrastructure; 2) institutional structure and capacity (legislation, oversight, representation, administration, institutional reform); and 3) skills, knowledge and performance of MPs.

Indirect support can be defined as support for the purpose of promoting policy goals such as poverty reduction, HIV and AIDS prevention, environmental protection, decentralisation, and anti-corruption. This form of indirect support is called 'issue-based' parliamentary strengthening. Indirect support projects will normally comprise an element of parliamentary strengthening that contributes to enabling parliament to pass legislation, debate and approve the plans, provide funding through the state budget, exercise oversight, and to establish procedures.⁶⁷

This distinction between direct and indirect support has been fine-tuned recently by the UK-based Overseas Development Institute (ODI).⁶⁸ It distinguishes between five main modes of providing support:

- Discrete Parliamentary Development projects: these tend to focus on generic capacity development of parliaments and formal organisational RoP. This type of support tends to be short term and ad hoc.
- Direct funding: core funding and grants for the overall functioning of parliament. Support to specific groups in parliament (e.g. political parties) is rare.
- Longer-term Parliamentary Development programs: the focus here is on parliament capacity, as well as formal institutional and organisational reform. However, these tend to be multi-year programs of linked activities, and can be supported either by a single donor or through basket funding.
- Issue-based programs: these can be either short- or longer-term interventions focused on working with or through parliaments to achieve policy objectives (e.g. health, corruption, budget transparency).
- Integrated democracy programs: these are single or basket-funded multiyear programs that integrate activities related not only to parliamentary strengthening, but also to other elements of democratic governance (e.g. the "deepening democracy" programs supported by DFID and others).

To some degree, these different modalities are chronological and reflect learning within the field. But these phases continue to overlap and all five main modes of support continue to be used.

3.2. ENTRY POINTS FOR PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT PROJECTS

Different organisations put emphasis on different entry points for a parliamentary project. Finding the right entry points for support to parliament depends on several factors: the initial context analysis and needs assessments, on-going reform processes, and positioning of the relevant stakeholders within parliament. As indicated in the DANIDA 2010 How-to-Note on Parliamentary Strengthening, the following five entry points can be identified.⁶⁹

1) INSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Constitutional and Legal Reform. It is an important entry point for addressing structural issues related to the sharing of power between key democratic institutions, to the role and functions of parliament, and to representation. Electoral and political party legislation is important for the composition and political organisation of parliaments. Laws addressing, for

⁶⁴ <http://www.gpgovernance.net/>

⁶⁵ <http://dai.com/our-work/projects/pakistan%E2%80%94legislative-strengthening-program-plsp>

⁶⁶ <http://dai.com/our-work/projects/azerbaijan%E2%80%94parliamentary-program-azerbaijan-ppa>

⁶⁷ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 23

⁶⁸ Report "Mind the Gap: Lessons Learnt and Remaining Challenges in Parliamentary Development Assistance."

⁶⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *How to Note on Parliamentary Strengthening*, Copenhagen, DANIDA, 2010, p. 4-5

example, rules of procedure of parliament and freedom of information may also provide an entry point for support.

Support for a strategic or institutional development planning process, or for the implementation of existing plans. Some parliaments have their own strategic or institutional development plans that might include resource requirements, training programs, procedural reforms and performance indicators.

Strengthening the parliamentary culture. Projects may seek to support key stakeholders to establish a better understanding of procedure, decorum within the plenary session, and to build a productive parliamentary culture. The work of parliamentary committees is also a good entry point for promoting a democratic parliamentary culture through constructive cross-party work.

2) LEGISLATIVE ROLE OF PARLIAMENT

Legislative drafting and scrutiny. If parliaments play an important law-drafting role, training staff in legal drafting will build long-term institutional capacity. Where parliaments merely play a scrutinising role in relation to the passing of new legislation, working with MPs and staff so that they are able to analyse and understand legislation will be central to the parliament's effectiveness.

Projects often focus on issues such as legislative drafting skills, analytical skills to review policies behind draft legislation, public hearings and consultations on draft legislation, legislative impact assessment, and post legislative scrutiny.

3) REPRESENTATIVE ROLE

Improving engagement between politicians and the public. Support may try to encourage greater reporting and accountability to voters by individual MPs, improve public consultation on legislation or policy, or forge better links between parliament and civil society and the media.

Projects that engage with constituency outreach potentially offer direct benefits to citizens, politicians and the parliamentary system as a whole. Parliaments in many developing countries have done particular efforts on outreach, such as encouraging more people to visit parliament, creating mobile parliamentary buses to tour the country and providing information, creating parliamentary radio stations, increasing the number and quality of parliamentary consultations over policy proposals and legislation.

Promoting equality and non-discrimination of minorities and vulnerable groups, including women. Gender equality can be promoted by encouraging a more balanced gender representation among MPs and by sensitising MPs to address inequalities in all aspects of their work.

4) OVERSIGHT ROLE

Financial oversight and budget scrutiny. Some programs work with finance and public accounts committees to improve analysis of government expenditure, oversight of ministers and amendment of the budget. Projects often foster links between parliament and state audit institutions and

regulators who have the capacity to do the detailed scrutiny of spending in specific policy areas.

Improving the effectiveness of committees and the committee system. Programs can strengthen the staffing and organisation of these committees, priorities and committee objectives.

5) ADMINISTRATION

Improving staff organisation and management. Support programs should encourage recruitment as well as staff management policies and guidelines. Professional development and career structures within parliaments to retain staff, and to foster their role as a source of independent advice and guidance for MPs, are important in ensuring some degree of continuity and institutional memory in parliaments.

Improving the infrastructure of parliaments. Parliaments require adequate office space, information technology and documentation facilities (including archives) for them to function properly. However, most parliamentary assistance projects shy away from infrastructure support.

4. THEMATIC/“ISSUE-BASED” SUPPORT

In addition to general, institutional capacity building, there is another form of support called thematic or issue-based support. This form of support seeks to raise the awareness of MPs on policy issues with a view to enhancing the debating ability of MPs and the legislative outputs of parliament. Such approaches do not address the entire political system, as strong interests may be opposed to a general reform agenda. Instead, they provide suitable entry points and a step-by-step route to democratic practice. Following are the most frequently introduced thematic issues.

- ***Parliaments, MDGs and the Post-2015 Development Agenda.*** The post-2015 sustainable development agenda will be the universal framework for global and national efforts to support human development in conjunction with environmental durability. Many projects mobilize parliaments on this theme.
- ***Parliament and crisis prevention and recovery.*** Parliaments sometimes serve as forums for dialogue or partners in negotiations. Projects support parliaments to play a mediation role in local conflicts (Togo) and work with parliaments to develop comprehensive legal framework against gender-based violence (El Salvador). UNDP supported parliamentary working groups in the Arab States, West Africa and Central America on topics such as community security and political violence. DCAF and the OSCE Missions in the Balkans support parliaments to enhance parliamentary oversight of the security sector.
- ***Parliaments and Anti-Corruption.*** Parliaments play a crucial role in combating corruption in line with the UN

Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), including through their oversight of national budgets, government revenues and expenditures, their enactment of key laws criminalising corruption and their ability to hold executives to account. Many parliaments are engaged in the Open Government Partnership and its Legislative Openness Working Group.⁷⁰

- **Parliaments and climate change.** A joint project of UNDP and Climate Parliament aims to strengthen the MPs' capacity in advocacy and monitoring of sustainable energy policy and regulatory reform. The project focuses on ten countries: Bangladesh, Congo-Brazzaville, India, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania and Tunisia. In India, MPs supported by the project, played the lead role in more than doubling India's 2020 renewable energy target to 15% in the new Five Year Plan
- **Parliaments and Extractive Industries.** UNDP's program in Mozambique and Sierra Leone seeks to strengthen the capacity of Parliament and the dedicated Committees dealing with the extractive sector. In Fiji, UNDP assisted the Ministry for Lands and Mineral Resources in the review undertaken on their Mineral (Exploration and Exploitation) Bill 2006.
- **Parliaments and HIV / AIDS.** Several projects advise parliaments and parliamentarians on the need for early reform of domestic laws that negatively impact persons affected by HIV, based upon the recommendations of the Global Commission on HIV and the law. In Myanmar and Jamaica, UNDP supported the legal review and national report on the impact of laws and policies in regards to HIV
- **Parliaments, Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights.** UNDP and IPU have worked together on producing a series of knowledge products to enable parliaments to better understand Indigenous Peoples' rights; to provide practical ideas for their full recognition and implementation. UNDP is also mobilizing indigenous MP's, members of indigenous peoples organisations, NGOs, academia, the UN System, to foster cooperation among parliamentarians on ensuring compliance with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).
- **Women's political participation in parliaments.** Many parliamentary assistance projects include gender mainstreaming in parliament, gender legal reviews and promoting gender-sensitive laws, candidate training, induction and mentoring programs; and awareness campaigns to counter gender stereotyping of candidates. In addition, there are efforts aimed at increasing the numbers of women in parliaments. Progress on women representation in parliament has been slow: women

holding 19.3% of seats in single/ lower houses worldwide in 2011, up from 12% in 1997.⁷¹ Projects from various organisations include support for advocacy and law-making to introduce compulsory quotas for women's parliamentary representation; training for women parliamentary candidates; civic education and voter awareness raising on the value of women in politics.

5. STRATEGIES

The following is a summary of the growing consensus among donors, implementing organisations, and practitioners on what are the key components of sustainable strategies for parliamentary development.

5.1. A POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF PARLIAMENTS - CONDUCTING A POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS (PEA)

Most donors now agree on the need for a detailed analysis of the political context before designing any governance programs, including parliamentary programs. It is recognised that formal rules (constitution, electoral system, rules of procedure, etc.) and individual and organisational capacity play a role in the effectiveness of parliaments and constraints are often not the most important determinants of parliamentary effectiveness. Instead these factor play important roles:

- Historical contingencies influencing state formation, in particular sectarian differences (based on ethnicity, geography, religion) that continue to be played out within state and society;
- The system of government and the *de facto* balance of power between executive and legislature;
- The nature and quality of political parties (e.g. personality-driven parties, ideological parties, identity parties, etc.) and the relations and linkages between parties in parliament;
- The nature of patronage politics and resources that key figures inside and outside parliament (e.g. President or Executive, Speaker, Committee chairs) have at their disposal to influence the behaviour of MPs;
- Criminal and corrupt interests, sometimes shielded by parliamentary immunities;
- Relations between civil society and political parties/MPs;
- Electoral politics and expectations of MPs which can generate tensions between the different core functions of parliaments (e.g. pressures from constituents to deliver services to their districts may lead MPs to spend much more energy on constituency service than on legislating or on oversight);

⁷⁰ <http://www.opengovpartnership.org/get-involved/london-summit-2013/agenda/session/legislative-openness-working-group>

⁷¹ <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world010197.htm>

- The 'winner-takes-all' nature of politics and the short-term perspective this generates, because contenders and their supporters face a significant risk of being completely excluded from the spoils of office after the next electoral contest;
- Widespread apathy and cynicism regarding public affairs, particularly the use of public resources.

Most projects currently are based upon some form of Political Economy Analysis (PEA) to assess these issues and to ensure that they are appropriate to the context. In fragile contexts particularly, organisations like parliaments are often driven much more by informal power relationships than by formal rules.

DFID advocates that a comprehensive governance approach is more likely to be effective than working with parts of the political system (whether parliament or another part) in isolation. As a component of a broader system, a parliament's strength grows along with the strength of a network of government, civil society, media and private sector actors. A weak parliament can be a symptom of problems elsewhere in a political system.⁷² In other words, there is need for political answers to political issues.

However, many donors have found it much more difficult to use the insights emerging from a PEA to develop more strategic, realistic programs that target the underlying causes of parliamentary dysfunction. In many cases there is a gap between the PEA described in a parliamentary Project Document, or a governance-sector wide Project Document for that matter, and the envisaged project activities. While the PEA often reflects an in-depth understanding of the organisational issues, power structures, interests and patterns hampering the development towards a democratic and fully effective parliament, in many cases the envisaged project activities don't match and don't address the issues, structures, and interests. Often, project activities remain at a risk-averse level of a purely technical capacity building level.

While such activities are useful and important, the missing element is, in part, the policy advice and political coaching. Policy advice can address – for instance – the need for sufficient time for parliament and its budget & finance committee to review the government's proposed draft budget. Best practice indicates a required time-period of two to three months prior to final approval of the budget by the legislature. The PEA might identify that in the previous year the budget was discussed and approved in parliament over a period of one week, based upon a very basic review. A workshop as such will not remedy this issue, unless a parliamentary project also engages in consultations, advice and discussions with the parliamentary and political leadership. In doing so, one needs to deal with interests as well.

For consultations and advice to be successful will depend, to a large extent, of the interests of the Speaker, Secretary General and Committee chairpersons in learning and benefitting from such advice, coaching, the experience of other countries, and a possible shift of power in the direction of parliament. This is often already well analysed in the PEA of the project document. A parliamentary project thus needs both a project manager and a policy advisor.

Furthermore, parliamentary support takes place in a broader context of incentives and disincentives that need to be considered. If the political context does not provide significant incentives for MPs to play a significant political role, parliamentary strengthening projects are not likely to have an impact. Donors need to be aware that their own overall relations and policies towards a country impact these incentive structures. In this context, sometimes a well-designed parliamentary monitoring project may have more impact than support activities, by exposing critical weaknesses that run counter to parliament's own presentation or a state's narrative of democratic governance. Thus, monitoring can create incentives for better performance.

Examples of PEA-based parliamentary development projects are scarce, but have begun to emerge (see Annex 6). As noted in the Sida-commissioned report "Mind the gap": *"Some notable efforts to design and implement more politically aware and context-sensitive programs include the NDI's parliamentary work, the NIMD's support to multi-party dialogue, and International IDEA's work with bancadas políticas and on the infiltration of drug money into the political process in Latin America. In addition, some organisations are experimenting with more intensive and hands-on efforts to develop capacity in a more sustainable manner, including, for example, UNDP's deployment of long-term parliamentary mentors or advisers."*

5.2. SUPPORT TO PARLIAMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

There are reasons to look for programmatic synergies in relation to the support to parliaments and political parties.⁷³ First, parties often provide parliamentarians with the main route to election and the means to a political career. Parliamentarians look primarily to their political party for advice and guidance on how they should operate or vote in parliament. Second, parties provide the basis for parliamentary organisation. While the standing orders or parliamentary rules organise the work of parliament, the parties determine the content of the discussions in parliament. The interaction between parties and parliament determines if parliament can operate smoothly. Third, the quality and character of the political parties has a significant

⁷² DFID written submission to the HoC Inquiry on Parliamentary Development, November 2014.

