Strengthening democracy support to EU Delegations: from performance indicators, knowledge sharing to expert services

Study on Performance Indicators for EU parliamentary support

Final Report

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Strengthening democracy support to EU Delegations: from performance indicators, knowledge sharing to expert services

Contract N°2011/279014

FWC COM 2011 - Lot 1 – Studies and Technical Assistance in all Sectors

Study on Performance Indicators for EU parliamentary support

<u>Final report</u>

September 2012

Team composition:

Maria Macchiaverna
Jonathan Murphy
Dan Malinovich
Mario Varrenti

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Executive Summary

This short Guide provides practical advice and recommendations for European Union officials and others designing and implementing parliamentary support projects in new and emerging democratic parliaments.

The guide begins with a discussion of the growing EU commitment to parliamentary support around the world. It discusses the importance of demonstrating effectiveness of parliamentary support programming, as well as some of the issues and constraints involved in measuring impact of democracy support in general and parliament support in particular.

There is a need to develop indicators of programme effectiveness that lie in between 'meta' impact analyses on the overall state of democracy in a country (unlikely to be demonstrable within the time frame and relatively small size of parliamentary development projects), and 'micro' analyses of inputs provided to parliaments (which mainly measure whether projects were conducted as planned, rather than whether they impacted parliamentary effectiveness). The Guide is focused instead on the 'meso-' level; identifying positive impacts of parliamentary support projects on the effectiveness of parliaments in carrying out their functions of legislation, executive oversight, and citizen representation.

One key starting point in performance monitoring (and even earlier, in project design) is ensuring that the programme theory or logic is aligned with the intended outcomes. The Guide also explores other general issues in parliamentary support programme design and effectiveness measurement, including that a) impact takes time, b) performance assessment needs to be integrated within project design and implementation, c) the relationship between effective parliaments and democracy needs to be clearly understood in both project design and evaluation, d) that parliaments' place in an international institutional ecosystem has a strong influence on organizational behaviour and ambitions, and e) that parliamentary development, like all international development, needs to be country owned and driven.

Based on a study of EU-supported parliamentary development projects in 40 countries over the past ten years, and survey of best practices by other democratic development donors, the Guide identifies 7 theme areas of parliamentary support, including Legislation, Oversight, Budget, Representation, Administration, Inclusivity, and Institution-building. The Guide discusses each of these areas in turn, beginning in each case with a discussion of the logic and objectives involved in providing support to strengthen each responsibility or function of parliament. Each of the 7 sections contains a table which identifies the three most common planned outcomes of support provided in each of the sections. The table identifies the types of indicative activities supported to achieve those goals, sample outcome indicators, and possible impact assessment and/or measurement methodologies. While every project will have unique outcome objectives, it is hoped that the types of outcome, activities, indicators and measurement methodologies will be useful in designing specific project impact assessment approaches.

The Guide concludes with a short resource list and bibliography of references consulted.

1. Introduction

Democratic development is a precondition for durable human development (Halperin et al. 2005). The European Union, which is built on principles of democratic and accountable governance, has resolved to encourage and support democratic development in all of its development and foreign policy relationships. This is reflected in international agreements such as the Cotonou Accords with the ACP countries, as well as in each bilateral Country Assistance Strategy.

Parliamentary development is a keystone of support to democratic development. Strong parliaments help ensure democratic accountability and responsiveness within a functional system of division of power between executive, legislature, and judiciary. Countries with strong and effective parliaments tend to have more stable and more successful democracies (Bunce, 2000; Fish, 2006; Fish and Kroenig, 2008).

The European Union supports parliamentary strengthening projects throughout the world. Between 2000 and 2010, the EU supported parliamentary development in over 40 countries, with assistance exceeding €100 million. The EU is committed to expanding and deepening this support over the next years (European Commission, 2010).

One challenge in democratic development, as in all development assistance, is ensuring that support is effective, and that projects are able to learn from their own and other successes and challenges in order to further strengthen impact. Although there is evidence of a positive impact of democracy assistance on democratization when measured on a macro basis (Finkel et al., 2007), impact assessment for specific democratic development projects – including parliamentary development - is a difficult task for a number of reasons. Four of the most important are that:

1. **Democratic development projects (and especially parliamentary development projects) are almost always relatively small scale, and it is difficult to measure their impact separately from other national and international factors affecting a country (Bermeo, 2010).**

2. **The standard 'control group' technique for measuring impact is not feasible for democratic development (Munck, 2009).**

3. **Frequently, more than one development partner is delivering support to a parliament and it is not possible to differentiate between the impacts of the different support projects.**

4. **The objectives of democratic development are not always commonly agreed, and usually include a number of potentially conflicting goals including for example legislative efficiency at the same time as legislative inclusivity (Burnell, 2005).**

As a result of these challenges, many parliamentary development projects focus their monitoring and evaluation efforts on measurement of basic project inputs and outputs. Therefore, for example, a project might aim to train a certain number of parliamentary staff in legislative research. The project would track whether this activity was carried out on time and within budget, and whether the number of participants met expectations. This type of monitoring is important, as it provides a guarantee of accountability, but it does not measure impact. Even when an evaluative component is added (for example, post-training surveys), these often measure participant satisfaction rather than the actual impact on the functioning and effectiveness of the parliament.

Using the Guide

The objective of this Guide to performance indicators, therefore, is to fill the gap between output measurement (which cannot measure institutional change), and 'macro' analyses of impact of democratic development in general (which cannot assess the merits of individual initiatives). The 'meso' level of impact assessment, to which this Guide is devoted, aims to monitor to what extent individual parliamentary strengthening activities change behaviour in the parliamentary functioning area which the activity is intended to impact.

As an example, one of the key interventions in the area of legislative capacity building (theme 1, sub-area 2) is training to enhance staff ability to provide technical support to MPs in legislative drafting. This is an important area because legislative drafting is a highly technical field and MPs may well not be able to put forward draft legislation or amendments without support. The indicative *activity* is training, and the *output* is trained staff. However this is of limited usefulness if MPs do not make use of that training. Therefore, the measurable *outcome* indicators will include the number of pieces of legislation and amendments drafted, proposed, and adopted prior to and after support provided.

Although measurable outcome indicators are important because they provide easily demonstrable results, qualitative assessment is also an essential element, especially in determining exactly through what processes an activity has caused an impact, and where and how that impact can be enhanced (Barkan, ed., 2009). Therefore, in this example, the proposed outcome measure is "improved quality of legislative analysis and amendments presented by legislature". This is assessed through 'before and after' analysis of legislative production. This should be performed as part of the initial project needs assessment and be incorporated in monitoring and evaluation cycles.

The key themes in parliamentary development are organized into seven areas. Within each of these areas, three key outcomes are identified, along with indicative activities, outcome indicators (both quantitative and qualitative), and measurement/assessment methodology. The seven theme areas are as follows:

1.	Legislation		5.	Administration
2.	Oversight		6.	Inclusivity
3.	Budget		7.	Institution-building
4.	Representation			

These areas of parliamentary activity are interconnected and overlap. Often, parliamentary operations are described in terms simply of the constitutional functions of legislation, oversight, and representation. However, when examining all of the parliamentary development projects and their constituent activities undertaken over the past decade, it became clear that activities could best be grouped into these seven areas. The logic underpinning parliamentary strengthening support in each of the areas is discussed in the introductory section to the outcome and indicators table for each of the seven themes.

The Guide does not claim to be exhaustive; there are many variations on outcomes to be sought in parliamentary development, and on interventions to achieve those outcomes. The

aim is to provide a range of key outcomes and associated indicators that can be adapted for use in parliamentary support design, implementation, and monitoring. A total of 21 key outcomes have been identified in the seven theme areas, which represent the major types of activities noted in study of European Union parliamentary development support, as well as relevant other agencies including USAID (1998) and UNDP[1].

Programme logic

Outcomes of a project are framed by its initial design. It is important not to simply assume that an intervention will have the planned causal outcome intended. If this were the case, project design would be very simple. One common error is the assumption that it is 'capacity' which is lacking, and that a simple transference of skills can fill that gap and result in enhanced performance. There may indeed be need for capacity development, but parliaments, like other institutions, operate within dynamics of incentives and interconnections (a 'political economy') that have a major impact on how parliament functions and what receptiveness there will be to strategies for strengthening (Power and Coleman, 2011). One common phenomenon, to give an example, is that parliamentarians from the majority will be rewarded (by ministerial positions, travel opportunities, etc.) for loyalty to the government rather than conducting effective oversight. This does not mean that parliamentarians operate entirely or even largely through self-interest, but that effective parliamentary work is not simply a matter of providing expertise through training. Similarly, parliamentarians often feel pressured to deliver tangible goods and services to their constituencies rather than engage in national policy debates.

