

Sida Evaluation 05/27

Approaches to Parliamentary Strengthening

A Review of Sida's Support to Parliaments

**K. Scott Hubli
Martin Schmidt**

**Department for Democracy
and Social Development**

Approaches to Parliamentary Strengthening

A Review of Sida's Support to Parliaments

**K. Scott Hubli
Martin Schmidt**

Sida Evaluation 05/27

**Department for Democracy
and Social Development**

This report is part of *Sida Evaluations*, a series comprising evaluations of Swedish development assistance. Sida's other series concerned with evaluations, Sida Studies in Evaluation, concerns methodologically oriented studies commissioned by Sida. Both series are administered by the Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit, an independent department reporting directly to Sida's Board of Directors.

This publication can be downloaded/ordered from:
<http://www.sida.se/publications>

Submitted to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, and SPM Consultants, Stockholm

Authors: K. Scott Hubli, Martin Schmidt.

The views and interpretations expressed in this report are the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida.

Sida Evaluation 05/27

Commissioned by Sida, Department for Democracy and Social Development

Copyright: Sida and the authors

Registration No.: 2002-000566

Date of Final Report: November 2005

Printed by Edita Communication AB, 2005

Art. no. Sida21313en

ISBN 91-586-8693-2

ISSN 1401—0402

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

Address: SE-105 25 Stockholm, Sweden. Office: Sveavägen 20, Stockholm

Telephone: +46 (0)8-698 50 00. Telefax: +46 (0)8-20 88 64

E-mail: sida@sida.se. Homepage: <http://www.sida.se>

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	3
Background	3
Implementation and Methodology	3
Findings: Overview of Sida's Parliamentary Support Portfolio	3
General Conclusions and Recommendations.....	5
1 Purpose and Scope	9
1.1 Background	9
1.2 Scope of the Survey and Thematic Evaluation	9
1.3 Structure of the Report	10
2 Methodology	11
2.1 Programs Covered by the Evaluation Report	11
2.2 Project Implementation.....	12
2.3 Limitations on Research Data	13
3 Criteria for Evaluation	14
3.1 Sweden's Objectives and Policies for Parliamentary Support	14
3.2 Trends and emerging best practice regarding parliamentary support	19
4 Findings	26
4.1 Macro-level analysis of Sida's portfolio.....	26
4.2 Reviews of Particular Program Models.....	32
5 Conclusions and Recommendations	45
5.1 Increasing Political Contextualization.....	45
5.2 Strengthening Linkages with other Goals of Swedish Development Cooperation	48
5.3 Program Effectiveness.....	50
6 Lessons Learned	51
Appendix 1: Terms of Reference	53
Appendix 2: List of Persons Interviewed	58
Appendix 3: List of Acronyms used	59
Appendix 4: Chart of Parliamentary Assistance Programs	60

Executive Summary

Background

This report reviews Sida's support to parliaments and parliamentarians. It is an outgrowth of a series of internal Sida projects to develop methodologies within the operational area of democratic governance. Initiated in 1999, these projects covered the following four areas: political institutions, the legal sector, good governance and participation. A paper presenting the results of the internal working group on political institutions was published in July 2002, under the title *The Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliaments*. This internal working group found "an obvious need for a thorough survey of all legislative assistance financed by Sida and a thematic evaluation of this support." Based on that recommendation, terms of reference were prepared for this survey and thematic evaluation.

The terms of reference for this report are attached as Appendix 1. They specify four broad areas of inquiry: 1) a review of the policies and strategic thinking guiding Sida's parliamentary programming; 2) a review of evaluations and lessons learned with respect to parliamentary programming from other major donors; 3) a survey and analysis of Sida's parliamentary assistance portfolio; and 4) a review of selected case studies illustrating different methods used by Sida to support parliaments and parliamentarians. The terms of reference specifically request that the overview should include information on the work of donor and implementing organizations with respect to parliamentary engagement in the poverty reduction strategy process (PRSP), the strengthening of women parliamentarians and the implementation of international human rights conventions through support to parliaments. The report focuses on methods and approach, rather than programmatic outcomes. Its purpose is to determine the extent to which Sida's current programs of cooperation with parliaments and parliamentarians conform to government and parliamentary policy, as well as to the strategic thinking developed at Sida and to emerging international best practice.

Implementation and Methodology

Initial research for this report was conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) during the period from mid-2002 through mid-2003. The research was updated through the fall 2005 by SPM Consultants. The research was based largely on a document review, supplemented by interviews with key personnel in Sida, members and staff within the Riksdag and staff of program partners. The report covers support to national parliaments and parliamentarians, as well as support to other organizations with the objective of strengthening national parliaments. Identification of programs to include in the survey and thematic review was done primarily through searches of Sida's planning and accounting (PLUS) system, supplemented by interviews with Sida staff. Because of reliance on the PLUS system, disbursements for parliamentary strengthening programs that were completed before 1998 are excluded from the survey, as were contracts entered into after the spring of 2005. The survey thus covers approximately eight years worth of programming.

Findings: Overview of Sida's Parliamentary Support Portfolio

The survey of legislative support identified 76 different Sida contributions for parliamentary support, although some of these contributions represented multiple phases of a continuing program. The amount authorized for these contributions was 164,750,082 SEK, with a disbursement rate at about 95% at the time that the final research for the study was completed (early fall 2005). These programs were reviewed from a number of perspectives, including type of implementing partner, geographic distribution and level of democratic development in the partner country. A high percentage of Sida's

support goes to support international nongovernmental organizations (43%) and multilateral organizations (32%), relative to support going to local parliamentary organizations (2%). There is also a strong emphasis on short-term interventions (e.g., parliamentary exchanges, conferences and seminars) rather than on-going, sustained technical assistance provided by on-the-ground advisors, occasionally giving the perception that a substantial portion of assistance is event-driven rather than objective-driven. Sida's support covers most substantive areas of parliamentary development. However, particularly given Sida's emphasis on poverty reduction as an overall objective of its development cooperation, there has been relatively little support for parliamentary involvement in the budget process. Similarly, although issue-based approaches to parliamentary development have included relatively strong emphasizes on gender, human rights and conflict mitigation; there are relatively few programs that specifically target parliamentary involvement in poverty reduction efforts. With a few notable exceptions (particularly the program of cooperation between the Riksdag and the Office of the Vietnamese National Assembly), parliamentary support is generally concentrated in countries that rank relatively high on the human polity index as having the institutional preconditions for democracy.

Sida's parliamentary support programs were categorized into ten different "program models," which are intended to provide a useful overall picture of the methods used by Sida to provide support. Section 4.2 describes the factors that were used in developing this typology of program models – the intent was to focus on practical utility in informing program decisions, rather than on analytic purity. The typology of program models was based on a number of factors, including program method and the approach taken by particular types of cooperating partner. Certain of the program models were selected for further discussion. The program models and their primary characteristics are summarized below:

Program Model	Funding Level	Program Model Description
UN- or UNDP-Implemented Programs	50,402,582 SEK (31% of total)	Includes programs implemented in partnership with the UN and UNDP, which differ from other programs in several ways in addition to the nature of the implementing partner. Programs tend to have been relatively large scale, with the parliamentary component being only one element of a larger program. They have tended to focus on strengthening the law-making capacity of parliament, have been longer-term, have been funded by multiple donors and have had a relatively greater emphasis on peace promotion and human rights. Program Example: MINUGUA PROLEY Projects
Support for International Parliamentary Networks	49,550,000 SEK (30% of total)	Includes support for international networks of parliamentarians, including AWEPA, PGA and GLOBE. Although some of the funding may be provided for use in specific countries, a large amount of discretion is given to the recipient organization in the use of program funds. As with many networks, there is often an emphasis on conferences, seminars and workshops, as well as a focus on information sharing rather than long-term capacity building. Program Example: AWEPA Core Funding
Twinning Programs	15,000,000 SEK (9% of total)	Includes one program – the three-year program of cooperation between the Swedish Riksdag Administration and the Office of the National Assembly (ONA) of Vietnam. Program Example: Cooperation with the Office of the National Assembly (ONA) of Vietnam
Discrete, One-Off Activities	12,077,683 SEK (7% of total)	Includes a diverse group of discrete, one-off interventions relating to the parliament, including the payment of printing costs for a constitution, limited financial support to rehabilitate part of a parliament building, funding for a conference or for a parliamentary induction program, etc. Program Examples: Uganda Orientation Program, Seminar on Gender for Kenyan Constitutional Review Commission

Program Model	Funding Level	Program Model Description
Parliamentary Exchange Programs	10,076,956 SEK (6% of total)	Includes the international courses program with the Riksdag, as well as separate parliamentary exchanges or study missions with parliamentarians from Burundi, Colombia, Guinea-Bissau and Malawi. The category includes one-off programs where the parliamentary exchange was the sole purpose of the program; no effort has been made to carve out parliamentary exchanges that have occurred in the context of a larger program of assistance. Program Example: International Training Program
Consultant-Implemented Programs	7,168,000 SEK (4% of total)	Includes contracts with for-profit consulting firms – most commonly focusing on improving document handling or information technology capacity of parliaments. Objectives appear to have been more clearly defined than other models, although they appear to have been more successful where constraints on parliamentary development have been technical, rather than political. Program Example: Document System Programs in Georgia and Lithuania
Multi-donor funded Parliamentary Reform	6,610,759 SEK (4% of total)	Includes one program in support of the Parliamentary Reform Program (PRP) in Zambia. The model is distinct in that it involves all major donors in the sector, supporting all aspects of a comprehensive parliamentary reform through a single strategy. Explicit objectives are to reduce transaction costs and donor fragmentation. Program Example: Zambia Parliamentary Reform Program (PRP) implemented by PACT/Zambia
Support for Local Parliamentary Organizations	5,263,121 SEK (3% of total)	Includes support provided directly to local parliamentary units or organizations. Two programs are included in this category: support for the Women's Empowerment Unit in South Africa and support for a parliamentary political parties committee in Tanzania. Program Example: Women's Empowerment Unit in South Africa
Junior Professional Officer Program	4,917,730 SEK (3% of total)	Although this is a program implemented by PGA, it has been considered from core assistance to parliamentary networks, because it is the only support provided by Sida to parliaments involving the placement of long-term Swedish advisors with foreign parliaments. Program Example: JPO Program
Technical Leadership Programs	3,683,251 SEK (2% of total)	Includes projects where Sida has funded a project that is designed to contribute to the knowledge of the international community on legislative strengthening issues or to mobilize or alter the direction of other donor resources with respect to legislative development. Program Example: Support for IPU Human Rights Officer

The evaluation makes a number of findings with respect to these program models, which are contained in Section 4.2. However, for reasons of space, they have not been restated in this executive summary.

General Conclusions and Recommendations

Increasing Political Contextualization. As outlined in the *Political Institutions* paper and as elaborated in this report, there is a growing consensus that parliamentary strengthening programs have often fallen short of their goals because they have not been sufficiently “politically contextualized,” i.e., not designed and implemented in a manner that recognizes the political incentive structures that govern parliamentary behavior. Too often, parliamentary support programs have focused on parliament as a self-contained institution and, as a result, have concentrated on the symptoms of a dysfunctional political process, rather than the underlying causes. To improve the political contextualization of its portfolio, Sida may wish to:

- *Reduce reliance on short-term interventions, such as support for parliamentary exchanges, conferences and seminars.* Many of Sida’s program models rely heavily or exclusively on short-term interventions to deliver

parliamentary support. Because of their short-term nature, these types of interventions often tend to be less politically contextualized. Other evaluations have suggested that the “light-bulb” theory of legislative development (that mere exposure to comparative models or training will, by itself, result in political change) is rarely effective. Where reliance on these short-term interventions continues, Sida may wish to consider ways to focus these short-term interventions more sharply and to better integrate them with longer-term strategies for parliamentary development.

- *Increase the level of support to regional and local organizations engaged in parliamentary strengthening.* Only 2% of Sida’s parliamentary support has gone directly to local or regional organizations, even though these groups often have a more nuanced understanding of local political systems than international organizations. Although limited in the past, the options for working with regional and local organizations on parliamentary strengthening are expanding. Moreover, the provision of assistance to these regional and local groups can be an important method of building sustainable regional and local capacity for parliamentary support.
- *Better diversify and target the use of parliamentarians in programming.* Parliamentarians and former parliamentarians are often more sensitive to the political incentives that govern legislative behavior. Members of parliament are generally conscious of their status as political leaders and are often more willing to accept outside technical assistance or advice when it comes from a peer. On the other hand, the use of current and former parliamentarians can also severely limit political contextualization since parliamentarians often have limited time available to develop an understanding of the local political context. One way of managing these competing concerns is to ensure that the use of parliamentary networks is carefully targeted. There is an increase in parliamentary networks on specific issues (environment, poverty reduction, corruption, etc) and Sida may wish to explore ways of better targeting its assistance to these groups.
- *Identify opportunities for greater use of long-term consultants or advisers, particularly consultants who are able to relate as peers to parliamentary partners.* Despite the general movement within Sida away from the use of long-term advisers, there are numerous reasons why long-term advisers may be particularly appropriate in parliamentary support programs – both in terms of developing a sufficiently nuanced understanding of the local political environment and in terms of building relationships of trust and confidence needed to address politically sensitive issues. Sida may wish to consider program models and partners that make use of long-term advisers, such as its UN and UNDP-implemented programs (31% of total) which have benefited from the use of long-term technical advisers. This would also be true of the multi-donor parliamentary reform program implemented by PACT (4% of total).

Strengthening Linkages to Other Goals in Sida’s Development Cooperation. Increasingly, donors are using issue-based approaches to parliamentary strengthening programs. This not only provides an opportunity to link parliamentary support more directly to other development cooperation goals, but can also be useful in increasing political contextualization by treating the parliament as one component of a broader political and policy-making process. It was difficult for the evaluation team to track the extent to which parliamentarians were involved in Sida-funded programs that were not readily identifiable as legislative strengthening programs. As a result, the evaluation team may not be aware of all instances in which parliamentarians have been integrated into Sida assistance relating to other development cooperation goals. Nonetheless, several recommendations emerge from the review:

- *With respect to issue-based approaches to parliamentary development, increase the use of poverty reduction and the PRSP as issues.* Reducing poverty is at the forefront of Sweden’s development policy as the one overriding operational goal. Although Sida has used issue-based approaches to parliamentary support, poverty reduction appears to have been underutilized as an issue. While 4% of Sida’s parliamentary strengthening resources go to programs with a substantial component that involves

poverty reduction issues, the figures are 13% for gender issues; 11% for conflict mitigation/peace promotion issues; and 9% for human rights issues.

- *Increase support relating to the role of parliaments in the budget process and in financial oversight.* It is difficult to disaggregate Sida's parliamentary support in a way that allows for a quantitative assessment of the relative support for the representative, administrative, lawmaking, oversight or budget capacity of parliaments. However, it appears that support for the parliament's role in the budget process or in financial oversight has constituted a relatively small portion of Sweden's support to parliaments, particularly given its importance in strengthening parliament's ability to assist in poverty reduction efforts. Increased support in this area may involve both the use of traditional approaches and issue-based approaches focusing on particular policy items.
- *Increasingly orient support towards joint funding programs with a comprehensive and long term approach to parliamentary reform.* In line with PGU directives Sida may wish to move towards joint comprehensive programming of its parliamentary support. A move in this direction may also serve to increase political contextualization and sustainability. One must pay attention, however, not to interpret joint programming as a quick-fix or standard solution to existing problems of poor political contextualization and sustainability of support.

Improving Program Effectiveness. Specific findings with respect to each of the program model case studies suggest methods of improving support within that particular program model, and are included in the main text of this report. In addition, Sida may wish to consider several broader recommendations regarding program design and implementation:

- *Improve coordination and integration of parliamentary and political party programming.* With respect to large portions of Sida's parliamentary support portfolio, parliamentary strengthening appears to be considered relatively independently of the developmental needs of the political parties that operate within those parliaments. Although there are a number of reasons why this is often the case, the lack of coordination can result in the loss of opportunities for synergy among these program types.
- *Reevaluate mechanisms for Riksdag involvement in Sida parliamentary support.* The Riksdag administration has been heavily utilized for the international courses program and the program of cooperation with the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam, taxing its capacity to support parliamentary development programs. The Riksdag has not accepted reimbursement for staff costs incurred in supporting these programs; modifying this practice may significantly improve the ability of the Riksdag administration to support these programs. The development of other mechanisms for Riksdag involvement in Sida's support programs may also reduce Sida's reliance on AWEPA and PGA as the primary mechanism for engaging members of the Riksdag in parliamentary support programs.
- *Increase use of "bottom-up" approaches to parliamentary development.* International best practice has increasingly stressed the need for increased "bottom-up" approaches to parliamentary strengthening. A wide variety of options exist which could be used to strengthen linkages with other goals of Sida's development cooperation, e.g., support for pro-poor advocacy or watchdog groups to lobby or monitor parliament. To the extent that bottom-up approaches to parliamentary development are being used within Sida but are not adequately reflected in this evaluation, they may benefit from increased involvement of DESA staff members who are working on parliamentary development issues.
- *Explore opportunities for combining substantive policy goals in cooperation with other parliamentary networks than those currently employed.* In recent years, there has been an increasing number and increasing activity by parliamentary networks. Regional parliaments or parliamentary organizations, such as the

SADC Parliamentary Forum, the ECOWAS Parliament, the East African Legislative Assembly, have become more active. International initiatives and organizations have also reached out to parliamentarians as a way of increasing their legitimacy as an organization. A number of donor and implementing organizations have supported the formation of additional parliamentary networks as a means to strengthen and diversify their parliamentary support, in particular through an increasingly issue-based focus.

Improving Internal Capacity to Manage Parliamentary Support. The relative mobility and turnover of Sida's staff means that institutional history is limited or not easily accessible; this places a particular premium on systems to maintain and transmit institutional knowledge regarding parliamentary support. In particular, Sida may wish to consider the following recommendations in order to improve its internal capacity to manage its parliamentary support:

- *Draw on or produce additional tools for Sida staff regarding parliamentary program design and evaluation.* The level of political contextualization and analysis, as well as the quality of evaluation, has varied widely among Sida's parliamentary support programs and could be improved. The most common weaknesses suggested in this review include: 1) a tendency to use overambitious program objectives; 2) an inadequate focus on sustainability from program inception; and 3) the evaluation of parliamentary exchanges, conference and seminars based on participant reactions to the event, rather than the event's impact on parliamentary development. Although the Political Institutions paper helps provide greater clarity regarding Sida's strategic thinking with respect to parliamentary support, Sida may wish to supplement this by providing or adapting practical tools for its staff and its program partners on program design, implementation and evaluation of parliamentary support programs. The report identifies existing documents which may be useful in this regard.
- *Strengthen mechanisms for internal communication on parliamentary support.* Given the rise of issue-based approaches to parliamentary strengthening, communication between sectoral and parliamentary support personnel within Sida is becoming increasingly important. For example, certain SEKA personnel were unaware of core support to PGA, which funds significant conflict mitigation programming; DESA personnel were unaware of SEKA programming with parliamentarians on small arms issues. Delegation of programmatic responsibility to the embassies, although desirable from a number of perspectives, also places a greater burden on mechanisms for internal communication. Sida may benefit from increased informal mechanisms for information exchange, such as an in-house newsletter on parliamentary programs or periodic briefings for sectoral staff on parliamentary programs that implicate their sectoral areas.
- *Develop more formal mechanisms to obtain guidance and advice on parliamentary support.* Given the relatively small size of Sida's parliamentary programming and the absence of significant legislative expertise within the institution, it is particularly important to have mechanisms for drawing on outside expertise, within the Riksdag, the academic community, and the larger international community. It may be that an advisory board structure, which has been used by UNDP to draw on outside guidance for its parliamentary programming, could be beneficial.

1 Purpose and Scope

1.1 Background

In the 1990s, support to legislatures became an important area of assistance among donor institutions, including Sida. The body of evaluations and research findings regarding parliamentary support began to accumulate in the late 1990s, often expressing frustration that the results of parliamentary support have been poor in relation to expectations, which are often extremely high. One of the most frequently cited commentators on democratization assistance, Thomas Carothers, indicated that, “[i]f asked to name the area of democracy assistance that most often falls short of its goals, I would have to point to legislative assistance.”¹ A host of interrelated and overlapping reasons for the weaker than desired performance of legislative support programs have been cited, including: 1) a focus on parliament as a self-contained entity rather than a component of broader political process, resulting in a misplaced emphasis on the symptoms of a dysfunctional political process, rather than the underlying causes; 2) insufficient political will on the part of parliamentary leadership, who have benefited from the status quo and may have limited incentives for reform; 3) naiveté on the part of the donor organizations regarding the political incentives of members of partner parliaments; and 4) methods of assistance that are poorly matched to objectives.