⁷³ Power, G. and Coleman, O., The challenge of political programming: international assistance to parties and parliaments, International IDEA & Global Partners and Associates, Stockholm, November 2011, p. 17-18

impact on the effectiveness of parliament. For example, strongly disciplined parties may - in some cases - mean that the parliament is entirely dominated by the ruling party or the executive. On the other hand, a multiplicity of parties with little discipline or internal cohesion makes parliament unpredictable and difficult to organize. Often political parties deal with the organisation of their parliamentary caucus, how policy positions are pursued in parliament and how manifesto commitments are implemented through the legislative process. A party's electoral appeal is often based, at least in part, on its record in parliament.⁷⁴

Given the level of interdependence, the support to parties and parliaments should be better linked, and objectives and outcomes better aligned.⁷⁵ Most parliamentary projects tackle institutional deficiencies by building the capacity to fulfil certain functions, but that often is too limited. For instance, in some cases parliament is technically proficient and constitutionally capable of holding the government to account, yet it does not. The reason for this is that a ruling party dominates state institutions, including parliament, offering few incentives and many disincentives to exercise oversight effectively. Thus, to understand parliament's weakness, one needs to understand the power balance among parties. Therefore, recognising synergies between both areas will strengthen a country's democratic governance.

Assistance projects often work with MPs on organising themselves to operate effectively as a caucus (organisation, legislative strategy, internal decision making, etc.). Sometimes, party caucuses are interested in clarifying decision-making structures, including discipline and group cohesion, and strategizing on the distribution of legislative resources.

Political parties and their functioning obviously should be put to the same PEA scrutiny of parliaments to understand their real role and significance in a given context.

5.3. CHALLENGES OF BADLY DESIGNED OR POORLY STRATEGISED PARLIAMENTARY PROJECTS

Literature from different organisations and donors reveal the challenges facing the design of parliamentary projects due to an inaccurate or incomplete strategy for parliamentary development.

- Some projects are driven more by the nature of the available supply rather than demand. Such projects will propose techniques that implementers used elsewhere in

governance projects, which are not specific to parliament. For instance, some projects foresee generalist training courses to educate MPs about their roles; templates to rationalise the legislative process; generic codes of conduct to guide behaviour in parliament, or constituency development funds to provide MPs with pots of money to conduct their local activity. Sometimes these initiatives are proposed without clarity if there is real demand.

- Some projects seem to tackle symptoms rather than causes. For instance, a project will propose to hold three public hearings by a committee over a period of one year, without establishing the level of interest and demand to take on board in the legislative review any valuable input from the public. The underlying factors, the prevailing institutional culture and political norms that create the problems are usually left untouched.⁷⁶
- There is little tolerance for risk in parliamentary project design. Many donors still focus on quick, tangible, activities in the short term. Risk-aversion tends to favour focusing on form rather than substance, mainly ensuring that the resources have been allocated according to the right procedure and that the implementing agency complies with the accountability rules, rather than the impact of the work. Hence, the "implementation rate" of the project budget becomes the criteria to measure the extent to which a project is on track, rather than assessing if the objectives are being met. Project officers will thus avoid any political or programmatic risks, which might disrupt the administrative and financial delivery of the project.
- Many parliamentary development projects have not been able yet to put into practice in a consistent way programs that are politically informed, adapted to context and focused on the long term. *"A significant challenge in this respect is that political programming does not fit into off-the-shelf logical frameworks ("logframes"). The most successful programs might be those that are implemented by experienced and specialist staff who are able to recognise opportunities, and experiment and deviate from program documents when such opportunities arise"*⁷⁷ (e.g. when there is interest to adopt anti-corruption legislation, when newly appointed Committee chairpersons take office, when there is public pressure for more transparency, etc.).
- There are various players and stakeholders in parliament (see Annex 5). Each of them constitutes a valuable entry point for parliamentary support and thus opportunities for broad organisation-wide ownership of the project. However, in a number of projects, there is a tendency to concentrate and centralise the project in the Office of the

⁷⁴ De Vrieze, F., Mapping and study on performance indicators for EU support to political parties, Brussels, Published by B&S Europe / European Commission, January 2014

⁷⁵ European Commission, Strengthening democracy support to EU Delegations: from performance indicators, knowledge sharing to expert services. Study on performance indicators for EU Parliamentary Support, September 2012

⁷⁶ Global Partners written submission to the HoC Inquiry on Parliamentary Development, November 2014.

⁷⁷ Mind the Gap, Report Brief, p. 5.

Speaker, thus minimising the ownership of the project. As partnership with parliament is important, how coordination is executed requires careful attention, avoiding the risk of constituting what one practitioner has dismissed as a "Central Planning Committee." Effective parliamentary development requires openness for plural approaches, giving space for building skills of MPs of ruling parties and opposition, Human Resources Departments and specialised Committee clerks, civil society and media, etc.

- A parliamentary development strategy must be the result of an inclusive and multiparty process and consider the absorption capacity of the parliament. It should be parliament-designed. As rightly stated by Dirk Toonstra, governments should not play a direct role in approving, managing or overseeing parliamentary development programs.⁷⁸ However, for many funding organisations the concept of national ownership means agreement with government, i.e. the executive branch of power. This results in the executive having approval powers on administrative, financial and political aspects of parliamentary strengthening; this in itself is antithetic to the idea of parliamentary strengthening.

5.4. LESSONS LEARNED ON PARLIAMENTARY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Many parliamentary development organisations have summarized their lessons learned on several occasions and in different formats. Despite the different content and approaches taken, a number of common lessons learned can be identified. Following is a short overview.⁷⁹

5.4.1. BETTER CONTEXTUALIZATION

There is need for better contextualisation of proposed interventions. There is no generic, one-size-fits-all approach to parliamentary strengthening. The variety of parliamentary structures, political systems, party systems, and electoral systems is so great that one must customise approaches to the prevailing conditions.⁸⁰ Furthermore, a blueprint approach is not advisable because politics and parliaments are dynamic. They are moving targets that require flexibility over time. For donors, contextualisation requires politically savvy analysts who can monitor developments in an impartial manner, produce political economy analyses and adjust interventions accordingly.

5.4.2. LONG-TERM COMMITMENT

Because political change happens at different speed and mostly slowly, support to parliament must be based on a multi-year commitment. Projects that last less than two years (which have occurred on occasion) are unlikely to be able to follow through on the process of parliamentary decision-making and implementation of project proposals. Projects which last less than two years sometimes make an assessment and formulate policy proposals to improve the parliamentary performance, but are no longer in place when the Bureau of Parliament makes a decision, or when implementation is about to start. Although elements of a project might be focussed on a particular committee or staff section, project should seek to have a wider impact, and attempt to impact upon structures and procedures of the institution. In addition, establishing a model of good practice should be accompanied by dissemination and incentives for emulation by other committees.⁸¹ In this way sustainability has better chance. It requires a long-term commitment to the institutional development of that particular parliament.

The NORAD study states: "a decade would by no means be excessive. It should be recalled that electoral cycles are typically 4–5 years. Hence, the duration of an intervention over two electoral cycles would be justified, preferably even three or more."⁸² The Report from the HoC inquiry writes that "DFID governance advisers told us that in their view effective parliamentary strengthening requires promoting change over a 20-year horizon, rather than being achievable in standard 3-year projects, or short-term visits."⁸³

5.4.3. DEMAND-DRIVEN DONOR SUPPORT

Formal engagement with parliamentary strengthening projects should, at best, result from a demand for external assistance and reflect real needs. Parliamentary strengthening efforts stand a chance of succeeding only if they are based on thorough needs assessments produced in conjunction with the parliament concerned. However, parliaments are not monolithic entities speaking with one voice, and mostly operate with a dose of patronage. Expressed demand may thus not always reflect real needs. The planning of interventions should, therefore, bring on board parliament's permanent staff (partisan and non-partisan), MPs, the political parties and other relevant stakeholders. The Speaker and the Clerk are key actors. A suitable vehicle for implementation would probably be a steering committee comprising a variety of interests represented in parliament.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Written evidence to the HoC Inquiry by Dick F. Toonstra, Former director of the Office for Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy of the European Parliament, November 2014

⁷⁹ See also: World Bank Written Submission for the HoC inquiry on parliamentary development, November 2014

⁸⁰ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 42-47

⁸¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *How to Note on Parliamentary Strengthening*, Copenhagen, DANIDA, 2010, p. 6

⁸² NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 48

⁸³ House of Commons International Development Committee, *Parliamentary Strengthening Report*, HC 704, published 27 January 2015, London, p. 27

⁸⁴ NORAD-commissioned Study by Chr. Michelsen Institute, p. 49

Interventions should preferably be based on strategic plans for parliamentary development that are owned locally. To reinforce domestic ownership it would be worth bringing in stakeholders outside parliament who are nonetheless interested in strengthening parliament's functions, e.g. CSOs.

5.4.4. INTEGRATED APPROACH

Parliaments are part of the chain of accountability. Support to parliamentary development should be complementary to other governance efforts such as constitutional reform, electoral reform, political parties, justice sector reform, public financial management, anti-corruption programs, civic education, media and gender programs.

No lasting effects can be generated from support to a single actor or institution in isolation from its political and institutional environment and linkages and interaction with other democratic actors. Technical interventions like training of MPs, installing electronic voting systems, or building the capacities of parliamentary staff or committees do not bear much fruit if the level playing field remains uneven, the party system flawed, and the behaviour of individual parliamentarians unchanged. To have transformative impact, it is essential to invest in deeper democracy and embark on an integrated approach, that combines hard core technical and institutional support to democratic institutions like Parliament, political parties, electoral managed bodies and oversight institutions, with softer skills like positive behavioural skills.

While it is important to treat parliaments as part of the broader political system and integrate support with other areas of assistance, this does not mean that every single project proposal should be a wider governance project and that parliamentary support can only be given in direct connection with civil society or media support. The donor should apply a common framework of governance assistance, while remaining flexible to finance either governance projects as well as specific projects for parliaments, parties, civil society, media, etc.

5.4.5. TARGET-GROUP SPECIFIC SUPPORT

Knowledge and skills transfer to parliament staff can be provided by parliamentary experts, colleagues from the administration from other jurisdictions, or external consultants. Some countries have a parliamentary training institute, enable internships abroad, or support participation in post-graduate programs for parliament staff.

Support to members of parliament requires another approach. "Training of MPs" is not much appreciated by MPs. Knowledge building and skills transfer can be best conducted by fellow MPs or at executive knowledge programs. The time available to MPs to participate in any program is often more limited; thus careful and time-sensitive design of the proposed initiative is required. In specific circumstances, peer-to-peer support for MPs is more suitable with MPs from the same region / sub continent (South-South exchange and learning).

In other circumstances and due to political reasons, it might be better to have a fellow MP from a region further away. The approach applied needs to be politically savvy.

5.4.6. POLICY ISSUES AS ENTRY POINT

MPs are often in dire need of information about specific policy areas: issue-based approaches provide useful entry points. One of the lessons learned is that, it should not be forgotten that thematic events run the risk of being futile efforts if not linked to parliamentary work. It is necessary, therefore, to include participants who are conversant with parliamentary procedures, as well as general political context analysis with a view to exploiting the imparted knowledge for parliamentary purposes such as preparing laws or policy papers. DRI usually develops good access to MPs by catering to their need for policy advice at specific junctures of the legislative process.

The information provided by thematic experts and CSOs should not be delivered as an external knowledge source only, as that would undermine the very purpose of strengthening the functioning of parliament. Channelling external thematic expertise into parliament only contributes to parliamentary strengthening if the project accompanies the institutional development by enhancing the research or committee departments in making use of the information and building its own knowledge hub in a sustainable way. On some occasions, external experts were appreciated by the MPs to the extent that it discouraged the parliament staff and did not contribute to identifying the need for parliament research resources.⁸⁵

5.4.7. CONNECTING NATIONAL AND SUPRA-NATIONAL PROGRAMS

Many MPs participate in supra-national parliamentary assemblies and networks. Several donors and implementers (OSCE, NDI, WFD, EP-PAAU) have developed regional capacity building programs. Linking national parliamentary development goals to regional programs may help increase awareness of common institutional challenges. Parliamentarians from the same region can engage more easily together than alone on sensitive or controversial issues. The newly established Parliamentary Assembly for the South East Europe Cooperation Process (SEEC PA) provides a new opportunity for enhanced cooperation and learning among peers for the region of SEE.

5.5. SUB-NATIONAL (REGIONAL) ASSEMBLIES

Local governance support and decentralization are important areas of work in the governance sector. As is the case for parliamentary strengthening, also in this thematic area there are many players and stakeholders, strategies, methods and

⁸⁵ The pros and cons of an issue-based approach to parliamentary strengthening are discussed in 2010 NORAD-commissioned Study, p. 58.

types of activities. An inclusive governance programming approach needs to be built on a Political Economy Analysis (PEA) that will recognise the distinct and the common features for both areas of parliamentary support and local governance support.

Common features include the role of political parties, the often dominant role of the executive over the central / local assembly, the performance of the elected bodies in oversight of the executive (government / mayor), the (gap in) outreach and communication towards the citizens. A PEA might also identify common trends in coalition building, for instance when coalition parties at the central level prefer to work together at local or municipal level as well, or are encouraging their local party branches to do so.

Assistance projects in the area of local governance will be facing issues that are common to parliamentary assistance projects. If the local governance project intends to give proper attention to the sub-national (regional) assemblies or municipal assemblies, they will be faced with similar issues on the role of the executive and the party leadership of coalition parties.

Information on the state of affairs of local governance projects can be reviewed at the "2014 State of Participatory Democracy Report".⁸⁶ This report analyses decentralization and local governance in 34 countries around the globe. It is rich in updated content and most importantly international expertise, where it provides case studies and comparative briefings formulated by key international experts. The report has been prepared by the so-called "Hunger Project," a program based in Washington DC and funded by UN Democracy Fund.

As rightly stated at the SDC-Governance Seminar (January 2015), the area of local governance support and decentralization is an area of work in its own right.

6. REFERENCE FRAMEWORKS

6.1. BENCHMARKS FOR DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTS⁸⁷

In terms of international legal obligations, parliaments are an essential avenue of organising political participation (Article 25 ICCPR). If the elected institutions do not play a significant role in the political process, the right to political participation would become meaningless. The UN's Human Rights Committee noted in its comment on Article 25: "where citizens participate in the conduct of public affairs through freely chosen representatives, it is implicit in Article 25 that

those representatives do in fact exercise governmental power."⁸⁸ The case law of the Human Rights Committee confirms some minimum powers that a democratic parliament needs to have including supervision of the executive and legislative powers.⁸⁹

Such principles also form a shared constitutional tradition of many states. They have been articulated in more detail by international organisations, including the IPU, CPA, APF, WBI and UNDP, which have worked together based upon the shared understanding that the development of standards and assessment frameworks can contribute to a parliament's own evaluative and reform efforts, as well as guide parliamentary development practitioners and donors in designing more appropriate support programs. In 2006 a CPA⁹⁰ parliamentary study group produced a set of *Recommended Benchmarks for Democratic Legislatures*. The APF⁹¹ used the CPA benchmarks as a foundation for the development of its own set of criteria to suit the traditions and practices of Francophone parliaments. The IPU collected examples of good practice from 75, or around half, of IPU's member parliaments. These examples formed the basis for the 2006 IPU publication *Parliament and democracy in the 21st century: a guide to good practice* and the IPU's subsequent *Self-assessment Toolkit* in 2008.