Project design, therefore, must be built on an understanding of programme logic (Uggla, 2007). Project designers must have a model for how and why they expect their interventions to work. This is crucial not merely to decide what actions to undertake, but also to determine how to evaluate a project, and specifically what performance indicators to assess. Monitoring and evaluation must therefore not only examine which outcomes have been attained, but also assess the extent to which the programme logic supports the actions outcomes that are sought, and the interventions undertaken to bring them about. As programme design hypotheses are confirmed or rejected, projects need to be revised, with anticipated outcomes as well as interventions adjusted. The monitoring and evaluation process, therefore, can be seen to involve an interconnected and iterative cycle, as shown in the figure below.

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[1] UNDP data are in the public domain but were collected by the author in the course of consulting assignments between 2006 and 2011.

1. Programme Theory Evaluation

| Documentation of intervention logic, actor chain and internal transformations and external interventions | *Established at program development stage, reassessed at interim evaluation, based on data from monitoring reports and ongoing output monitoring and measurement . Overall programme logic viability evaluated at final evaluation* |

2. Outcome or Impact Evaluation

| Assessment of progress towards major programme objectives | *Major programme objectives determined at project development and included in project design and logical framework, documented through programme reporting, monitored through monitoring reports and and evaluated at final evaluation* |

3. Output monitoring and measurement

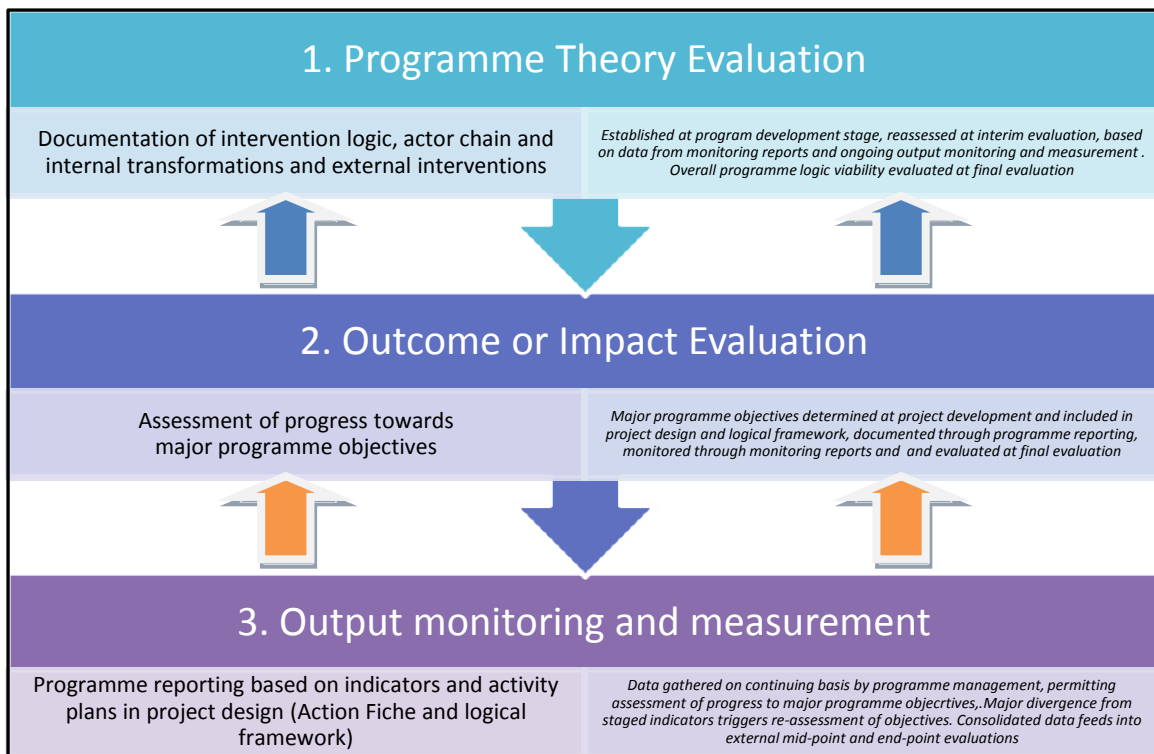| Programme reporting based on indicators and activity plans in project design (Action Fiche and logical framework) | *Data gathered on continuing basis by programme management, permitting assessment of progress to major programme objecrtives,.Major divergence from staged indicators triggers re-assessment of objectives. Consolidated data feeds into external mid-point and end-point evaluations* |

Figure 1: Interconnected levels of performance assessment and monitoring

Considerations in parliamentary project design and performance measurement

1. Impact takes time

One key consideration in designing both parliamentary support projects and monitoring and evaluation is that impact takes time, unfortunately often longer than project funding permits. Therefore, it may often be that impacts being measured for one project are the gradually institutionalised impacts of activities carried out earlier! Further, project impact may be cumulative, so that a second programme of support may appear more effective than the first, but which in reality is building on the behaviour change foundations of the first. While the time frame for parliamentary support is usually out of the hands of the project designers and implementers, it is important that programming strategy takes into account the importance of long term support. This is especially the case given the fluid nature of many parliaments, with high turnover of MPs at each election. In general, smaller projects extending over a longer period are more likely to be effective than large, short-term projects. Nevertheless, the 'meso' approach adopted here, which focuses on changes identified in discrete elements of parliamentary performance, should permit relatively early identification of changes in parliamentary performance compared with broad 'meta measures' of overall institutional performance.

2. Integrating performance assessment into project design and implementation

The single most frequent comment in monitoring and evaluation reports is that insufficient data had been collected on project impact. Performance assessment and measurement needs to be fully integrated into the design of the project, for example in the regular organization of focus groups throughout the course of the project. Baseline information

should be collected so that changes over the period of project implementation can be monitored. Performance monitoring and measurement processes need to be incorporated into the regular operation of the project, so that data are collected systematically that assess performance and make changes where necessary during the course of the project. Often, projects need to change focus in response to national and institutional developments, and well-integrated, constructive performance assessment can help and explain the need for such changes.

The development and tracking of performance measures should be properly budgeted at the project outset. Unless detailed and costed line performance monitoring and evaluation items are incorporated in the approved budget, performance measurement will always risk being a secondary consideration. This in turn will hamper monitoring and evaluation, and will limit the extent to which lessons learned from a project can be applied to improving the project and sharing experience with other parliamentary development work. There are no hard and fast rules on how much performance monitoring and measurement will cost (depending very much on the methodologies applied), but for its parliamentary development projects, USAID assumes that approximately 3 – 5% of total project cost will involve performance monitoring, impact measurement and evaluation. Typically, in larger projects, there should be a dedicated performance monitoring and evaluation expert within the project. In smaller projects, performance monitoring responsibilities should be incorporated in all programme staff job descriptions, with a senior staff person responsible for co-ordinating performance measurement activities as part of a monitoring and evaluation plan.

Where possible, the indicators to be monitored are ones that should be gathered as part of parliament's normal administrative functioning; for example documentation of the numbers of pieces of legislation adopted. Many emerging democracy parliaments may not have adequate systems for gathering information about parliamentary activities, and a development project can act as an impetus to setting up such systems. Where specific development activities take place, such as training sessions or study missions, pre-and post-activity assessments should be carried out to determine activity impact.

Inevitably, some performance monitoring processes will need to be carried out specifically for the project, especially for qualitative indicators that require survey or focus group methods. Typically, these involve a baseline stage and follow-up, and the baseline stage would also be part of project design / inception activities (see *Engaging and Supporting Parliaments Worldwide*, chapter two, for a detailed discussion on project development). While survey and focus group data gathering are mentioned a number of times in the tables for the different themes, normally a single survey or set of focus groups can address performance in a number of areas.

Finally, performance monitoring plans themselves need to be flexible and iterative, able to take into account both changing programme delivery goals and activities, and incorporating unexpected outcomes and challenges.

3. Have a clear understanding of the links between parliaments and democracy

Although democracy is a ubiquitous term, and most people would agree on some basic principles underpinning the concept (such as 'government by the people'), there are different perspectives of what democracy involves, and especially of its 'ideal' form. At a basic level, parliamentary democracy can be seen as simply involving the election of

representatives by universal suffrage at set intervals usually of four to five years, with the elected parliamentarians responsible for governing on behalf of the people until the next election.

Increasingly, however, this minimalist version of democracy has been subject to criticism (Naidoo, 2001). Questions have been raised about whether elected representatives really reflect the public interest or are 'captured' by special interests, about whether decision-making should involve a more intensive and interactive process (deliberative democracy), and whether genuine democracy requires participation on an issue by issue basis (participatory democracy). These often legitimate criticisms have often resulted in scepticism towards parliamentary representative democracy and the counterposing of 'traditional' parliamentary democracy to participatory democracy, the latter often mediated through civil society. This scepticism towards representative democracy has been particularly prominent in the international development field, with many development professionals contrasting their own positive experiences with grassroots civil society groups with negative experiences of apparently unresponsive, elite-captured state institutions.