Against this backdrop, the Division for Democratic Governance (DESA) in the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) completed an internal methods project on political institutions in July 2002. This internal methods project was the first comprehensive thematic look at parliamentary support provided by Sida; the results of this internal project were published in *The Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliaments*.² The *Political Institutions* paper identifies some of the main problems and challenges faced in parliamentary development, briefly reviews the policies and experience of Sweden with respect to parliamentary support, and outlines a DESA strategy for parliamentary support. In the process of completing that internal project, DESA identified a need for a more comprehensive survey and thematic evaluation of all parliamentary support programs financed by Sida and issued a request for tenders to conduct this work. The terms of reference for the survey and thematic evaluation are attached as Appendix 1. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was selected to conduct this work. Given the number of projects identified in the course of the evaluation as well as staffing issues with NDI, assistance was sought from SPM Consultants in completing the evaluation.

1.2 Scope of the Survey and Thematic Evaluation

This report contains the results of that survey and the thematic evaluation. As specified in the terms of reference, the purpose of the survey and thematic evaluation was to determine “whether Sida’s current parliamentary programs of cooperation are in conformity with the strategic thinking developed at Sida – the focus is thus on methods rather than results.” Consistent with the terms of reference, the thematic evaluation consists of two major components: 1) a macro-level analysis of the composition of Sida’s parliamentary assistance portfolio; and 2) a series of case study reviews of Sida-funded parliamentary assistance programs, selected to cover a range of program models funded by Sida. The points of reference for the evaluation are: 1) conformity with government and parliamentary policy on democratiza-

¹ Carothers, Thomas, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999), p. 177.

² Sida, DESA, *The Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliament*, July 2002. The paper is referred to in this report as the *Political Institutions* paper.

tion assistance, as well as Sida's strategic thinking regarding parliamentary support, and 2) utilization of emerging best practice within the international parliamentary assistance community.

The terms of reference, in conjunction with the *Political Institutions* paper, provided direction with respect to the substantive questions to be explored through the survey and thematic evaluation.

Three sets of issues appeared to receive particular emphasis in these documents:

- *Politically Contextualized Program Design.* Are Sida's parliamentary strengthening programs sufficiently politically contextualized, i.e., do they consider structures of powers, authority, interests, hierarchies, loyalties, and traditions in society? To what extent were the programs mainly 'institutional repair,' i.e., offering technical solutions to political problems? To what extent were program objectives realistic?
- *Linkages to Other Goals in Sida's Development Cooperation Assistance.* To what extent do the objectives and implementation of programs relate to the overriding goal of all Swedish development cooperation – that of poverty alleviation? Was the potential of parliaments and parliamentarians as regards implementation of international human rights treaties used? To what extent was gender equality an explicit goal?
- *Program Effectiveness.* To what extent did programs aim at and contribute to increasing the capacity of parliaments to fulfill their legislative, representative, oversight and conflict resolution functions? To what extent did programs aim at and contribute to promoting the democratic governance values of accountability, transparency, openness, participation, separation of powers, balance of powers, legitimacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts? Was strict use made of Swedish models? Would the project have been more successful if Sida had acted in a different way?

1.3 Structure of the Report

This report is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the methodology and approach used in this survey and thematic evaluation. It describes the criteria that have been used in deciding whether to include a project or not; it also discusses some of the limitations and caveats that apply to the research conducted in preparing this report. Section 3 summarizes the standards against which Sida's parliamentary assistance portfolio are being evaluated in this report: 1) conformity with government and parliamentary policy on democratization assistance, as well as Sida's strategic thinking regarding parliamentary support; and 2) utilization of emerging best practice within the international parliamentary assistance community.

Section 4 provides the main findings of the evaluation and is divided into two sections, one of which presents a macro-level review of Sida's parliamentary programs (Section 4.1) and one of which presents the case studies selected for further review in this evaluation (Section 4.2). These case studies are intended to provide an overview of the main types of program models used by Sida in its parliamentary strengthening programs. The purpose of these case studies is not to conduct a detailed impact evaluation of these programs, but rather to review Sida's experiences with respect to various program models and to place them within the larger context of Sida's parliamentary strengthening portfolio.

Section 5 presents the main conclusions and recommendations of this survey and thematic review. It identifies a number of issues that Sida may wish to consider as it continues to develop and refine its approach to parliamentary strengthening projects. Lastly, Section 6 suggests some lessons learned in conducting the survey and thematic evaluation relating to Sida's capacity to manage parliamentary support.³

³ Although the terms of reference indicate that the final report should not exceed 20 pages, given the greater than expected number of projects identified, the scope of the report was expanded by mutual agreement between NDI and Sida.

2 Methodology

2.1 Programs Covered by the Evaluation Report

The evaluation team has defined parliamentary strengthening broadly to include programs either where the primary objective of the program is strengthening of the national parliament or where the primary beneficiaries or target group of the program are members or staff of the national parliament, or both. (See Diagram 2.1 below). A summary table of projects identified in the survey is included as Appendix 4.

Diagram 2.1: Coverage of Evaluation

Primary Program Beneficiary or Target Group		Parliament Members or Staff	Other
Primary Program Objective	Parliamentary Strengthening	Traditional Approaches. Example: Program working with parliamentary staff to develop parliamentary information technology systems (Baltic States, Georgia)	Bottom-Up Approaches. Example: Education program on parliament for schools (a stated objective of the project with the Office of the Vietnam National Assembly)
	Other	Issue-Based Approaches. Example: Program with members of parliament on conflict management issues (Burundi)	Excluded from evaluation

In addition to presenting the substantive scope of the support covered by the evaluation, diagram 2.1 is useful in clarifying several terms used in the evaluation. So-called *traditional approaches* to parliamentary support have involved working with members and staff of parliament directly on institutional development issues. Early traditional approaches to parliamentary support often emphasized formal rules and structures that shape parliamentary operations, such as parliamentary rule reform, committee structure, Hansard systems and parliamentary libraries and research staff. As experience developed in parliamentary support, traditional approaches have tended to focus less on formal rules and structures and on the informal norms and behaviors that govern parliamentary processes, e.g., relationships between majority and opposition parties in parliament, constituency relations, relations with the media, etc.

Along with this development, there has been increasing use of two alternative approaches to parliamentary support. *Bottom-up approaches* have involved work with actors outside parliament to build incentives for, and to support, parliamentary development. Bottom-up approaches include programs to train journalists on parliamentary coverage, support for civil society parliamentary watchdog or advocacy groups to promote parliamentary reform, or support for “youth” or “model” parliaments to educate the youth regarding the role of parliament in a democratic system. *Issue-based approaches* have also been increasingly used. Issue-based approaches have involved support to parliamentary members and staff, but instead of focusing on process issues in a vacuum, these approaches have sought to strengthen the institution in the context of providing support for a particular sectoral or cross-cutting issue.

In determining which projects to include, a number of judgment calls had to be made, particularly with respect to bottom-up and issue-based approaches. Although support for civil society organizations may have an ancillary effect on the parliament, bottom-up approaches were included only when the primary purpose of the support was parliamentary strengthening. For example, the evaluation team excluded, from the projects covered by the evaluation, a 100,000 SEK project to support the re-launching of an

independent weekly journal “Banobero” in Guinea-Bissau.⁴ Although the journal did include substantial coverage of the parliament of Guinea-Bissau, coverage of the parliament was not identified as a primary purpose of the project and the journal covered a broad range of political and news items. These judgment calls may have had the effect of slightly underweighting bottom-up approaches to parliamentary strengthening. With respect to issue-based approaches to parliamentary strengthening, fewer judgment calls were required. The evaluation does not cover projects where there may have been a few members of parliament present, only when parliament or staff was the primary target audience for the support.

For practical reasons, the evaluation is limited to projects whose disbursements have been entered into Sida’s internal planning and accounting or PLUS system. As a result, disbursements for parliamentary strengthening programs that were completed before 1998 are excluded from the evaluation, as are disbursements that were made after the fall of 2005. Similarly, the evaluation excludes projects that were either not entered into the PLUS system or that were entered into the PLUS system with insufficient information to identify the program as a parliamentary strengthening program. In many instances, a large project may include a range of components, only one of which is related to parliament. Where the parliamentary component is distinct and identifiable, and where funding is separately indicated for the parliamentary component, this component has been included in the evaluation. The evaluation is limited to parliamentary institutions at the national level, excluding support for provincial or municipal legislatures or assemblies.⁵ Projects to support parliamentary elections are generally excluded as electoral, rather than parliamentary strengthening, programs. The report does not cover legislative assistance provided by Sweden outside of Sida’s budget, for example, through the parliament’s budget for international cooperation.

2.2 Project Implementation

2.2.1 Evaluation Team

The initial evaluation team consisted of Professor David Olson, who has published widely on the topic of comparative legislatures and is the current Chair of the Research Committee of Legislative Specialists of the International Political Science Association; Scott Hubli, Senior Advisor for Governance Programs at NDI; and research assistant, Thomas Sedelius. This initial team was supplemented by a larger resource team, which provided advice and guidance throughout the evaluation and commented on the inception and interim reports during the period 2002–2003.⁶ Given the large number of projects identified in the evaluation process and staffing issues with NDI, assistance was obtained from Stockholm-based SPM Consultants to conduct additional research and to finalize the report. The report was completed in 2005 – adding ten projects of the period 2003–2005 – by Martin Schmidt of SPM Consultants in close consultation with Scott Hubli of NDI.

2.2.2 Data Collection and Survey of Projects

The PLUS contribution ID number was used to track and identify separate projects, even though separate PLUS contribution ID numbers were often established for follow-on projects or additional

⁴ The contract was signed on December 22, 1998; the Plus Contribution ID is 3000001410.

⁵ Sida has provided a significant level of support to provincial and local representative institutions. For example, since 1993, Sida has provided substantial support to the regional and municipal assemblies Northern and Southern Autonomous Atlantic Regions in Nicaragua – from 1993 to 2001, Sida has provided roughly 46 million SEK for this project; another 43 million SEK in disbursements are planned from 2002 to 2005. These projects are not reflected in the statistics contained in this report and no attempt has been made to systematically include them in this report.

⁶ Individuals consulted in initial stages of the evaluation included: Thomas Melia, Georgetown University and former Vice President of NDI; Dr. Stan Bach, legislative specialist at the Congressional Research Service (retired); Bjarte Tørå, Country Director, NDI in Kenya and former international secretary and deputy secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party of Norway; and Nancy Taylor, Consultant to UNDP and author of an evaluation of UNDP legislative strengthening programs.

phases of projects.⁷ During this initial data collection phase, over 75 program files were identified for further review, although a significant number of these were later excluded from the evaluation as not falling within the criteria established for inclusion in the evaluation. An additional 10 projects were later added to include programs through the fall of 2005. To the extent available, key documentation for all of these programs were collected, organized and photocopied, including: 1) initial assessments or program design documents, 2) the memorandum regarding the decision to fund the project, 3) memoranda of understanding with the parliament or contracts with program implementers, 4) any significant program reports, and 5) any program evaluations. As projects were identified for which documentation was not available in Stockholm, project documentation was requested from the relevant embassies.

2.2.3 Inception Report and Reviews of Illustrative Programs

An inception report was submitted after the initial data collection was substantially complete. The inception report had three primary purposes: 1) to ensure that Sida and the evaluation team share a common understanding of the approach to be taken in completing the evaluation, 2) to ensure that the evaluation team has identified all of the data that should be considered in preparing the final evaluation report and 3) to seek concurrence on the candidates for programs for further review in the final report. The inception report included an appendix listing of all parliamentary strengthening programs identified in the initial wave of data collection. A request was made to circulate this appendix within Sida for comment. A limited number of comments were received on the inception report and have been taken into account in preparing this final report.

The inception report also classified the identified parliamentary support programs into nine different program models, in order to highlight the range of methods used by Sida to provide parliamentary support.⁸ No field research was conducted with respect to these case studies; however, an effort was made to utilize other travel of the evaluation team members to gather supplemental information regarding certain of the case studies. For example, taking advantage of travel of evaluation team members to New York, meetings were held with Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) staff regarding their junior professional officer (JPO) program. Similarly, the presence of an evaluation team member in Geneva was used to meet with staff of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) to discuss Sida funding for an IPU human rights officer. Phone interviews and e-mail exchanges also were used to gather additional information about the case studies. Additional NDI staff was drawn on with respect to certain case studies. For example, given the number of documents in Spanish for the case study review of the PROLEY project in Guatemala, NDI drew on one of its Spanish-speaking staff members with Guatemala experience to assist in preparing the relevant case study.

2.3 Limitations on Research Data

There are a number of limitations on the data contained in the document. Research on the PLUS system was conducted through Sida staff. Although the evaluation team made efforts to try to determine that all relevant parliamentary projects were identified, the team did not conduct searches on the PLUS system directly and were unable to independently verify that all relevant projects have been included. There does not appear to be a uniform system for classifying projects by subject matter. Many entries in the PLUS system lack sufficient information to identify a program as parliamentary in nature, particularly when there are a number of elements involved in a program, only some of which may be parliamentary. Particularly when an embassy has provided legislative assistance with delegated authority, it may not have been identified in interviews with Sida staff in Stockholm. An effort was

⁷ This approach was viewed as preferable to relying on a subjective judgment of whether programs are merely a continuation or are distinct new program. Moreover, as a separate decision memo is required for a new contribution, it provides an opportunity to review the file to assess the documented level of analysis regarding the decision to continue a project.

⁸ These program models, as well as the considerations that were taken into account in developing the typology of program models, are discussed in Section 4.2.

made to try to capture the maximum number of parliamentary support projects in the survey by requesting circulation, within Sida, of the appendix to the inception report containing projects identified by the evaluation team. Despite these efforts, several smaller programs were identified during the validation interviews and, as a result, it seems that additional smaller programs may have been excluded from this report.⁹ Although the evaluation team does not believe that the omission of these projects is likely to significantly affect the conclusions or recommendations contained in this report, this survey is best interpreted as an effort to capture the main characteristics of Sida's support to parliaments, rather than comprehensive audit of Sida's parliamentary support.¹⁰

Moreover, the quality and degree of documentation for the projects that were identified also varies, particularly for smaller projects. In some cases, we were informed in interviews that, due to the politically sensitive nature of a particular project, not all of the analysis that went into project design was necessarily included in the project documentation. Depending on the accessibility of individuals involved in the initial decision making process, the evaluation team may or may not have had the benefit of this analysis.

3 Criteria for Evaluation

3.1 Sweden's Objectives and Policies for Parliamentary Support

The core policy documents governing Sida's parliamentary support are 1) the government bill, Shared Responsibility: Sweden's policy for Global Development 2002/03:122 (the PGU) 2) the government report "Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden's Development Cooperation" (Government Communication SKR 1997/98:76), 3) the response of Foreign Affairs Committee to this report (Utrikesutskottets Betänkande 1997/98 UU15), 4) the Sida publication "Justice and Peace," and 5) the Sida/DESA paper on *Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliaments*. All were reviewed for current thinking regarding Swedish policy on sustainable development in general and for parliamentary support specifically. In addition, a range of other publications were reviewed with respect to Sida's strategy with respect to related areas of development cooperation, such as poverty reduction, or with respect to Sida's methods of development cooperation.¹¹

3.1.1 Poverty Reduction as the Overarching Goal of Sweden's Development Cooperation Assistance

The new integrated policy for global development put forward in the PGU states that Swedish development cooperation should have one single goal "to contribute to an environment supportive of poor people's own efforts to improve their quality of life". In addition, a rights perspective and the perspectives of the poor should permeate all parts of the Swedish Policy for Global Development¹².

⁹ For example, during the validation interviews, the evaluation team was informed of several programs in Southern Africa to strengthen the capacity of audit institutions. Although the primary recipient of the assistance has been the audit institutions, some of these projects have involved work with parliamentary public accounts committees. Some of these small projects with public accounts committees may have been done as a small component within a larger rapid response fund or discretionary fund managed by the Embassy.

¹⁰ Similarly, there was no effort to control for inflation or currency exchange fluctuations over the period covered by the evaluation.

¹¹ Sida Methods Development Unit, *Sida's Policy for Capacity Development as a Strategic Question in Development Cooperation*, November 2000; Lage Bergström, *Methods for Capacity Development: A report for Sida's project group: "Capacity Development as a Strategic Question,"* February 2002; DESA, Sida, *Lessons Learnt on Twinning: Report from a Seminar*, January 2000; Sida, *Sida at Work: Sida's Methods for Development Cooperation*, 1997.

¹² The government bill, 2002/03:122 Shared Responsibility: Sweden's policy for Global Development p. 59–61

The PGU states that Sweden has failed to pay close enough attention to the objective of reducing poverty and suggests that the six supporting development objectives that guided Sida's development cooperation sometimes led to a lack of clarity regarding the overall aim of reducing poverty¹³. As a result, the current Swedish development cooperation only has one goal and thereby a clear-cut focus on poverty reduction. There are also eight "central thematic areas and component elements" of the policy¹⁴. However, these should not be viewed as new supporting development objectives. The eight thematic areas are: 1) respect for human rights; 2) democracy and good governance; 3) gender equality; 4) sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment; 5) economic growth; 6) social development and social security; 7) conflict management and human security; and 8) global public goods.

With respect to poverty reduction, the PGU places primary responsibility for a country's development with the government of that country, but recognizes that lasting poverty alleviation is most likely to occur in countries that strive to create a democratic society with broad popular participation. The role of the parliament as well as the institutional capacity, public administration and legislation needs to be strengthened according to the government bill¹⁵. In addition the document specifically puts forward the importance of poverty reduction strategies and that, parliaments should be given support that enhances their capacity to shape and implement policy for poverty reduction¹⁶.

With respect to strategic thinking within Sida, there is also a clear recognition that the linkages between parliamentary support and poverty reduction could be strengthened. The *Political Institutions* paper identifies supporting parliament's marginal role in the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) process of the IMF and World Bank as an area for extra attention, noting possible support for supporting relevant standing committee seminars and workshops with civil society on PRSP development and implementation.¹⁷ The terms of reference for this evaluation also reflect Sida's desire to explore ways of increasing the direct linkages between parliamentary support and poverty reduction goals. However, it appears that the process of developing methods and programming in this area are still nascent within Sida. In addition to the *Political Institutions* paper, a sampling of Sida documents on poverty reduction issues were also collected and reviewed.¹⁸ When democratization assistance is mentioned in the context of poverty reduction, it is typically at a very general level, noting that poverty also encompasses an inability to influence one's own situation, and that democratization assistance strengthens the ability of individuals to participate in political and social life and assert their rights. Where more direct linkages are drawn between democracy and governance programming and poverty reduction, for example, in the context of improved financial management or legal reform, the focus is typically on the partner country government rather than on parliament. In discussing strategies for empowerment or mobilization of the poor, there is only limited discussion of how parliamentary reform or development can assist or hinder these efforts.¹⁹

¹³ The government bill, 2002/03:122 Shared Responsibility: Sweden's policy for Global Development p. 60

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 1

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 88

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 63–64

¹⁷ Sida, *The Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliaments*, July 2002, p. 36.

¹⁸ Sida, *Sida's Poverty Programme: Action Programme to Promote Sustainable Livelihoods for the Poor and to Combat Poverty*, December 1996; Sida, *Poverty, Environment and the Consultations with the Poor*, October 2000; Sida, *The Sustainable Livelihood Approach to Poverty Reduction: An Introduction*, February 2001; Sida, *Mobilization of the Poor – a Means to Poverty Reduction?*, Sida Evaluation 02/08.

¹⁹ For example, DFID, as their country strategy development, has conducted studies of "drivers of pro-poor change" in Bangladesh, and is currently conducting a similar in Nigeria. The Nigeria "drivers of pro-poor change" study includes a component focusing on the National Assembly and the extent to which the incentive structures in the National Assembly assist or hinder pro-poor change. In addition, DFID has commissioned several studies of political systems in countries, such as Bolivia and Peru, to look at the incentive structures embedded within the political system for promoting or preventing effective poverty reduction efforts. http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1852_bo_propoor_100104.pdf; http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1853_pe_propoor_030105.pdf.