During a March 2010 conference in Paris, all organisations mentioned above alongside the European Commission and European Parliament, took stock of the process and identified issues of consensus between the regional and global benchmarks. The 2006 CPA Recommended Benchmarks for Democratic Legislatures, which is a list of best practices and a method of increasing accountability through the use of benchmarks and indicators, remains the reference document. During 2010-2011 CPA developed specific regionalized benchmarks for the Asia-Pacific, Americas and Africa regions.

6.2. COMMON PRINCIPLES FOR PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT

Taking note of the parliamentary strengthening activities over the last years, IPU has led an inclusive process to distil this collective experience into a suite of 'Common Principles for Support to Parliaments.'

The Common Principles are intended to assist partners engaged in parliamentary support and parliaments worldwide to work together with improved relevance, sensitivity and effectiveness. The Principles were adopted by IPU's governing bodies at the 131st Assembly in Geneva in October 2014. A

⁸⁸ General Comment 25 (1996), paragraph 7

⁸⁹ For an elaboration on this, please see the Swiss-funded report by DRI and The Carter Center, *Strengthening International Law to Support Democratic Governance and Genuine Elections*, 2012, page 15-16. The report can be downloaded here: http://democracy-reporting.org/files/dri_report_strengthening_democratic_governance_.pdf

⁹⁰ CPA (2006), *Benchmarks for Democratic Legislatures: A Study Group Report*, London, CPA, p. 8

⁹¹ <http://apf.francophonie.org/>

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<https://stateofparticipatorydemocracy.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/spdr14.pdf>

⁸⁷ <http://www.agora-parl.org/standardsfordemocraticparliaments>

formal endorsement ceremony is planned during IPU's 132nd Assembly in Hanoi, Viet Nam (28 March - 1 April, 2015). They will be made available for further endorsement by parliaments, parliamentary strengthening organisations, donors and other groups that work to strengthen parliament.

The Principles are intended to provide an inclusive and enabling framework for partners which: 1) reflects an effective, practical approach to support for parliaments; 2) takes full account of the uniqueness of each parliamentary institution, while recognizing emerging international standards encompassing all democratic parliaments; 3) emphasizes inclusive, multi-party parliamentary ownership over its development and change process; 4) advances a culture of partnership, trust and mutual respect. In particular, the Principles are designed to promote good communication and cooperation at local, regional, and global levels and to assist in ensuring that partners' roles and responsibilities in providing parliamentary support are transparent, mutually agreed, and complementary. The Common Principles comprise one over-arching General Principle and nine further focused Principles.

Common Principles for Support to Parliaments

General Principle:

Effective parliaments are essential to democracy, the rule of law, human rights, gender equality, and economic and social development. Parliaments require access to excellent technical support in order to contribute fully in these areas

Specific Principles:

1. Parliamentary support partners are guided by the needs of parliament
2. Parliamentary support partners are attentive to the multiple, overlapping social, economic, and political contexts in which parliaments operate
3. Parliamentary support aims for sustainable outcomes
4. Parliamentary support is inclusive of all political tendencies
5. Parliamentary support is grounded in emerging international democratic parliamentary standards
6. Parliamentary support addresses the needs and potential of women and men equally in the structure, operation, methods and work of parliament
7. Parliamentary support utilizes locally and regionally available expertise
8. Parliamentary support partners and parliaments commit to excellent coordination and communication
9. Parliamentary support partners act ethically and responsibly

7. MAIN ACTIVITIES

While activities in parliamentary project are diverse, the following non-exhaustive set of typical activities can be identified, across political systems, implementing organisations or donor agencies.⁹²

7.1. INDUCTION AND ORIENTATION FOR NEW MPS

Induction and orientation programs can be an effective part of shaping the parliamentary culture immediately after an election. The process could start by working with parliamentary authorities months before an election to anticipate the needs of new MPs. Senior staff of parliament, senior MPs and former MPs usually participate as resource persons to the induction program. Sometimes fellow MPs from other jurisdictions or parliamentary experts can be invited as well. AGORA has developed an e-learning program "Parliaments in Practice." It is an on-line induction program for MPs, with various modules on the functions of parliament and related testimonies.

7.2. MENTORING AND SUPPORT TO COMMITTEES

Committees' staff and members need to develop their internal practices, procedures and working methods. Projects can assist in developing work plans or provide on-the-job training for committee staff, policy advice to committee chairpersons. Projects can assist in preparing the organisation of Committee public hearings by suggesting Standard Operating Procedures and templates for public hearings, recommend the development of expert rosters, support the organisation of mobile Committee sessions, assist in creating a parliamentary research service.

7.3. PARLIAMENTARY EXCHANGES AND NETWORKING

A prominent feature of donor support is exchange visits between MPs from developing democracies to their counterparts in Europe or North America, and vice versa. Some programs promote regional exchange visits between parliaments and the participation in regional networks of MPs.

Exchange visits can be useful when tied to specific objectives relevant to the legislative or oversight agenda of parliament, when the MPs are required to share the knowledge and experience with fellow MPs and suggestions are provided on how to apply the experience upon return. Some parliaments have regulated that each exchange visit needs to result in a report (drafted by staff and approved by the Committee or

⁹² Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *How to Note on Parliamentary Strengthening*, Copenhagen, DANIDA, 2010, p. 6-7

delegation). In post-conflict environments – as in the Western Balkans – multi-party delegations have contributed to overcome inter-ethnic tensions among MPs due to the common experience abroad.

7.4. TRAINING FOR SPECIFIC SKILLS

A dominant feature of support for parliamentary development is training for both staff and MPs. Training built on abstract principles such as ‘how to be an MP’ will have only a limited effect unless it is part of wider reform initiatives – training should, ultimately, help people in their day to day work. Training should thus be focussed on specific skills such as legislative drafting skills; Internet research and drafting background notes; chairing a meeting, conflict resolution and mediation; understanding international commitments; etc. Training should be provided by trainers who understand the political and institutional context.

In recent years, the establishment of parliamentary training institutes has become a significant trend in parliamentary development. While not all developing parliaments have reached such a stage, many have established or have been working to establish their own internal or arms-length body with a mandate to develop the capacity of MPs and staff; often with support of donor-funded parliamentary projects.

- The Parliamentary Centre in Canada has supported the establishment and/or strengthening of the Parliamentary Institute of Cambodia and the Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training of Kenya.
- USAID has supported the establishment of the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS) and the Kyrgyzstan Parliamentary Institute.
- UNDP has supported the functioning of a Training Centre in the Parliament of Georgia.
- WFD has supported the Nigerian Institute of Legislative Studies.
- SDC has supported the Parliamentary Institute in Macedonia.
- SIDA has supported the Cambodia Development Resource Institute.⁹³

The emergence of these training institutes provides an opportunity to achieve sustainable results with relatively modest investment of resources. There is no single recommendation if an institute outside of parliament hierarchy or within parliament is most suitable. A lot depends on the political cultural, personal relationships and organisational structure of the administration of parliament.

7.5. DEVELOPING COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH PROGRAMS

The development of communication and outreach programs towards the public can contribute to transparency, accountability and accessibility. Some projects assist parliaments in developing a Communication and Outreach Strategic Plan, assist in setting up a parliamentary radio station (in many sub-Saharan African legislatures) or a parliamentary TV-channel, enhance parliament outreach

⁹³ http://www.sida.se/contentassets/6df027ff12304fcab50bca5b60379002/mid-term-review-of-sweden8217s-support-to-the-cambodia-development-resource-institute---final-report_3744.pdf

through new social media, etc. Some projects focus on enhancing parliamentary reporting⁹⁴ or assist in the creation of a Parliamentary Reporters Association.⁹⁵ The "Global Parliamentary Report" provides a good overview of innovative project activities involving social media, outreach to youth and schools, public consultations, and constituency relations.

8. MEASURING IMPACT

This chapter will discuss the question of monitoring, evaluation and measuring impact of parliamentary projects. It takes into account the relevant literature⁹⁶ and written submissions to the HoC Inquiry.

- Some project evaluations over-emphasise quantitative criteria, such as whether implementers have spent the money they said they would, trained the requisite number of people or produced the estimated number of publications. This information tells us something about activities, but very little about impact.⁹⁷ Changes to the parliamentary procedures or increasing the parliamentary staffing levels, as a result of proposals by a parliamentary assistance project, do not necessarily capture improvements in the quality of parliamentary oversight, for example, or improvements in quality of legislation adopted.⁹⁸ It is difficult to measure the outcome of many ‘corridor’ discussions that result in solutions to very political problems.⁹⁹
- The project-produced evidence for expected impacts in these areas is limited due to difficulties in monitoring, evaluating and assessing value for money. The DANIDA-paper identifies four challenges to parliamentary project M&E:¹⁰⁰ (1) defining what constitutes meaningful political change; (2) identifying realistic ways of measuring it; (3) proving that a particular project contributed to observable change (the so-called ‘attribution question’); (4) dealing with time, because real project impact requires years.
- As the Study "Mind the gap" indicated, donors and other stakeholders need new approaches to managing and communicating results if they are to become brokers of meaningful change and if they are to design programs that help parliaments address the root causes of their dysfunction (rather than symptoms).
- Therefore, program managers need the space to work with stakeholders in the early stages of a program to identify realistic, intermediate outcomes, as well as

⁹⁴ WFD examined the role of parliamentary reporting in emerging democracies. <http://www.wfd.org/wfd-news/latest/news.aspx?p=109780>

⁹⁵ UNDP Pakistan assisted in the creation of the Pakistan Parliamentary Reporters Association: <https://www.facebook.com/prapakistan>

⁹⁶ Kumar, K., *Evaluating Democracy Assistance*, Lynne Rienner Publishers: Colorado/London, 2013. UNDP, *Handbook On Planning, Monitoring And Evaluating For Development Results*, New York, 2009, p. 232

⁹⁷ Global Partners Written Submission to the House of Commons Inquiry, November 2014.

⁹⁸ DFID Written Submission to the HoC Inquiry, November 2014.

⁹⁹ IPU Written Submission to the HoC Inquiry, November 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *How to Note on Parliamentary Strengthening*, Copenhagen, DANIDA, 2010, p. 7-8

appropriate indicators, and to revise activities as conditions change. This requires M&E frameworks that focus on reporting against agreed processes and higher-level strategic objectives. By contrast, program managers are unlikely to design transformative programs if they are held to fixed, *ex ante* logframes and/or put under pressure to undertake activities that produce quick and easily measurable outputs or results.¹⁰¹

- To make a meaningful evaluation of the impact of a project requires clear and realistic objectives, and reliable and valid indicators agreed with the parliament. Outcome and output indicators include both quantitative measures as well as looking at the quality of the impact. In doing so, projects need to be better attuned to risk, and focus on qualitative dimensions of parliamentary effectiveness. Programs can begin to get some traction on this by accepting more realistic intermediate outcomes and appropriate activities.
- Moreover, parliaments themselves need to be made responsible for setting their own progress targets, which can then be absorbed into project documentation. Making MPs, committees and staff responsible for setting and then hitting the targets, increases ownership and chances of long-lasting political change.¹⁰²
- DFID recommends that parliaments and programs use international standards and benchmarks as frameworks to identify goals, outcomes, outputs and targets. As a result, programs should focus on accountability and oversight objectives rather than specific training activities. They should combine subjective and objective indicators to make a rounded assessment of progress and try to ensure that there is space for flexible programming, adapting methods as needed throughout the course of the work. With such benchmarks and indicators, parliaments, bilateral donors and multilateral agencies alike can determine if progress has been made against appropriate benchmarks, and then explain impact in terms of contribution, rather than attribution, to that progress.¹⁰³
- Projects based upon these benchmarks and indicators need to be developed following a solid baseline assessment. The subsequent data collection should be related to sources already being collected.
- When a mid-term or final evaluation is conducted, it needs to be able to grasp important aspects of the process of change over the course of a project, the learning that took place, the behavioural or mind-set change, the corridor discussions that changed the course of parliamentary action. As IPU stresses, a pre-requisite to the success of any parliamentary strengthening work is building relationships and trust. Any support work must start with people, not structures, reforming institutions is about changing behaviour.¹⁰⁴

- The EC has published two reference documents on the development of project indicators, one document on indicators for parliamentary projects¹⁰⁵ and one document on indicators for political party projects.¹⁰⁶ Impact indicators can be situated between the meta-level (on the state of democracy of a country) and the micro-level (if project activities were implemented as planned). Impact indicators should be developed for the meso-level, analysing the impact of project activities on the functioning of parliament / political parties.

9. IMPLEMENTATION MODALITIES

9.1. TWINNING

Twinning is a frequently used implementation modality by the EC for cooperation projects between public administrations of EU Member States and of EU candidate countries, potential candidates and countries covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy.

EC twinning projects enable direct assistance of one parliament to another parliament. Parliamentary twinning can facilitate support for the transposition, implementation and enforcement of the EU legislation (the *acquis*). Twinning also strives to share good practices developed within the EU with beneficiary public administrations. In EC-funded projects, two Project Leaders (one on behalf of the Member State leading the project, the other of the beneficiary administration) and a Resident Twinning Adviser (RTA) are the backbone of Twinning projects. The RTA coordinates the project and is seconded from the lead Member State to the beneficiary administration for a minimum of 12 months.

Examples are the current parliamentary twinning project in Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the leadership of the Hungarian Parliament, and the previous twinning project in Albania, under the leadership of the French National Assembly. Both are financed under the Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA).

"Twinning Light" is designed to offer a more flexible, mid-term approach (up to six months) without the presence of a RTA permanently located in the beneficiary administration. As an example, we can mention the IPA-support to the Assembly of Kosovo. After having benefitted from a twinning project in 2011-2012, the Assembly of Kosovo continued to receive assistance through a "twinning light" project.¹⁰⁷

The EC has published a 'Twinning Manual' to assist its "twinning network", which consists of National Contact Points

¹⁰¹ Mind the gap, Executive Summary, pg. 10

¹⁰² Global Partners Governance Written Submission to HoC Inquiry, November 2014

¹⁰³ World Bank Written Contribution to the HoC Inquiry, November 2014

¹⁰⁴ IPU Written Submission to HoC inquiry, November 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Murphy, J., Study on performance indicators for EU support to parliaments, Brussels, European Commission, September 2012, p. 42

¹⁰⁶ De Vrieze, F., *Mapping and study on performance indicators for EU support to political parties*, Brussels, Published by B&S Europe / European Commission, January 2014, p. 135

¹⁰⁷ http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/tenders/twinning/index_en.htm

Institution Building in the Member States and in the IPA Beneficiaries.