However, the opposition between 'representative' and 'participatory' democracy is an artificial one. Civil society groups and organizations that animate participatory processes are dependent for their ability to operate, on a legal framework that includes protections for freedom of speech and the right of association and assembly, etc[2] (Doherty, 2001). Furthermore, participatory processes need to be enacted into legislation and policy in order to be put into effect. Parliament, which acts as the intermediary between citizens and the state, is the institution best equipped to link participatory processes with formal decision-making. Democratic governance with strong linkages between citizen, parliament, and government, tends to be more responsive, more stable, and popular than systems where parliament and government are remote from the population.

This enhanced view of democracy, as channelling participatory processes through the representative institution of parliament, frames contemporary views about parliamentary development. Whereas early parliamentary development strategies tended to focus on the formal structures and processes of parliament, support to parliament now tends to emphasize enhancing the different *linkages* between parliament and its partners in democratic decision-making. Support interventions strengthen parliament's dialogue and accountability with citizens, and similarly strengthen government's responsiveness and accountability to parliament. One area that still requires attention is in fostering links between democratic strengthening, parliamentary development, and political party development (Power and Coleman, 2011).

4. Parliament's international networks are an important development resource

Parliament's international links should be considered both a cross-cutting development theme, and also a potential implementation modality. Almost every parliament is member of one or more international parliamentary association. These associations, whether global, such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), or based on common heritage such as the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), hold regular meetings where common challenges can be discussed with fellow parliamentarians. Typically, training seminars and other supports are available. Increasingly, focused networks such as the Global Organization

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[2] There are no examples of non-democratic societies with free, independent, and effective civil society organizations.

of Parliamentarians against Corruption[3], and networks of parliamentary Public Accounts Committees[4] are being established that help advance parliamentary effectiveness in specific topic areas.

Further, there is an increasing trend towards regional parliaments – of which the European Parliament is the best known and with a wide range of powers and responsibilities. The European Parliament has made considerable efforts to build partnerships with parliaments internationally, and in addition is a partner in the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly with parliamentarian representatives from the African, Caribbean and Pacific region. In addition, the European Parliament has its own international development office, the Office for Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy, which has a number of bilateral and multilateral activities in support of parliamentary development, and should be considered a key resource for European Union delegations sponsoring parliamentary development projects.

Twinning relationships are a vehicle for peer-to-peer support. South-South inter-parliamentary twinning is particularly valuable, as parliaments may be able to more readily identify with the challenges faced by parliaments in countries facing similar challenges. Another very important opportunity for twinning exists between emerging democracy parliaments and parliaments of European Union countries. Many European Union parliaments have their own international development divisions, and may well be able to share the costs of implementing parliamentary development activities. There have been a number of successful twinning partnerships of this type, underpinning European Union support to parliamentary development in various emerging democracies.

One important and positive development is the trend towards development of international norms or best practices for parliaments, which have been adopted by a number of international parliamentary associations, both from similar constitutional traditions (CPA and APF), and at a regional level (Southern Africa Development Community – Parliamentary Forum). These norms provide an important, historically and culturally relevant, benchmark for parliaments to assess their capacities and attributes against their peers.

Parliamentarians have access to a number of international virtual networks including www.iKnowPolitics.org, the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, and http://www.agora-parl.org/, the Portal for Parliamentary Development. There are also several resources available that can help parliaments assess their own development needs, including the IPU's self-assessment toolkit[5], and International IDEA's State of Democracy Assessment methodology[6].

5. Parliamentary development must be driven by parliament itself, not external actors

Finally, the most important consideration in the design of parliamentary support is that parliamentary development has to be driven by the parliament itself. Institutional change and strengthening cannot be imposed from the outside. Therefore, the approaches proposed here a merely a starting point for discussion with parliament about the outcomes it is seeking in its development.

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[3] GOPAC (http://www.gopacnetwork.org/), which also has regional chapters in several parts of the world. See Campbell and Stapenhurst (2005).
[4] See for example, the Southern African Development Community Organisation of Public Accounts Committees http://www.sadcopac.org/ (Cheyo, 2011).
[5] http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/self-e.pdf.
[6] See for example, http://www.idea.int/sod/framework/framework.cfm#p2X2\.4.

The remainder of the Guide considers each of the seven themes of parliamentary development in turn, beginning with a discussion of the logics of intervention in the relevant area, and followed by a tabular presentation of outcomes, indicative development activities, outcome indicators, and assessment and measurement methodologies.

2.   Legislation

Underlying programmatic logic

Legislation is the single aspect of parliamentary responsibility that is reflected in almost every national constitution[7]. In most countries, parliament is largely responsible for legislating. Therefore, strengthening parliament's capacity to legislate is often included in parliamentary development programmes.

At the same time, some caution must be shown in designing programmes to building parliamentary capacity in this area. In most parliaments, even in countries with strong and well-institutionalised parliaments, the primary responsibility for drafting legislation rests with governments, although the right of parliamentarians to initiative their own legislative proposals is jealously guarded. In addition to the initiation of legislation, however, parliaments have important additional legislative roles – they must consider, amend, and approve or reject laws proposed by government. Therefore, *in addition* to the capacity to initiate, the capacity for analysis, critique, and amendment is crucial.

Another area that must be considered carefully is that of legislative efficiency. Here there is no 'objective standard'. A parliament that simply rubber-stamps government legislative proposals may appear efficient, but it is hardly effective. On the other hand, a parliament that spends an inordinate time debating legislation without coming to a conclusion is both inefficient and ineffective. Further, the role of parliament will necessarily change depending on its composition. A parliament with a strong governing majority will tend to approve most legislation proposed by government, but an effective parliament in this case will ensure legislation is considered carefully and amended where needed. A parliament without a clear majority will be the scene of intensive negotiations between the different political forces represented; an effective parliament in these circumstances will avoid blockage on purely partisan lines.

Increasingly, legislation needs to meet international norms and standards. It remains crucial that national sovereignty is respected, of course, but almost all countries are part of international communities whose members agree to harmonize relevant aspects of their legislation. These norms range from adoption of global human rights conventions and norms, to trade-related agreements, to regional economic communities. The EU's enlargement process and the requirement for harmonization of legislation, as well as the interest in particular of EU Neighbouring countries to approximate their laws to EU legislation is a good case in point. Countries may also be parties to regional human rights and other charters and conventions.

An effective parliament will both need to have the capacity to consider international agreements for their national legal ramifications, and once adopted, be able to examine legislation through the lens of consistency with international agreements, as well, of course, as the provisions of the national constitution.

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[7] Although some aspects of the legislative responsibility are often devolved to government, such as the setting of regulations implementing laws. In some systems, government may even be empowered to pass legislation through 'decree law'. However even in this case, parliament must within a specified period ratify any laws passed by decree, failing which they become invalid.

Having taken these factors into account and considered parliamentary legislation strengthening projects that have been supported by the EU and other development actors, the following capacity enhancement are seen as of general importance:

1. **Staff and MP capacity to analyse legislation**
2. **Technical support available to draft and amend legislation**
3. **Enhanced understanding of the international legal framework and national legislation amended to comply with international norms.**

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Assessment / Measurement methodology
1. **Staff and MP capacity to analyse legislation is enhanced**	Training to legislative committee staff Training to party caucus staff and MPs Budget made available to legislative committees for obtaining expert legislative analysis Academic and other CSO experts engaged to provide advice on legislative proposals Targeted twinning/exchanges of staff and MPs with legislatively effective parliaments	**Measurable:** Number of amendments proposed / adopted prior to and after support provided Number of analytical reports on legislative proposals provided by staff to committees Number of external legislative analyses commissioned and delivered **Qualitative:** Improved quality of legislative analysis and amendments presented by legislature	*Should be captured by standard legislature record-keeping. If not, provide support to establish such a system* *Requires 'before and after' analysis of performance to be carried out. This should be performed as part of the initial project needs assessment and be incorporated in monitoring and evaluation cycles*
2. **Technical support available to draft and amend legislation**	Support provided in establishing a dedicated team and/or defined staff responsibilities and competencies in legislative drafting	**Measurable** Dedicated legislative drafting support team put in place (and incorporated as part of organogram and parliamentary	*Should be captured by standard legislature record-keeping. If not, provide support to establish such a*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Assessment / Measurement methodology
	Support provided to party caucuses to empower caucus staff to assist MPs in preparing legislative proposals and amendments	administration payroll Number of pieces of legislation and amendments drafted / proposed / adopted prior to and after support provided Number of pieces of legislation and amendments drafted / proposed / adopted by members of different party caucuses **Qualitative:** Improved quality of legislative analysis and amendments presented by legislature	*system* *Should be maintained by project implementation team as part of project monitoring* *Requires 'before and after' analysis of performance to be carried out. This should be conducted as part of the initial project needs assessment and be incorporated in monitoring and evaluation cycles*
3. Enhanced understanding of the international legal framework and its application to national legislation	Support for preparation of a baseline study of international treaty and convention obligations Support for legislative committee studies of international treaty, convention and international law obligations in specific areas – e.g. women, human rights, trade law, etc. Support to review of national legislation to assure its compliance and alignment with international legislation)	**Measurable** Evidence of legislative analysis of compliance with international law generally (or in a specific policy area) and legislative changes undertaken to ensure compliance with international law and standards Clear written guidelines for assessing compliance of proposed legislation with international commitments formally established in legislative processes	*Should be maintained by project. Parliamentary administration should be encouraged to establish a process to track compliance (see Outcome Indicators)*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Assessment / Measurement methodology
		Qualitative Evidence of increased awareness of MPs of international legislation and treaty obligations, national ombudsman reports, monitoring reports of international human rights commitments, etc. (in specific areas addressed by project, where focused support provided)	*Should be assessed as part of the project development and project monitoring and evaluation processes*