3.1.2 Parliamentary Support in the Context of Sida's Democracy and Human Rights Assistance

As indicated, one of the eight thematic areas of Swedish development cooperation as put forth in the PGU is democracy and good governance. Government and Sida documents regarding democratization, repeatedly characterize parliament as a key institution in democratic development. The government's report, *Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden's Development Cooperation*, notes that "parliament and political parties have key roles in all democracies, particularly in consolidating new or fragile democratic structures."²⁰ This same document notes that many parliamentary officials have expressed interest in the Swedish parliament, referencing the international courses program and the cooperation with the Vietnamese National Assembly, and expresses the hope that this is only the beginning of future cooperation with parliaments in other countries receiving development cooperation assistance.²¹ The Sida document, *Justice and Peace: Sida's Programme for Peace, Democracy and Human Rights*, also gives parliamentary support a high priority. Indeed, the *Justice and Peace* document identifies improving the effectiveness of parliament as one of the priorities designated with an asterisk, as an area to be particularly emphasized in democratization and human rights.²²

However, beyond indicating the priority to be given to parliamentary support, there is limited policy guidance regarding the priorities among various types of parliamentary assistance, presumably because these are more country-specific decisions. For example, the government's report *Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden's Development Cooperation* identified a range of issues in parliamentary development, but in a way that suggests these issues are merely illustrative rather than singled out for particular priority: 1) lack of mutual respect between government and opposition and boycotts of parliament by opposition; 2) lack of sufficient information for the parliament to exercise its functions or identify questions that are important for the country, such as military budgets or structural adjustment programs; 3) lack of women parliamentarians; 4) lack of parliamentary services and equipment; 5) lack of effective channels of communication between parliament and citizens; and 6) limited participation by opposition in the political process because of strong single-party dominance.²³

Sida's *Political Institutions* paper represents the most comprehensive attempt within Sida to articulate a strategy with respect to the role of parliamentary support in democratic development and represents a significant step forward in terms of the development of a Sida strategy with respect to parliamentary support. The *Political Institutions* paper provides a clear, if very broad, statement of the purposes of legislative support: "to increase the capacity of parliamentarians to support democratic governance by effectively fulfilling their legislative, oversight, representative and conflict resolution functions in ways that respect and strengthen the democratic governance of accountability, transparency, openness, participation, separation and balance of power, legitimacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts of interest."²⁴ The statement of purposes covers much of the universe of parliamentary assistance, as does a non-exhaustive 'laundry list' of possible interventions. Although this list of program ideas is likely to be useful to Sida staff and partners in generating program ideas, Sida's strategy for parliamentary support does not address issues of prioritization or sequencing of activities, presumably because of the limited research on these issues and the difficulty of addressing them outside a specific political context.

²⁰ Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden's Development Cooperation*, Government Communication, SKR 1997/98:76, p. 116.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²² Sida, *Justice and Peace: Sida's Programme for Peace, Democracy and Human Rights*, May 1997, p. 14.

²³ Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden's Development Cooperation*, Government Communication, SKR 1997/98:76, pp. 20–21.

²⁴ *The Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliaments*, p. 32–33.

On another level, however, the *Political Institutions* paper does provide some clear, albeit general, principles that the evaluation team has used in evaluating Sida's portfolio:

- *Political Contextualization.* The paper stresses the need for contextualization of programs, taking the societal structures of powers, authority, interests, hierarchies, loyalties and traditions into account. It requires an assessment of political will before projects are entered into and stresses the importance of assessing the type of democratic transition that exists in the country concerned. It cites the lack of analysis of the perceived type of democratic transition in the partner country. It provides examples of specific factors to be considered in assessing parliamentary capacity for representation, legislation, oversight and conflict resolution. It notes that the need for building the underlying interests and power relationships into programs supporting political institutions requires deep knowledge about the recipient society.
- *Treating Causes Rather Than Symptoms.* The paper notes that Sida must “look for the causes, not the symptoms, of the democratic deficits in our partner countries.” It cites the need for projects to build a “culture of parliamentarism” over the long term. “Mere institutional repair packages should be avoided.”²⁵ There is an emphasis on supporting processes and values (accountability, transparency, openness, participation, legitimacy, pluralism, constitutionalism and the peaceful resolution of societal conflicts), rather than on treating the institutional symptoms of these dysfunctional processes or a lack of democratic values.²⁶
- *Linkages with other Goals in Sida's Development Cooperation.* The *Political Institutions* paper lists a number of areas for extra attention, including the marginal role of parliaments in the PRSP process, increasing the representation and influence of women, supporting parliament's role in improving implementation of international human rights instruments, and supporting integration of the rights of the child into legislative assistance.²⁷
- *Coherence, Harmonization and Complementarity.* The *Political Institutions* paper emphasizes the need for complementarity in parliamentary support, i.e., supplementing inputs to state performance with inputs to associated civil society organizations. It stresses the need to explore linkages between parliamentary programs and programming with groups outside the parliament who can push for and sustain reform, including political parties, the media, think tanks, and advocacy and watchdog NGOs. The need for programmatic coherence and donor cooperation is also emphasized.
- *Promotion of Information Sharing.* As another area meriting extra attention, the *Political Institutions* paper notes that the increasing pace of change in legislatures worldwide is encouraged by information sharing across borders. It cites the increasing number and activity of regional parliaments and parliamentary networks and organizations and notes that programs to share successful reform experiences with similar parliaments should be encouraged and supported.

3.1.3 Integration of Cross-Cutting Developmental Goals into Parliamentary Support

The concluding paragraph of the government report *Democracy and Human Rights* notes that: “Sweden wants to work for the democratic values that we cherish, including listening to and respecting the opinions and cultures of other people, and their circumstances. But this should never lead to a situation in which Sweden abandons its fundamental values, or bargains them away.” Although the list of complementary development goals that could be considered in parliamentary programming is poten

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁶ In Sida's policy documentation there is a strong recognition that “The institutions of democracy need to be the expression of a democratic culture, and vice versa. Swedish assistance must reflect this intimate connection” Sida, *Justice and Peace*, p. 7.

²⁷ The primacy of poverty reduction in Sweden's development cooperation was covered under Section 3.1.1; linkages with other goals of Sweden's development cooperation are covered in Section 3.1.3.

tially infinite, there are several cross-cutting goals or values that consistently emerge as priorities when reviewing Sweden's policies regarding democracy assistance and parliamentary support.²⁸

- *Gender Equality.* As indicated, the promotion of gender equality is one of the eight thematic areas of Sweden's development cooperation policy. *Sida's Action Programme for Promoting Equality Between Women and Men in Partner Countries* calls both for the "mainstreaming of a gender perspective into the policies and programmes arising from the other goals of development cooperation," including democratic development, as well as specific support for the promotion of equality between women and men.²⁹ An important principle with respect to Sida's policy for the promotion of equality between women and men involves an approach on gender, i.e., a focus on both women and men and the relationships between them, rather than an exclusive focus on women. The *Political Institutions* paper outlines many of the obstacles to increasing the representation and influence of women in parliaments and notes the need for paying additional attention to the issue in its parliamentary program.³⁰
- *Human Rights.* Support for human rights has also been identified as a strong crosscutting issue in Sida's development assistance. The *Political Institutions* paper identified human rights as an issue in parliamentary support meriting extra attention, noting the role that MPs can play in assisting with the ratification of international conventions and in improving implementation of human rights instruments by identifying conflicts between international conventions and national legislation. All Sida programs are to be reviewed with a view to identifying unintended negative effects of programs on human rights issues.
- *Peace Promotion and Conflict Management.* Sweden has given a priority to peace promotion and conflict management issues in its parliamentary support.³¹ Indeed, the *Political Institutions* paper considers the resolution of societal conflicts as one of the core legislative functions along with representation, legislation and oversight. The *Justice and Peace* paper also recognizes the role of democracy support in creating the conditions for the peaceful resolution of societal conflict. It identifies a series of policies relating to Sida's involvement in conflict management where armed conflict is emerging or has emerged, including an emphasis on peace restoration in coordination with other international actors. A minimum policy of "do no harm" applies in situations where armed conflict has emerged, requiring scrutiny to identify unintended effects that may help fuel conflict.
- *The Rights of the Child.* Although, like gender equality, the rights of the child are human rights issues, Sida has generally emphasized the rights of the child independently from its general support for human rights. The implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child has been given a strong priority with respect to all government operations, including international development cooperation, and Sida's literature provides significant policy guidance on incorporating children's rights issues in development cooperation.³² Although the rights of children was not

²⁸ For the most part, these priorities are identified in the terms of reference as specific issues to be used as standards in the thematic evaluation. Other issues, of course, could have also arguably been included. Although environmental care was not identified in the terms of reference, it is one of the eight thematic areas of Swedish development cooperation. The PGU also stresses the importance of preventative and sustainable management of global environmental concerns, such as the reduction of greenhouse gases, the preservation of biological diversity, a safe water supply, protection of the ozone layer, etc. p. 12, 26. Moreover, over 120 Swedish MPs are members of GLOBE (the Global Legislators Organization for a Balanced Environment) and Sida has provided assistance to this organization.

²⁹ Sida, *Sida's Action Programme for Promoting Equality Between Women and Men in Partner Countries*, April 1997, p. 6–7.

³⁰ The *Political Institutions* paper draws heavily on the IDEA Handbook: International IDEA, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, 1998.

³¹ See, *Strategy for Conflict Management and Peace-Building: A Summary*, May 1999.

³² See "Children's rights and young citizens," in *Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden's Development Cooperation*, p. 50. In March 1999, a unanimous Swedish Parliament approved a Government bill on a strategy for implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Government Bill 1997/98:182, Report 1998/99:SoU6, Communication 1998/99:171). Also see, Sida publications, *The Rights of the Child in Swedish Development Cooperation* and *Children as Participants: Swedish Experience of Child Participation in Society's Decision-Making Processes*.

separately identified as an issue in the terms of reference, it is given a priority in the *Political Institutions* paper, noting that children constitute more than half the population in many developing countries, that the Convention on the Rights of the Child requires society to listen to children's views on issues of concern to them and that it appears beneficial to include a child perspective in all parliamentary programs.³³ The focus on children as the future bearers of democracy is also linked to the importance of building of culture of democracy.

3.1.4 Coherence of Parliamentary Support with Country Assistance Strategies

Coherence with country assistance strategies constitutes an additional set of criteria for evaluation. Sida parliamentary strengthening support includes programs in 23 countries, the majority of which have written country assistance strategies.³⁴ In evaluating coherence with country assistance strategies, the evaluation team has focused on case studies involving support to a particular parliament within the context of a country assistance strategy, such as Guatemala, Kenya, Vietnam, South Africa and Uganda.

3.1.5 Other Swedish Objectives for Parliamentary Support

Parliamentary support often seeks to accomplish objectives in addition to parliamentary development. Parliamentary exchanges are often used for purposes of public diplomacy or cultural exchange. Development assistance often involves activities to educate domestic audiences on development issues. For example, AWEPA explicitly includes, in its mandate, the need to keep African development issues on the European political agenda. Development cooperation is also an instrument for mutual development; Sida has identified three dimensions to these mutual benefits of development cooperation, noting that development cooperation: 1) allows for Swedish participation in processes that lead to the solution of global problems, 2) contributes to the internationalization of Swedish society, and 3) contributes to both short-term and long-term growth in Sweden.³⁵ Although the evaluation has not explicitly focused on how parliamentary support has contributed to these other objectives, where there has been an explicit recognition of these other objectives in a particular program, the evaluation team has sought to note this dimension in the evaluation, for example, the JPO program has noted, as one of its goals, the provision of development experience to young Swedish professionals.

3.2 Trends and emerging best practice regarding parliamentary support

In reviewing Sida's portfolio, the evaluation team has also looked to trends and emerging best practice within the international parliamentary development community. Parliamentary support only emerged as an important area of assistance among donor institutions in the 1990s and remains a developing field. Evaluations and research findings regarding parliamentary support began to accumulate in the late 1990s and there are a number of trends and best practices that have emerged from these initial evaluations. In addition to the large body of literature that involves review of specific programs or program types, there have been several recent broader evaluations of legislative strengthening programs.

In 1999, UNDP launched, with support from the Government of Belgium, its Global Programme for Parliamentary Strengthening (GPPS). The overarching goal of GPPS is to "better understand how development cooperation can support parliaments and enable them to function more effectively, especially in terms of their contributions to democratic governance through their legislative, oversight

³³ See, "Section 4.3.4: Children and parliament" in Sida, *The Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliaments*, p. 30.

³⁴ Afghanistan, Burundi, Colombia, Estonia, Georgia, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Kenya, Latvia, Lithuania, Malawi, Moldova, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam and Zambia. This listing of countries excludes countries where Sida has provided core funding to international parliamentary organizations who have chosen to use that core funding in specific countries. Given the fungible nature of this core funding, it is very difficult to allocate it among programs in specific countries.

³⁵ *Sida Looks Forward: Sida's Programme for Global Development*, pp. 15–17.

and representative functions.”³⁶ An extensive evaluation of the GPPS program, involving six field-based program assessments, has been prepared by an independent evaluator, the results of which were presented at a UNDP conference on “Emerging Issues in Legislative and Parliamentary Strengthening Programmes” in November 2002, in Brussels. This report, more than most, has focused on modalities of legislative assistance and a number of conclusions taken from that document have been worked into our review of the case studies and the recommendations and conclusions of this report. USAID has conducted limited reviews of its legislative strengthening experience over the years. It is currently in the process of developing an evaluation methodology for a more extensive impact assessment of its legislative strengthening programs.³⁷ In addition to the general democratization literature, there have been a relatively large number of conference reports and academic articles on the issue of legislative and parliamentary development assistance.³⁸

A complete summary of the evaluation literature is beyond the scope of this evaluation. However, a number of trends and emerging best practices are worth noting:

3.2.1 Integrated Approaches between Economic and Democratic Development

There is increasing focus within the donor community on the interactions between economic and democratic development, although there remains a broad spectrum of perspectives with respect to the nature of these linkages.³⁹ This increasing focus has come from both democratic and economic development organizations. Economic development actors have increasingly focused on the effectiveness of accountable, representative and transparent government institutions in economic development; democracy promotion organizations have also increasingly seen how the failure of democratically minded, reformist governments to deliver on economic development can undercut democratic reform.

This trend is particularly significant for Sida given its emphasis on poverty reduction; Sida’s active involvement in this area may not only benefit the ability of Sida’s programming to strengthen linkages between democracy promotion and poverty reduction, but may also be helpful in influencing the approach of multilateral organizations. In reviewing Sida’s programming, the evaluation team looked for the extent to which linkages between economic and democratic development are considered in Sida’s programming.

³⁶ Taylor, Nancy, *Assessment Report of the Global Programme for Parliamentary Strengthening*, July 2002 (Final Draft), p. 4.

³⁷ There have been a number of USAID reviews over the years. One of earliest comprehensive reviews was prepared in 1995: McCannell, Ryan, *Legislative Strengthening: A Synthesis of USAID Experience* (USAID, Research & Reference Services Project, 1995). Several conferences have been held to share best practices on legislative experience. The first international USAID-sponsored conference on legislative strengthening was held in 1996 in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, see, Johnson, John K., “Best Practices from the International Conference on Legislative Strengthening,” State University of New York International Programs and Development, 1997. A second International Conference of Legislative Strengthening was held in June 2000, bringing together more than 160 parliamentarians, experts, other donor representatives, USAID field and headquarters staff. In advance of this second conference, USAID’s Center for Democracy and Governance published the *USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, Technical Publication Series, February 2000. Some of the highlights from the second conference on legislative strengthening were described in the paper, “Understanding Representation: Implications for Legislative Strengthening, Second International Conference on Legislative Strengthening, November 2000. A brief promotional publication regarding its legislative programs, entitled “USAID’s Experience Strengthening Legislatures,” was published by the Center for Democracy and Governance in June 2001. Currently, a taskforce has been formed to develop an evaluation methodology to conduct a broader impact assessment of USAID’s legislative strengthening programs; two members of the current evaluation team serve on that taskforce.

³⁸ The International Institute for Democracy in cooperation with the German Bundestag and the East-West Parliamentary Practice Project, with support from the European Commission and the European Parliament held a conference on “Parliamentary Development Programmes: Evaluation and Beyond” in 1997. In addition to Thomas Carother’s evaluation of democratization programs, including legislative assistance, in *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, there have been several articles in the *Journal of Legislative Studies* on parliamentary assistance, albeit less recently, Blackman, D., “The European Parliament’s Aid Initiatives in Support of Democratic Development in Central and Eastern Europe,” *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer 1995, pp. 301–314; Lee, J. M., “British Aid to Parliaments Overseas,” *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1995 pp. 115–135.

³⁹ “This remains relatively new territory for serious research and the links between political institutions and economic and social outcomes are not fully understood.” UNDP Human Development Report, 2002, p. 3.

The 2002 development reports of the UNDP and the World Bank illustrate this emerging emphasis on the linkages between economic and democratic or political development, as well as the diversity of approaches in this debate. The UNDP's 2002 Human Development Report, entitled *Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World*, takes the position that "advancing human development requires governance that is democratic in both form and substance." It is an important step forward for the organization, in recognizing that "governance for human development requires much more than having effective public institutions," and stressing the importance of democratic decision-making and participation by the people in the debates and decisions that shape their lives. The report stresses that the links between democratic development and human development are not automatic, particularly when a small elite dominates economic and political decisions despite the existence of formal democratic institutions. The World Bank also focused on governance for its 2002 World Development Report, entitled *Building Institutions for Markets*. Although the World Bank's focus is still largely on the usefulness of governance institutions in strengthening economic markets, the report does stress that the costs of institutional failure are often felt most by the poorest in society. The discussion of legislative institutions is largely in the context of how electoral rules can impact corruption within the legislature, or how insulating finance ministries from legislative influence contributes to enforcing fiscal discipline, rather than a more holistic view of how representative, democratic institutions promote human development more generally.⁴⁰

The focus on linkages between economic development and democracy and governance programming is also being seen in greater activity by international financial institutions in parliamentary development. There is an increasing number of country loans in the World Bank pipeline involving support to parliamentary institutions, much of which is focused on assistance to financial or money committees and increasing accountability. The World Bank and IMF's poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) process, as well as the Millennium Challenge Corporation in the United States,⁴¹ reflect an increasingly integrated approach to economic and political development.

3.2.2 Parliamentary Involvement in Poverty Reduction

The increased focus on the linkages between economic and democratic development is also being played out in the specific context of parliamentary involvement in poverty reduction, in particular with respect to the PRSP process. The terms of reference for this survey and thematic review specifically requested that it include a summary of World Bank Institute's (WBI's) work with parliamentarians, as well as a discussion of the degree to which donors and organizations are trying to strengthen the marginal role of parliaments in the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) process of the World Bank and IMF.

A number of donors and nongovernmental organizations have expressed concerns that the PRSP process has developed a parallel participatory structure for obtaining public input on the PRSP, which

⁴⁰ The report asserts that, "when legislatures are selected by proportional representation, with candidates chosen from party lists, voters can vote only against particular parties and not against individuals whom they perceive as corrupt. As a result individual politicians have less reason to fear that they will be punished at the ballot box for engaging in corrupt practices." *2002 World Development Report*, p. 109. There is no discussion of the impact of internal party candidate selection procedures. The report also notes that "when finance ministries have strong agenda-setting powers relative to the legislature or spending ministries, it is easier for central agencies to enforce fiscal discipline. It cites cross-country evidence from Latin America that suggests this factor is important in determining fiscal outcomes. WDR 2002, p. 102.

⁴¹ The Millennium Challenge Corporation is a new development organization in the United States designed to assist countries that suffer from significant poverty and have a demonstrated commitment to: "1) just and democratic governance (including political pluralism and the rule of law, and respect for human and civil rights of all citizens, protect private property rights, encourage transparency and accountability of governance, and limit corruption) and 2) economic freedom, including economic policies that encourage citizens and firms to participate in the global product and capital markets, promote private sector growth, and avoid direct government participation in the economy; and 3) investing in its own people, including improving the availability of educational opportunities and health care for all citizens." <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c108:S.571>.

operates separately from the country's political process.⁴² This raises clear questions about the ownership and legitimacy of the PRSP, as well as the likelihood of successful implementation and monitoring of the PRSP, which are necessarily more dependent on the country's political process. In the Comprehensive Review of the PRSP conducted in January 2002, the Utstein group of donors and the EU specifically criticized the lack of parliamentary involvement in PRSP processes.⁴³ At the Comprehensive Review conference, one working session addressed the role of parliament in the PRSP process. Although the session failed to recommend that PRSPs be submitted to parliament for review before they are submitted to the World Bank and IMF, it did encourage greater parliamentary involvement as good practice. However, it is somewhat telling that only two of the 30 participants invited to the session were parliamentarians, the rest consisting of government, donor and civil society representatives, as well as Bank and IMF staff.