9.2. GRANTS

The EC makes direct financial contributions in the form of grants in support of projects or organisations that further the interests of the EU or contribute to the implementation of an EU program or policy. Interested parties can apply by responding to calls for proposals.

The EC has agreed a special framework for cooperation with the UN, the Financial and Administrative Framework Contract, in place since 2003.¹⁰⁸ The framework agreement is implemented through contract templates or "contribution-specific agreements."¹⁰⁹ The FAFA is used for e.g. grants to electoral and parliamentary assistance projects. EC Delegations decide if an EC-funded project will be awarded to UNDP or be tendered for a service contract.

USAID also provides grants to organisations that have a long-term presence on the ground, such as NDI or IRI, after receiving a programmatic proposal for approval and funding.

The work of UNDP and NDI demonstrates that the long-term in-country presence can be a particular advantage for parliamentary projects as it enables more detailed knowledge of the national context, which is beneficial in conducting a PEA, and building relationships of trust with key stakeholders, which is important for advising the political or organisational change envisaged by the project.

Some of the grants of donors are managed through a multi-donor "basket fund". By using the "basket fund" mechanism, a donor wants to optimise the resources of its development assistance while simplifying administrative procedures. Over the last decade, DFID, Norad and Sida have channelled a large portion of their funding through "basket funds" while USAID did not work through "basket funds" and rather preferred to work in cooperation with other bilateral partners.¹¹⁰

9.3. TENDERS FOR CONTRACTS

To provide for consultancy services, studies, technical assistance, training and conferences USAID, EC, DFID and other donors often contract private consultancy companies.

On some occasions, the donor agency commissions large governance projects of which parliamentary strengthening is a part. The reason for the large size contracts is that a donor agency might be under pressure to manage large budgets with

few staff, so their time is precious.¹¹¹ It implies that the donor agency provides large contracts to big, sometimes non-specialist organisations that sub-contract to others. Designing programs at this large scale has implications for smaller suppliers, which are often organisations that are more specialized in a particular area as e.g. parliamentary strengthening.

Global Partners Governance argues "when donor agencies land heavily in a parliamentary institution, they frequently remove any sense of local control. The arrival of a large program can often either simply maximise political resistance to outside 'experts' telling them what to do, or increase dependency on external support as international implementers end up doing work instead of parliamentary staff."¹¹²

USAID, EC and DFID have established a procedure of pre-approved consortia of large consultancy companies that receive invitations to tender first. Smaller companies are invited to those projects when the dominant company in the consortium chooses to bring them as sub-contractors.

The HoC International Development Committee expressed reservations about this procedure, as far as DFID is concerned, because "it increases the tendency to put good project management skills at higher value than specialist expertise."¹¹³ Due to the mandatory, detailed rules for reporting and auditing, a strong "back stopping" office is needed in order to oversee such large projects. The staff and time needed to do so are often only available to large consultancy companies and rarely available to smaller, expertise oriented organisations. The HoC Development Committee recommends that, when DFID has to commission larger suppliers, it explicitly nominate the expert organisations to which larger suppliers should sub-contract.

The providers are mostly selected via calls for tender. The human resources needed to prepare the technical and financial proposals are extensive. Some national parliaments (France, Hungary) have established a project team to prepare the dossiers and engage in the bidding process.

We tend to agree with Global Partners Governance that, while there is a role for large technical programs, there is a strong argument for a greater variety in the programs commissioned.¹¹⁴ If the objective is to achieve political and behavioural reform, smaller scale programs are likely to be more effective, increasing the chance of local ownership and long-lasting impact on the effectiveness of parliament.

¹⁰⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/partners/humanitarian_aid/fafa/agreement_en.pdf

¹⁰⁹ http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/funding/procedures-beneficiary-countries-and-partners/fafa-united-nations_en

¹¹⁰ Mind the gap, pg. 26

¹¹¹ Oral Evidence by Minister of State Desmond Swayne MP at the HoC Inquiry, 25 November 2014.

¹¹² Global Partners Written Submission to HoC Inquiry, December 2014.

¹¹³ House of Commons International Development Committee, Parliamentary Strengthening Report, HC 704, published 27 January 2015, London, p. 4 ; 43.

¹¹⁴ Global Partners Governance Written submission to the HoC Inquiry on Parliamentary Development, January 2015.

9.4. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND INFORMATION EXCHANGE (TAIEX)¹¹⁵

TAIEX (Technical Assistance and Information Exchange) is a EU instrument that helps partner countries become acquainted with, apply, and enforce EU law, and monitor their progress in doing so. It funds short-term peer-to-peer technical assistance, advice and training, provided mainly in 3 ways: workshops attended by officials from beneficiaries' administrations; expert missions that provide in-depth advice to beneficiaries' administrations; study visits to EU countries' administrations.

TAIEX assistance is open to civil servants working in public administrations (national, regional, etc.). This includes associations of local authorities, judiciary and law enforcement authorities, parliaments and their staff, professional or commercial associations, workers and employers' groups, translators and revisers of legislative texts. TAIEX assistance is not available to private citizens or individual companies.

TAIEX has been instrumental in the parliamentary development area for short-term expertise and support to the organisation of conferences. However, no comprehensive information was received in terms of number of TAIEX interventions with parliament, which parliaments have benefitted, or for which amounts.

¹¹⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/tenders/taiox/index_en.htm

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ANNEX 2: CURRENT UNDP-IMPLEMENTED PARLIAMENTARY PROJECTS (INFORMATION AS RECEIVED FROM UNDP)

MAPPING of Active UNDP Parliamentary Development Projects & Activities (2013-2014)				
Region	#	Country	Project Title/Description/Activities	Program Period
Africa	1	Benin	<p>Support Program for Capacity Building and Modernization of the National Assembly of Benin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -development of a parliamentary strategic and modernization plan -strengthening the capacities of the parliamentary institution, including oversight -strengthening parliamentary outreach and communication by establishing an e-parliament -strengthening the capacity of the parliament to analyze and monitor the implementation of public policies including the growth strategy for poverty reduction and the MDGs -improving South-South exchanges with parliaments from the region -promoting the participation of women in legislative work -enhancing transparency to improve public perception of the parliament 	2014-2018
	1	Burkina Faso	<p>Governance Strengthening Program – Section A: Parliamentary Institution; strengthen the legislative and oversight functions of parliament; enhance parliamentary interaction/relationship with the parliament. UNDP is currently conducting a final evaluation of the Parliament's Strategic Development Plan (2004-2014). Given the political situation, UNDP is looking to revise its program, establish a transition support project to which existing and additional resources can be allocated. Part of the current program will be put on hold until the situation allows or warrants its continuation.</p>	2011-2015
	1	Burundi	<p>Ce program d'appui vise au renforcement des capacités des parlementaires dans l'accomplissement de leurs missions essentielles de législation, de contrôle de l'action gouvernementale et de représentation. Celui-ci prévoit également la poursuite et la consolidation de la caravane parlementaire, la mise en place d'un caucus de femmes parlementaires et le renforcement des capacités des élus nationaux, la fourniture d'outils nécessaires pour le travail d'un Parlement moderne, les offres d'expertises et de voyages d'études aux membres des commissions parlementaires qui doivent mettre à profit ces échanges d'expériences. Le volet communication n'a pas été oublié dans ce plan de travail. Bien au contraire, partant du constat que le Parlement est au cœur de la démocratie, les deux parties ont convenu de la pertinence du devoir d'information envers les citoyens afin que ces derniers puissent, par le truchement des médias, suivre, comprendre, et également juger le travail et l'action des parlementaires qu'ils ont élus</p>	2014-
	1	Cameroon	CO is involved with Parliament in some of their activities (gender, climate change, fight against corruption, etc.).	

1	Comoros	<p>Establishment of the first Youth Parliament Organization of parliamentary elections to be held in the first quarter 2015 - will lead to the establishment of a new Parliament with Representatives (National Assembly) and the islands of Councillors (Island Councils). UNDP envisions a support project for capacity building of the Union Assembly, which would be based on three components: (i) improvement of parliamentary work of two important committees of the Assembly, namely the Law Commission and the Finance Committee (ii) support for all Parliamentarians through (a) leadership development and (b) the prevention and management of conflicts (iii) Development of Participatory Governance (promotion of accountability). On the latter aspect, the focus will be on the development of interaction between Parliamentarians and citizens.</p>	2015-
1	Cote d'Ivoire	<p>Institutional support to the Ivorian National Assembly (2013-2016)The UNDP CO is leading the UNCT support to the Parliament and play a key role in coordinating the partner support (shared lead with USAID).Activities include training on ALPC for the Women’s Caucus, Climate Change; Ebola support to the Parliament.1. L’Assemblée Nationale, dans toutes ses composantes (députés, cabinet du Président, administration parlementaire), est renforcé dans l’opérationnalisation du cadre stratégique, notamment la formulation, la mise en œuvre inclusive d’un plan d’action pluriannuel, la coordination des partenaires, la communication parlementaire, la mobilisation de ressources nécessaires (Matrice sur les actions transversales) (Axe V.1.1) ; 2. Les capacités des députés à promouvoir la réconciliation nationale sont renforcées et l’Assemblée Nationale ivoirienne mieux outillée pour légiférer de manière pertinente en matière de prévention des conflits et réconciliation nationale (Axe V.2.5) ;3. L’Assemblée Nationale ivoirienne est mieux outillée pour appuyer la réforme du système judiciaire et la transposition dans le dispositif national des engagements internationaux de la Côte d’Ivoire en matière de promotion des droits de l’homme et des droits de l’enfant (Axe V.2.6) ;4. Les capacités de l’Assemblée Nationale sont renforcées pour l’adoption de loi et le contrôle de l’action gouvernementale en matière de promotion du genre (Axe V.2.7) ;5. Le cadre législatif de protection des personnes vulnérables est renforcé (Axe V.2.8) ;6. L’Assemblée Nationale dispose de compétences renforcées pour entretenir un travail d’information et de sensibilisation permanente et soutenir la mise en œuvre des politiques relatives au développement durable et aux OMDs (Axe V.2.9) ;7. Le développement de la diplomatie parlementaire contribue aux efforts de reconstruction nationale et au repositionnement de la Côte d’Ivoire (Axe V.2.10).</p>	2013-2015
1	Democratic Republic of Congo	<p>Ce projet vise à approfondir le renforcement des capacités des institutions parlementaires afin de permettre aux membres des institutions concernées d’être plus efficaces et proches des populations. Il vise également l’amélioration du cadre légal de l’administration publique, en vue de la modernisation des structures administratives de l’Etat. Le projet envisage d’apporter un appui technique à certaines commissions du Parlement et des Assemblées provinciales ainsi qu’aux structures techniques des ministères, en vue d’aider à la formulation de propositions et projets de lois et d’édits dans des secteurs prioritaires. Cet appui se traduit par l’assistance juridique dans la rédaction des textes, l’appui logistique aux commissions, ainsi que des formations spécialisées dans le domaine de la légistique. L’appui juridique envisagé aux commissions et aux ministères est soutenu par un plaidoyer stratégique auprès des autorités et des bureaux parlementaires en vue d’assurer aux propositions et projets de lois et d’édits les succès escomptés. Par ailleurs, le cadre juridique et les efforts législatifs du pays étant peu connus, le projet entend intervenir à travers des actions de vulgarisation des principales lois et édits promulgués.</p>	2013-2017

1	Ethiopia	<p>UNDP Ethiopia is supporting the Ethiopian parliament within the framework of a two-year governance program called Strengthening Democratic Governance Program (SDGP). The strategic orientation of the project is to enhance government responsiveness to sustainable development by strengthening institutions, mechanisms and processes that facilitate and promote transparency, accountability, rule of law/justice, and wider participation. The House of Peoples' Representative (HOPR) is one of the beneficiaries of this program.</p> <p>Output1: strengthened capacities of institutions and mechanisms for the promotion of inclusiveness and participation in decision-making (best practices and lessons on parliamentary functions documented and disseminated; parliamentary support mechanism and capacity improved at all levels; strengthen oversight capacity of standing committees and women caucus; improved capacity of Federation for the management of diversity). Results include: A one-month training on legislative drafting for 50 MPs; two-days training on gender mainstreaming and strategies was provided to 379 staff of HOPR; one-day awareness creation training on ethics and corruption and methods of preventing improper and illegal behaviors was provided to 338 HOPR staffs; Installation of ICT System; organization of bi-annual Speakers' Forum (the Forum provides a policy coordination mechanism of federal and regional legislatures and a learning platform for Parliamentarians and professional staff of the federal and regional/city council)s. The forum deliberated on various important issues: Essence of dominant party system, the Ethiopian Anti-Terror Law and implementation of the CSO law; support to the women caucus and capacity strengthened for parliamentary oversight of the implementation of gender policies and programs; parliamentary outreach strengthened (national consultative workshop on promoting and protecting the rights of school girls and teenagers).</p>	2014-2015
1	Gabon	<p>Improving the quality of parliamentary work Project. - Élaborer de façon participative un plan stratégique de développement parlementaire. Cela pourra être fait à travers (i) une étude sur l'évaluation exhaustive et participative des besoins des deux chambres (y compris leurs administrations) et (ii) l'élaboration d'un plan d'action pour le développement parlementaire sur les 15 ans à venir, ainsi que d'un cadre de mise en œuvre et de suivi-évaluation. Le projet appuiera aussi la mise en œuvre du Plan d'action notamment (i) l'appui à la réforme de l'administration parlementaire et (ii) le renforcement des capacités et la modernisation de l'administration ; - Renforcer les capacités d'analyse, d'interprétation, de contrôle du pouvoir exécutif et de représentation des parlementaires. La mise en place d'un système d'assistance et de renforcement des capacités des parlementaires permettra aux députés et aux sénateurs d'élaborer des propositions de lois. Une étude diagnostique et participative proposera le type d'assistance à apporter, le cadre institutionnel et organisationnel approprié, ainsi que les conditions de pérennisation de ce système ; - Soutenir l'amélioration de l'image du Parlement et sa visibilité au sein des populations. Cela passera par l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre d'une politique de communication plus performante. Aussi sera-t-il important d'apporter un appui à la Direction de la communication au sein du Parlement.</p>	2013- 2015
1	Gambia	<p>'Promoting and sustaining Inclusive Development in The Gambia' Program / Promouvoir et soutenir le développement inclusif en Gambie - Output 1.3: Strengthening Capacities of Governance Institutions responsible for accountability, Justice and Participation / Produit 1.3: Renforcement des capacités des institutions de gouvernance responsables en matière de reddition de comptes, justice et participation inclusive</p>	2012-2016