3.   Oversight

Underlying programmatic logic

Oversight essentially means monitoring government activities (for example, programme implementation) to ensure that they comply with the legislative mandate that parliament has provided, and that activities are carried out both efficiently and effectively. While legislation is the most well-known function of parliament, most analysts of parliamentary effectiveness argue that it is parliament's capacity to carry out comprehensive oversight of government action that is the key determinant of how much a parliament contributes to good governance. Parliaments have different tools for carrying out oversight, depending on their constitutional attributions, but these typically include written and oral questions, ministerial audiences and interpellations, and committee investigations. Most parliaments ultimately have the power to pass a vote of non-confidence in the Executive, which will normally result in the resignation of the government. Typically, though, the knowledge that government actions are subject to consistent scrutiny provides a key incentive for government accountability.

Increasingly, effective oversight is viewed as part of a culture of participation and responsibility that needs to be generalised within society in order for democratic processes to take hold. Parliaments are the key interlocutor between society and the state, and thus their oversight role needs both to draw from, and feed into, the activities of civil society and broader subject expertise. This occurs in a variety of ways including providing opportunities for civil society and expert input at committee hearings, the engagement of experts to analyse complex policy issues and government actions and provide recommendations, and informal connections between MPs and different interest groups that can flag up issues to be pursued.

Similarly, a free and effective media plays a crucial role in transparency and oversight, both in identifying and initially investigating issues that parliamentarians may later feed into the formal oversight process, and in disseminating the oversight activities of parliament. As with civil society, there are often frictions between media and parliament; media is responsible to report what is happening inside parliament itself, and may often criticize parliamentarians on political grounds or in terms of alleged wrongdoing. This diversity of perspectives again lies at the heart of an authentically democratic society.

There is often a misunderstanding that effective oversight can only be carried out by opposition members of parliament. While, obviously, opposition members have incentives to challenge government, detailed and tenacious monitoring of government actions by government-side members occurs continually in parliaments all over the world.

Oversight is frequently hampered by an inadequate framework of powers and operating procedures enabling parliament to be effective. In some constitutions, parliament's oversight powers are restricted or inadequately defined. Frequently there is lack of clarity around how oversight processes should be carried out. This issue is addressed in sub-theme 7; *Institution-Building*.

Parliament's powers of oversight in the budget process are discussed in the Budget section in sub-theme 3, below, because the Budget process is best seen as an integrated cycle. The Budget section also includes the role of state audit institutions, whose mandates typically

centre on financial accountability, but which increasingly include broader issues of government effectiveness.

The following areas of support to oversight can be considered priorities, with types of activities typically supported and sample outcome indicators and measurement methodologies also listed in the table below.

1. **Parliament consistently and effectively uses the available range of oversight tools**

2. **Improved dialogue and collaboration with civil society on policy oversight issues**

3. **Enhanced expert capacity of legislative committee staff to provide expert support and advice on oversight.**

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Assessment/ Measurement methodology
1. **Parliament consistently and effectively uses the available range of oversight tools**	Training provided to parliamentarians, committee, and party caucus staff on oversight tools and their use Exchange missions of oversight committees (for example, Public Accounts Committees) with homologue parliaments with established oversight capacity Preparation of oversight handbook for MPs Support establishment of annual planning process and linked parliamentary budget line item for each legislative committee, permitting oversight work (e.g. hearings in the field, engaging experts) *Where oversight tools are inadequate due to weaknesses in parliament's constitutional powers and/or internal regulations, support analysis of texts and development of*	**Measurable:** Tracking increased use of each oversight instrument, e.g. questions, interpellations, missions of enquiry, etc. **Qualitative:** Increased focus on oversight in committee deliberations Improved quality of oversight processes (for example more in-depth reports on policy implementation) Adoption of new analytical tools (for example increased emphasis on programme effectiveness in oversight rather than simply formal compliance with regulations)	*Should be captured by standard legislature record-keeping. If not, provide support to establish such a system* *The qualitative indicators require analysis before and after intervention. This should include assessment through focus group methodology (also involving external actors including media and civil society). Should be initiated before programme commencement and be incorporated in monitoring and evaluation cycles*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Assessment/ Measurement methodology
	amendments (see Institution-Building section 7)		
2. **Improved dialogue and collaboration with civil society on policy oversight issues**	Support dialogue with civil society on effective oversight collaboration (such as for example, annual dialogue between parliamentarians and civil society) Enhance opportunities for civil society input into legislative committee work, including through parliamentary rule changes where necessary Develop oversight manual including guidelines for incorporating public input on policy implementation Support pilot activities modelling policy dialogue with broader society on key policy areas	**Measurable** Increased frequency of formal opportunities provided for civil society input into oversight processes (legislative hearings, etc.) **Qualitative:** Enhanced collaboration with civil society on oversight Greater responsiveness to public concerns in parliamentary oversight programming, e.g. parliament takes a specific action as a result of civil society input on a policy oversight issue.	*Project team should establish baseline indicators of formal civil society engagement and track change over project implementation* *Requires baseline assessment of relationship between parliamentarians and civil society, tracked throughout the project. This can be carried out as part of programme activities, (for example in annual dialogue workshops)*
3. **Enhanced expert capacity of legislative committee staff to provide expert support and advice on oversight**	Development of organogramme for parliamentary committee staffing with associated human resource development strategy, ensuring qualified and empowered cadre Training for parliamentary committee staff and research / library staff Support to engage expert staff (on contractual or permanent basis) to	**Measurable** Presence of an approved organogramme and human resource development strategy for oversight expertise (may be combined with overall HRD strategy) Oversight training programme actioned in line with HRD strategy Records of advice and support	*Should be maintained by project. Parliamentary administration needs to maintain and update comprehensive HR development strategy records* *Parliamentary administration should ensure recordkeeping of expert advice on oversight provided*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Assessment/ Measurement methodology
	enhance oversight analytical capacity Twinning agreement with established parliament to provide consulting advice to support capacity enhancement of oversight support staff	provided to MPs in oversight domain **Qualitative** Increased satisfaction of MPs with staff support Improvement in the quality of oversight through incorporation of expert advice provided by parliamentary staff	*to MPs for planning and evaluation purposes; support may be needed to establish these systems* *MP satisfaction with enhanced support assessed formatively through the project and summatively at beginning and evaluation points* *External feedback on parliamentary effectiveness through continuing focus groups with key parliamentary interlocutors including media and civil society*