Recognizing this problem, both the World Bank and the UNDP have supported a number of programs to strengthen the role of parliaments in the PRSP process, although it may be too soon to evaluate the overall success of these initiatives. The Bank's Vice Presidency for Europe has supported the development of a parliamentary network on the World Bank, which is intended to provide a mechanism for greater access by parliament to the Bank on a broad range of issues, including the debt relief and the PRSP.⁴⁴ The Parliamentary Network on the World Bank is scheduled to hold its sixth Annual meeting in Helsinki in October 2005; President Wolfowitz is scheduled to attend, showing the Bank's continuing commitment to reach out to parliamentarians. WBI's support in this area has most commonly involved conducting country workshops or regional conferences to raise parliamentary awareness of the PRSP process. It has also supported work by the Canadian Parliamentary Centre, and to a lesser extent NDI, in this area. With WBI support, the Canadian Parliamentary Centre has published a "Handbook for Parliamentarians: Parliamentarians and Policies to Reduce Poverty". Also with WBI support, the Canadian Parliamentary Centre has engaged in a number of country projects to promote parliamentary involvement in the PRSP, including Ghana and Ethiopia. These have commonly involved workshops for MPs on the PRSP process and support for hearings on the PRSP process. With support from WBI, NDI completed a WBI Working Paper on Parliaments and the PRSP Process.⁴⁵ UNDP has also been active in this area, funding NDI to handbooks on parliamentary involvement in the PRSP process, as well as on fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goals.⁴⁶

Although there appears to be a strong consensus that work in this area should continue and be supported, early experience is somewhat mixed. The obstacles are clear. Effective parliamentary involvement in the PRSP process requires a commitment of financial and human resources that parliaments often lack. There is a degree of parliamentary suspicion regarding the Bank's motives in seeking parliamentary involvement, particularly after decades of dealing primarily or exclusively with the Ministry of Finance. It is often politically easier for parliamentarians to remain unengaged in the

⁴² The *Political Institutions* paper notes the issue of executive branch dominance and the extreme weakness of many parliaments. Providing a greater role for parliamentarians in the PRSP process can assist more reform-minded parliaments in challenging executive dominance, if the parliament is given the procedural ability to delay or impact the disbursement of international financial institution funds to the government. Conversely, the disbursement of donor funds based on a PRSP that has had minimal parliamentary input can actively reinforce a rubber-stamping role for parliament. The "do no harm" policy in Sida's *Justice and Peace* publication appears particularly relevant, giving the following example, "If Sweden supports economic adjustment programmes it will strive towards their being subjected to the democratic process, i.e., subject to public scrutiny and parliamentary approval as regards their design and implementation." Sida, *Justice and Peace: Sida's Programme for Peace, Democracy and Human Rights*, p. 13.

⁴³ "The role of Parliaments in the preparation, approval, and monitoring of country strategies has generally been limited, and is a concern that has been expressed by a number of development partners (including the Utstein Group of bilateral donors and the E.C.)." *Review of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) Approach: Main Findings*, March 15, 2002.

⁴⁴ Information on the network can be found at: <http://www.worldbank.org/pnowb>.

⁴⁵ [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/wbi37231HubliMandavilleweb.pdf#search=Parliament %20PRSP%20World%20Bank%20Institute](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/wbi37231HubliMandavilleweb.pdf#search=Parliament%20PRSP%20World%20Bank%20Institute).

⁴⁶ <http://www.undp.org/governance/hbkitoolkit.htm#english>. The series of 3 handbooks are available in six languages.

process, to criticize the failure of Bank programs, and to focus on calls for debt relief. Moreover, Bank support for the concept of parliamentary involvement in the PRSP process has not always been matched by a strong commitment to operationalizing involvement at the country level. Pressures to base the Bank's country assistance strategies on completed PRSPs often mean that the Bank has been not supported a delays of the PRSP process in order to allow time for parliamentary engagement. Moreover, many Bank officials still equate active support for parliamentary involvement with political interference. Although some Bank officials have participated in informational briefings for parliamentarians, the Bank maintains its policy against testifying before parliamentary committees.

However, despite these obstacles, there is reason for cautious optimism. The political benefits of effective public engagement in poverty reduction issues is widely recognized by parliamentarians, and when programming is structured to draw on this, parliamentarians can become extremely motivated. Efforts appear most effective when linkages can be made to specific constituent interests.

3.2.3 Increased Political Contextualization

The focus in the *Political Institutions* paper on political contextualization is consistent with trends in the larger donor community. As noted in the *Political Institutions* paper, the critique of uncontextualized approaches has been scathing:

All too often, however, legislative aid efforts have barely scratched the surface in feckless, corrupt, patronage-ridden parliaments that command little respect from the public and play only a minor role in the political process. Legislators emerge unchanged from repeated training seminars. The training sessions for legislative staff do not deal with the facts that the trainees are beholden to powerful political bosses and are not given much of a role. Shiny new computers sit unused on legislators' desks or disappear. New parliamentary committees are formed at the urging of outside advisers but end up as fiefdoms of the senior legislators who are the root cause of the parliament's poor performance. More public hearings are held, again on the advice of aid providers, but they are mostly for show.⁴⁷

These criticisms are having an impact. There is increasing recognition of the need to take a more politically contextualized approach to parliamentary strengthening, focusing on the interests and informal structures that govern parliamentary behavior. Donors are less likely to assume that activities such as computer procurement, legislative library building, skills training, conferences and seminars will result in parliamentary strengthening, and are seeking to develop better tools for assessing parliamentary needs.

This trend is linked to an increased focus on the rise of "illiberal democracies," or democracies that have many of the outward, formal democratic structures, but are governed by informal networks of patronage or political influence and are not characterized by democratic values, such as transparency, pluralism, accountability and representation. This has resulted in greater experimentation with other methods of delivering assistance to parliaments, as well as an increased focus on the effects of corruption and political finance on governance. There has also been a corresponding increase in focus on political parties and their impact on parliamentary behavior, although donors continue to have varying comfort levels and approaches in providing technical assistance to political parties. Much remains to be done in this area. Even where donors have shifted focus to more political issues, the analysis is often based on formal legal requirements and structures rather than the informal systems that are in place.⁴⁸

There are several aspects bundled within this trend toward increased political contextualization. First, there is the necessity of considering political incentives rather than focusing primarily on a lack of technical capacity. For example, if the staff of the Nigerian National Assembly lacks technical capacity

⁴⁷ Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, p. 182.

⁴⁸ For example, although USAID is preparing a Handbook on Political Party Finance, this document, prepared by an academic, focuses primarily on formal campaign finance disclosure requirements than on informal practice.

to conduct budget analysis, it is insufficient to focus on a program to fill that gap in skills, but to examine the incentives for why this missing capacity exists, given the resources of the Nigerian National Assembly and the number of skilled economists and fiscal analysts in the country. A second aspect involves not viewing the parliament as a self-contained institution, but as an interconnected actor in a larger political context. In this respect, there are increasing programs that focus on dysfunctional political *processes* (which may implicate or include parliament) rather than necessarily focusing on dysfunctional *institutions* such as parliament. For example, in assessing why the 1999 democratic transition in Nigeria has not narrowed the gap between the concerns of political elites and those of citizens and, as a result, in greater pro-poor change, DFID conducted a broad-based assessment in advance of reformulating its country strategy. The study looked at an extremely broad range of actors, as well as the processes and interrelations among these actors, within the political and economic system. The study was based on the premise that patterns of resource distribution and informal patronage structures that involve, but extend far beyond, the National Assembly, may be far more relevant to democratic development and pro-poor change in Nigeria than specific weaknesses in the capacity of any one institution.

Despite this growing awareness of the importance of greater political contextualization of programs, little attention has been focused on the institutional reasons that cause the lack of contextualization. Just as pointing out legislative institutional weaknesses to legislators is unlikely to change outcomes without addressing the underlying incentive structure, merely pointing out the lack of contextualization within donor organizations is unlikely to change outcomes without a closer look at the bureaucratic and organizational incentives that produce an uncontextualized approach within the donor community. Multilateral organizations, such as the UN and the IPU, are associations whose membership includes governments that are not completely democratic. They operate on a partnership-based model that, in practice, often results in program approaches that conceptualize vested elites as their partners for democratic reform. For example, the World Bank's local counterparts, i.e., ministries of finance, often do not have an interest in strengthened legislative scrutiny; UNDP's use of national execution in implementing legislative programs often raises similar issues. There is often a fear that greater political contextualization can be equated with political interference; a desire to avoid the appearance of political intervention can create bureaucratic incentives for donors to approach political problems with purely technical solutions. To an extent, these issues can be seen in the illustrative reviews of programs that involve multilateral organizations or international organizations of parliaments or parliamentarians. Although these issues do not necessarily suggest reduced assistance through these types of organizations, it does suggest that methods should be matched closely with objectives. For programs requiring greater political contextualization, it may be appropriate for Sida to consider other types of organizations as partners, such as international or local NGOs, as is the case with the PACT program in Zambia. Moreover, given the heavy emphasis that Sida's policy documents place on partnership,⁴⁹ it is important that legislative development programs carefully consider who is conceptualized as being (or representing) the partner, i.e., the speaker, legislative leadership, a multiparty advisory group including civil society advocacy groups, etc.

3.2.4 Use of Issue-Based and Bottom-Up Approaches

As outlined in Diagram 2.1, the traditional approach to legislative strengthening (tending to be have a top-down focus on formal parliamentary structures and rules) is increasingly being complemented by issue-based and bottom-up approaches. Issue-based approaches, i.e., integrating legislative strengthening programs with other types of development cooperation, have received increasing attention in

⁴⁹ There is particularly heavy use of the notion of partnership in Sida's documentation. Although most of the iterations of Sida's concept of partnership are sophisticated enough to allow for multiple ways of conceptualizing the program partner, democratic reform programs can that draw on existing political elites and vested interests as primary program partners may result in programming that appears less "politically contextualized".

legislative strengthening over the last five years or so.⁵⁰ This trend or emerging best practice has been driven, in part, out of a desire to maximize the use of limited donor resources. Where development resources have come under pressure, issue-based approaches have allowed donor agencies to pursue a number of developmental objectives simultaneously.

Experience with respect to issue-based approaches is still being gained. Many donors have recognized the inherent tension between sectoral development projects (which are often designed to achieve substantive outcomes) and democracy and governance projects (which should be designed to improve the democratic process). For example, when including support to a legislative environmental committee in working on environmental legal reform, there is a danger of emphasizing the adoption of reform legislation over supporting the development of a participatory, inclusive process for considering and reviewing environmental legislation. However, there is also experience to suggest that, when implemented well and when these tensions are recognized and well-balanced, there does appear to be significant potential for more effective use of resources and more effective legislative strengthening programming by using issue-based approaches. Issue-based approaches can help promote a more holistic approach to the policy-making and political process, rather than focusing just the legislative or oversight role of the parliament as an institution; and can involve support improved mechanisms for interaction between parliaments and other actors in the policy-making process. Pedagogically, hands-on technical assistance in supporting legislative review in a specific, politically important policy area can be a much more effective method of strengthening legislative functioning than a series of workshops and conferences that approach legislative development in a more abstract context. Particularly in transition countries with high donor interest and limited absorptive capacity, legislators often spend a significant amount on study tours and various capacity building programs – some donors refer to the phenomenon as “workshop-fatigue,” and it can distort legislative development.⁵¹

In addition to a move toward issue-based approaches, there has also been a move toward bottom-up approaches. Increasingly, donors have expressed the need to do a better job of balancing top-down approaches to legislative strengthening (e.g., rule reform, exchange programs for legislative leadership, training of key staff, etc.) with bottom-up approaches, working with outside actors to improve parliamentary functioning. There is an extremely broad range of bottom-up approaches to legislative strengthening. However, because these approaches are often longer-term in nature, the evaluation and impact of bottom-up approaches is still limited. Some programs have focused on the development of parliamentary think tanks or legislative watchdog capacity within civil society. Others have focused on the training of journalists to cover parliament or on broadcasting of parliamentary sessions or debates. A number of programs have focused on youth involvement in politics as a mechanism for strengthening parliament, whether through model legislature programs, school tours of parliament, legislative intern programs, or developing improved educational curricula on parliament.

In terms of its strategy and approach, Sida appears ahead of most donors in recognizing the importance of cultural aspects of democratic development, and the importance of bottom-up approaches in building a “culture of parliamentarism.” Sida’s paper on “Justice and Peace: Sida’s Programme for Peace, Democracy and Human Rights,” stresses that “the institutions of democracy need to be the expression of a democratic culture, and vice versa,” and applies an analytic matrix that highlights the cultural dimension of democratic development. This is echoed in the government report on Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden’s Development Cooperation, which stresses, among the fundamen-

⁵⁰ The importance of integrating democracy promotion and human rights into other forms of development assistance is stressed in *Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden’s Development Cooperation*, p. 126. USAID often refers to “issue-based approaches” in terms of discussing “cross-sectoral linkages”. A series of country studies were done in 1999 to explore possibilities for cross-sectoral approaches involving democracy and governance. For example, Guinea: http://www.dec.org/pdf_docs/PNACG601.pdf; and Madagascar: http://www.dec.org/pdf_docs/PNACG613.pdf.

⁵¹ The JPO program demonstrates many of the advantages of an issue-based sectoral approach to legislative strengthening, as well as some of the dangers to avoid in implementation.

tal aims of democracy assistance, the importance of “democratically-minded people and a democratic culture.” It states simply that, “Democracy requires democrats. The development of a democratic culture is perhaps the most important key to real democracy.” It also notes that democratic development is “basically concerned with influencing values and attitudes.”⁵² The *Political Institutions* paper notes the need for bottom-up approaches and gives examples of common bottom-up approaches.⁵³ There are a number of examples of attempts at bottom-up approaches in Sida’s legislative assistance portfolio, such as the attempt to include information on the role of parliament in educational textbooks in Vietnam. Training women political leaders at local levels of government in Moldova provides another example of a bottom-up approach used by Sida. However, the use of bottom-up strategies appears to vary widely among the various program models contained in Sida’s legislative assistance portfolio.

3.2.5 Developing Regional and Local Capacity for Legislative Development

Another trend within the international donor community has been greater focus on regional organizations in developing parliamentary capacity. Recognizing that democracy must be built rather than imported, and recognizing that the democratic institutions that a nation chooses will depend on its own history and circumstances, donors are giving increased attention to assisting regional parliamentary organizations. One of the first African organizations to strongly criticize the 2002 presidential elections in Zimbabwe was the Parliamentary Forum of the Southern African Development Community (SADC-PF). The SADC-PF has been successful in attracting support from a number of donors and, in addition to its work in observing regional elections, is working with partners on HIV/AIDS, poverty reduction and gender. Other regional parliamentary associations and networks and regional parliaments are also receiving increased donor attention and support. In addition, there are a number of parliamentary watchdog groups and political consulting firms based in Africa, Asia and Latin America, which have increasingly begun to do parliamentary development work on a regional and international basis, including, for example, the Center for Legislative Development in the Philippines and IDASA in South Africa. Although the capacity of these organizations is still developing, there appears to be increasing donor recognition of the importance of developing these institutions as an ongoing mechanism for developing and sustaining effective democratic parliaments.⁵⁴

4 Findings

4.1 Macro-level analysis of Sida’s portfolio

The programs that are reviewed in this survey and thematic review are listed in Appendix 4 of this report. Based on the information contained in the summary chart in Appendix 4, the evaluation team generated some basic quantitative information regarding Sida’s parliamentary assistance portfolio, supplemented by our observations in reviewing the portfolio.

⁵² *Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden’s Development Cooperation*, p. 87. Also see, “2.4 Democratic Culture,” p. 14.

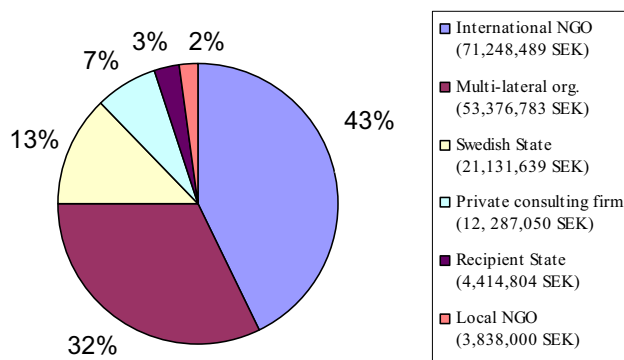
⁵³ See *Political Institutions*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ “Shared Responsibility: Sweden’s policy for Global Development” stresses that regional political and cultural cooperation is becoming more and more important and that such cooperation creates new possibilities and prerequisites (p. 17). In addition when emphasizing the perspectives of the poor the government bill moves focus from rich to poor countries and states that it is the poor that must shape their development as development never can be created from outside a society. There are a number of ways that this approach could be operationalized in the context of Sida’s legislative strengthening programs.

4.1.1 Implementing Organizations

In reviewing the methods used by Sida to support parliaments, the choice of implementing partner is an important consideration – since the type of partner often colors the type of methods used to deliver parliamentary strengthening assistance. Chart 4.4.1 break down Sida’s parliamentary support by the type of implementing partner.⁵⁵ There are several points worth noting about the composition of Sida’s parliamentary support. First, parliamentary assistance provided through international NGOs and multilateral organizations constitutes the substantial majority of the assistance (75%). This supports some of the perceived strengths of Sida’s support to parliaments. In the twinning program with the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam, National Assembly partners expressed confidence in Sweden’s assistance as not having a particular agenda. The highly multilateral and international nature of Sweden’s parliamentary support appears related to the degree of confidence that partners have in Sweden as not promoting a particular “agenda” through its programs. However, as discussed in reviewing program models, there is perhaps a greater range of options for delivering parliamentary support, while still maintaining an extremely multilateral and international approach. Donors differ somewhat in the extent to which parliamentary assistance is delivered through consulting firms and for-profit institutions; however, the type of work that has been implemented by this category of implementing partner appears to be appropriate and to generally be directed toward the types of programs that lend themselves to work by for-profit consulting firms.⁵⁶

Chart 4.1.1: Implementing Partners for Sida’s Parliamentary Support



A relatively small percentage of parliamentary assistance is implemented through local (i.e., recipient-country based) NGOs. Despite the capacity constraints of many local NGOs, the options for doing parliamentary assistance through local and regionally based organizations are increasing and can provide advantages in terms of long-term sustainability. In interviews with the evaluation team, one Sida staff member remarked that much of the organizational work done by an international NGO parliamentary network for an in-country seminar could have been done as competently, and less expensively, by local organizations. This may potentially represent an area of growth for Sida’s parliamentary assistance in the future, particularly in light of developing thinking in the international community regarding the importance of bottom-up approaches to legislative development.

The terms of reference asked that the evaluation review the extent to which programs may rely excessively on Swedish solutions. The breakdown of assistance by implementing partner suggests that this would not even come up as a potential issue in a significant way in a large percentage of Sida’s parlia-

⁵⁵ One project remains unclassified, given that we do not have information, without receiving documentation from the embassy, to identify the nature of the implementing organization. This accounts for 385,547 SEK or 4% of the total.

⁵⁶ The majority of these projects (with one exception) focus on information technology and document handling, areas where private sector firms can be expected to have expertise and where profit incentives are unlikely to distort program implementation.

mentary support. Somewhat surprisingly, no legislative support programs are implemented directly through Swedish non-governmental organizations. Although Swedish experience has been drawn on in many of the programs implemented by the Riksdag, through consulting firms, and by Swedish nationals participating in programs implemented by international networks of parliamentarians, this does not appear to have been a major problem with respect to the overall portfolio. Examples suggest that generally, the use of Swedish experience and solutions has been provided primarily to complement other models and solutions.

4.1.2 Substantive Focus of Programs

As discussed in the *Political Institutions* report, donors have often tended to conceptualize legislative programs in terms of supporting the various functions that legislatures play within a political system. Although there is some degree of variation among donors as to how legislative functions are broken down, the most commonly identified functions are: 1) representation (e.g., programs to strengthen legislator ties with constituents or to promote a more representative legislature through programs to support underrepresented groups), 2) law-making (e.g., programs that support the ability of the legislature to conduct policy analysis or research or offer amendments or programs that provide technical advice to parliament on specific pieces of legislation) and 3) oversight or scrutiny, (e.g., technical assistance on question and answer periods, interpellations, public accounts committees, oversight hearings, etc.)⁵⁷ In discussing parliamentary strengthening programs, USAID has dealt with parliamentary administration as a separate category. Review and oversight of the budget is occasionally dealt with as a separate category by donors or, alternatively, this is included as part of law-making or oversight roles – often depending on the role of the legislature or parliament in the budget process in the donor’s country.

The evaluation team was unable to prepare a meaningful quantitative analysis of the degree to which Sida’s parliamentary strengthening programs focus on strengthening representative, legislative, oversight or administrative capacity. Assistance programs often must seek to address these needs simultaneously. For example, it may be difficult to support the legislative function of parliament without also addressing weaknesses in representative or administrative capacity. Moreover, although this has been done only to a limited extent with Sida’s parliamentary portfolio, best practice within the parliamentary strengthening community suggests a need to conceptualize program objectives in terms of needed improvements in the political and parliamentary process (improving dysfunctional relations between government and opposition, reducing the influence of embedded patronage systems and informal systems in parliamentary process, narrowing the gap between the concerns of political elites and citizens, etc.) rather than in terms of increasing capacity in a particular functional responsibility of parliament.