	1	Guinea	<p>New Project has been developed on Mines and Development with a substantial part related to Parliamentary Development (2014-2017). Output 3: strengthening parliament capacity to manage the mine resources.</p> <p>Year 1 (i) Committee in charge of mines trained on the mineral resources management cycle, (ii) exchange trips organized for members of the Committee to learn about good practices, (iii) the roadmap on parliamentary work in the mining sector prepared</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Train Deputies on mineral resources management cycle - Set up a small technical team to support the Committee in charge of mines in the exercise of its functions, including: (i) monitoring the implementation of the mining law, (ii) monitoring of government decisions (location Maps, signing of mining contracts, collection, allocation and use of mining revenues for development ...), (iii) preparation of meetings of questions to the Government on the management of mineral resources (iv) gathering people's concerns and monitoring the resolution of mining conflicts. 	2014-2017
	1	Lesotho	<p>Consolidation of Democracy and Good Governance (CDGG) Program / Outcome: Governance institutions strengthened, ensuring management of credible elections, improved oversight role of parliament and inculcation of a human rights culture / Output 2: The capacity of Parliament enhanced to more effectively execute its mandate of law-making, representation and oversight.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -training programs for MPs on role, mandate and effectiveness of the Legislature; strengthening the Office of the Clerk and training for parliamentary staff; -capacity building for and technical support to, parliamentary committees; -enhancement of research support for MPs; -strengthening parliament-government relations; -strengthening parliament-civil society relations 	
	1	Liberia	<p>Expert support to Training of Female Candidates.</p> <p>As an outcome of recent discussions with the women's legislative Caucus, the Liberia Country Office agreed to support the current crop of 18 potential candidates for the Midterm Senatorial elections on campaign management/ strategy and key messaging to constituencies. The campaign period runs from August 12th to October 12th. The entire activity included recruiting a consultant, doing the training and reference guide materials and maybe providing online support to the candidates.</p>	
	1	Madagascar	<p>UNDP has carried out a needs assessment of the Parliament and drafted a capacity building plan based on the needs identified. UNDP Madagascar is also supporting capacity building activities in cooperation with a local training institution on thematic issues such as budget or human rights. The CO recently held 3 consecutive workshops on "introduction to parliamentary role and functions". Almost 2/3 of parliamentarians attended in total. The CO is working on developing a new prodoc with a strong focus on parliaments, elections and civic engagement.</p>	
	1	Mauritania	<p>The new parliamentary support project is in the process of being initiated.</p>	
	1	Mauritius	<p>Support to the Public Accounts Committee</p>	

1	Mozambique	<p>Strengthening Parliamentary Capacity of Fiscal Oversight and Law Making - The project aims to provide support to Assembleia da Republica (Parliament) to strengthen its institutional capacity for monitoring/oversight role and legislative functions.</p> <p>Output 1 - strengthen the capacity of Members to analyze the budget, taking into account issues of gender and human rights.</p> <p>Output 2 - strengthen the oversight capacity of committees and specialized offices.</p> <p>Output 3 -support the committee on Constitutional Affairs, human rights and legality in the analysis and formulation of legislation.</p> <p>Output 4 - strengthen the capacity of the constitutional affairs committee to engage and communicate with citizens in the revision and formulation process of laws.</p> <p>Output 5 - administrative and operational support for the implementation of the project.</p>	2012-2015
1	Niger	<p>Support to Niger National Assembly and parliamentarians - Niger is preparing for elections in 2016. Activities planned for 2014-2015:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Capacity building of 113 deputies in (3) priority areas (human rights, budget control, review of finance law) ; -Support for the sharing of experience between deputies and parliament staff of the region (South South cooperation); -Training of women parliamentarians on women leadership. 	2014-2015
1	Nigeria	<p>Project : ' Democratic Governance for Development' Phase II.</p> <p>Component 2: Improving the Democratic Quality of Political Engagement. Output 2.2: Improved Effectiveness of Targeted National Assembly Committees/Processes.</p> <p>Component 3: Enhancing Participation by Women, Youth and other Marginalized Groups.Output 3.1: Legal reforms and women's empowerment initiatives to promote affirmative and women's empowerment in politics (National Assembly and political parties); Output 3.3: CSO's capacity to advocate affirmative action enhanced (1. Develop GTU strategic plan and facilitate engagement with National Assembly); Output 3.4: Capacity of women holding elected public office enhanced (Support training of women legislators to carry out their roles of law-making, oversight, and representation of the interest of Nigerian women.)</p> <p>Currently CO is working on an LOA (Letter of Agreement) to be signed with the National Institute for Legislative Studies (NILS)- the training and capacity development arm of the National Assembly. The LOA, among other things, focuses on the following main activities:</p> <p>Develop a model oversight guide with necessary templates for the two chambers of the National Assembly; Review the Rules and Business of the National Assembly based on international best practices; Develop parliamentary ethics and conduct regime; Strengthen the NASS CSO Liaison Office; Conduct gender audit and develop a gender mainstreaming strategy for the National Assembly; Review the existing parliamentary information sharing mechanism (internal and external) and proffer solution for better communication and outreach;</p> <p>Preparation of induction kit for members of the 8th Assembly; UNDP engagement with the NASS in the past two years related to the constitution review process.</p>	2012-2015
1	São Tomé et Príncipe	<p>Institutional support to the National Assembly (Apoio Institucional à Assembleia Nacional)</p> <p>The project aims to contribute to the better functioning of the National Assembly by strengthening their capacities linked to drafting of laws and control of government action; accountability and parliamentary oversight of the management of gas and energy resources.</p> <p>Activity specifically directed to the new elected members (parliamentary elections took place the 10/12/2014) to help them to understand their role in the Parliament.</p>	2012-2016

	1	Senegal	The new Governance Program for MDGs is planning to support training sessions and other capacity building activities for the Senegalese Parliament on a number of issues including: oversight and outreach; renewable energy; post-2015 Agenda. The CO is in the phase of restarting the cooperation with the national assembly. Since last May they are discussing activities to be retained. The memorandum is about to be signed (there is no annual work plan for 2014). The support will be interesting in the sense that strategic activities have been identified. The CO is planning to support such as a strategic plan, training, sessions of political dialogues, restitution of body control report, discussions with citizens on law projects, etc.	2013-2016
	1	Seychelles	Capacity Building for Parliament in Seychelles Workshop for MPs on Post-2015 and national development goals	2008-2014
	1	Sierra Leone	Support to Parliament of Sierra Leone to develop its Strategic Plan UNDP in 2013-2014 will support (i) a comprehensive Induction Program covering diverse areas of functioning of Parliament for the new Members of Parliament in order to equip the first-time MPs with basic skills to handle parliamentary duties; (ii) improvements in its policy frameworks in terms of rules and processes; (iii) institutionalize standard financial management procedures; (iv) effective human resources management & ICT frameworks; (v) setting up of the Legislative Department to support the Office of the Speaker and Office of the Clerk in the functioning of the House; (vi) relevant exposure to best practices in Parliamentary research & documentation and initiate preparation of information briefs; (vii) strengthening of PACO on the issues of coherence, coordination and transparency and provide full time technical assistance on diverse aspects of parliamentary functioning during the period.	2014 - 2018
	1	Tanzania	Legislature Support Project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen and enhance the capacity of MPs and their committees to better exercise their interrelated functions of law making, executive oversight including national budget approval and oversight, and representation of constituents/citizens • Strengthen the Secretariats of both legislatures to help them deliver effective services to parliamentarians and help build sustainable, modern internal parliamentary staff management structures and practices. • Enhance Members outreach to citizens to better represent their interests/ Strengthened dialogue between parliament and citizen • Strengthen capacity of MPs to undertake gender analysis of potential legislation • Simplify the structure of the Parliament Secretariat so as to enhance efficiency vis-à-vis Members of Parliament and accountability vis-à-vis the public. • Enhance overall effectiveness of Members by providing them with Research and IT services • Improve the administrative efficiency of the National Assembly of United Republic of Tanzania. 	2011-2015
	1	Togo	Capacity building of the National Assembly in crisis prevention and coordination.	2014
	1	Uganda	Strengthening oversight functions for accountable service delivery'. Output 2: A functional collaborative framework among national oversight entities to improve monitoring of service delivery strengthened by 2014	2011-2014
Arab States	1	Algeria	The parliamentary support project is coming to an end. UNDP held a training for technicians and engineers of the two chambers regarding the transcripts of parliamentary debates (Paris from 29 November to 4 December 2014). The new transcript system will be officially approved before the spring session of 2015, in March. UNDP is also supporting the effective and sustainable political participation of elected women. This project is ongoing until December 2015. It includes the establishment of a cross-party network of women parliamentarians advocating for laws on women issues.	2012-2014

1	Bahrain	<p>Shura and Council of Representatives - Strengthening the Capacity of the Parliamentary Secretariat and Members of the Parliament</p> <p>Output 1 - strengthening the capacities of the parliamentary support staff of the Shura and Council of Representatives, with special emphasis on management and gender mainstreaming, to enhance their function and performance.</p> <p>Output 2 - strengthening the capacities of the human resources within the parliamentary Secretariat.</p> <p>Output 3 - strengthening the capacities of MPs.</p>	2009-2015
1	Iraq	<p>Parliament project in Baghdad and Parliament project in Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Needs assessment of the KRG Assembly recently conducted. Under the project “Enhancing Transparent Participatory Governance and Human Rights”(the UNDP Project). The project is also supported by the Iraq High Commission for Human Rights, the Civil Society Organization Committee of the Council of Representatives and the Commission of Integrity of the Kurdistan Regional Government.Support for the enhancement of Youth Parliament models at the federal and regional level in Iraq.</p>	
1	Lebanon	<p>Technical Support to the Lebanese Parliament (Phase III)</p> <p>Output 1- strengthen the legislative functions of parliamentary committees and parliamentary staff</p> <p>Output 2 – enhance inclusive participation in public policy and in legislative process</p> <p>Output 3 - assist the implementation of the national human rights action plan and mainstream Human Rights in parliamentary work</p>	2014-2016
1	Libya	<p>Developing and strengthening capacities of the GNC Parliamentary Administration - ProjectOutputs include 1. Detailed capacity-development initiative with focused training plans developed and implemented; 2. integrated systems established; 3. mechanisms for communication and outreach with CSOs, media and universities developed; 4. parliamentary functions and tasks improved.</p>	2013-2016
1		<p>Constitutional Dialogue Project Constituant Assembly (CA)supported throughout constitutional drafting process</p>	2013 - 2014
1	Morocco	<p>Parliamentary support project was developed aiming to support the implementation of the House of Representatives' strategic plan and communication/outreach strategy, both in the framework of the UNDP/EU joint initiative.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. La mise en œuvre du Plan stratégique et la coordination des partenaires autour du Plan sont réalisées par la Chambre des Représentants. 2. L’interaction entre le parlement, la société civile et les citoyens est renforcée par la mise en place d’une communication parlementaire ; 3. La dimension genre est institutionnalisée dans le travail de la Chambre et son secrétariat 4. La Chambre des Représentants joue un rôle majeur pour la mise en œuvre et la promotion des politiques de développement relatives aux Objectifs du Millénaire pour le développement (OMD) 	2013-2017

	1	Somalia	<p>Support to build an inclusive, accountable Somalia Federal Parliament and engagement in constitutional review and inclusive political process in Somalia.</p> <p>OUTCOME 1: NFP and Somalia Parliaments capacitated to operate as inclusive, transparent and effective law-making, oversight and representative bodies contributing to national peacebuilding and nation-building goals</p> <p>Output 1 (Parliament Strategic Plan Objective 1): NFP and Somalia Parliaments supported to enact quality legislation and to maintain effective oversight over the other branches of government according to the interests of all Somali people and in support of peace-building and nation-building</p> <p>Output 2 (Parliament Strategic Plan Objective 3): House of the People established as an effective institution, with a functioning administration and infrastructure and leadership supported to discharge their constitutional mandates to fairly, inclusively and transparently manage the business of Parliament and lead the Parliamentary Administration</p> <p>Output 3 (Parliament Strategic Plan Objective 2): MPs are empowered to represent and remain accountable to the Somali people and to provide leadership in a way that promotes national unity for Somalis, including young people and women, participative & representative democracy and more effective contribution to political decision-making.</p> <p>OUTCOME 2: NFP, and relevant constitutional authorities in the Executive branch, sub-national units and Independent Commissions capacitated to contribute to the overall national constitutional review process in support of peace-building and nation-building in Somalia</p> <p>Output 4 (Parliament Strategic Plan Objective 1): NFP and independent commission capacities supported to ensure timely implementation and review of the Constitution, including a broad consultation and outreach program.</p> <p>Output 5: Capacities of relevant constitutional institutions from the Federal Government (eg, MOJCA) and sub-national administrations supported to work collaboratively with the NFP to ensure timely implementation and review of the Provisional Constitution</p>	2013-2016
	1	Tunisia	<p>Support to constitutional and parliamentary processes and national dialogue in Tunisia</p> <p>2014-2015 Activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Documentation of the constitutional process; -Provide technical and international knowledge-sharing support in the implementation of the Constitution; -Develop and implement a comprehensive program of orientation for the incoming elected members of the new Assembly of the Representatives of the People; -Continued strengthening of the parliamentary secretariat through partnerships with sister parliaments enabling the sharing of best practices in parliamentary organization and administration. <p>Future directions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Strengthening parliament's capacity to play an effective role throughout the national budget cycle, including budget development, debate, oversight, and audit; -Supporting constitutional implementation through technical assistance in the development of priority organic laws; -Sharing high level experience of democratic transition, conflict prevention, and effective dialogue processes; -Institutionalisation of parliamentary political groups as effective actors in parliamentary business, facilitating consensus-building within parliament; -Fostering women's participation and leadership through all project activities, and particularly in facilitating the legislative implementation of the equality provisions of the 2014 Constitution; -Transversal engagement of civil society in constitutional implementation and the wider policy process, and capacity strengthening to assure effective citizen policy input 	2012-2015