Underlying programmatic logic

Parliament may be involved in the budget process through the budget cycle. The budget cycle includes the development and approval of the budget, its implementation and monitoring, and the post-facto auditing of budgetary expenditures and actions (see chart below). Traditionally, parliament has been involved mainly at the approval and the audit stage. Increasingly, however, parliaments are playing a key role in gathering input at the budget development stage. This expanded public and interest group involvement increases transparency of the budget process and is an aspect on which a number of parliamentary development programmes have successfully focused.
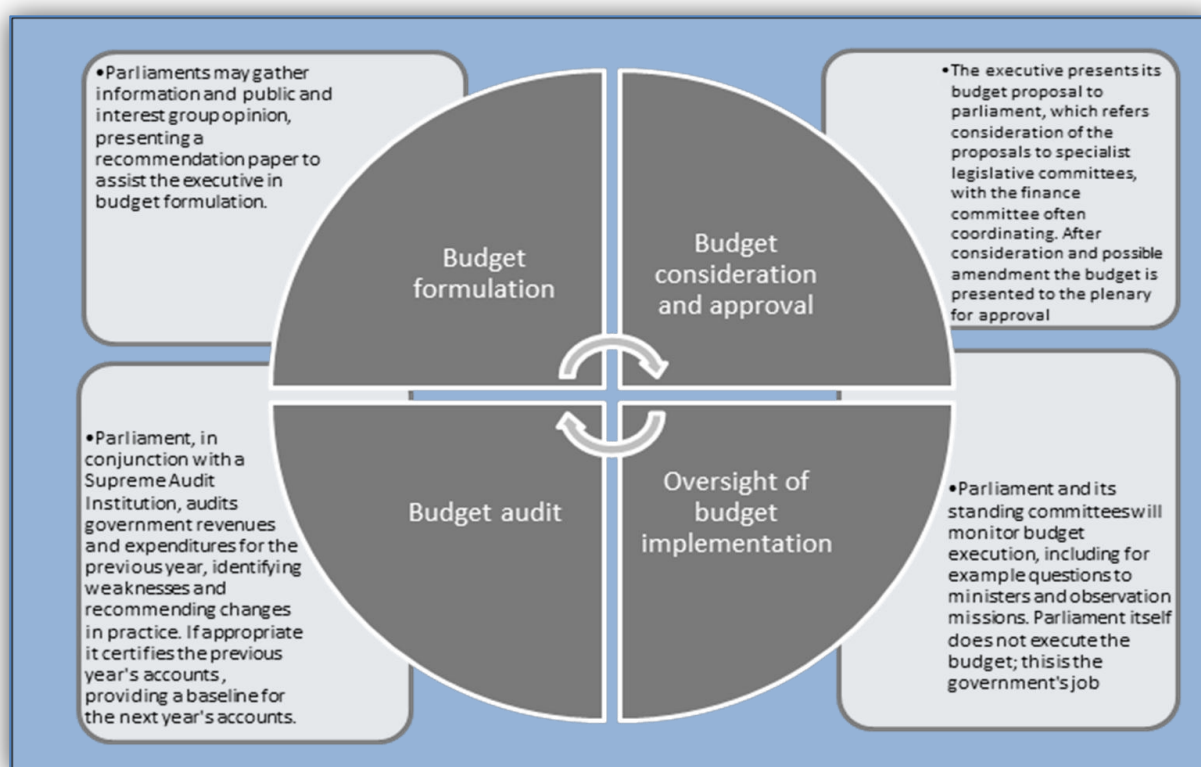

Figure 2: Parliament's role in the budget cycle. Adapted from European Union (2010)

The budget process is of great importance to a country's citizens, and to donors alike. It is in everyone's interest that scarce resources should be well-used. In the past, many donors inadvertently undermined national accountability systems, including parliaments, by providing development assistance through projects which each had their own financial and effectiveness accountability criteria. This had various deleterious effects, including diminishing the authority and relevance of the national system of budget accountability, and specifically of parliament. Now donors, including particularly the European Union, deliver much of their aid through direct budget support, meaning that funds are channelled through the national budget and are accounted for and audited by parliament with the support of national audit institutions. While this is a positive development, there are still many examples where even though direct budget support is provided, parliament is sidestepped

either in the budget formulation process (where key decisions are often made in private negotiations between the international financial institutions and the executive), or in the audit process, where parallel accountability processes are established by donors unwilling to have faith in parliamentary accountability. Support to parliamentary effectiveness in the budget process needs to be combined with a willingness of donors to change these disempowering practices[8].

Parliament's budget audit responsibilities are carried out in conjunction with 'supreme audit institutions'. In the Westminster-derived system this is typically an Auditor General, whereas in the Napoleonic system this is normally an Audit Court which is part of the judiciary. In some cases these institutions report directly to parliament; in others they have a dual reporting relationship with parliament and the executive. Frequently, the relationships between parliament and audit institutions could be improved; often there are problems with the constitutional provisions, particularly the amount of time provided to each institution for the auditing process may be inadequate. In many developing countries, the process of closing the budget cycle through approval of the end year audit (the *Loi de réglement* in Francophone parliaments) can be delayed for several years, undermining the integrity of the entire budget process. The political opposition has an important role in assuring budget and audit integrity; best practice is for parliamentary audit committees (such as the Public Accounts Committee in Westminster type systems) to be chaired by an opposition member. Interventions often seek to improve the interaction between the different institutions involved in auditing (including support to external watchdog CSOs), and sometimes help develop amendments to the constitutional framework governing the budget process.

The sheer volume and complexity of national budget documents mean that very few MPs will be able to wade through and fully absorb their contents. In recent years there is an increasing tendency for parliamentary budget process strengthening to include support to development of a Parliamentary Budget Office; a team of experts who concentrate budget analysis capacity and are able to provide clear analysis of the budget for MPs, as well as respond to specific questions. On the basis of this background assessment of budget strengthening needs and current best practice in parliamentary development, the following outcome areas and associated strategies and indicators are highlighted:

1. **Development of a core of recognized budgetary expertise within parliament**

2. **Support improved audit processes by strengthening interactions between parliament and the supreme audit institution**

3. **Increased involvement of parliament in the budget development process, animating involvement of civil society and the population in the budget.**

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
1. **Development of a core of recognized budgetary expertise within**	Support to the establishment of a parliamentary budget office (PBO) including recognized public	**Measurable:** Productive output of the PBO in terms of budget analyses and	*Record keeping processes of PBO to be agreed as part*

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[8] For example through auditing based on risk assessments rather than routine annual audits that replicate recipient countries' own national audit systems.

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
parliament	finance, value-for-money audit, and gender budgeting experts (see section 6, inclusivity) Training to members of the Finance Committee of parliament and Committee technical support staff Twinning and exchanges of key Committee members and staff with parliaments having effective budget cycle processes	responses to member requests in line with approved plan Amendments proposed / approved to government budget proposal Questions raised of ministers in budget exposition at committee and plenary stages Number of analytical reports on legislative proposals provided by staff to committees **Qualitative:** Increased effectiveness of MPs in the budget cycle as judged by their own and external assessments	*of PBO development process* *Should be captured by standard legislature record-keeping. If not, provide support to establish such a system* *To be assessed as part of the integrated processes of formative and summative evaluation of the parliamentary development initiative; for sustainability should be incorporated as part of parliament's evaluation systems.*
2. Improved audit processes by strengthening interaction between parliament and the supreme audit institution (SAI) (watchdog CSO?)	Taskforce established to study interactions between the parliament and the SAI to identify areas, processes and approaches for improvement Joint training provided to the audit institution, concerned MPs, and staff budget experts	**Measurable** Documented changes to formal parliament-SAI budgetary processes as a result of taskforce Number of items raised in the SAI budget report raised and addressed by	*To be maintained by project team as part of project monitoring* *Should be maintained by project implementation*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
	(including PBO) to enhance capacity and building working relationships	Finance Committee / other parliamentary committees **Qualitative:** Improved public / key interlocutor perception of parliamentary budget oversight effectiveness	*team and should be integrated into PBO recordkeeping* *Before and after interviews with parliamentarians, key staff including PBO, SAI and ministry officials* *Tracking of enhanced media coverage of AG / Audit Court report and parliamentary response*
3. Increased involvement of parliament in the budget development process, engaging civil society and the population in the budget	Support twinning / study mission with parliaments engaged in pre-budget public dialogue, including key ministry officials Preparation of report on legal framework for pre-budget public input and implementation of any necessary changes to permit public hearings Support to process of pre-budget hearings in response to a government budget perspectives document	**Measurable** Implementation of pre-budget hearings and records of persons and groups engaged in the process Budget propositions assessed in terms of national, international, and constitutional commitments (for example on MDG attainment) **Qualitative** Changed perceptions of those engaged in the process on inclusivity of budget process and relevance of parliamentary role Evidence of impact on budget contents	*Should be maintained by project. Parliamentary administration should be encouraged to establish a process to track compliance (see Outcome Indicators)* *Questionnaires administered to those engaged in the budget development process including those participating in hearings and government and parliamentary actors*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
			Interview with ministry officials as part of project evaluation

Underlying programmatic logic

It has already been mentioned several times that parliament has the key position of interlocutor between the citizen and the state. This is frequently explicitly noted within state constitutions. However even where it is not, the representation function is integral to the purpose of parliament; electors clearly choose their parliamentarians in order to represent their interests and beliefs. In many constitutions, the mandate of the parliamentarian is described as representing the best interest of the nation as a whole; however this of course includes representing the interests of the citizens, who in their diversity make up the nation. There is therefore no inconsistency between representing constituents and representing the nation.

As noted in the introduction, parliament's role as representing citizens in the liberal democratic model has come under considerable pressure in recent years because of the criticism that frequently, parliament is captured by special interests, and connections with the population are sporadic and superficial. When citizens are asked about their relationship with their member of parliament[9], they frequently respond that they see them only at election time. Whether this is true or not (possibly, they only *notice* their MP at election time), these general perceptions pose a challenge.