Nonetheless, in painting a picture of Sida’s overall assistance to parliament it is useful to have a sense of the relative focus of parliamentary support funded by Sida, broken down by legislative function:

- *Administrative Capacity.* In reviewing the programs that contain objectives targeting specific legislative functions, programs targeting administrative capacity appear to have received the greatest percentage of program funds. Programs in this category include the information technology and document handling projects in Georgia and the Baltic States. Strengthened parliamentary administration and support services were significant, but not exclusive, elements of the program of cooperation with the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam. This category also includes short-term assistance to meet emergency administrative expenses, such as the costs of holding an extraordinary session or printing costs. Given the objectives expressed in the *Political Institutions* paper and given increased skepticism in the international donor community about the effectiveness of increasing administrative capacity without addressing or remedying problems in the underlying political incentives, the support for this category of assistance perhaps should be reduced

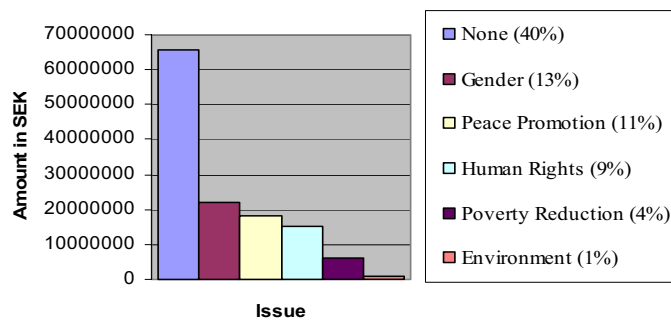
⁵⁷ Some donors have also focused on the role of parliament in national development, and as a forum for national dialogue or debate. These issues are discussed in Sida’s paper on Political Institutions at p. 28.

in terms of their size in Sida’s portfolio. The resources devoted to this area of assistance appears to have decreased given the phase out of these types of programs in the Baltic States and Georgia.

- *Law-Making Capacity.* With respect to supporting general law-making capacity, the UNDP projects appear to have been the most significant. Supporting the legal reform process and legislation implementing peace agreements were a major portion of these projects. The women’s empowerment project in South Africa supported gender-sensitive reviews of legislation and the JPO program supported law-making and legislative reviews within the context of the population, reproductive freedom and reproductive health issues.
- *Representative Capacity.* The representative capacity of parliament comes up in varying degrees in many of Sida’s parliamentary programs, but most frequently in programs that directly involve members of parliament in the programming, particularly AWEPA, and in gender-related programming to improve the political skills and leadership of women within parliament.
- *Oversight Capacity.* Although strengthened oversight capacity was referenced in a number of program objectives, including the cooperation with the Office of the Vietnamese National Assembly, oversight issues appear to have generally received less attention than other legislative functions within Sida’s portfolio of assistance. Support for improved parliamentary oversight and legislative fiscal review and analysis appear somewhat underweighted given Sida’s overall objective of poverty reduction.

The evaluation team also reviewed the extent to which Sida’s parliamentary portfolio used issue-based approaches to parliamentary strengthening. As described in Section 3.1.3, several cross-cutting developmental goals appear particularly important to Sida and are relatively easily incorporated into parliamentary strengthening programs, such as gender parity, peace promotion, human rights and poverty reduction.

Chart 4.1.2: Cross Sectoral Issues in Sida’s Parliamentary Assistance



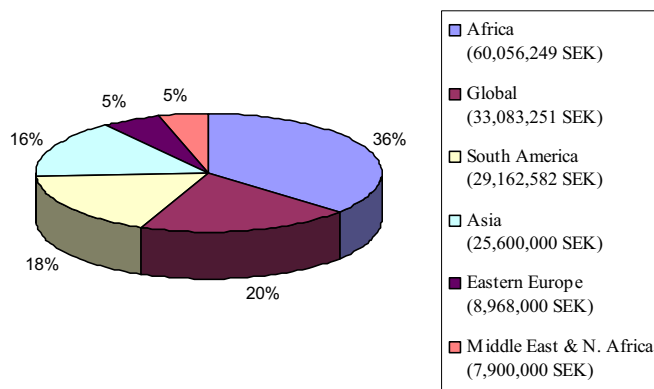
The results of the evaluation team’s review of cross-sectoral issues are presented in Chart 4.1.2. In interpreting this chart, it is critical to note that it is neither possible nor desirable to have every project address all possible cross-sectoral issues. Core funding to NGOs has been excluded from the analysis, because of the difficulties of allocating the usage of these funds among programs. A program was included in a particular issue category if it had a substantial program focus on a given cross-sectoral issue; since it is possible for a program to have a substantial program focus on more than one cross-sectoral issue, the percentage total does not equal 100%.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ A number of judgment calls were still required. For example, the two UN-implemented programs both supported Congressional roles in legal reform and the law-making process, although the Guatemalan project was categorized as having a human rights and peace promotion component and the Honduran project was not. The Guatemala project was organized as part of the United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights in Guatemala (MINUGUA), had a heavy emphasis on support for the peace accords, and appeared to emphasize support for criminal justice and human rights-related laws. Although the UNDP-implemented project in Honduras also supported a number of laws that touched on human rights issues or women’s rights, these components did not appear to be a substantial focus of the program.

Although several tentative conclusions can be drawn from this review, these figures do not capture the full picture. More Sida programs had a substantial focus on gender, relative to issues such as peace promotion or human rights. However, the degree of difference is greater than the above figures might suggest – the depth of focus on gender is not only slightly broader, but also much deeper, than for the projects that have a peace promotion or human rights component. There are a substantial number of programs that focus primarily or exclusively on gender equity issues, such as the support in Kenya for a parliamentary women’s caucus, or for the IPU project on women’s political experience. Several of these programs are relatively large, such as the Women in Parliament program in Moldova or the Women’s Empowerment Unit in South Africa. Few programs on peace promotion or human rights focus solely on those issues. The figures for the programs with a substantial focus on peace promotion and human rights are also skewed by the UNDP programs in Guatemala, which was considered to have a substantial focus on peace promotion (since it was conceptualized as a way of supporting the peace accords) and human rights (since it was implemented through the United Nations Human Rights Verification Mission or MINUGUA), even though this project also focused somewhat more generally on legal reform.

It is worth considering the fairly limited emphasis on parliamentary programs that had a substantial focus on poverty reduction issues. The JPO program was included in this category because of its connection to work on population, reproductive health issues and sustainable development, as were programs to fund parliamentary input into the World Summit on Sustainable Development, through the Global Legislative Organization for a Balanced Environment (GLOBE). There appeared to be no parliamentary programs that had a substantial focus on anti-corruption as a cross-cutting issue. Although no programs had a substantial focus on the rights of children, several programs did touch on these issues. For example, the twinning program with the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam contained a program objective relating to parliamentary outreach to the schools by providing materials for incorporation in the educational curriculum.

Chart 4.1.3a: Geographic Distribution of Parliamentary Support

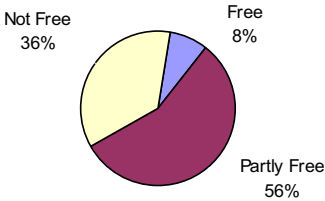


4.1.3 Geographic Allocation and Level of Political Development

The geographic allocation of Sida’s legislative assistance portfolio is presented in Chart 4.1.3a. Global projects constitute roughly one-fifth of Sida’s legislative assistance, primarily to the IPU and PGA. Roughly half of the remaining projects are in sub-Saharan Africa, with a particular focus on Southern and Eastern Africa. Projects in Latin America constitute some 18% of all projects, but this assistance consists largely of the two UN-implemented projects in Guatemala and Honduras. The only project in South America consisted of a parliamentary exchange for Colombian Congress members. The Riksdag has resolved that Swedish bilateral support to Central and Eastern Europe be concentrated on the Baltic States, Poland and Northwest Russia. Of the roughly 5% of Sida’s legislative programs that are located in Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union, half are in the three Baltic States. Legislative projects in Asia are the cooperation program with the Vietnamese National Assembly,

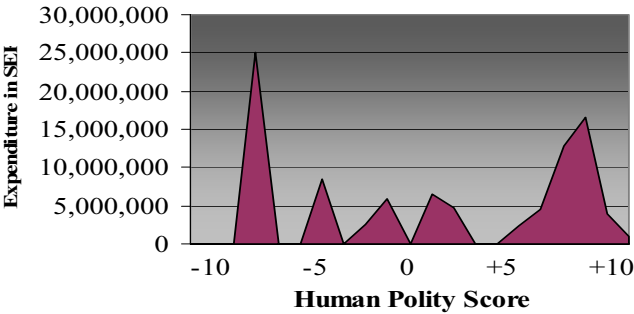
support for the establishment of an Afghan legislature and a series of seminars in support of the parliament of Timor Leste.

Chart 4.1.3b: Distribution of Parliamentary Programs by Level of Political Freedom



The evaluation team also sought to review the allocation of programs in terms of levels of political development in the countries where programs exist. Two attempts were made to do this, the first looking at the distribution of projects according to the Freedom House categories, which is contained in Chart 4.1.3b. The chart excludes programs in multi-country or global programs, as well as programs in countries for which rankings were unavailable. The vast majority of the country-specific programs are in partly free countries, where one would expect to find political openings for legislative strengthening to have an impact. The relatively large percentage of legislative assistance going to countries ranked “Free” is explained by the information technology and document handling projects going to the Baltic States, and by the Women’s Empowerment Unit project in South Africa – all of which seem more or less appropriate for their level of development. The programs in the countries ranked “Not Free” includes parliamentary programming related to conflict issues in Rwanda and Burundi, as well as the cooperation program with the National Assembly of Vietnam. Again, in general terms, the programs in Rwanda and Burundi appear appropriate for their level of political freedom. The level of political contextualization of the cooperation program with the National Assembly of Vietnam is discussed in greater detail in the illustrative case review.

Chart 4.1.3c: Ranking by Human Polity Index



The UNDP Human Development Report Human Polity Index provides perhaps a better method of looking at the distribution of programs by the country’s level of political development.⁵⁹ This index seeks to rank countries based on whether the institutional preconditions for democracy exist, i.e., whether formal laws and institutions allow for democracy – rather than on the extent of political participation. The scale ranges from –10 (autocratic) to 10 (democratic). Chart 4.1.3c shows Sida’s programming according to this index and indicates a series of spikes, representing very large programs or program clusters. The first spike (at –7) is the Vietnam program, the only program in a country that

⁵⁹ The UNDP Human Development Report Polity Index was developed by the University of Maryland’s Polity IV project. The scores used are based on the scores cited in the 2002 UNDP Human Development Report. The chart excludes non-country specific funding. The scores for individual countries are listed in the chart of legislative programs contained in Appendix 4 to this report.

is in the bottom quartile of the human polity index. The spike at -4, is largely accounted for by programming in Uganda and Rwanda; an additional spike at -1 consists of a range of conflict-related programming and a number of discrete interventions, relating to women's participation in Kenya. The fourth peak (at +1 +2) is largely made up of programming with PACT in Zambia, as well as with AWEPA in Tanzania. The fifth and final peak (from 5 to 10) represents the vast majority of Sida's parliamentary programs, indicating that the majority of the legislative programming is in countries with the basic institutional preconditions for democracy, even though levels of political participation in some of these countries may be weak.

4.2 Reviews of Particular Program Models

In reviewing Sida's portfolio, the evaluation team divided Sida's legislative assistance programming into ten different program models. Any typology of program models is necessarily subjective and at least partially arbitrary. One approach would have been to focus exclusively on methods to deliver assistance to the partner parliament, regardless of the nature or type of implementing partner, i.e., focusing exclusively on support for networks, parliamentary exchanges, twinning programs, conferences and seminars, provision of long-term technical advisors, support for research, payment of short-term expenses for parliament, etc. Where Sida has made disbursements that are used primarily for a particular "method" of delivering parliamentary support, such as a parliamentary exchange programs, the evaluation team did categorize these programs separately as a program model. More commonly, however, Sida funds programs that involve the use of a range of methods to support parliament and it would be difficult to disaggregate disbursements among various methods. Moreover, similar program methods, when implemented by different categories of program partners, can have very different results. For example, a parliamentary conference organized by a parliamentary network, which often lack an on-the ground presence and an on-going large scale program in the country, seems likely to have a significantly different impact than a conference organized by part of the long-term UN programs, where the conference may be incidental to an ongoing series of consultations and result from a great deal of background work.

As a result, a hybrid approach was used, looking for natural fault lines within Sida's parliamentary portfolio and grouping together natural clusters of programs that share similar profiles and characteristics. This approach not only avoided some of the above problems, but also had several advantages. A few programs, like the JPO program implemented by PGA, which are qualitatively different enough from other aspects of Sida's portfolio, or core funding provided to PGA, warrant being singled out and considered separately. The hybrid approach allowed for this. The intent was to stress practical utility over analytic purity – by trying to capture illustrative program models or types and presenting an illustrative example of that program type, reviewing the data on that program model, and drawing some conclusions regarding the issues associated with that program model. The evaluation team believes that this approach is helpful in seeing where the gap between Sida's strategic thinking and its actual portfolio of parliamentary strengthening programs can be narrowed. Although this approach reduced some of the practical difficulties in grouping Sida's programs into different program models, it did require a range of judgment calls.⁶⁰ The program models and their primary characteristics are summarized in the table below. For each of these program models, an illustrative program example was identified as indicative of the program model.

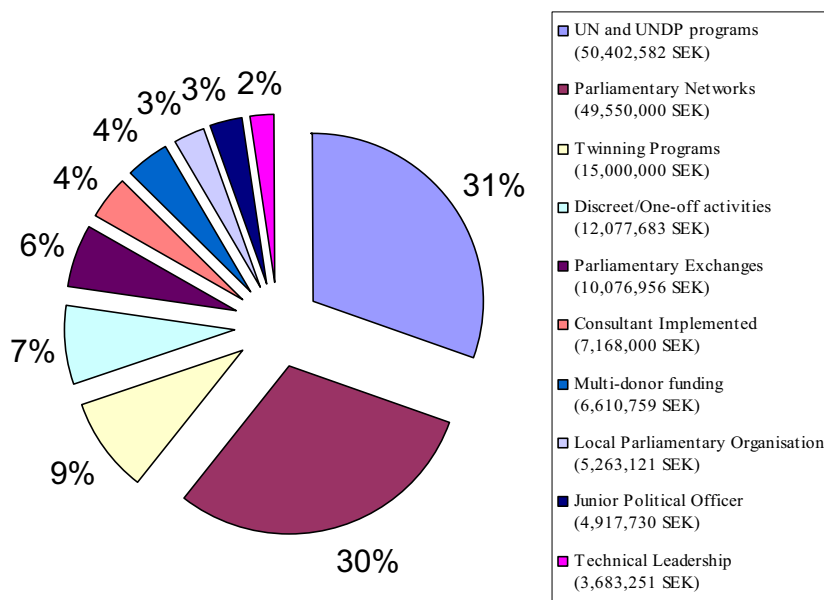
⁶⁰ For example, the international courses program could have been grouped either with the twinning project between the Riksdag and the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam or with parliamentary exchange programs implemented by other organizations. A decision was made to include it with the parliamentary exchanges since, in this case, the program objectives and method seemed a more important consideration than the type of partner. Many projects involve an element that could be characterized as "technical leadership," and the projects that were placed in this group could arguably be distributed among the other program models. Lastly, even though the JPO program is implemented through a parliamentary network, it was separated out into a separate category, since it is the only program funded by Sida that places long-term Swedish advisers with parliaments in partner countries.

Program Model/ Number of projects	Program Model Description
UN- or UNDP- Implemented Programs 12	Includes programs implemented in partnership with the UN and UNDP, which differ from other programs in several ways in addition to the nature of the implementing partner. Programs tend to have been relatively large scale, with the parliamentary component being only one element of a larger program. They have tended to focus on strengthening the law-making capacity of parliament, have been longer-term, have been funded by multiple donors and have had a relatively greater emphasis on peace promotion and human rights. Program Example: MINUGUA PROLEY Projects
Support for International Parliamentary Networks 17	Includes support for international networks of parliamentarians, including AWEPA, PGA and GLOBE. Although some of the funding may be provided for use in specific countries, a large amount of discretion is given to the recipient organization in the use of program funds. As with many networks, there is often an emphasis on conferences, seminars and workshops, as well as a focus on information sharing rather than long-term capacity building. Program Example: AWEPA Core Funding
Twinning Programs 1	Includes one program – the three-year program of cooperation between the Swedish Riksdag Administration and the Office of the National Assembly (ONA) of Vietnam. Program Example: Cooperation with the Office of the National Assembly (ONA) of Vietnam
Discrete, One-Off Activities 15	Includes a diverse group of discrete, one-off interventions relating to the parliament, including the payment of printing costs for a constitution, limited financial support to rehabilitate part of a parliament building, funding for a conference or for a parliamentary induction program, etc. Program Examples: Uganda Orientation Program, Seminar on Gender for Kenyan Constitutional Review Commission
Parliamentary Exchange Programs 10	Includes the international courses program with the Riksdag, as well as separate parliamentary exchanges or study missions with parliamentarians from Burundi, Colombia, Guinea-Bissau and Malawi. The category includes one-off programs where the parliamentary exchange was the sole purpose of the program; no effort has been made to carve out parliamentary exchanges that have occurred in the context of a larger program of assistance. Program Example: International Training Program
Consultant-Imple- mented Programs 5	Includes contracts with for-profit consulting firms – most commonly focusing on improving document handling or information technology capacity of parliaments. Objectives appear to have been more clearly defined than other models, although they appear to have been more successful where constraints on parliamentary development have been technical, rather than political. Program Example: Document System Programs in Georgia and Lithuania
Multi-donor funded Parliamentary Reform 1	Includes one program in support of the Parliamentary Reform Program (PRP) in Zambia. The model is distinct in that it involves all major donors in the sector, supporting all aspects of a comprehensive parliamentary reform through a single strategy. Explicit objectives are to reduce transaction costs and donor fragmentation. Program Example: Zambia Parliamentary Reform Program (PRP) implemented by PACT/Zambia
Support for Local Parliamentary Organizations 2	Includes support provided directly to local parliamentary units or organizations. Two programs are included in this category: support for the Women's Empowerment Unit in South Africa and support for a parliamentary political parties committee in Tanzania. Program Example: Women's Empowerment Unit in South Africa
Junior Professional Officer Program 3	Although this is a program implemented by PGA, it has been considered from core assistance to parliamentary networks, because it is the only support provided by Sida to parliaments involving the placement of long-term Swedish advisors with foreign parliaments. Program Example: JPO Program
Technical Leader- ship Programs 8	Includes projects where Sida has funded a project that is designed to contribute to the knowledge of the international community on legislative strengthening issues or to mobilize or alter the direction of other donor resources with respect to legislative development. Program Example: Support for IPU Human Rights Officer

The evaluation team believes that these program models are useful in thinking about the effectiveness of specific program models, as well as the relative emphasis that Sida places on these different program models. The level of assistance provided to the various program models is summarized in Chart 4.2

below. All program models were examined by the evaluation team and certain models were singled out for further discussion. They are presented as “case studies” in sections 4.2.1 through 4.2.6. This discussion was not intended to be a separate impact evaluation for each program model. Instead, the goal was to highlight issues associated with certain methods of delivering parliamentary support in an effort to emphasize similarities and differences among issues across program model lines.

Chart 4.2: Program Models for Sida’s Parliamentary Support



4.2.1 UN- and UNDP-Implemented Programs: The Guatemala MINUGUA/PROLEY Projects

One program model that Sida has used to provide parliamentary support is providing support through UN and UNDP implemented programs for legislative strengthening. There are a number of reasons why these programs have been separated out as a distinct program model. In addition to a different implementing partner, these programs have been larger in scale and have tended to be longer in duration; often the legislative strengthening is only a single component of a longer-term program. This method of delivering assistance has been utilized when Sida has an interest in working with a parliament but has had few program options or connections to the parliament (Honduras), or where Swedish personnel were involved in the administration of the UN-projects (Guatemala). Moreover, the parliamentary strengthening programs in this category of assistance have tended to focus more on technical skills building and institutional capacity or legal reform, rather than political development issues. Often the emphasis has been on the legislative capacity of parliaments.