Asia - Pacific	1	Afghanistan	<p>Institutional and Capacity Support to the Parliament of Afghanistan (ICSPA)The fundamental objective of the project ICSPA is to assist the two Houses of the National Assembly of Afghanistan in becoming more effective parliamentary institutions, both reflecting and contributing to a growing culture of legitimate and inclusive governance. To achieve such an objective, the Project aims to provide capacity support to the Parliament to undertake a comprehensive self-assessment to identify priority areas for support and institutional development, guided by the principles of co-equality and cooperation with other institutions of government. The Project will deliver the following Outputs: A. Self-Assessment Framework and Reform Action Plan developed; B. Staffing and financial management systems of Parliament enhanced; andC. Capacity of Parliament's leadership to undertake reforms strengthenedThe ICSPA is a five-year project with a total budget of (US\$ 9,842,307).</p>	2015-2019
	1	Bangladesh	<p>Improving Democracy Through Parliamentary Development The project outcome is: The Parliament of Bangladesh effectively fulfils its role as a legislative, representative, and oversight body according to the Constitution of Bangladesh. The outcome will be achieved through activities focussed on the following outputs: 1. The Parliament is supported by an independent, capable and service oriented Parliamentary Secretariat; 2. Parliamentary committees are able to effectively scrutinize executive action, review public policy and the expenditure of public funds and take Parliament to the people; 3. The Speaker and Members of Parliament have the necessary support and resources to effectively undertake their respective roles and responsibilities; 4. Parliament is able to effectively engage with the people of Bangladesh.</p>	2010-2014
	1	Bhutan	<p>Strengthening institutional and parliamentarians capacity for effective and inclusive democratic development Objective: Strengthened institutional capacity, legislative, oversight and representational role of the National Assembly and National Council of Bhutan to build and sustain democracy and development with the full participation of the people of Bhutan Outcome 1: Dialogue between the Parliament and citizens (women and youth in particular) is effective, open and responsive. Outcome 2: The institutional and human resource capacities of Parliament for an effective support service are strengthened. Outcome 3: Parliament is better equipped to conduct its legislative and oversight roles in an effective, representative and inclusive manner</p>	2014-2018
	1	China	<p>The last project with the NPC was in October-December 2013. There has been no project in 2014. The CO is currently formulating a new project with the NPC (Congress) for the coming three years (2015-2017). Currently, a first draft concept note has been finalized to be submitted to the NPC for further discussions.</p>	2015-2017

1	Fiji	<p>Fiji Parliament Support Project (FPSP) Outcome 1: The re-established Parliament of Fiji has the capacity to effectively scrutinize draft laws, oversee the executive branch of government and represent citizensActivity 1: Support the establishment and capacity building of the Parliament of Fiji to effectively scrutinise legislation, oversee the executive and represent citizensOutput 1.1: Parliament as an Institution StrengthenedOutput 1.2: Members of Parliament knowledgeable about participatory law-making, oversight processes and representation.Outcome 2: The Parliament of Fiji is recognised as an inclusive place for dialogue and a venue that reflects the interests of all citizensActivity 2: Support the Parliament of Fiji to foster inclusive dialogue processes and the active engagement of citizensOutput 2.1 Members of Parliament are knowledgeable about coalition-building and negotiation skills and actively engage in dispute resolution.Output 2.2: Parliamentary engagement with citizens strengthened.2014 results: professional development and capacity development of secretariat staff; induction program for newly elected MPs. Installation and commissioning of ITC equipment procured under the project, preparing MPs for first sitting, debriefing on them Standing Orders and Induction. Trainings for MPs. In Nov, the CO had a debriefing session for CSOs (1-2 day) on how parliament works and how they can be involved in the work of Parliament.</p>	2014-2016
1	Indonesia	<p>Parliamentary Support Projects (PROPER, PRIDE, GRADE) Support to newly elected and re-elected MPs at the national and sub-national levels / strengthening selected women MPs at the national and some sub-national parliaments. The project is called SWARGA.</p>	
1	Lao PDR	<p>National Assembly Strategic Support Project The Project will strengthen the NA as an accountable, inclusive and responsive institution. It will also enhance trust in State-society relations, and promote inclusive political processes with a focus on women, youth, and disadvantaged groups. The new project has 3 components a) strengthening legislative role of NA, b) developing overall human resource capacities and c) increasing the engagement of NA with citizens to better represent their view. All of this is in line with the National Goal of ensuring the poor and vulnerable benefit from the improved delivery of public services, an effective protection of their rights and greater participation in transparent decision making. Output 1: Enhanced capacities of National Assembly committees in conducting their legislation-making role Output 2: Strengthened institutional and human resource capacities for an effective National Assembly support service Output 3: Increased dialogue promoted between the National Assembly and Citizens to strengthen citizen's participation in decision making</p>	2014-2015 (possible extension to 2017)
1	Maldives	<p>Integrated Governance Program (IGP): Deepening democracy for a resilient and peaceful society in the Maldives / Program Result 1: National and local level institutional capacities strengthened to ensure transparency and accountability and for supporting democratic consolidation and processes / Output 1.2 Capacities of Parliament Members strengthened to perform the legislative, oversight and representational functions and capacities of the Parliament Secretariat strengthened to accelerate key functions of the Majlis Earlier this year, UNDP had supported the Parliament in conducting an orientation training for the 18th Parliament and in updating the Parliament Secretariat Strategic Plan. However the main recommendation from the expert deployed was to develop an overall Strategic Plan for the Parliament. Additional recommendation included strengthening the parliamentary committee structure including the capacity of committee staff, Majlis Standing Orders and expanding the research capacity of the Parliament etc. All of the above recommendations were discussed and agreed as priority support areas with the Speaker.</p>	

1	Mongolia	<p>UNDP has two projects, to be implemented from 2013 to 2016. The first project, “Support to the Participatory Legislative Process”, is aimed at improving legislative drafting processes through policy analysis and stakeholder dialogue, enhancing citizens’ access to their elected representatives, strengthening grievance procedures, and supporting the implementation of the UN Convention against Corruption. The second project, “Capacity Strengthening of Local Self-governing Bodies”, is focused on building the capacity of local khurals to fulfill their representational and oversight mandates for improved accountability of local governments and local service delivery. The major milestones of the above projects to date have been: offering induction training to all elected representatives in local councils (altogether over 8000) and the completion of the study of the 1992 Constitution of Mongolia.</p>	2013 - 2016
1	Myanmar	<p>UNDP is providing parliamentary support within the framework of its Democratic Governance Project (2013-2015). Outcome 2 in particular, aims to achieve the following results:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved capacity of MPs, with special focus on women, at the Union and State/Region levels to perform their functions in an effective, transparent and inclusive way. • Enhanced institutional capacity of key parliamentary committees at the Union and State/Region levels to ensure the parliament is able to pass quality legislation including consideration to gender responsiveness, marginalized groups, people living with and affected by HIV and disabilities and oversee government activities. • Improved capacity of parliaments to effectively communicate for internal and external purposes. • Enhanced capacity of the Union parliamentary secretariats at the Union and State/Region levels to provide effective and gender responsive support to MPs, committees and the respective parliaments. • Civil society and media more aware and empowered to participate in democratic political processes. <p>During the course of the last year, UNDP developed an ICT plan and a plan for developing a learning centre. Currently, UNDP is assisting the Parliament with developing a strategic plan. It is also providing support for optimizing the committee structure and strengthening the lawmaking function including organizing lawmaking trainings for MPs and promoting reforms of some of the ad hoc aspects of the current lawmaking process (under the current conditions, committees are under-resourced and the structure is unwieldy; the rushed and un-prioritized lawmaking is also producing a poor end product).</p>	2013-2015
1	Pakistan	<p>Parliamentary Support in Pakistan - ProjectThe objective of the Project is to assist the federal parliament and the four provincial assemblies of Pakistan to increasing, effectively and proactively support and oversee achievement of the country's development goals. The project aims to build institutional capacities and mechanisms that promote an inclusive system of governance and consequently, produce stability, equitable growth, and benefit the most vulnerable. Provide high-level quality technical advice and assistance aimed at institutional reform. Six central areas (outputs) have been identified to strengthen parliamentary capacities:-Governance structures of National Assembly and Senate more effectively perform their mandates and successfully conduct strategic institutional development.-Independent and professional Parliamentary Administration support the work of the National Assembly and enhance capacities to provide legislative services to Members and committees.-Selected National Assembly and Senate committees empowered to more effectively scrutinize legislation and executive action, and promote public input into their work.-Increased cross-party co-operation between men and women parliamentarians in policy-making on issues of concern to women, and the gender dimension is considered in the work of parliamentary committees.- N.A. engages with the people of Pakistan more transparently and effectively.-Provincial Assemblies are able to more effectively oversee progress in achievement of MDGs, gender equality and devolution process; and promote public input into committee work.</p>	2014-2017
1	Pacific Multi country office	<p>Project with the Parliaments of Kiribati, Tuvalu and Marshall Islands</p>	

1	Papua New Guinea	Ongoing UNDP supported project for PNG Parliament. The Parliament has confirmed that approx. USD\$3m will be available in government cost sharing. Plan to develop and finalize Parliament project document before the end of 2014.	2015-
1	Samoa	<p>Samoa Parliamentary Support Project</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Output 1: Effective leadership and accountability of Members of Parliament and political parties strengthened • Output 2: Law-making and committee oversight strengthened in support of MDGs achievement • Output 3: Engagement of public with Members of Parliament and parliament strengthened, with special effort made to engage young people and women • Output 4: Efficient, professional and high quality administrative support and services provided to Members of Parliament and other key clients groups. 	2012-2015
1	Solomon Islands	<p>Strengthening the National Parliament of Solomon Islands (Phase III)</p> <p>This project aims to strengthen the National Parliament of Solomon Islands in carrying out its core functions, based upon the parliament's first and comprehensive "5 Year Strategic Plan 2012-2016" and with quality support by the National Parliament Office (NPO) and its staff. The Strategic Plan will modernize parliament by introducing a Parliamentary Calendar, reflecting a Legislative Agenda. Parliament's core functions, to legislate and to oversee, will be strengthened through increased Committee support. Parliament's outreach and parliamentarians' representative role will be enhanced during the "Week of Parliament". The project envisages parliament as the context for development of a gender policy.</p> <p>COMPONENT 1: MODERNIZING PARLIAMENT AND EMPOWERING STAFF COMPONENT 2: SUPPORT TO PARLIAMENT'S CORE BUSINESS: LEGISLATION AND OVERSIGHT COMPONENT THREE: PRESENTING PARLIAMENT TO THE NATION AND TO THE WORLD (civic engagement, outreach and representative role of Parliament)</p>	2012-2015
1	Timor-Leste	<p>Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy in Timor-Leste (IV) 2015-2017 Expected Output 1: Systemic and measurable development of a professional and independent Parliament Administration. The project will support the Parliament goal to attain its administrative and financial autonomy by 2017 through provision of expert advice and training on strategic planning; and norms, systems and procedures that need to be developed and harmonised in line with the increase in finance, administrative and procurement roles and responsibilities. The project will also provide expertise to support a structured professionalization of its human resources including the adoption of a Statute for the Parliamentary Administration and subsequent review and implementation of a Human Resources strategy and comprehensive Training Plan for the officials. The project will continue to support the further professionalization of the budget oversight role of parliamentary committees through advice to the finance and sectoral committees and training of support staff. It will also promote and support stronger engagement of sectoral committees in debates regarding national development issues including from gender perspective.</p>	2015-2017

	1	Tonga	<p>UNDP under the Tonga Governance Strengthening Program (2013-2016) is working with the Tongan Parliament, the Electoral Commission and civil society to increase their effectiveness and build community understanding of their roles. AU\$3.8 million program, funded by Australian Aid, will develop the skills of parliamentarians to improve lawmaking processes.</p> <p>Output 1: Legislative Assembly strengthened to effectively carry out its oversight, representative and legislative functions: Activity 1: Increased capacity of Members of Parliament to discharge their constitutional mandates and support national development priorities</p> <p>Activity 1:2: Parliament is better enabled to perform its oversight functions</p> <p>Activity 1:2:1: Parliamentary Committees established, trained and regular meetings convened.</p> <p>Activity 1: 3: Increased capacity and support resources within Parliamentary Secretariat to support Members of Parliament</p> <p>Activity 1:4: Members of the public, including young people and women, understand their roles and the role of their MP's in a participatory & representative democracy</p>	2013-2016
	1	Vanuatu	Parliament Support Project - Under Formulation	
	1	Vietnam	<p>Strengthening the Capacity of Budget Oversight for People's Elected Bodies in Vietnam</p> <p>Component 1: Strengthening the budget oversight capacity of the Committee for Financial-Budgetary Affairs CFBA</p> <p>Component 2: Strengthening the capacity of local People's Councils in budgetary decision-making and oversight</p> <p>Component 3: Enhancing the cooperation and effectiveness of the participation in budget oversight by the NA Ethnic Council and other agencies of the National Assembly</p>	2013-2015
	1		<p>Strengthening the Provision and Exchange of Legislative Information among Agencies of the National Assembly of Vietnam</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhanced capacity of the ILS to provide legislative information and substantive input to the NA, its committees and deputies. • Enhanced capacity and knowledge of deputies and researchers to conduct the realisation of the Law- and Ordinance-making Program and oversight work. • Enhanced coordination and cooperation between the ILS as legislative information provider and the Committee on Law to realise the Law- and Ordinance-making Program. • Enhanced coordination and cooperation between legislative information providers and the Committee for Judicial Affairs to realise the Law- and Ordinance-making Program. 	2013-2015
Europe and the CIS	1	Bosnia and Herzegovina	<p>Strengthening parliamentary capacities and key institutions mandated with fighting corruption. Enhanced capacity of the parliament in performing democratic oversight functions and co-ordination of anti-corruption policies . One of the key components is strengthening parliamentary oversight functions of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly. Upcoming parliamentary-related programming includes:- Organize training for new Parliament members on AC.- Training for Parliament members from Committee on monitoring the work of AC Agency.- Organize trainings for Conflict of Interest and whistleblowers commissions.- Conduct a UNDP/GOPAC assessment of parliamentarians against corruption;- Work towards opening of a GOPAC chapter.- Engage with RBEC on developments of East-East initiative.Due to elections and awaiting formation of the new parliament the CO anticipates that several activities related to parliament strengthening will be moved to early 2015.</p>	2014-2015