Civil society activists often propose 'participatory democracy' as an alternative form of democratic governance. Civil society organizations are frequently close to their members and supporters, and inevitably have a deep understanding of the issue in their domain of interest and activism. Nevertheless even the most active of civil society organizations tend to count far fewer members and even a smaller number of activists, than the number of electors who choose a single parliamentarian. Further, parliament is institutionally part of the formal system of government. Civil society may represent popular concerns and campaign on issues, but parliament has the power to enact change.

It is increasingly evident that authentically representative parliaments, and thus genuinely democratic governance, need to include a process of continuing dialogue with citizens that extends well beyond a simple vote every few years. This can occur directly between parliamentarians and their constituents in a variety of different ways ranging from 'MP surgeries'[10] to town hall meetings, and through interlocutors such as civil society organizations. By engaging with civil society organizations in the process of representation, parliament can take advantage of civil society's accumulated knowledge and understanding, and in the process make civil society more effective. An important goal of parliamentary development is to help parliaments to take their place as the natural intermediaries between civil society and the state, rather than civil society bypassing parliament and lobbying government directly, as frequently occurs in many countries. In doing so, the relationship between civil society and the decision-making process also becomes more transparent. Political parties can also be important interlocutors between citizens and parliamentarians; at the same time, it is important that citizens can access parliamentarians notwithstanding their own political allegiance.

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[9] The connection with an individual MP is even less direct in countries with a regional or national 'list' system of election.

[10] Regular hours where constituents can meet their MP in the constituency, and raise concerns or ask for assistance with particular problems they are having, usually with the government administration.

Transparency and communication are fundamental aspects of representation. In order for citizens to be able to provide their input into decision making, they need to know how and why decisions are being made. Parliament needs to communicate interactively with the population. Again this can occur directly through channels such as diffusion of parliamentary debates, but the media will always be a crucial intermediary. In emerging democracies, media is often inexperienced and ill-equipped in covering political debate. Support to parliamentary strengthening will often aim to enhance representativity through enhancing both direct and indirect communication channels.

Parliaments may often appear remote and closed to citizens, and many developing country parliaments have lagged behind in adapting procedures to encourage citizen engagement, for example in opening parliamentary committee hearings to the public. Apart from such changes requiring revision to internal regulations, development projects can help strengthen parliamentary communications offices, for example in supporting development of citizen outreach campaigns that might include parliamentary open days, youth and child parliaments[11], etc.

A specific area of representation that can be crucially important in post-conflict societies is the engagement of parliamentarians in preventing, mitigating, and recovering from conflict. There is a possible reverse, 'dark', side to this role as well; parliamentarians may be tempted to take advantage of latent prejudices and resource conflicts in order to further their own popularity at the expense of the national interest and of the right of other groups. Parliamentary strengthening can be invaluable in equipping parliamentarians with the tools they need to play a constructive role in mediating and diverting conflict into constructive dialogue.

There are numerous different avenues for strengthening representation, and the preferred strategies will be significantly dependent on the electoral systems, parliamentary traditions, level of development, geography, and communications infrastructure present in a country. Key outcomes that will be applicable in many different parliaments include:

1. **Enhanced public awareness of parliamentary activities and policy debates**
2. **Improved awareness and responsiveness of parliamentarians to priority concerns of constituents**
3. **Enhanced role of parliamentarians as community leaders in preventing and mitigating conflict.**

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
1. **Enhanced public awareness of (and access to) parliamentary activities and policy debates**	Support to development of a professional parliamentary media through training and exchanges with institutionalized democracies with organized parliament	**Measurable:** Number of stories on parliamentary business in print and online as well as broadcast media and electronic media	*Initially through project team but to be integrated into responsibilities of parliamentary communications directorate*

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[11] See for example http://elearning-events.dit.ie/unicef/html/unit1/1_6_8.htm.

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
	press Support in establishment of a parliamentary radio network and/or enhanced diffusion of parliamentary debate on state, private, and community broadcasters, as well as through the internet Support development of an effective parliamentary communications directorate with professionalized leadership and clear mandate to enhance communications channels	Listening and viewing figures for parliamentary broadcasts Public awareness and understanding of parliament's role and activities (too unspecific) **Qualitative:** Assessment of support to media strengthening Assessment of effectiveness of communications directorate in terms of its objectives	*Should be captured by networks' own audience figures; if not, public surveys would need to be conducted (which can gather key information in a variety of domains but is expensive, especially if implemented nationally)* *Public surveys / focus groups* *Formative and summative evaluations of developmental support and outcomes*
2. Improved awareness and responsiveness of parliamentarians to priority concerns of constituents	Support to development of a representation and dialogue plan of parliament Support to implementation of the representation and dialogue plan, including for example committee hearings in the field on specific priority issues, establishment of regional parliamentary	**Measurable** Documentation of number and nature of constituent interactions supported through the representation and dialogue plan Citizen assessments of parliamentary responsiveness in surveys such as Afrobarometer[12]	*To be maintained by project team as part of project monitoring; should eventually be maintained by parliament's communication directorate* *Project record-keeping – narratives of interactions*

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[12] http://www.afrobarometer.org/.

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
	representation offices, planned dialogue with local and regional elected assemblies, etc.	**Qualitative:** Effectiveness of implemented communications strategies	*feeding into monitoring and evaluation processes*
3. Enhanced role of parliamentarians as community leaders in preventing and mitigating conflict	Identification of key parliamentarians to design and test a conflict reduction and mediation skills programme Support to conflict reduction and mediation skills programme including recruitment of parliamentarians who have led peace-building processes in other post-conflict societies Piloting and roll-out of parliamentarians' peace-building approach using peer leadership approach	**Measurable** Track MPs participation in programme, and in project roll-out Maintain records of number and type of peace-building activities engaged in as part of programme **Qualitative** Assess project impact in terms of parliamentarians' perspectives and effectiveness of programme in the field	*Should be maintained by project, preferably delivered by established national civil society organization.* *Interview and questionnaires administered to engaged parliamentarians* *Narrative, story-telling approach to project evaluation that can also be used in extending and perfecting approach nationally and internationally.*

Underlying programmatic logic

Traditionally, parliamentary development programmes have focused considerable attention on parliamentary administration. Frequently, working with the parliamentary administration has provided the easiest entry point to parliaments, especially in conditions of semi-authoritarian governance, where engagement with more 'political' aspects of parliamentary function, such as oversight, was resisted by the authorities. In recent years, however, greater attention has tended to be placed on directly enhancing parliament's capacity to carry out its constitutional functions. Caution should be shown in supporting parliamentary development programmes that address only 'technical' administrative strengthening.

Nevertheless, an effective parliament does require an effective administration. In numerous parliaments in emerging democracies, the administrative is so weak that parliaments and parliamentarians cannot function efficiently or effectively. Often, parliamentarians have no trained staff or access to information technology, and thus if they wish to research for example international best practice in a certain area, they must depend on their own knowledge and access to international sources of information. This situation disempowers parliament vis-à-vis the executive.

It will be noted that many outcomes identified in this Guide to Performance Indicators include aspects of administrative strengthening that are tied directly to performance improvement in specific areas of parliamentary responsibility such as legislation, oversight, budget cycle, and representation. Generally, support to the parliamentary administration should be framed in this way. However, there are certain centralized administrative systems that need to be in place in order to permit parliament to operate smoothly. These include, for example, a parliamentary public service with professional systems for recruitment and advancement, internal financial management and control systems, basic information technology infrastructure and capacity to maintain it, and documentation and archiving systems.

A professional parliamentary service is critical because it underpins parliamentary independence. Parliaments with staff who are replaced whenever the leading political personnel change are unlikely to be efficient, have little institutional memory, disadvantage opposition parliamentarians, and become a breeding ground for nepotism and patronage. Often, parliamentary staff are part of a national civil service. Where the national civil service is well organized and regulated, this may permit a reasonable quality of parliamentary administration, but there are still risks that government will move effective officials from parliament for political reasons, or simply because the official's skills are coveted elsewhere. A formally designated parliamentary public service is the best assurance of a professional and non-partisan administration.

Parliament is responsible for voting the national budget and for monitoring its appropriate and effective use. Ironically, in most cases, parliament is not externally accountable for its own use of resources. There are important constitutional reasons why this should be the case; if government is able to control parliament's resources, the relationship of executive action and parliamentary oversight is overturned, threatening parliamentary effectiveness. However, absence of external control creates a moral hazard, and there are numerous examples from both emerging and established democracies where parliamentarians have

misused budget resources. Indeed there is a widespread and corrosive public perception internationally that parliamentarians waste public funds. It is crucial for the credibility of the institution that parliaments should have the tools and systems necessary to effectively manage and monitor their own budgets. It must be acknowledged, however, that there is often resistance within parliament to external scrutiny of parliamentary fiscal management.