In this program model, the MINUGUA/PROLEY project was selected for further review as a case study, in part because of the linkages between parliamentary strengthening and support for the peace process and human rights. The project is one of the longest ongoing projects in Sida’s parliamentary strengthening portfolio, and has been funded since 1996. The project was developed to support the 1996 UN-mediated Peace Accords, which officially ended 36 years of internal armed conflict and human rights abuses that polarized Guatemala’s society, weakened political institutions, generated distrust between citizens and the state, and hindered advancement by the country’s indigenous peoples. The Accords addressed a broad range of democratization, human rights and socio-economic issues and established the framework for, but did not require, a major restructuring of Guatemalan society. While the peace process leading up to the settlement was inclusive and comprehensive, the implementation of the Accords has lacked political will from two consecutive governments. The actors that brought the conflict to an end did not favor structural changes, and those who opposed the negotiations were

charged with its implementation.⁶¹ In this context, Swedish development cooperation in Guatemala has aimed at long-term support for the consolidation of peace and democracy. Sida has given priority to: 1) good governance and strengthened rule of law, especially at the local level; 2) increased popular participation in political processes, with attention to women's and indigenous peoples' rights; and 3) economic reforms that promote more equitable income distribution.⁶²

Swedish cooperation has primarily been channeled through MINUGUA, the UN Verification Mission in Guatemala. Sida has supported MINUGUA's Program for Institutional Assistance for Legal Reform (PROLEY in Spanish) with the Guatemalan Congress since 1996. The goal of PROLEY is to strengthen the capacity of the legislature to effectively participate in the development of laws and policies and to encourage discussion and approval of laws emanating from the Accords. In general terms, project activities were primarily aimed at increasing technical capabilities, and to a lesser degree, providing political support. In addition, parallel activities promoted dialogue among members of congress, political parties, civic organizations and the peace commissions.⁶³ Specific objectives included: 1) formulating legislative proposals that are coherent with the constitution and international norms; 2) ensuring that legislation is a product of national debate and consensus; 3) creating mechanisms for the continued dialogue between legislative and judicial authorities regarding legislative initiatives; 4) disseminating information about pending legislative initiatives to the public; and 5) increasing the technical, ethical and professional capacity of the Guatemalan Congress and its advisers.

The analysis of the case study was based on a document review, on interviews with Sida staff in Stockholm, and on telephone discussions with Sida and donors working in Guatemala. Relative to other case studies, program documentation was relatively thorough, with relatively specific program objectives and periodic progress reports on activities. Issues emerging from the review of this case study include the following:

- *The support was highly consistent with Sida's country strategy and integrated support for multiple developmental goals, including promotion of gender equality.* The Swedish strategy for Guatemala is based on the Peace Accords. In providing support for legislation needed to implement the Peace Accords, the program supported a number of human rights laws, particularly in relation to the judicial system and criminal law. Moreover, the project also supported the increased political participation of women and indigenous peoples. The project financed the translation of laws and legislative initiatives into the four major Mayan languages and assisted in the creation of the National Women's Forum that was a product of the Peace Agreement. The establishment of the National Women's Forum resulted in a participatory process that has strengthened political participation by non-indigenous and indigenous women. The Forum has helped unite the Guatemalan women's movement and establish a joint proposal on incorporating gender-equality issues into national policies, and often raised issues, such as the operationalization of international conventions on women and human rights. Through parallel support to civil society, Sida contributed to raising women's awareness of

⁶¹ The party that governed during the negotiation and final settlement of the Peace Accords, from 1995 to 1999, was the *Partido de Avanzada Nacional* (PAN). Despite its perceived legitimacy, majority in Congress and strong support from the business community, implementation failed to proceed in accordance with expectations. In 1999, the *Frente Republicano Guatemalteco* (FRG), founded by former dictator Efraín Ríos Montt, won the elections and gained a majority in Congress. Banned from running for another presidential term, Ríos Montt currently serves as the President of Congress. He has been criticized for altering legislation after passage in favor of FRG supporters, perpetrating nepotism and re-instituting Army-backed "self-defense patrols," often linked to human rights violations.

⁶² "Regional Strategy: Central America and the Caribbean, January 2001–December 2005," Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden.

⁶³ In Guatemala, several institutional mechanisms were established both to promote broad participation in the development of new policies and for further political consultation. Among the most important are the Follow-up Commission that reviews the consistency of bills with the Peace Accords, the Secretariat for Peace that advises on peace projects and promoted compliance with the Accords at the executive level, and several theme-based commissions.

their rights.⁶⁴ Laws protecting the rights of children were also supported by the PROLEY project. Women were equitably represented on the project team.

- *The long-term nature of the project, together with continuous on-the-ground presence of program staff, contributed to program success.* In comparison with other methods of providing parliamentary support, the program relied heavily on a long-term program based in the country. There is strong evidence to suggest that this was a key element contributing to program success. Implementation of a comprehensive program of assistance to a parliament requires frequent one-on-one consultations with legislators on a broad range of issues; knowledge of the political context and confidence by the key players are fundamental to program success. According to Guatemalan civic leaders and international actors who were familiar with this program, the PROLEY coordinator certainly possessed these qualities. PROLEY team members were able to develop and sustain relationships with a wide range of political leaders during the life span of the project. This has proven useful in endeavors to overcome stalemate.
- *Although the comprehensive nature of MINUGUA's technical assistance programs helped ensure coordination of assistance, it also involved a level of bureaucracy and potential conflicts.* Sweden has noted a number of limitations to a multilateral approach, which include concerns about “cost-effectiveness, project management and a tendency to assume too much responsibility for project implementation in relation to the national cooperating partner.”⁶⁵ With 14 regional offices and a number of mobile units, MINUGUA is relatively well-suited to provide comprehensive support to the peace process, although it lacks formal mechanisms for tackling the problem of non-compliance with the Peace Accords. MINUGUA has had to balance a number of competing and occasionally conflicting tasks; tensions appeared to exist between working on institutional strengthening (which requires a collaborative relationship with individuals and institutions) and the need to maintain a critical, independent and public stance regarding implementation of the Peace Accords.
- *There may have been insufficient revisiting of basic program assumptions during the course of the program.* The fundamental approach taken by PROLEY was established at the beginning of the project and, with minor modifications, continued relatively unchanged. The emphasis placed on technical assistance for the enactment of legislation to support the Peace Accords appeared proper in 1996. However, political support for the peace process has remained limited. In 1999, a referendum that was supposed to help consolidate the peace process was resoundingly defeated, prompting further divisions among the country's varied ethnic population. Guatemalan civic leaders and political analysts blamed the low turnout and negative outcome of the referendum on the divisive environment that prevailed, on language differences and bureaucratic procedures hindering indigenous participation⁶⁶, and on a lack of perceived benefits of peace, among other factors. Continuing resistance to institutional reforms was evident in the delaying tactics later employed by the Guatemalan Congress, entrenched in corporate and military interests. The inability of political parties to govern and serve as responsible representatives has reinforced a tendency for citizens, especially

⁶⁴ “Report of the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) for the Consultative Group Meeting for Guatemala,” January 18, 2002.

⁶⁵ “Regional Strategy: Central America and the Caribbean, January 2001–December 2005,” Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden.

⁶⁶ Current electoral law establishes highly bureaucratic and formal procedures for voter registration requiring an identity document and photographs. Many indigenous people wish to avoid photographs or signing their names, fearing manipulation by unscrupulous people. Furthermore, refugees returning from Mexico, among the most politicized of rural Guatemalans, often face daunting challenges to acquire their paperwork for voting. In addition, registration only takes place in the municipalities. For some rural Guatemalans, it could take one or two days away from home or farm, the loss of pay and the need to pay transport and food to register.

indigenous peoples, to be suspicious of and uninterested in national politics.⁶⁷ However, as the political obstacles to implementation of the Peace Accords grew relative to the technical obstacles, there appears not to have been a revisiting of basic program assumptions, although the PROLEY V project does indicate the need to more closely engage political parties represented in Congress has been highlighted as a need in the PROLEY V project.⁶⁸

- *The balance between parliamentary capacity building and legal reform has often been weighted on the side of legal reform, and there has been insufficient attention to sustainability of the support provided by PROLEY. The PROLEY project has been more successful in providing technical support for the enactment of laws than it has in building internal capacity for providing this technical support. Project objectives were often conceived in terms of support for the enactment of particular pieces of legislation needed to support the peace process, rather than capacity building of Congress.⁶⁹ Sida staff has expressed their concern about the sustainability of the PROLEY program. Since the policy research and analysis of draft legislation was conducted by the PROLEY team and not by the legislators and advisers themselves, there is a risk of losing local ownership of the resulting policy in the long-run. In the PROLEY V project, Sida gave a higher priority to sustainability and the Embassy suggested a consultancy early in the PROLEY V project to define actions directed toward sustainability of the project. Results of that study were to be integrated into the work plan for the PROLEY V project. Constraints on sustainability involved political will to hire and retain technically competent staff in Congress, as well as significant changes in personnel after the elections.*

4.2.2 Support for International Parliamentary Networks: AWEPA

The program model that constitutes the second largest share of Sida's expenditures for parliamentary support has gone to the support of international networks of parliamentarians, specifically AWEPA, PGA and GLOBE.⁷⁰ In a recent Sida Working Paper on Methods of Capacity Development, support for networks has been identified as one of the five primary methods that Sida has used for capacity development.⁷¹ That working paper identified a number of issues regarding the use of networks in developing capacity, including the diversity of organizations and informal associations often lumped under the term of "network." This diversity can be found in the three parliamentary networks receiving support from Sida, which vary widely in their substantive focus, their geographic reach, their management and involvement of members.⁷² The Sida working paper also notes that support for networks is largely "untested" as a method of capacity development, outside the area of research. The working paper raised several questions regarding the channeling of development cooperation funds through

⁶⁷ With the campaign for the 2003 general elections underway and political efforts to remove prohibitions against the re-election of General Efraín Ríos Montt and extend the presidential term from four to six years, the sustainability of the peace process in the near future will be even more difficult.

⁶⁸ Swedish Embassy, Bedömningspromemoria, Institutional support to the Congress for Legislative Reforms Related to the Peace Accords, PROLEY V (6100648), October 2002. Given Guatemala's current collapsing political party system and lack of political will to increase party efficiency, internal democracy and responsiveness, Sida may wish to explore other opportunities to support political party building in Guatemala.

⁶⁹ In the various project proposals and reports, the program objectives contain more references to specific laws to be supported than to methods of building capacity within the Congress.

⁷⁰ Unlike AWEPA, PGA and GLOBE, the IPU is an association of parliaments, rather than of members of parliament, and it is financed primarily by contributions from its member parliaments. As this contribution is made from the Riksdag budget, rather than Sida, this funding has not been included in this report. Sida has funded several specific projects of the IPU. Because of the nature of these projects, these projects have been included under the "technical leadership" program model.

⁷¹ Methods Development Unit, Sida, *Methods for Capacity Development: A Report for Sida's Project Group "Capacity Development as a Strategic Question"*, Capacity Development—Sida Working Paper No. 10, February 2002.

⁷² PGA seeks joint action on global problems that cannot be solved by any one government or parliament; its focus has often been tied to adoption or enforcement of UN initiatives. It has expanded from an initial focus on disarmament to work in three main areas: peace and democracy; population and sustainable development; and international law and human rights. GLOBE focuses exclusively on environmental issues, and, although international in scope, works through regional affiliates. AWEPA is focused geographically on Europe and Africa, but has a broader substantive focus.

networks, noting that there is a risk that networks “take away strength and resources from essential work in the [member] organization[s], and that, relatively speaking, too much time and money is spent on air tickets and discussions at seminars and conferences.”⁷³ The evaluation team’s review of programs in this program model suggests that the risks identified in this working paper are justified in the area of parliamentary support.

Among these networks of parliamentarians, AWEPA has received the largest amount of funding and was selected as the case study for this program model. AWEPA began in 1984 as the Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Action Against Apartheid. After changes toward democracy in South African and independence in Namibia, the organization renamed itself European Parliamentarians for Africa, AWEPA, and reshaped its mission toward developmental projects; these have included not only parliamentary strengthening but also work on elections, local government, civil society and political party work.⁷⁴ It retains an advocacy role in providing information to European parliamentarians regarding developments in Africa and hosts EU Presidency Seminars, including one in Stockholm in April 2002. The organization claims over 2000 members in some 20 European parliaments, however, the level of participation by these members varies widely.

This survey includes 24,150,000 SEK in assistance from Sida to AWEPA, representing 15% of the total amount of parliamentary support. Although this funding represents a mix of core funding (16,250,000 SEK) and funding for specific country programs in Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda (7,900,000 SEK), AWEPA appears to have had substantial control over the design and development of both core funding and the country specific programs. Funding provided to AWEPA by Sida has supported regional initiatives in Central and Southern Africa, as well as programs in Angola, Burundi, Mozambique, Namibia, Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The range of parliamentary strengthening programming has been extremely broad,⁷⁵ including virtually all aspects of parliamentary development. As AWEPA began as an issue-based organization, it is natural for it to use issue-based approaches to parliamentary development. Although AWEPA has indicated that donors have not always been supportive of this move, AWEPA appears to be increasing the use of issue-based approaches to parliamentary strengthening, increasingly stressing the role of parliamentary action in peace processes, as well as other issues such as HIV/AIDS and trade.⁷⁶ As of October 2002, AWEPA had 35 employees, 13 in Amsterdam and 22 distributed among AWEPA’s offices in Brussels and Africa (Burundi, Mozambique, the Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and South Africa).

⁷³ *Methods for Capacity Development*, p. 19.

⁷⁴ The organizational and legal history of AWEPA, and its former sister organization, AEI, is complex and has, in the past, been an issue of concern for donors. AEI had served as the sole implementing agency for AWEPA programs. AEI was dissolved on January 1, 2001, when its assets were taken over by the Association AWEPA, which was legally registered in 1998. These issues have been extensively covered in the various management and financial audits of the organization and are not reviewed here, except to note that assistance provided directly to AEI is treated as assistance to AWEPA for purposes of this evaluation.

⁷⁵ AWEPA lists the following examples of issues that it has dealt with in parliamentary capacity building: “relations of parliament to government, separation and devolution of powers; role of committees and inter-committee cooperation; constituency work – representation, interest groups; legislative process; oversight and budgetary processes; codes of conduct – for members and staff; etiquette, protocol, professional ethics; relations with civil society and the media; skills development – debating, time management; gender equality in decision making; and the role of political parties – officers, whips, opposition, inter-party relations.” AWEPA, *Multi-Annual Programme: 2000–2005*, November 2000, p. 6.

⁷⁶ “Important parliamentary practices and principles can be exercised and skills sharpened on the basis of concrete examples useful to the everyday workload, for example, by focusing on the information required for specific sectoral committees.” AWEPA, *Multi-Annual Programme: 2000–2005*.

In 1998 and 1999, a series of studies and audits were conducted of AWEPA.⁷⁷ After a management study revealed concerns regarding AWEPA management and its legal structure, funding to AWEPA was suspended by Danida and by Sida pending completion of a financial audit. Support resumed after AWEPA adopted a restructuring plan and implemented a number of changes to improve program and financial management.⁷⁸ In 2002, Sida commissioned a financial audit to assess progress in implementing recommendations in the 1999 Danida audit.⁷⁹ This financial audit shows significant progress in improving financial administration of the organization, although a number of areas for improvement remain. One of the issues identified by the donors was the need to improve project management; a donor forum was held by AWEPA on November 4, 2002, to describe its Project Cycle Management or PCM process to the donors. In addition to these studies and audits, the evaluation team reviewed program proposals, reports and internal memoranda concerning Sida's funding of AWEPA, and interviewed Sida and AWEPA personnel regarding AWEPA's programs.

The case study is not intended to evaluate the extent to which progress has been made in addressing concerns raised in the 1998 and 1999 studies and audits, or to conduct an independent evaluation of the efficacy of AWEPA assistance. Its purpose is instead to place Sida's experience with AWEPA in the context of its larger portfolio of parliamentary support and to discuss the issues that it raises with respect to the use of parliamentary networks as a method of providing parliamentary support. The following main issues emerged from a review of Sida's assistance to AWEPA:

- *As a method of parliamentary support, the provision of core funding to an organization requires a high level of donor trust and confidence in the recipient organization.* In other types of program models, there is often a higher degree of specificity in the understanding between the donor and the implementing partner regarding the objectives of the assistance. In these instances, performance can be judged on whether those objectives are achieved and management of the implementing organization tends to be less of an issue. Where the funding is left largely to the management of the partner organization, a higher level of confidence is required. The number of studies and audits on AWEPA (rather than simply decisions not to provide funding) indicates both the potential value of the organization to donors, as well as the importance of donor confidence in the partner organization.
- *Peer-to-peer information sharing, facilitated by parliamentary networks, such as AWEPA, has an important role to play in parliamentary support, particularly with respect to parliamentary members and leadership.* Although peer-to-peer exchange is useful in a variety of developmental contexts, it is particularly important in the area of parliamentary strengthening. One of the evaluations appeared somewhat critical of the fact that AWEPA has focused more on information sharing rather than skills transference, noting that AWEPA had not sought to develop curricula or packages of training courses on public policy and management.⁸⁰ Although the development of training courses can be effective in capacity building for parliamentary staff, there is little evidence to suggest that training courses are effective for members, particularly those that have already achieved a degree of political power within their party or parliament. Given issues of protocol, status, access and time availability, peer-to-peer information sharing is often one of the most effective tools in building the capacity of parliament

⁷⁷ A management study was commissioned by the evaluation departments of the aid agencies of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Ireland (Finish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *AWEPA/AEI Management Study*, Blue Series, 1998:8); an impact evaluation done by commissioned by the EU, Centre for Development Policy and Research, SOAS, University of London, *Evaluation of the Actions Promoted and Implemented by AWEPA Financed by the European Commission*, Ref: Eval B7-6510.97, November 1998 (hereinafter referred to as "the CDPR study"); and an audit commissioned by Danida in 1999, KPMG, *Review of the Nordic and Irish Financial Assistance to AWEPA/AEI*.

⁷⁸ AWEPA, *Restructuring Plan 2000 and Beyond*. The restructuring plan covers a range of issues, including ownership of programs and democratic decision-making within the organization, restructuring of project and financial management, restructuring of the offices and personnel development, and dissemination of information about AWEPA activities.

⁷⁹ KPMG, *Review of AWEPA's Financial Management System*, October 2002 (final draft).

⁸⁰ CDPR Study, p. 3.

ary leadership. AWEPA has developed a valuable infrastructure for linking European parliamentarians with politicians and civil society leaders in Southern and Eastern Africa.

- *AWEPA's potential as a parliamentary network has been diluted by an "ad hoc" approach to information sharing, making it difficult to demonstrate sustainable impact.* As noted, AWEPA's programming has had a heavy emphasis on seminars, conferences and parliamentary exchanges, often with little documented rationale for the sequencing of activities or for how these activities are intended to interrelate to produce sustainable results.⁸¹ Although the "reactive flexibility" of AWEPA has been a strength of the organization in some situations, it has also created a perception of resulting in "event-driven" programming. Conferences have not always been expertly prepared, although anecdotal comments received by the evaluation team suggest that support for European parliamentarians participating in programs has improved. As one donor memorandum noted, "The most important and commonly made criticisms of AWEPA are that ... it pays little attention to the requirements of follow-up activities and the sustainability/ durability of impact."⁸² The need for improved project cycle management has been stressed by donors and AWEPA has taken a broad range of actions to try to improve in this area.⁸³ Despite these efforts, it will likely take some time for these practices to become fully absorbed into organizational culture.⁸⁴
- *An overbroad organizational focus may limit AWEPA's ability to conduct strongly politically contextualized programs.* Interviews with Sida personnel have indicated instances where AWEPA personnel and resource persons appeared to lack a detailed appreciation for the local context. "Common criticisms are that AWEPA ... at times does not really design projects that really fit the needs on the ground, that its speakers, themes and materials are not always as relevant as they might be."⁸⁵ For an organization of 35 employees, AWEPA continues to maintain a broad, and somewhat diffuse, range of programming, and it may make sense to focus on areas of core strength – whether focusing on a particular set of activities (information sharing and exchange among European parliamentarians and senior Southern and Eastern African politicians and civil society leaders), a narrower selection of issue areas (such as its emphasis on the role of parliaments and parliamentarians in peace promotion), or a narrower number of countries of engagement.

⁸¹ For example, in a review of AWEPA's parliamentary strengthening programming in Tanzania from 1996–2000, roughly 37 discrete activities were identified. They included 15 exposure visits, seven of which were in Europe and the remainder of which were in Africa. Except for participation in an election observation mission, the remaining 22 activities were conferences or seminars – two of which were in Europe, nine of which were in the region, and the remainder of which were local. Romesh Chander Bhardwaj, *AWEPA: Parliamentary Capacity Building Programme in Tanzania (1996–2000)*, January 8, 2001. Although many of these activities centered on recurring themes, such as women's political participation, there is no indication of how activities are intended to build on each other.