1	Georgia	<p>Strengthening the system of parliamentary democracy in Georgia The Project aims to establish the Georgian Parliament as a credible institution with an essential greater role in national policy-making and European integration the framework of the newly enforced constitutional system.</p> <p>(a) Improving effectiveness of the Parliament as an institution, through providing support in developing the Parliament's institutional reform plan, revising the parliamentary rules of procedure and strengthening Parliament's relations with international counterparts as well as ensuring effective communication to public;</p> <p>(b) Strengthening the Parliament's policy-making and oversight capacities through establishing a pool of high-level international advisors to offer strategic advice to the parliamentary leadership, and provide support to the selected sector committees to strengthen their operational, as well as sectorial policy-making and oversight capacities;</p> <p>(c) Enhancing the Parliament's role in the European integration process through providing capacity development support to the Committee on European integration, including the development of the Committee's roadmap reflecting the short, medium and long-term priorities to advance the European integration agenda, as well as facilitating the Committee's cooperation with the European stakeholders and encouraging its active dialogue with the public on the European integration issues.</p>	2014-2016
1	Kosovo	<p>Parliamentary Development for Social Policies- PDSP PDSP Project designed to bring resources and knowledge together through facilitation of participatory and inclusive processes of MPs, CSOs and concerned citizens on review, monitoring and oversight on progress towards achieving the MDGs through development of socially inclusive policies, legislation and budgeting, specifically focusing on social assistance, access to health, education and employment for the vulnerable groups in Kosovo, including the environment and gender dimensions.</p> <p>The project was focusing on developing the capacities of the AoK's administration, MPs, Women Caucus Group for better engagement in such processes; in particular the project aimed to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strengthen capacities of AoK for evidence based formulation of socially inclusive policies and legislation, and establish an oversight mechanism for monitoring the implementation and promotion of dialogue in Kosovo, using tailored indicators to measure the progress annually, based on MDG and EU social inclusion framework 2. Strengthen capacities of CSOs, including women NGOs for increased participation in the oversight of socially inclusive related policy and legislation implementation 3. Improve capacities of AoK for constituency relations and regional/international cooperation <p>UNDP is now providing support for the development of the new AoK Parliamentary Strategy.</p> <p>On request of the AoK (Secretary General's Office) the CO had assigned a short-term expert who will establish a base-line of donor support for the Assembly, and identify the direction and approach needed to ensure effective capacity development. The AoK plans to use the findings from the assessment to create a database of donors and areas of support as a means of donor coordination. Furthermore, the finding should support the drafting of the AoK Strategy. The CO expects to have the report ready by the end of 2014, and AoK would like UNDP to start working on the Strategy soon after.</p>	2011-2015

1	Moldova	<p>Improving the Quality of Moldovan Democracy through parliamentary and electoral support / Component 1: Parliamentary Development. The project focuses on strengthening the institutional capacity of the Parliament, improving its main functions and entrenching gender and human rights considerations in formal political processes. UNDP is assisting the Parliament to increase the participation of civil society and citizens in policy making and oversight processes. It is also building the capacities of MPs in budget understanding, development and monitoring of its implementation. The Parliament recently requested UNDP's support for developing an SoP on the functioning of the constituency offices; support the role of the Parliament in the implementation of the Association Agreement with the EU (accession Roadmap); ensure more in-depth understanding among Parliamentarians on the implications of the international human rights obligations of the country to the UN and Council of Europe.</p>	2012-2016
1	Ukraine	<p>UNDP Ukraine is working closely with Parliamentary Committee on Local Self-Governance providing advisory support to the development of draft laws related to decentralization and local development, including the law on Local Referendum which currently does not exist in Ukraine. This is a timely topic now as separatist movements are growing in Ukraine. UNDP is providing expertise to analyze the draft law and provide general recommendations and assessment of possible implications on the state building of Ukraine.</p>	
1	Serbia	<p>Strengthening Oversight Function and Transparency of the Parliament Purpose: to develop the capacity of scrutiny teams; to improve Parliament's outreach to citizens with emphasis on oversight/scrutiny mechanisms and to pilot successful outreach mechanisms in local assemblies; to develop a system for real-time tracking of the State budget expenditure in the Parliament. Objective: to strengthen the oversight/scrutiny function, transparency and efficiency of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia and the representative role of local assemblies. UNDP is also improving Parliament's outreach to citizens through the PARLATEX Platform. It aims to promote parliamentary dialogue and serves as a platform for knowledge and experience exchange aimed at developing open government partnership and enhanced parliamentary development within the Region. Output 1: Scrutiny teams established and capacitated/ The purpose is provision of support for creating functional administrative capacities within the Parliament with a mandate of supporting committees when performing oversight/scrutiny over the Executive Output 2: Outreach of the National Assembly and 5 pilot municipal assemblies / The purpose of this initiative is to standardize the Parliament's and municipal assemblies' outreach and oversight mechanisms, introducing them as common practice. Output 3: Public expenditure scrutinized through e-Parliament / The purpose of this output is the development of a mechanism for tracking public spending – a portal for the transparency of the budget process – a tool, with timely data, which would enable MPs more effective oversight over public finances. The portal will be developed as a module, compatible with the e-Parliament system.</p>	2012 – 2015
1	Turkmenistan	<p>Support for Parliament to strengthen the capacity of representative bodies in Turkmenistan (2014-2016) Key result area: the capacity of elected bodies in Turkmenistan is enhanced so as to ensure a legal framework and system of planning and budgeting is established and monitored in an inclusive manner and in accordance with international best practices. Output 1: strengthen the capacity of the Mejlis and its deputies to make laws and establish effective sub national and local elected bodies. Output 2: strengthen the capacity of elected bodies at the district and village levels to establish, approve and monitor their development plans and annual budgets in an inclusive manner. Output 3: strengthen the capacity of elected bodies to ensure all citizens from piloted villages and districts have actively participated in the management and implementation of small-scale projects of their choice.</p>	2014-2016

	1	Uzbekistan	UNDP Uzbekistan has worked closely with both Chambers of the Parliament for a number of years. The CO has just launched a new project on Enhancement of Lawmaking, Rulemaking and Regulatory Impact Assessment . While the main partner is Institute for Monitoring of Current Legislation, the Senate and the Legislative Chamber are key supporting partners. There is a separate output (2) in this project that will support Oliy Majlis (Parliament) to improve law-making, reflect citizen inputs and international standards. This work is planned to start in 2015. The previous project with the Parliament has completed last year.	2014-2016
Latin America and the Caribbean	1	Bolivia	Fortalecimiento de Capacidades de Desarrollo Legislativo de la Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional The CO has been supporting for a few years a program that brings technical assistance to the Assembly for the revision of law proposals, ensuring in particular their consistency with the Political Constitution.	2012-
	1	Chile	Strengthening Ethics and Transparency in the National Congress/ Fortalecimiento de la Ética y Transparencia en el Congreso Nacional Output1: Enhance knowledge of ethics, transparency and probity in the Congress Output 2: Improved perception of citizenship on progress and challenges of Congress to optimize its management in matters of ethics and transparency Output 3: Institutional capacities of ethics committees and bicameral group strengthened	2014-2015
	1	El Salvador	Programa Gobernabilidad Local, Estado de Derecho, Seguridad y Justicia / Output 3: Propuesta de reformas y creación de marcos normativos para la seguridad ciudadana y la erradicación de la violencia contra las mujeres (Proposed reforms and design of regulatory frameworks for public safety and the eradication of violence against women). Se trabaja con la Comisión de Seguridad Pública y Combate a la Narcoactividad y con el Grupo Parlamentario de Mujeres. Con ambos se buscará consensuar una agenda parlamentaria en la materia. Se promoverá la revisión de las mejores prácticas de América Latina en temas tales como leyes de ordenamiento del sistema nacional de seguridad ciudadana, ley del régimen policial, ley disciplinaria policial, ley de control de agencias de seguridad privada, ley de control de armas, ley para una vida libre de violencia contra las mujeres, entre otros. Se prevé un trabajo articulado con FOPREL (Foro de Presidentes y Presidentas de Poderes Legislativos de Centroamérica y La Cuenca del Caribe), instancia que desarrolla una agenda de trabajo en temas de seguridad ciudadana y control de armas. Se trabaja además con la triada legislativa compuesta por la Comisión de la Mujer y la Igualdad de Género, la Unidad de Género y el Grupo Parlamentario de Mujeres, quienes a su vez conforman un Equipo Técnico Interinstitucional con entidades del sector justicia (ISDEMU, FGR, PGR, CSJ, UTE). Su papel es definir y analizar las propuestas de reformas legales que luego debate la comisión legislativa.	2012-2014
	1	Guyana	Enhanced Public Trust Security and Inclusion Project II This project aims to strengthen the efforts towards deepening democratic practice and sustainable peace in Guyana through the capacity development support of key governance institutions. In particular, the project will focus support on strengthening parliament's capacity, including that of its committees to carry out its legislative, oversight and representation roles.	2012-2014

	1	Jamaica	<p>The CO has a project on HIV and the Law, with a strong focus on strengthening the capacity of Parliamentarians in reforming laws in the area of HIV, Sexual Offences, LGBT rights, etc. Part of the Country Office project has outputs related to targeting parliamentarians on issues linked to legal reform and advocacy work on pieces of legislation highlighted as requiring reform.</p> <p>The CO has a Project with the Justice Department (JUST). The JUST Project is a long-term partnership with the Canadian Government. One of the JUST Project outputs it is to strengthen the capacity of the organization and operations of the Office of the Parliamentary Counsel, which has responsibility for drafting Jamaica's statutes and other legal instruments and to give counsel to Parliament in the exercise of its law-making powers by advising on draft Bills which it seeks to enact. Additionally, the CO is the process of developing a Social Cohesion Program. One of the outputs will be the capacity development of institutions including Parliament.</p>	2012-2016
	1	Suriname	<p>Strengthening the National Assembly of Suriname</p> <p>This project aims to strengthen the National Assembly of Suriname in carrying out its core functions and responsibilities, based upon a comprehensive approach to parliamentary development. The project will focus on 8 areas: legislative function, oversight function, representative function of parliament, Secretariat and staff services, parliamentary strengthening instruments, international relations, gender equality and ICT strengthening of Parliament.</p>	2011-2015
	1	Trinidad and Tobago	<p>Strengthening of the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago: Support to the development/implementation of the comprehensive Strategic Plan and Implementation Road Map for the Parliament. One objective of this program is the move to make the Parliament functionally autonomous. A draft Bill has been drafted and was referred to a Joint Select Committee of Parliament. In this regard, the CO is assisting the Joint Select Committee in finalizing the Bill.</p> <p>Modernizing the legislative functioning of Parliament and enhance the institution's outreach and communication. It will provide policy and legal guidance to the parliament leadership with a view to establish the functional autonomy of parliament and has identified the following areas for intervention:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.) A revised Strategic Development Plan of Parliament and the development of a multi-year follow-on project supporting the implementation of such Plan. 2.) Strengthening of the legislative functioning of parliament. 3.) Strengthening of outreach and communication of parliament. 4.) Developing the functional autonomy of Parliament. 	2012-2015
TOTAL	70			
Regional	1		<p>Project on Enhancing Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation in the Eastern Partnership Countries</p> <p>UNDP is planning to develop a Joint Project Document (Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine) aiming at enhancing the cooperation, exchange and mutual learning by the parliaments within the new Regional/Eastern Partnership Strategy.</p> <p>The main objective of the program will be enhancing the capacities of the institutions and MPs to better perform the functions and deliver on citizens' expectations through the exchange of the best practices and experience in the parliament work and in the electoral systems and processes, and also through jointly tapping into the experience of the EU newer MSs/candidate countries, and jointly promoting democratic principles and values, as well as implementing advanced systems of work/ main functions in the parliaments and in the election bodies.</p>	

	1		<p>Project for Strengthening technical and functional skills of Supreme Audit Institutions (SAIs), National Parliaments and Civil Society for the control of public finances in the PALOP and Timor-Leste (Pro PALOP-TL SAI, MPs, and CSO) 2014-2016</p> <p>Output 1: SAIs' control and audit capacities over public finances in the PALOP and TL are strengthened in a context of joint learning.</p> <p>Output 2: Parliaments and Civil Society oversight capacities over public finances are developed for an informed analysis in the PALOP and TL in a context of joint learning. It is expected at the end of this project that public administrations and institutions of control are more efficient and effective in Parliament, budgeting, implementation and M&E.</p>	2014-2016
Global	1		<p>The Parliamentary Action on Renewable Energy (PARE) project aims to build the capacity of parliamentarians to strengthen their advocacy and monitoring of the development of renewable energy sources and to promote policy and regulatory reform to encourage investment in renewables.</p>	2012-2014
TOTAL	73			

ANNEX 3: USAID-FUNDED PARLIAMENTARY PROJECTS (INFORMATION AS RECEIVED FROM USAID)

COUNTRY	PROJECT	START YR	END YR
Afghanistan	Afghanistan Parliamentary Assistance Project	2004	2011
Afghanistan	Afghanistan Parliamentary Assistance Project (APAP)	2004	2012
Afghanistan	Assistance to Legislative Bodies of Afghanistan (ALBA)	2013	2018
Algeria	Parliamentary Development/Comparative Models	1998	2000
Angola	Parliamentary and Political Training	1996	2001
Armenia	Legislative Strengthening Program	2002	2004
Armenia	Legislative Strengthening Program II	2004	2006
Armenia	Support to the National Assembly	2009	2011
Armenia	Support to the Armenia National Assembly Program	2012	2016
Azerbaijan	Parliamentary Program in Azerbaijan	2007	2011
Bahrain	Institutional Capacity Building	2002	2003
Bangladesh	New Democracy Initiatives (Legal Awareness and Alternative Dispute Resolution component)	1995	2001
Bangladesh	Strengthening the Role of Citizens and Political Parties in the Parliamentary Process	1999	2000
Bangladesh	Promoting Governance, Accountability, Transparency and Integrity	2007	2011
Bangladesh	Promoting Democratic Institutions and Practices (PRODIP)	2010	2015
Benin	Parliamentary Assistance Program	2000	2002
Bolivia	Technical Assistance to the Bolivian Congress	2001	2003
Bolivia	Technical Assistance to the Bolivian Congress (Phase II)	2003	2005
Bolivia	Strengthening Democratic Institutions	2007	2009
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Political Party Strengthening and Legislative Development	1999	2001
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Political Party Strengthening and Legislative Development	2001	2007
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Parliamentary Strengthening Project in Bosnia-Herzegovina	2009	2012
Bulgaria	Legislative Strengthening for the Bulgarian National Assembly	2001	2002
Burundi	Parliamentary Assistance Program	2002	2003
Colombia	Colombian Congress Strengthening Program	2002	2006
Colombia	Strengthening Political Parties to Deliver Constituent Services	2007	2010
Cote d'Ivoire	National Assembly Support Program	2012	2017
Croatia	Croatian Political Party and Parliamentary Development Program	2000	2004
Democratic Republic of Congo	Legislative Assistance Programs	2005	2013
Egypt	Decision Support Services Project	1993	2002
Egypt	Strengthening the Representative Branch: American and Egyptian Legislative Exchange	2007	2008
Egypt	United States Congress – Majlis El-Shaab Exchange Program	2007	2009