Information systems are of increasing importance everywhere, especially as documentation increasingly moves electronically. Many national legislative systems are becoming paperless, with integrated IT systems for electronic management of legislative process and the parliamentary calendar. IT can also be used to reach out and engage with citizens, especially where projects include an outreach component to ensure equitable access of citizens to parliamentary information.

Information technology can help development, but it can also increase the gap between the affluent and the less well endowed, both between and within parliaments. Many parliamentarians in developing countries still require support in acquiring basic IT skills. Support to create an efficient environment of information storage and distribution can be beneficial to emerging democracy parliaments, although poorly designed systems can waste money. Emphasis should be placed on capacity and systems to maintain information systems, as numerous projects have installed large quantities of hardware in parliaments that has very rapidly fallen out of use.

One specialised but important domain is maintenance of parliamentary archives. This not only permits reference to past parliamentary proceedings but has the key psychological effect of grounding a parliamentary *tradition*. Even in countries that have undergone periods of authoritarian rule, the ability to demonstrate the national historical roots of a parliamentary tradition acts as a bulwark of democratic governance.

Key outcomes to achieve in administrative strengthening include:

1. **Establishment and institutionalisation of a professional parliamentary public service**

2. **Effective internal financial management**

3. **Functional documentation and information management systems.**

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/Assessment methodology
1. **Establishment and institutionalisation of a professional parliamentary public service**	Support to study of status of parliamentary staff and governing legislation Support to consultative process leading to legal institutionalisation of an independent, non-partisan, professional parliamentary civil	**Measurable:** Successful completion of study of parliamentary staff status and passage of amended legislation creating parliamentary civil service where required Completion of	*Completion of planned studies, amendment of legislation governing parliamentary administration, and implementation of redesign to be tracked by project* *Career path planning implementation to be maintained by parliament's human resources directorate*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/Assessment methodology
	service Consultative assessment and redesign of organizational structure of parliamentary administration Preparation of human resource development strategy with career path planning for all staff	study of organizational structure and implementation of agreed redesign Implementation of human resource strategy and career path planning for all staff **Qualitative:** Improved effectiveness of administration and satisfaction of clients; the parliamentarians	*Satisfaction survey to be modelled by project but incorporated into HRD responsibilities*
2. **Effective internal financial management**	Support a twinning programme between an emerging democracy parliament and an established democratic parliament to provide advice and support in financial systems development and management Establishment of systems of external scrutiny of parliamentary financial management independent of government	**Measurable** Implementation of an agreed plan for strengthening internal financial management Transparency enhanced through independent external scrutiny system **Qualitative:** Enhanced confidence of public and key interlocutors in parliament's financial accountability and transparency	*Progress to be documented by project team as part of project monitoring.* *Through survey of public attitudes to parliament and focus groups with key interlocutors*
3. **Functional documentation and information management**	Professional assessment of information technology and information	**Measurable** Implementation of IT, documentation,	*Progress towards different elements of the information system*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/Assessment methodology
systems	management systems, and development and implementation of enhanced systems Support development of documentation and archive centres Professionalization of Hansard recording of parliamentary debate and committee transcripts through twinning with institutionalized parliaments and implementation of a jointly developed upgrading of technical systems and personnel capacity	archive, and Hansard projects Establish and maintain systems to monitor usage of the different information initiative components **Qualitative** Assess project impact in terms of parliamentarians' and staff satisfaction and feedback on new information systems	*upgrading to be tracked as part of project monitoring.* *Interviews and surveys with parliamentarians and staff, feeding into formative and summative project evaluation*

Underlying programmatic logic

Inclusivity refers to the extent to which parliament, in its make-up and functioning, and in its policy attentions, reflects the diversity of the population which its members represent within the nation. Although inclusivity is connected to the parliamentary function of representation, ensuring inclusivity requires special focus; otherwise structural exclusion of disadvantaged groups tends to remain unchallenged.

Exclusion can take many forms and affects many different groups in society. Women have campaigned long and hard to exercise equal democratic rights, and still make up only one-fifth of parliamentarians worldwide. In many countries other disadvantaged groups may still be at the stage of raising awareness that they exist and have concerns and needs; for example, people living with disabilities, people with mental illnesses, indigenous peoples, and minorities. It is important to remember that people can face double barriers; a woman living with disabilities, for example, tends to be more discriminated against than a man living with disabilities.

More often than not, a major aspect of democratic breakdown and social conflict arises from a sense of exclusion experienced by parts of the population. Unscrupulous community leaders – including politicians – often play a role in fanning conflict over real and perceived inter-group injustices.

Social awareness of exclusionary practices varies over time and between cultures, with some groups more able to challenge their exclusion than others. Often, exclusionary practices, which may be rooted in historical tradition, may appear normal, especially to those not being excluded. There is often disagreement on whether some minority groups 'merit' equal treatment. International human rights treaties and conventions, to which most countries have subscribed, emphasize the fundamental right to equal treatment of all women, men, girls, and boys.

Members of parliament often find themselves in a difficult position, mediating between the legitimate expectations of disadvantaged groups, and the desire of many within advantaged groups to retain privileges built on overt or structural discriminatory practices. Support to parliamentary development needs to take into account these conflicting pressures, while fostering a leadership role for MPs in supporting inclusive governance in line with a country's international commitments. Changing attitudes and practices takes time.

Fostering inclusivity involves two discrete but mutually supportive approaches:

- **Ensuring that members of disadvantaged groups are properly represented in parliament, are able to participate effectively in parliamentary business, and are represented in key positions within parliament**

- **Ensuring that parliament considers the human rights, needs and interests of disadvantaged groups, both in terms of specific provisions to combat social, political and economic exclusion, and in ensuring that all legislation and policy implementation is assessed through an 'inclusiveness lens'.**

Initiatives to support gender equality make up a high proportion of parliamentary development activities in support of inclusiveness, although some activities to promote youth

involvement in parliament have also been supported. There is a general formal acknowledgment of the need for women to be properly represented in parliament, and there tends to be little overt resistance to initiatives to foster gender equality. However, projects that seek to move beyond formal commitments to equality, to actual changes in practices can face hurdles to adoption.

Three outcome priorities are identified here:

1. **Adoption of a systematic gender lens approach, including gender–based budgeting**
2. **Women are represented in key leadership positions within parliament**
3. **Parliament fosters the engagement of minority populations and disadvantaged groups.**

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
1. **Adoption of a systematic gender lens approach, including gender–based budgeting**	Training for parliamentary MPs and staff on gender lens and gender-based budgeting approaches Twinning / exchange with parliament that employs gender lens approach Support to development of a methodology for systematic consideration of legislation with a gender lens	**Measurable:** Completion of training, and participation in twinning activity by targeted number of MPs and staff Implementation of methodology for gender lens consideration of legislation, and tracking of legislation considered through the methodology **Qualitative:** Monitoring of changes to proposed legislation through application of the gender lens	*Tracking by project team* *Tracking by project team but to be incorporated into objectives of a gender caucus*
2. **Women are represented in key leadership positions within parliament**	A gender caucus is supported which can explore issues of gender equity within parliament and develop a strategy for increasing women's representation in key positions Support gender	**Measurable** Creation of a gender caucus Increase in number of women holding leadership positions in parliament Increased	*Tracking by project team* *Data maintained by parliament*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/ Assessment methodology
	caucus discussions with main political tendencies to ensure equitable representation of women in key positions in parliament (vice presidents, committee chairs, party caucus leaders, etc.)	participation of women in parliamentary business (intervention in debates, proposition of legislation and amendments, etc)

Qualitative:

Increased awareness and acceptance of principle of gender equity throughout parliament; greater confidence in participation by women members | *Survey and focus groups with parliamentarians* |
| **3. Parliament fosters the engagement of minority populations and disadvantaged groups** | Support to creation of a parliamentary working group to study barriers to access for members of minority groups (including language provision, distance from parliament, underrepresentation in parliament, etc.), and development of action plan to address issues

Support to systematic field missions by parliamentary committees to disadvantaged / conflicted regions to assess situation and government actions to address issues

Assessment of access issues faced by people living with disabilities and development of an action plan | **Measurable**

Completion of study and adoption of action plan

Implementation of action plan provisions

Qualitative

Increased awareness of parliamentarians regarding needs of disadvantaged / conflicted regions, and elaboration and implementation of policy options to address those needs | *Progress towards different elements of the information system upgrading to be tracked as part of project monitoring.*

Interviews and surveys with parliamentarians |

8.   Institution-building

Underlying programmatic logic

Parliaments in emerging democracies frequently lack the necessary tools and conditions in order to carry out their work effectively. In post-authoritarian environments, constitutional provisions frequently limit parliament's effective powers to exercise oversight and even to pass legislation. Internal regulations may be poorly drafted or may also constrain MPs from acting effectively. There may be limited institutional memory, especially when the constitutional order has been disrupted, and new parliamentarians may receive little or no induction information.