⁸² Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida, *AWEPA/AEI: Review and Summary of Evaluation, Study and Audit Reports*, Ref. No. 6. U.566.35, May 1999.

⁸³ Actions have included training for staff on project cycle management and logical framework analysis, and the adoption of a project monitoring and evaluation plan.

⁸⁴ A draft proposal for support for a Phase II of a parliamentary support program in Tanzania, prepared in March 2002, provides an example of both the efforts to address these concerns and additional areas for improvement. *Parliamentary Support Programme Tanzania: Phase II*, March 2002. In the proposal, AWEPA indicates that it would adopt a more "modular" rather than "activity-based" approach, which ensures that "the content of the inputs have a high degree of relevance to the targeted beneficiaries and monitors the quality and relevance of the inputs on a systematic basis." However, the proposal contains twelve separate program objectives, many of which are quite broad. These objectives for the program differ from the headings under which the "inputs to accomplish objectives (per year)" are grouped, and there is no clear analysis linking the choice of inputs to the desired objectives. Under each of the various "modules" in the proposal, an evaluative component is added, but the language is fairly boilerplate with limited modification among modules – "an evaluative check to determine the effectiveness of the inputs, to develop and disseminate a report on the inputs and to make any necessary adjustments."

⁸⁵ C DPR Study, p. 162.

- *There are increasing regional and local options for conducting some of the work traditionally done by AWEPA.* The field of parliamentary support has grown dramatically since AWEPA was created and there is a wider range of actors with capacity to work in this area; as noted in the CDPR study “being first is no longer good enough.”⁸⁶ One Sida employee referenced a national training seminar for members of parliament organized by AWEPA that drew very heavily on local resources and, in her opinion, could have been organized by a local organization. The AWEPA plan for 2000–2005 “takes as a starting point the necessity to building up the African institutions which can carry on the capacity building work for parliaments after the AWEPA intervention has ended.”⁸⁷ In the evaluation of the activities in Tanzania, roughly half of the exposure visits were regional in nature, as well as a substantial number of conferences. This emphasis on regional exchange should be commended, as should AWEPA’s commitment to supporting regional parliamentary institutions.

4.2.3 Twinning Programs: Cooperation with the Office of the Vietnamese National Assembly

The co-operation between the Administration of the Swedish Riksdag (ASR) and the Office of the Vietnamese National Assembly (ONA) is the only project represented by this program model. It is the first and only long-term co-operation with another parliament undertaken by the Swedish Riksdag, and it is also one of few programs implemented in a country ranking so low on the HDR polity index (–7). The co-operative mode can be described as technical assistance using a traditional approach, focusing on some of the basic functions of parliament; public and MP access to information and parliamentary supervision of law implementation.

A substantive evaluation of the co-operation from 1998–2001 was carried out and Sida subsequently took a decision to continue yet reshape co-operation for the period 2003–2005. The evaluation concluded that while some tangible results could be recorded in the field of access and information, results with respect to parliamentary oversight were less tangible, and the partners had not been able to move beyond the conceptual stage. The evaluation also concluded that the inexperience of the Riksdag in parliamentary development programs, and the Riksdag’s perception of its role in the co-operative arrangement with ONA made transaction costs (administrative burden) relatively high. The evaluation noted that their engagement required a substantive, disproportional, input from Sida and the Embassy staff.⁸⁸ The evaluation also made two additional, somewhat contradictory, findings. First, the evaluation found that there was little crowding with the interventions of other major donor partners to the Vietnamese Assembly. Second, it also found that the logistics burden of the project was taxing the Vietnamese partner to the extent that it limited long-term substantive development efforts.⁸⁹

The evaluation also noted that the activities had been poorly integrated with the normal operations of the ONA at the initial program design phase, and that it had been difficult to integrate them with the actual work of parliament at a later stage in program implementation. The evaluation suggests that the program relied on the “light-bulb” theory of impacting change, i.e., that exposure to new models is, by itself, sufficient to stimulate change.

It may be suggested that:

- *The program would benefit from greater integration of the program with the ongoing work of the Vietnamese National Assembly.* In order for this program to become more effective, the role of the Riksdag could move from being a discussion partner into a more active consultative role, with hands-on input to

⁸⁶ CDPR Study, p. 163.

⁸⁷ Multi-Annual Programme: 2000–2005, p. 15.

⁸⁸ Andersson, Granstedt, Rönnmo and Thoa; *Strengthening the capacity of the Office of the Vietnam National Assembly*, Sida Evaluation 02/12, DESO/DESA, pp. 38–42.

⁸⁹ Andersson, Granstedt, Rönnmo and Thoa; *Strengthening the capacity of the Office of the Vietnam National Assembly*, Sida Evaluation 02/12, DESO/DESA, pp. 37, 40. The report does admit to a “competition of access to the primary target groups” between various partners to the Vietnamese National Assembly, and that they are unaware of the activities of others in the same field. It seems to that authors that “the time has come” to co-ordinate donors in support of the Vietnamese parliament (p. 37).

the substantive work of the Vietnamese partners. Sida has actively sought this turn-out in its reassessment of support in 2002–2003.⁹⁰

- *Given the successful development of a relationship under the twinning program, seek to use these relationships to test willingness for greater substantive engagement.* The peer-to-peer mode of support is one of the strengths of the co-operation. It has resulted in a level of Vietnamese ownership and good working relationships. Yet, the partners have been unable in full to arrive at a common interpretation of objectives. Several factors contribute in this regard and the main point is probably huge differences in perspective between Vietnamese and Swedish officials. As mentioned, Vietnam ranks low on the HDR polity index. The differences of Vietnamese and Swedish systems works both to the advantage and disadvantage of the project. Swedish practices certainly stimulate debate and new perspectives because of their alien nature, but they may also be of limited relevance for actual operations for the same reason. Striking a balance in this regard would seem particularly important in this case. The partners seem to have done so with varying results. It may be worth seeking to leverage the positive relationships developed in earlier stages of the program to address more touchy fundamental issues relating to parliamentary reform.
- *Continue to reassess the level of political will for reform.* One cannot rule out the possibility of Vietnamese resistance against co-operation on the more substantive issues of parliamentary practice (oversight of law implementation, access to information policies). If the partners, during the second stage of co-operation, find it difficult to move from a conceptual to a more substantive level in the co-operation, Sida would probably wish to reassess the value of the cooperation.

4.2.4 Consultant/Contractor-Implemented programs: Lithuania and Georgia

Projects in this category are primarily technical in nature and have been oriented towards improvement of the administrative and organizational capacity of parliament. Two projects may illustrate the program model: Document handling systems for the Prime Minister’s Office and the Seima (the Lithuanian Parliament), and Management and administration in the Georgian Parliament. Projects in this category have comparatively well-defined and limited, realistic objectives. Projects in this program model have performed very differently. The critical difference among them is probably the level of recipient ability to govern or supervise its own development, and whether the political will already exists to take full advantage of increased administrative and information technology capacity.⁹¹

In Lithuania, the parliament has had a relatively developed understanding of what it wanted in developing its information systems. In that case, tangible results were achieved in a well-defined, although evolving, target environment. Sida promoted a long-term relationship built on a view of the requirements for information technology sustainability with the recipient. In terms of delivering technical support, the program model appeared to be cost-effective and efficient, given the level of political development in Lithuania.

In Georgia, there was considerable “crowding” with the operations of other donors. Overlaps of objectives and target groups, omissions, as well as strong indices of high recipient transaction costs and training-fatigue were reported in an external assessment.⁹² It is probably an illustration of the difficulty, under such circumstances, to arrive at well-defined objectives. When gradually facing the reality of other initiatives in support of the Georgian parliament, the implementing agent repeatedly had to reformulate objectives and rework implementation schedules in order not to create an even greater mayhem than was already the case. This added to project inefficiency. There was also less political will

⁹⁰ Sida DESO/DESA, *In-depth assessment of the proposed co-operation between the National Assembly of Vietnam and the Swedish Riksdag 2003–2006*, 24 April 2003, pp. 2, 4.

⁹¹ The level of political development is uneven. Latvia scores 8 and Georgia 5 on the HDR Polity Score (2003).

⁹² Berggren and Jotun 2001: *Democracy and Human Rights – An evaluation of Sida’s support to five projects in Georgia*, p. 6–8, Sida Evaluation 01/11.

in the Georgian system driving the project in the parliament. The Georgia project serves as an illustration of the potential harmful effects of un-coordinated projects from a multitude of sources directed towards the same parliament. Such instances work to the disadvantage of Sida as a smaller donor not being able to set the agenda, nor, in some cases, having sufficient resources to oversee the work of the consultant.

4.2.5 Multi-donor funding: Zambia Parliamentary Reform Program (PRP) implemented by PACT/Zambia

This program model was not included in the initial review of Sida's programs, and was added in response to a new program that did not fit neatly into the other program categories. Like some of the UN-implemented programs (see section 4.2.2), it is relatively large in scope and co-funded by a number of donors. Unlike the UN-programs, it is administered by an international NGO that is more flexible and less bureaucratic than the UN or UNDP system. It also differs from the consultant-implemented programs (see section 4.2.4) in that the scope of the project is far more broad, and covers general political development and parliamentary reform, rather than narrowly-defined technical support in a specific area, such as information systems. Its main characteristic is that it seeks to channel support through a single comprehensive strategic plan for parliamentary development – with an explicit aim to reduce transaction costs and donor fragmentation. Although it is too early to discuss in depth the issues associated with the joint programming method in practice, a few preliminary remarks can be made regarding this program model.

- *Comprehensive approaches can successfully reduce transaction costs and mitigate the harmful effects of a lack of donor coordination.* The approach is distinct in that it resembles that of the 'sector wide approach' increasingly employed in development support of social sectors such as health and education. The idea is based on the notions of joint action and a holistic view of the entire target entity (a nation, a societal sector or an organization) that promises to mitigate some of the harmful effects of discrete, fragmented and un-coordinated project support. All main bilateral actors currently involved in parliamentary support in Zambia – USA, Ireland, Sweden, Canada and the Netherlands – take part in the program⁹³.
- *Larger programs can use a multiplicity and more holistic approach to parliamentary strengthening.* Methods and objectives envisaged by the program do not deviate from the analytical framework otherwise presented in this report regarding parliamentary support. It includes traditional as well as issue-based and bottom-up approaches in its program statement. Importantly, with the program attempting to cover the whole spectrum of parliamentary capacities, oversight capacity appears to receive a balanced amount of attention in the overall direction of support.⁹⁴
- *There are possible negative trade-offs to a single, holistic, coordinated approach.* It is important to realize that this program model provides a framework for implementation and not automatically its contents. One of the primary objectives of the approach is to give ownership to the partner in the direction and prioritization of measures to strengthen parliamentary development.⁹⁵ This is because with a single recipient directed strategy, the partner can overlook support in its entirety and make necessary adjustments during the course of implementation. In the case of parliamentary strengthening, a potential weakness would be if one party, e.g. the implementer or a large donor, made the agenda one-sided (this appears not to be the case in Zambia). Also, particularly in more open systems, there may be some benefit to a multiplicity of approaches in promoting a political system that is similarly pluralistic.

⁹³ All partners save USAID have signed a joint contract with the implementing agency PACT.

⁹⁴ Embassy of Sweden/Lusaka, *Assessment Memo of Swedish support of Stage 2 of the Parliamentary Reform Project, 2003–2006*, November 2003, pp. 3–5.

⁹⁵ The approach is a framework for information sharing and rational prioritization with scarce resources.

Initial assessments of this program indicate a high degree of confidence between the project partners, and some achievements made regarding budget analysis capacity and the overall legislative capacity of the Zambian parliament. Further judgment would be uncertain at this point. An evaluation of the program is scheduled for spring 2006.⁹⁶

4.2.6 Long-Term, Field-Based Swedish Consultants: The JPO Program

This program model comprises a single program, the junior professional officer (JPO) program administered by Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA). Although all core support provided to PGA was grouped under the program model “Support for International Parliamentary Networks,” the support for the JPO program was categorized separately since it differs from most of the other activities in the group and given its relatively high cost. Unlike other program models, the JPO program involves the long-term placement of young Swedish professionals with partner parliaments, providing them with overseas development experience and supporting the broader Sida goal of the “internationalization of Swedish society.”⁹⁷

Under the program, JPOs were hired by PGA and placed with host-country parliaments, as part of PGA’s sustainable development and population program. The JPOs provided support on population issues and have usually been attached to a caucus on population issues, rather than a particular parliamentary committee. JPOs have worked on a range of activities, including: 1) engaging parliamentarians with relevant NGOs; 2) mobilizing MPs to participate in conferences and public outreach activities involving population and reproductive health; 3) supporting legislative initiatives, or reviews of proposed legislation, dealing with population or reproductive health; 4) facilitating MP networking regionally and internationally on these issues; and 5) assisting in resource mobilization for further activities.

The JPO program appeared to be able to claim a number of concrete achievements, including building parliamentary awareness and engagement on population issues, increasing communications between civil society and parliamentarians on population issues and having supported the review and adoption of a number of relevant laws. However, the program was relatively costly and experienced several issues in implementation:

- *The JPO program has generally been successful in raising the level of parliamentary attention and engagement on population, reproductive health and sustainable development issues.* Program documentation prohibited JPOs from undertaking any personal political work for any Member of Parliament and stated that the JPO program is not intended to influence legislation.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, given the general lack of depth in parliamentary staff, provision of a JPO with policy expertise in a particular issue had a significant effect in several of the host parliaments in increasing the level of interest and engagement in the issues covered by the JPO program.⁹⁹
- *Program impact has been stronger with respect to population and sustainable development issues than with respect to parliamentary strengthening.* Program results and impacts were often framed primarily in terms of advancement of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) plan of action or their impact on specific population and development issues, rather than their impact on parliamentary strengthening. JPOs were generally been selected for their background in popula-

⁹⁶ One report on part of the program, Sichilongo et al, April 2005; *Consultant’s Report: Budget Analysis 2005*, exists so far in terms of independent evaluation.

⁹⁷ Similar program models have been successfully used by other donors in a number of democracy and governance programs. For example, the American Bar Association’s Central and Eastern European Law Initiative (CEELI), funded in part by USAID, is a public service project of the American Bar Association (ABA) designed to advance the rule of law by supporting the law reform process underway in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It relies heavily on young volunteer lawyers in implementing its programs.

⁹⁸ These prohibitions are contained in the offer letters given to the JPOs.

⁹⁹ This appears to have been the case both in Ghana and Senegal. It was not the case in Nigerian National Assembly, given the size of the bureaucracy of the Nigerian National Assembly and the other issues on the National Assembly’s agenda.

tion and development issues and their international experience, and lacked significant practical experience with respect to parliamentary operations and legislative development.

- *Although there have been clear impacts with respect to parliamentary engagement and action on population issues, sustainable impact on parliamentary development appears more limited.* Although the programs have assisted in building awareness on issues and in affecting lasting legal change on issues addressed by population caucuses in the host parliament, there is less evidence to suggest that they resulted in sustainable institutional development for the host parliaments. Often, JPOs appear to have acted as temporary staff for the parliament, rather than to assist in training staff.
- *The relatively poor logistical and administrative support for JPOs provided by the host parliaments limited the effectiveness of the program.* In order to ensure investment in the program by the host parliament, the host parliament had primary responsibility for providing logistical support to the JPOs. Although the desire to have ownership in the program by the host parliament is commendable, given the limited staff and resources available to many developing parliaments, this approach appears not to have worked well in practice. JPOs had to spend significant amounts of time on administrative or logistical issues and this has had a negative impact on the program. PGA could perhaps have considered partnering with Swedish or international organizations that have a strong field presence in the host country and that might be able to provide the JPO with a basic level of logistical and administrative support without adding significantly to program costs.¹⁰⁰
- *Although JPOs reported that their experience was a positive learning experience, there was a lack of mentoring or resources to draw on.* Despite the existence of the PGA network, JPOs expressed a desire for additional support. Given the limited parliamentary experience of JPOs, it might have been beneficial for outgoing JPOs to spend a limited amount of time with the Riksdag before their placement in the field. This could have increased their practical understanding of parliamentary operations, but also established personal contacts between the new JPO and interested Riksdag members and staff, who could be drawn on as resources during the JPOs placement.

5 Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Increasing Political Contextualization

The value placed by Sida on the concepts of partnership and ownership in development cooperation is one of the strengths of Sida's programming. Nonetheless, it can make the task of increasing political contextualization of legislative support programs more challenging. The emerging literature evaluating parliamentary strengthening programs strongly suggests that partnership-based approaches to parliamentary strengthening have generally not been effective when the program "partner" represents political interests that benefit from the status quo. Parliamentary support often involves the parliament as a partner, at some level, whether as a project owner or target group; and the parliament is typically represented by parliamentary leadership. There is often a tension between ownership by parliamentary leadership (that has definitionally benefited from the status quo in obtaining these positions of power) and a politically contextualized approach (that is definitionally interested in changing the status quo through democratic reform).¹⁰¹ Moreover, even if there is political will for reform, there is often a

¹⁰⁰This support may include things such as: assistance in orientation to the political situation and relevant NGOs; assistance in obtaining housing upon arrival; availability of basic office equipment to the extent unavailable at parliament; etc.

¹⁰¹This tension has led some donors, such as USAID, to apply more flexible notions of partnership with respect to their parliamentary assistance programs, including conditionality or notions of "cascading partnership."

natural tension between the types of assistance that parliaments may tend to prefer (travel, material assistance, information technology, etc.) and those likely to have a major impact on reform. Although there are a number of ways that this tension can be managed, it should be explicitly recognized as an issue meriting consideration.

There are a number of approaches for dealing with the tension:

- *Identifying partners within the parliament that, given the political context, are most likely to support change.* Parliaments are not monolithic bodies, and there may be a number of counterparts within the parliament that can act as partners to a Sida-supported project. Particularly in less open systems, it can be important to resist interacting with the Speaker or President as the counterpart, and instead insist that ownership and partnership by multi-party parliamentary reform committees or donor coordination committees within the parliament, i.e. given that this is where the pressure for reform or performance is the greatest. The Secretary General, or head of the parliamentary administration, is another possible counterpart for parliamentary programs. However, in many systems, the Secretary General may represent the Speaker and the majority, rather than the broader institution.
- *Focusing on less directly threatening institutional reform (issue-based approaches).* Issue-based approaches are incremental in that they do not challenge the entire system at once. Instead, they provide a step-by-step route to democratic practices while at the same time highlighting and strengthening the mechanisms through which certain issues can be addressed by parliament.
- *Focusing on cooperating partners outside the parliament (bottom-up approaches).* Parliaments and parliamentarians can be more or less receptive to influences from the outside depending on the methods used and issues addressed. As the case may be, groups outside parliament can exert pressure for change and in particular influence values and attitudes that govern the political behavior of parliamentarians in the medium and longer term. In politically more developed environments it is not uncommon that bottom-up influences have major impact on reform.

In addition to recognizing and managing this tension, the need for a more politically contextualized approach has clear implications for the methods Sida uses to deliver parliamentary support. To reach the underlying causes of a dysfunctional political process, rather than more transparent formal rules and systems or mere “institutional repair”, a number of things are required, including: 1) a relationship of trust and confidence between the donor and the partners that allows for frank dialogue on politically sensitive topics, such as political corruption or patronage, 2) an extremely nuanced understanding of the local political context by the donor and implementing partner, and 3) an implementing partner that has the capacity and willingness to design and implement programs in a politically contextualized manner. The mix of these factors varies widely among the program models covered in this report. In Sida’s portfolio, the relatively large number of workshops and study missions, administrative support efforts and information technology projects may risk supporting the status quo rather than addressing the deeply political problems standing in the way of democratic practices and reform. Often, the preference for these technical solutions is driven by legislative leadership, which typically express preferences for these approaches, over support for deeper institutional reform that would likely result in greater political competition, pluralism and accountability.

To address these issues, Sida may wish to:

1. *Reduce reliance on short-term interventions, such as support for parliamentary exchanges, conferences and seminars.* Many of Sida’s program models rely heavily or exclusively on conferences, seminars and exchanges to deliver assistance, including support to international organizations of parliamentarians, parliamentary exchange programs, cooperation between the Riksdag and the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam, and support for discrete, one-off activities. Evaluations suggest that the “light-bulb” theory of legislative development, i.e., that exposure to an idea will, by itself,

generate democratic reform, is rarely effective. They also suggest that these types of interventions are less politically contextualized because of the difficulty in this context to develop a sufficiently nuanced understanding of the local political environment. “Seminar fatigue” is also an issue in many parliaments; and over-reliance on conferences, seminars and exchanges can skew institutional development. Short-term interventions of this sort may hence make it difficult to address more complex or informal process issues. Where reliance on such interventions continues, Sida may wish to consider ways to focus these short-term interventions more sharply and to better integrate them with longer-term strategies for parliamentary development.