El Salvador	Program for Citizen Participation in the Legislative Process II	2000	2002
Ethiopia	Sustained Good Governance through Capacity Building of the National Parliament	1998	2001
Georgia	Parliamentary Oversight and Transparency	1997	2000
Georgia	Parliamentary Strengthening	2000	2003
Georgia	Parliamentary Oversight, Responsiveness and Transparency	2004	2006
Georgia	Parliamentary Strengthening Project	2006	2009
Georgia	Parliamentary Strengthening Project	2009	2013
Ghana	Public Policy Decisions Better Reflect Civic Input	1997	2000
Ghana	Strengthening the Legislature and Increasing Citizen Participation in Democratic Governance	1997	2000
Ghana	Enhanced Effectiveness of Parliament	2000	2004
Guatemala	Congressional Modernization	1997	2000
Guyana	Guyana Strengthening Democracy	1998	2000
Guyana	Strengthening Democracy	2000	2004
Haiti	Parliament Strengthening Program	1996	2000
Haiti	Re-establishment of a Transparent and Effectively Functioning Haiti Parliament	2006	2011
Indonesia	Strengthening Political Parties and Democratic Practices in the Legislature	2000	2001
Indonesia	Democratic Reform Support Program	2005	2009
Indonesia	National Legislative Strengthening Program	2005	2008
Iraq	Iraq Government and Constitutional Development	2004	2006
Iraq	Iraq Legislative Strengthening Program	2008	2010
Iraq	Iraq Legislative Strengthening Program	2008	2014
Jordan	Legislative Support Project	2005	2010
Kazakhstan	Parliamentary Development/Comparative Models	1992	2002
Kenya	Parliamentary Strengthening Program for Kenya	2000	2004
Kenya	Parliamentary Strengthening Program for Kenya	2005	2009
Kenya	Parliamentary Strengthening Program II	2010	2014
Kosovo	Parliamentary Strengthening	2004	2007
Kosovo	Political Party Support and Legislative Strengthening Initiative	2007	2009
Kosovo	Kosovo Assembly Support Program	2009	2012
Kyrgyzstan	Parliamentary Assistance	1992	2003
Kyrgyzstan	Parliamentary Strengthening Program	2006	2008
Kyrgyzstan	Parliamentary Strengthening Program	2010	2011
Kyrgyzstan	Assistance to Parliament/ Promoting NGO Participation in the Legislative Process	?	?
Lebanon	Assistance to Lebanese Parliament	1993	2002
Lebanon	Developing Legislative Resource Center	2008	2011
Liberia	Political Processes Strengthening Program	2006	2010

Liberia	Strengthening Legislative and Election Processes	2008	2010
Macedonia	Improving Party Caucuses	1999	2004
Macedonia	Parliamentary Development Project	2002	2011
Malawi	Strengthening Parliament and Civil Society	2000	2004
Malawi	Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight to Curb Corruption & Enhance Fiscal Discipline in Public Sector	2006	2008
Mexico	Mexico Legislative Support Project	1998	2001
Mongolia	Legislative and Party Professionalization and Parliamentary Election Observation	2000	2000
Morocco	Strengthening Parliamentary Processes in Morocco	2004	2009
Namibia	Consolidation of Democracy (COD I)	1998	2000
Namibia	Consolidation of Democracy (COD) II	2000	2002
Nepal	Legislative Strengthening Program	2010	2015
Nicaragua	National Assembly Modernization Program	2000	2002
Niger	Civic Organizing and Legislative Outreach	2000	2001
Nigeria	Assistance to State Legislatures	1999	2003
Nigeria	Assistance to National Assembly	2000	2001
Nigeria	Legislative Strengthening Program	2001	2003
Nigeria	Legislative Strengthening Program	2003	2008
Pakistan	Strengthening Legislative Governance in Pakistan	2003	2004
Pakistan	Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Project (PLSP)	2005	2010
Paraguay	Mission Supported Assistance Activities to Paraguay Congress	2003	2008
Paraguay	Mission Supported Assistance Activities to Paraguay Congress	2003	2008
Peru	Developing Skills of the Peruvian Congress	2002	2004
Romania	Program to Professionalize Parliamentary Practices through Strengthening Parliamentarian Representation, Accountability, and Linkages to the Public	2005	2008
Russia	Political Institutions in a Democratic Society	1994	2001
Russia	Political Participation: Parties and Civic Participation	1994	2001
Russia	Legislative Reform	?	?
Rwanda	Technical Assistance to Rwandan National Assembly	2000	2003
Serbia	Parliamentary Strengthening and Coalition Building	2006	2015
Serbia	Separation of Powers Program	2008	2011
Somalia	Somali Elections and Parliamentary Support	2010	2013
South Africa	Transparent, Accountable, and Participatory Governance	1996	2001
Sudan	Legislative Strengthening	2004	2009
Tanzania	Technical Assistance for the Strengthening of Tanzania's Union National Assembly	2003	2005
Tanzania	Parliamentary Strengthening in Tanzania	2005	2007
Turkmenistan	Governance Strengthening Program (GSP)	2010	2014

Uganda	Uganda Parliamentary Technical Assistance Project	1998	2002
Uganda	Uganda Parliamentary Support Project	2002	2006
Uganda	Strengthening Democratic Linkages in Uganda (LINKAGES)	2007	2010
Ukraine	Parliamentary Development Program (PDP)	1994	2011
West Bank / Gaza	Strengthening the Legislative Capacity of the PLC	1996	2004
Yemen	Support to Strengthen Yemen's Parliament	2002	2002
Yemen	Support to Strengthen Yemen's Parliament	2004	2006
Zambia	Parliamentary Reform Project	2003	2006
Zimbabwe	Parliamentary Reform Project	1994	2004

ANNEX 4: ONGOING EC-FUNDED PARLIAMENTARY PROJECTS (INFORMATION AS RECEIVED FROM EC)

Contract year	Contract title	Nature	Expiry date	Implementation starting date	Contracting party	Geographical zone (LEF)
2012	Improving Parliamentary performance	Services	20/09/2016	21/06/2012	THE BRITISH COUNCIL ROYAL CHARTER	Pakistan
2012	Appui au processus constitutionnel et parlementaire en Tunisie	Action Grants	26/05/2015	27/09/2012	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM	Tunisia
2013	Apoio ao Estado de Direito - Componente Assembleia da República	Action Grants	10/12/2017	11/12/2013	REPUBLICA DE MOCAMBIQUE	Mozambique
2013	Support to Parliamentary Development in Lebanon	Services	1/07/2016	2/01/2014	INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT GROUP	Lebanon
2013	Contribuer au renforcement des Assemblées législatives et à la consolidation du dialogue entre les partis politiques	Action Grants	30/06/2015	1/01/2014	INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE	Haiti
2013	Support to the 2014 Parliamentary Elections: Assistance to the newly elected Parliament	Financing Agreement	31/12/2016	1/01/2014	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM	Fiji
2013	APPUJ AU PARLEMENT MAURITANIEN	Financing Agreement	31/12/2015	1/01/2014	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM	Mauritania
2014	Strengthening the institutional and administrative capacity of Chamber of Deputies in Jordan	Services	16/02/2017	17/02/2014	ALTAIR ASESORES SL	Jordan
2014	Assessment of Bosnia and Herzegovina capacities for elections observations	Services	20/04/2015	26/05/2014	BUSINESS AND STRATEGIES IN EUROPE	Bosnia and Herzegovina
2014	Assistance technique dans le cadre du projet d'appui à la consolidation de la démocratie en Guinée à travers le renforcement des capacités de gestion de l'Assemblée Nationale	Services	4/02/2015	5/05/2014	EUROPEAN CENTER FOR ELECTORAL SUPPORT/ CENTRE D'APPUI AUX PROCESSUS ELECTORAUX FONDATION	Guinea (Conakry)
2014	Verification mission - Support to the PLC Secretariat ENPI/2011/261-072	Services	1/01/2015	1/08/2014	MOORE STEPHENS LLP	West Bank and Gaza Strip
2014	Programa de formación para legisladores y su personal de apoyo y de respaldo a la evaluación de la gestión parlamentaria (apoyo técnico a la Asamblea Nacional)	Action Grants	31/07/2016	1/08/2014	INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS SUPERIORES DE ADMINISTRACION ASOCIACION CIVIL SIN FINES DE LUCRO	Venezuela

ANNEX 5: PARLIAMENT STAKEHOLDERS OF SUPPORT PROJECTS

As described in the policy paper of Global Partners Governance, parliaments consist of different players. Because not one identifiable person is in control of the entire development of parliament, support programs can engage with the different players as project stakeholders. Global Partners Governance identifies six sets of stakeholders to engage with. Each of these players has the potential to become a "driver of change":

- The Speaker of Parliament. He/she has a role in determining parliamentary business, decisions about the administration of parliament and be a focal point for negotiations between the main political parties. He/she will be critical in determining the tone of parliamentary debate. However, in some emerging parliaments the Speaker's authority is subject of contestation. Some of the contentious issues is the fast-track procedure for legislation, bypassing full parliamentary scrutiny of legislation - sometimes under pressure of the executive. Some parliamentary projects foresee in an policy advisor to the Speaker, e.g. a former MP from another jurisdiction, or a legal advisor.
- Political party leaders. Political parties are the vehicles through which the political negotiation and the organisation of parliamentary business is conducted. Projects need to engage more with parties in parliament, improving their organisation, internal structures and the inter-party contacts.
- Committee chairs. Committees are the engines of parliamentary activity and detailed scrutiny of government policy and legislation. The chairs of committees are often appointed because of their seniority or importance to their party. In many parliaments, committee chairs are appointed in proportion to the strength of the party in parliament. Committee members often are / become experts in the policy issues of the committee. Projects can provide thematic or technical advice, and offer assistance on work planning, organizational or research skills. Projects can also offer policy advice on the formula of distribution of committee chairs to political parties depending on their strength in parliament, if there is interest and openness in parliament for this advice.
- Influential backbenchers or 'champions'. There are likely to be significant figures within the parliament who, although holding no formal position within the Government, enjoy significance because of their longevity, seniority or prior status outside parliament. Some projects include these 'champions' as members of the Project Board, as initiators for a Strategic Plan or facilitators of activities.
- Secretary General or Clerk of the Parliament. He/she does not usually have a public profile, but will be responsible for how the parliament is run. For most parliamentary assistance projects, the SG is one of the most important relationships, triggering regular consultation on the design and implementation of the project, in particular for the components dealing with staff development.
- Heads of key parliamentary directorates. MPs need to be able to depend on reliable staff. Specific directorates within parliament have a strong influence on the service delivery to MPs. These will often include the research directorate as a focal point for many MPs' enquiries, a parliamentary directorate which co-ordinates the legislative agenda and work of committees and the media directorate which communicates parliamentary activity to the outside world. For most parliamentary assistance projects, the Directors of Departments are the ones to deliver on reforms proposed or to facilitate attendance by staff at project trainings.

Global Partners Governance (GPG) started working with the Council of Representatives in 2008. Working in a highly sensitive and difficult political environment, and alongside much larger, traditional parliamentary support programmes, GPG had to adopt an innovative and flexible approach, which they describe as ‘politically agile programming’, the key features of which are described here.

Iraq’s Political Context

In 2008 Iraq faced problems common to parliaments undergoing a transition to a new democracy. The parliament, superficially at least, had many of the key structures and processes in place, sufficient numbers of staff and capable MPs who with a desire to make the institution work. However, the parliament lacked any common sense of purpose and no clear agreement about how the institution should work and whom should take key decisions. Political competition between the different political blocs, all of whom were vying for power and control of the institution, often resulted in stalemate, as MPs and staff challenged the way in which decisions were taken. Both government oversight and legislative scrutiny took second place to the wider battles about who should hold power.

In this context GPG’s approach was to avoid the bigger political issues and instead work with discrete parts of the institution to make them more effective and efficient, and then seek to widen those work practices across the institution. The approach sought to help staff and MPs manage the practical problems in front of them, turn these into accepted practices and thus strengthen the parliament as a whole. There are three distinct elements to this approach worth highlighting:

Focus on behaviour rather than structures

Whereas the majority of parliamentary strengthening programmes tend to focus on institutional structure and rule reform, GPG’s approach is to find reforms that come about through changing behaviour. In almost every parliament there is a gap between the power it holds in theory and the willingness or ability of MPs and staff to use those powers.

Using political economy analysis the project sought to understand the incentive structures that were causing unproductive patterns of behaviour. The project then worked closely with specific committees, individual parliamentary directorates and the Speaker’s Office and the Secretary General to identify and then implement new ways of working. GPG helped them to find new practices that would not only bring them a direct and immediate benefit, but also strengthen parliamentary oversight and scrutiny. The MPs and staff thus had their own incentive to implement such changes, but more importantly, because they were driven locally, this also meant they were likely to be maintained by MPs and staff beyond the lifetime of the project.

Pockets of good practice and dissemination across the parliament

The rationale of the project was to establish pockets of good practice within the parliament, and then get MPs and staff themselves to disseminate them across the institution. To this end, GPG worked closely with half a dozen committees, supporting them with internal structures and job descriptions for staff, as well as developing standard procedures for policy enquiries, evidence-taking and committee reports. Working closely with small groups of politicians and staff not only builds a relationship of trust, but can achieve meaningful changes which can, for example, turn committees into beacons of good practice. The committees were encouraged to capture these lessons in periodic reports they published.

At the same time, GPG worked with the permanent staff of the parliament to ensure that effective ways of working were retained by the institution as whole. Supporting the Parliamentary Directorate, and the Research Directorate, they distilled the key lessons and turned them into principles that were distributed by parliament to all committees. In addition, GPG then supported the Speaker’s Office in developing a parliament-wide assessment framework for committee performance. Developing indicators and other measures of performance with the Speaker’s office, they established the benchmarks against which all future committee work would be judged. The project thus simultaneously sought both bottom-up and top-down change.

Self-sustaining reforms

The inherent problem in working with parliaments is that there is a turnover of politicians at each election. In new democracies, where the electorate is more volatile, it is common for parliaments to lose up to 80% of MPs. Retaining institutional memory in such circumstances is key, hence the need to work both with MPs and the permanent staff of the institution.

GPG’s approach is to seek what they describe as ‘self-sustaining’ reforms. That is, reforms that play to existing incentives, but also subtly alter the incentives towards new patterns of behaviour. GPG sought to help local partners find new ways of working that they could see would be useful, but also strengthened the institution at the same time. The key to their maintenance was ensuring that those practices were repeated and then replicated across the institution, which requires prolonged engagement with the parliament, and ensuring that the process is owned by MPs and staff themselves.

Conclusion: Politically Agile Programming

The key to GPG’s success in Iraq was continual reflection and analysis, alongside flexible programming, which allowed them to adapt the changing political environment. Although the overarching programme objectives remained the same, the project involved multiple entry points and variation of activities (and indicators) from the original logframe. Politics is never static, and political incentives vary on a daily basis. There is therefore, no template which can be applied to all parliamentary strengthening programmes. Agile and innovative programmes can only be delivered by expert organisations that are astute enough to understand the political complexities and the realistic options available.

Democracy Reporting International is an independent, non-partisan and not-for-profit organisation which operates on the conviction that democratic, participatory governance is a human right and that governments need to be accountable to their citizens.

Through careful assessment of the institutional aspects of the democratic process such as elections, the role of parliaments and constitutional arrangements *Democracy Reporting International* seeks to provide citizens, legislators, the media, and the international community with specialist analysis. *Democracy Reporting International* also offers policy advice and recommendations on how improvements can be made in line with international standards and engages political actors to advocate for these reforms.