In countries transitioning to democracy, it is important that parliament establishes itself as a credible and functioning institution early in its life; failure to do so can set a pattern of unbalanced power between executive and legislature that may be difficult to redress later. One weakness in democratic governance support is that, often, substantial international development resources are invested in the first 'free and fair' elections, but MPs are elected to a parliamentary institution that is unprepared to carry out its constitutional attributions. Poor performance of a parliament in these circumstances can foster disillusion with democracy and risk a return to a cycle of instability, both wasting investments in elections and hampering the overall development outlook.

Frequently, parliamentary buildings are inadequate, for example with few or no offices for MPs, and limited information infrastructure (see theme area 5, *Parliamentary Administration*, for outcome indicators related to IT and documentation). Typically, parliamentary development projects should not consider investment in physical infrastructure, because the state must assume a responsibility to build and maintain its own key state institutions. However there are cases where it may be decided, for example, to provide limited assistance to restore a parliamentary building that has been damaged in conflict. Where consideration is given to supporting equipping a new or renovated parliamentary building, it is important that this should be tied to achieving specific performance outcomes. There are many examples of parliamentary development projects that have invested in equipment that has not been adequately used or maintained.

One area of institution-building that is often not adequately addressed in development projects is ensuring adequate facilities for the political party groups within parliament. The distinctive feature of parliament is its representation of diverse and contrasting perspectives, and both majority and opposition party groups need to have meeting space, dedicated office space, research and support staff, and access to research tools.

Often, parliaments will lack processes and structures to systematically train and upgrade skills of parliamentary staff. A number of emerging democracy parliaments have established parliamentary training centres, sometimes with international support, though again it is crucial that focus be placed on a feasible work plan and curricula for a training centre rather than its infrastructural needs.

Many parliaments find that it is easier to achieve institutional development objectives when these have been established through a comprehensive strategic development planning process. This permits parliaments to identify priority needs over a multi-year period, with priority actions drawn from the plan and budgeted and implemented each year. A strategic

development plan (SDP) can help in mobilizing external support to fulfil aspects of the plan. Successful strategic development planning requires the participation of all key players in the parliamentary institution, including both MPs and staff, and all political tendencies. Strategic development initiatives should be governed by a representative committee of parliament in which all key actors and political tendencies are included. While external actors can support the development of an SDP and the implementation of specific initiatives contained within an SDP, obviously ownership must be firmly located within the parliamentary institution.

In general, institution-building support is most effective when it focuses on sharing international expertise and best practices with a parliament in an emerging democracy, permitting parliament to adopt those aspects which fit best with the institution's needs. Three priority outcomes are considered in the table below:

1. **Adoption of a constitutional and internal regulatory framework that permits parliament to carry out its democratic governance responsibilities**

2. **Strategic development plan for parliament developed and implemented**

3. **MPs are provided a consistent and comprehensive induction programme.**

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/Assessment methodology
1. **Adoption of a constitutional and internal regulatory framework that permits parliament to carry out its democratic governance responsibilities**	Expert support to parliamentary committee charged with reviewing constitutional attributions and internal regulations Support expert study (including national and international expertise) of constitutional and regulatory framework of parliament in light of operating requirements and international best practices Support to consultation process with other key state institutions (executive, Supreme Audit Institution, etc.).	**Measurable:** Revised internal regulations adopted and process established for consideration of proposed constitutional amendments Revised internal regulations published and disseminated **Qualitative:** Enhanced mutual understanding of parliamentary attributes and responsibilities in other state institutions, and awareness of parliament's role in key interlocutors (media, civil society) Enhanced	*Tracking by project team and legislative records* *Focus groups with parliamentarians and key interlocutors*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/Assessment methodology
		parliamentary functioning due to improved regulation regime and enhanced awareness by MPs	
2. **Strategic development plan for parliament developed and implemented**	Support to facilitation of preliminary dialogue on strategic development planning, and establishment of an inclusive SDP process including internal governance system Support to development of an SDP – including information gathering from other parliaments and Facilitate resource mobilisation for implementation of SDP	**Measurable** Inclusive SDP adopted by parliament with realistic implementation plan **Qualitative:** Improved functioning of institution due to SDP implementation	*Tracking by project team and SDP implementation structures* *Focus groups with parliamentarians, parliamentary staff, key interlocutors*
3. **MPs are provided a consistent and comprehensive induction programme**	Support to creation of an induction working group Support information gathering from other parliaments on induction programmes, and assuring participation of key national interlocutors in induction programmes Development and resourcing of an induction plan including process for repeating and	**Measurable** Development and implementation of an induction programme **Qualitative** Increased knowledge and capacity among parliamentarians	*Project team tracking* *Interviews and surveys with parliamentarians*

Outcome	Indicative activities supported	Outcome indicators	Measurement/Assessment methodology
	updating programme		

9. Resources to assist in developing performance indicators

There are many tools that can be of assistance to parliamentary support projects in developing and implementing performance indicators. Evaluation tools and performance monitoring resources for international development projects generally, and specifically for democratic development projects, frequently incorporate measures of parliamentary performance, and/or can be adapted for use in this sector.

Often, the most useful resource is to be part of a supportive practitioner network. Ideas can be shared, information about useful materials and methodologies gathered, and details obtained of experts in the field. A first stop should be the Capacity4Dev knowledge sharing platform on development, the European Union's own online development community, which is sponsored by the European Commission (http://capacity4dev.ec.europa.eu/). Capacity4Dev has a number of sub-communities, including the Design, Monitoring & Evaluation Topic, (http://capacity4dev.ec.europa.eu/topic/design-monitoring-evaluation), and numerous sub-groups including for example the Results Oriented Measurement group that brings together much of the information on performance measurement being produced by and for the European Union. Capacity4Dev also acts as a repository for the Tools and Methods series of EU handbooks on development practice that provide consolidated and practical advice on development themes, including Reference document 8 - *Engaging and Supporting Parliaments Worldwide -Strategies and methodologies for EC action in support to parliaments* (http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/oppd/Page_8/engaging_and_supporting_parliaments_en.pdf). This document includes a parliamentary assessment matrix that provides a solid foundation for parliamentary support project design, and from which performance indicator themes can be drawn.

Other, broader online networks that can be particularly useful have been mentioned earlier in the document and include the Agora Portal for Parliamentary Development, http://www.agora-parl.org/, which contains a wealth of information and connections in the world of parliamentary development, as well as www.iKnowPolitics.org, the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, which has considerable information focused on empowering women in politics, both inside and outside parliament.

The European Parliament's Office for the Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy (OPPD)[13] provides support to parliaments in new and emerging democracies, aiming at strengthening their capacity. OPPD staff have many years of parliamentary development experience, and the Office produces a range of publications on parliamentary development, including on assessment (OPPD, 2011).

United Nations Development Programme has been working in parliamentary development for many years and has a range of resource materials include discussion papers and guidance and practice notes on evaluation and impact measurement. In addition, UNDP is a major implementing partner of the EU[14] in parliamentary development. UNDP's Oslo

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[13] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/0094641612/Office-for-Promotion-of-Parliamentary-Democracy.html.

[14] http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/democraticgovernance/focus_areas/focus_parliamentary_dev/.

Governance Centre focuses particularly on sharing analysis and learning on democratic governance and has published extensive material on indicators and evaluations[15].

International IDEA[16] is a well-established international organization with a mandate to support democratic governance. One area of expertise is in self-assessment of democratic institutions (see IDEA, 2008). IDEA's publications are available online[17] and the organization also has a core staff of experts in different aspects of democratic development.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), discussed earlier as a key resource for parliamentarians, has produced a wide range of guides and handbooks, particularly for parliamentarians, but which are of general relevance for all those working with parliaments. The IPU's self-assessment toolkit (IPU, 2008) is an excellent resource both for parliamentary self-assessment, and in determining areas for support and performance monitoring. IPU has also published, with UNDP, the 2012 *Global Parliamentary Report*, which contains invaluable international comparative information on parliaments, focusing particularly on the relationship between parliament and citizen.

As discussed earlier, there is an important trend among parliamentary associations and networks to establish common standards, benchmarks, or norms to which all member parliaments aspire. These initiatives should be taken into account both in identifying areas for parliamentary support, and in designing performance indicators. There are a number of summaries of the different benchmarking initiatives, including in the EU *Reference Guide*, as well as in UNDP (2010) and OPPD (2011).

The list of resources is by no means comprehensive, and there are many other useful references on performance indicators, including a number of documents referenced in the bibliography, below.

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[15] http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/democraticgovernance/oslo_governance_centre/.

[16] http://www.idea.int/.

[17] See particularly Burnell, ed., 2007, and International IDEA (2008).

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