2. *Increase the level of support to regional and local organizations engaged in parliamentary strengthening.* Sida has demonstrated a strong commitment to networking as a method of providing parliamentary support; 30% of the total assistance has supported networks of parliamentarians. However, this support has gone only to international networks while a mere 2% of the assistance has gone to local or regional organizations, even though these groups are likely to have a more nuanced understanding of local political systems. Although many of the projects with international or multilateral organizations involve close work with regional and local partners, there are nonetheless an increasing number of options to work directly with regional and local organizations on parliamentary strengthening. Moreover, the provision of assistance to these regional and local groups can be an important method of building sustainable regional and local capacity for parliamentary support. Such a move would also be consistent with international trends toward greater uses of “bottom-up” approaches to parliamentary support.
3. *Identify opportunities for greater use of long-term consultants or advisers, particularly consultants who are able to relate as peers to parliamentary partners.* Despite the general movement within Sida away from the use of long-term advisers (in part because of concerns about sustainability and the desire to achieve the appropriate “consultant mix” for a particular program), there are numerous reasons why long-term advisers are especially appropriate in parliamentary support programs – both in terms of developing a sufficiently nuanced understanding of the local political environment and in terms of building relationships of trust and confidence needed to address politically sensitive issues. This appears particularly important in larger legislative assistance programs to ensure that resources are well utilized. Sida may wish to consider program models and partners that make use of long-term advisers, such as its UN and UNDP-implemented programs (32% of total) which have benefited from the use of long-term technical advisers. Although the JPO program (3% of total) also involves placement of long-term staff with legislatures or parliaments, these work at a junior level and have tended to lack significant experience in parliamentary development.

Short-term consultants or program participants, who “parachute” into a country and lack a sufficiently nuanced awareness of the local political context, are easy targets for critics of democratic development programs. This is a particular concern for Sida, given the high percentage of its parliamentary assistance portfolio that is delivered through seminars, conferences and exchanges, and given the relatively few programs with a long-term on-the-ground presence.¹⁰² Informal structures of power, entrenched corruption, patronage, personal clan or tribal affiliations are often less transparent than formal structures, although often they have a greater impact on political development. They can be very difficult to assess and monitor on an ongoing basis without an on-the-ground perspective. Similarly, addressing difficult, politically sensitive issues often requires a level of interpersonal trust and a depth of relationship with program partners that can be difficult to develop absent a field presence. There are several

¹⁰²It is difficult to quantify the exact percentage of Sida’s total portfolio that encompasses these types of assistance, given fact that many assistance programs often employ a variety of methods for delivering assistance. However, reliance on conferences, seminars and exchanges does seem high relative to other donors. Only rarely is there a long-term field presence built into a program. Even the long-term program of cooperation with the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam was managed without a long-term field presence, instead relying on annual program meetings, periodic visits and e-mail exchanges in between contact through seminars and exchanges.

anecdotal examples of this issue arising in the documents reviewed by the evaluation team and this appears to be a likely cause of a lack of political contextualization in many of the programs.¹⁰³ In seeking to strengthen the political contextualization of programs, Sida should be aware that programs managed from outside the recipient country may be less well suited to this objective.

4. *Better diversify and target the use of parliamentarians in programming.* Parliamentarians and former parliamentarians are often more sensitive to the political incentives that govern legislative behavior and can often effectively communicate the political benefits of reform and institutional development. Members of parliament are generally conscious of their status as political leaders and are often more willing to accept outside technical assistance or advice when it comes from a peer. On the other hand, the use of current and former parliamentarians can also severely limit political contextualization in programming, since parliamentarians often have limited time available to develop an understanding of the local political context. One way of managing these competing concerns is to ensure that the use of parliamentary networks is carefully targeted, often focused at delivering specific advice and messages based on analysis done through sources with a more contextualized understanding of the local political situation. Currently, 30% of Sida's total parliamentary assistance goes to parliamentary networking. This amount goes primarily to two international networks; no assistance is provided for regional networks. There is an increase in regional and global parliamentary networks on specific issues (environment, poverty reduction, corruption, etc). Sida may wish to explore ways of better targeting its assistance to these groups.

5.2 Strengthening Linkages with other Goals of Swedish Development Cooperation

Increasingly, donors are using so-called “issue-based” approaches to parliamentary support. As the field of legislative strengthening has matured, an increasing percentage of parliamentary members and staff have had opportunities to participate in seminars, conferences or study tours on general issues and topics, such as the role of parliament in a multi-party democracy, or on constituency relations skills. As a result, the value of a teaching “process” divorced from a specific “substantive” context continues to diminish. Moreover, issue-based approaches show promise, over more traditional approaches, in supporting legislative development more comprehensively, by placing it within a broader political and policy-making process. Issue-based approaches also allow Sida to provide parliamentary support in a way that is more closely linked to the reduction of poverty, or to other areas of particular concern to Sida, such as human rights or the rights of children.

Although it may be unrealistic for all parliamentary support to be expected to accomplish multiple development objectives simultaneously, they must be sensitive to their impact on cross-cutting developmental goals and, where opportunities exist, should capitalize on opportunities to promote them. Moreover, given the size of the assistance provided by Sida in areas of parliamentary assistance relative to some bilateral and multilateral actors in this field, a concentration on these issues is a fairly clear way of prioritizing Sida's assistance.

There does appear to be substantial room to strengthen linkages between parliamentary support and other goals of Sweden's development cooperation assistance. In particular, Sida may wish to consider the following changes to its parliamentary support portfolio:

¹⁰³For example, one document indicated that one representative from a Sida program partner who arrived for a short-term project described his contact with a parliamentary official without knowing that the official was about to be replaced, as was apparent to Sida personnel on the ground. Similarly, the evaluation report on program of cooperation with the Office of the Vietnamese National Assembly noted that the “interpretation of the content of some activities may have differed between the two [Swedish and Vietnamese] parties.” Although such issues are common, they are more quickly resolved and programs are more likely to be able to respond to openings for reform and legislative strengthening, when there is an on-the-ground presence.

1. *With respect to issue-based approaches to parliamentary development, increase the use of poverty reduction and the PRSP or MDGs as issues.* Although Sida has incorporated issue-based approaches in its parliamentary support programs, poverty reduction has, to date, been underutilized as an issue. The evaluation team made an effort to identify parliamentary programs that have a substantial component involving a cross-cutting issue. While 17% of parliamentary program resources involve a significant gender issues, 14% involve conflict mitigation/peace promotion issues, and 12% involve human rights. Only 4% program resources were identified as having a poverty reduction component, such as population, health care and sustainable development; no programs focused primarily on the involvement of parliamentarians in the poverty reduction strategy formulation process, or overseeing progress with respect to poverty reduction or the millennium development goals.
2. *In parallel with support to greater parliamentary involvement in the PRSP processes, advocate for changes in international financial institution policy regarding parliaments.* Although the World Bank and IMF, in their Comprehensive Review of the PRSP process, have noted the concerns of donors to strengthen the role of parliaments in the PRSP process, there remains a large gap between the official policy and practice of the international financial institutions with respect to parliamentary involvement in poverty reduction and lending issues. Although an increasing number of individual members of parliament are becoming involved in the PRSP process, strong institutional involvement remains in need of additional support. In countries where parliaments have considered the PRSP, the review has been limited and often under tight time constraints.
3. *Increase support relating to the role of parliaments in the budget process and in financial oversight.* It is difficult to disaggregate Sida's parliamentary support in a way that allows for meaningful assessment of the relative support for the representative, administrative, lawmaking, oversight or budget capacity. However, it appears that support for the parliament's role in the budget process or in financial oversight has constituted a very small portion of Sweden's support to parliaments, relative to its importance in parliamentary development. Sida's efforts in this area appears limited to isolated seminars or conferences, or to the inclusion of parliamentary public accounts committees in programming to strengthen capacity of audit institutions in Southern Africa. Parliamentary capacity to analyze and review budgets are important elements in promoting public integrity and in enabling parliaments to play a positive role with respect to poverty reduction policies. Moreover, many donor parliamentary capacity-building efforts have been undermined by the inability of parliament to demand resources from the national budget that are sufficient to attract and retain qualified staff. Increased support in this area may involve both the use of traditional approaches (such as general capacity building and training for staff and members on fiscal and economic analysis) and issue-based approaches focusing on particular policy items (such as anti-corruption, millennium development goals, or the country's poverty reduction strategy process). Furthermore, support in this field would be a means of exploring integrated approaches between economic and democratic development, much called for within the donor community.
4. *Increasingly orient support towards joint funding programs with a comprehensive and long-term approach to parliamentary reform.* In line with PGU directives, Sida may wish to increase its funding of joint comprehensive program support of parliaments to reduce the harmful effects of fragmented and short-term project support¹⁰⁴. A move in this direction may also serve to increase political contextualization and sustainability. By definition, comprehensive programs – such as in the Zambia-PACT case – permit overview and an ability to prioritize scarce resources rationally that is less feasible (or impossible) when resources are spread across a multitude of uncorrelated initiatives and projects. A holistic program involving all major donors and parliament as a whole is therefore likely to cover a comprehensive spectrum of concerns, a proposition to which the Zambia-PACT case testifies. One must pay attention, however, not to interpret joint programming as a quick-fix

¹⁰⁴The government bill, 2002/03:122 Shared Responsibility: Sweden's policy for Global Development p. 71–72.

or standard solution to existing problems of poor political contextualization and sustainability of parliamentary support. A programmatic approach is to be regarded as a favorable condition or framework that needs to be filled with content.

5.3 Program Effectiveness

This survey and thematic evaluation divided Sida's parliamentary support into ten "program models." The case studies reviewed in these program models generated a number of specific conclusions and recommendations with respect to these program models. For reasons of space, these program-model specific recommendations are not restated in these conclusions, although they constitute an important component of this survey and thematic evaluation. However, the case studies did generate a number of broader recommendations regarding program effectiveness:

1. *Improve coordination and integration of parliamentary and political party programming.* With respect to large portions of Sida's parliamentary support portfolio, parliamentary strengthening appears to be considered independently of the developmental needs of the political parties that operate within those parliaments. Although there are a number of reasons why this is often the case, it can result in the loss of opportunities for synergy among these program types.¹⁰⁵ It may be noted that this recommendation is valid also in the relationships between Sida programming and those of other donors targeting the same parliament.
2. *Reevaluate mechanisms for Riksdag involvement and more evenly spread out Riksdag engagement among Sida's parliamentary strengthening programs.* The *Political Institutions* paper indicates that Sida and the Riksdag meet on a regular basis to share information and discuss ways of co-operation in ongoing and potential projects and programs.¹⁰⁶ However, the review of programs suggests that Riksdag Administration has been deeply involved in two programs (the cooperation program with the ONA and the International Courses Program) but considerably less involved in other programs. Although individual members of the Riksdag are involved in parliamentary exchange programs and in assistance provided through international parliamentary organizations, there is limited participation of Swedish parliamentarians and staff in programs using issue- or bottom-up based approaches, which would be desirable (confer section 5.1 point 3). The Riksdag involvement in the international courses program and the program of cooperation with the Office of the National Assembly of Vietnam has taxed its capacity to support parliamentary development programs heavily. The Riksdag has not accepted reimbursement for staff costs incurred in supporting these programs, as is required of government agencies; modifying this practice may improve the ability of the Riksdag administration to support these programs.
3. *Increase use of "bottom-up" approaches to parliamentary development.* International best practice has increasingly stressed the need for increased "bottom-up" approaches to parliamentary strengthening, where support is provided to groups outside the parliament (journalist, advocacy groups, watchdog groups, etc.) specifically to strengthen parliament. Although these programs may have been underweighted in this survey and evaluation because of the difficulty of identifying programs targeting parliament, the use of "bottom-up" approaches in Sida's parliamentary strengthening may be increased. A wide variety of options exist which could be used to strengthen linkages with other goals of Sida's development cooperation, e.g., support for pro-poor advocacy or watchdog groups to lobby or monitor parliament; work with youth groups on "model parliaments" in ways to build a "culture of parliamentarism" and to draw attention to the rights of children, etc. To the

¹⁰⁵ For a review of Swedish support of political parties through organizations associated with Swedish parliamentary parties, not part of this evaluation and thematic review, confer Öhman et al, *Politiska partier och demokratibistånd*, Sida Evaluation 04/31, November 2004.

¹⁰⁶ *The Political Institutions: Parties, Elections and Parliaments*, July 2002, page 31.

extent that bottom-up approaches to parliamentary development are being used within Sida but are not adequately reflected in this evaluation, they may benefit from increased involvement of DESA staff members who are working on parliamentary development issues.

4. *Explore opportunities for combining substantive policy goals in cooperation with other parliamentary networks than those currently employed.* AWEPA, and PGA, rely heavily on seminars, exchanges and study tours that have been criticized by some for a lack of follow-through on substantive issues of parliamentary strengthening. They also represent a small number of the increasing number of parliamentary networks. In recent years, there has been an increasing number of, and increasing activity by parliamentary networks. Regional parliaments or parliamentary organizations, such as the SADC Parliamentary Forum, the ECOWAS Parliament, the East African Legislative Assembly, have become more active. International initiatives and organizations have also reached out to parliamentarians as a way of increasing their legitimacy as an organization. The World Bank has established the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank at the First Parliamentary Conference of the World Bank in May 2000 and will hold its sixth conference in Helsinki in October of this year; the Forum of African Parliamentarians for NEPAD was established in October 2002 at a conference in Cotonou. A number of donor and implementing organizations have supported the formation of additional parliamentary networks as a means to strengthen and diversify their parliamentary support, in particular through an increasingly issue-based focus; for example, the Canadian Parliamentary Centre has supported the development of APNAC (the African Parliamentary Network Against Corruption) in 2000 and, at a conference in October 2002, the formation of GOPAC (the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption).

6 Lessons Learned

This section focuses on lessons learned in the course of conducting this survey and thematic evaluation, which may have broader applicability on how Sida manages and evaluates its development cooperation. The relative mobility and turnover of Sida's staff has meant that institutional history regarding programs is limited or is not easily accessible in Stockholm. This places a particular premium on systems to maintain and transmit institutional knowledge regarding legislative programming. Although increased delegation of authority to embassies may be desirable from a number of perspectives, it also contributes to the need for effective systems to manage the implementation and evaluation of parliamentary support programs.

In particular, Sida may wish to consider the following:

1. *Draw on or produce additional tools for Sida staff regarding parliamentary program design and evaluation.* The level of political contextualization and analysis, as well as the quality of evaluation, has varied widely among Sida's parliamentary support programs and could be improved. The most common weaknesses suggested in this review include: 1) a tendency to use overambitious program objectives; 2) an inadequate focus on sustainability from program inception; and 3) the evaluation of parliamentary exchanges, conference and seminars based on participant reactions to the event, rather than the event's impact on parliamentary development. Although the *Political Institutions* paper helps provide greater clarity regarding Sida's strategic thinking with respect to parliamentary support, there remains a significant gap between the *Political Institutions* paper and the development of practical tools to assist staff in managing parliamentary support programs. For example, this report identifies a general weakness on political analysis such as a lack of analysis of the perceived type of democratic transition and the extent it is worthwhile conducting legislative

assistance. Before entering into a project, political will should be assessed, and the project should be contextualized by taking the societal structures of powers, authority, interests, hierarchies, loyalties, and traditions into account. Sida may wish to work with like-minded donors to develop a set of tools for its staff and its program partners on program design, implementation and evaluation of parliamentary support programs.¹⁰⁷

2. *Strengthen mechanisms for internal communication on parliamentary support.* Given the rise of issue-based approaches to parliamentary strengthening, communication between sectoral and parliamentary support personnel within Sida is becoming increasingly important. For example, certain SEKA personnel were unaware of core support to PGA, which funds significant conflict mitigation programming; DESA personnel were unaware of SEKA programming with parliamentarians on small arms issues. As a result, opportunities for coordination of among Sida's support programs may be missed. Delegation of programmatic responsibility to the embassies, although desirable from a number of perspectives, also places a greater burden on mechanisms for internal communication. Sida may benefit from increased informal mechanisms for information exchange, such as an in-house newsletter on parliamentary programs or periodic briefings for sectoral staff on parliamentary programs that implicate their sectoral areas.
3. *Improve mechanisms for tracking parliamentary programming.* The evaluation team's ability to conduct the survey and thematic evaluation was limited by an inability to easily identify parliamentary support. Sida's PLUS system is not currently being used in a way that facilitates searching by program type, and Sida may wish to explore improved mechanisms for identifying programs thematically, particularly where programs may involve multiple thematic areas (such as party strengthening and legislative strengthening, or legislative strengthening and local government strengthening). For example, program titles often include acronyms that make it difficult to determine the relevance of a particular program entry; programs regarding parliament may use a multiplicity of terms or abbreviations to refer to the national parliament or legislature. Sida might benefit from the development of a classification system within PLUS to allow for indexing by major program elements.
4. *Develop more formal mechanisms to obtain guidance and advice on parliamentary support.* Given the relatively small size of Sida's parliamentary programming and the absence of significant legislative expertise within the institution, it is particularly important to have mechanisms for drawing on outside expertise, within the Riksdag, the academic community, political party organizations, and the larger international community. Although there have been periodic meetings between Sida staff and the Riksdag, it appears that communications among Sida, political party organizations and the Riksdag on parliamentary development could be improved. UNDP has utilized an advisory board structure as a method of drawing on parliamentary expertise; Sida may wish to consider a similar structure. The creation of a formal mechanism or mechanisms may also work to improve communication between Sida and the political party organizations, and between Sida and the Riksdag.

¹⁰⁷ Although these specific documents are of limited usefulness to Sida given its different approach to development cooperation, USAID has developed a number of handbooks and tools to assist its staff in designing parliamentary programming or in measuring program success. See, for example, USAID, *Conducting a DG Assessment: A Framework for Strategy Development*, (http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnach305.pdf); USAID, *Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators*, (http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnacc390.pdf); or USAID, *Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, (http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnac632.pdf).

Appendix 1: Terms of Reference

1. Description of Sida

Sida is the Swedish government agency for bilateral international development cooperation and most of Sweden's cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe. The Parliament and Government decide on the development cooperation budget, the countries with which Sweden shall have programmes of development cooperation, and the focus of cooperation.

Sida supports activities in almost 120 countries, including the partner countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Most of the resources are allocated to the twenty or so countries with which Sida has extensive, long-term programmes of cooperation. The framework of cooperation is specified in special country strategies and regulated in agreements between Sida and the government of each partner country.

Sida's contributions are based on the changes the partner countries wish to implement and are prepared to allocate funds to. Sida's task is to assess the type of contributions that can give results and then to provide the know-how and capital required. Each contribution is carefully studied and evaluated. Sida's support to any project ceases as soon as the project is able to operate independently of Sida funding. Less successful projects should be concluded rapidly rather than revised.

Sida operates through some 1,500 partners in cooperation, mostly Swedish. These are companies, popular movements, organisations, universities and government agencies that possess the expertise to make Swedish development cooperation successful.

In the long run Swedish development cooperation should lead to wider economic and social cooperation to the benefit of all parties concerned.

For more information, please see Sida's homepage: www.sida.se

2. Background

“The purposes of Sida's legislative support should be to increase the capacity of parliamentarians to support democratic governance by effectively fulfilling their legislative, oversight, representative and conflict resolution functions in ways that respect and strengthen democratic governance values of accountability, transparency, openness, participation, separation and balance of powers, legitimacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts of interests. Before entering into a project, political will should be assessed, and the project should be contextualised by taking the societal structures of powers, authority, interests, hierarchies, loyalties, and traditions into account. Mere institutional repair packages should be avoided, as should strict application of Swedish models. It might be useful to try to bolster impact by linking legislative assistance to support of agents outside of parliaments who could push for reforms. In conclusion, support to Parliaments should focus on the need to build a culture of parliamentarism over the long term, as opposed to short-term programmes that may satisfy only those who are currently in office and not meet the needs, and fulfill the functions, of the Parliament as an institution.”
(Quoted from DESO/DESA's methodology project on Political Institutions, p 36)

In the 1990s support to legislatures became an important area among donors. Evaluations and research findings suggest, however, that the outcome of legislative support is often rather poor in relation to expectations, which are often high. This appears to be a result of a number of factors, including unrealistic time perspectives and the treatment of the symptoms rather than the causes of democratic deficits.

At the same time, parliaments that function properly and are willing and able to perform their role as stated above, are essential for the enhancement of democratisation. Learning more about how development co-operation can support parliaments and enable them to function well is thus important.

In an internal project on political institutions at the Division for Democratic Governance (see quotation above), a number of evaluations and research reports on programmes of support to legislatures were scrutinised. Although the project was able to deliver a number of conclusions of great relevance to Sida, it also identified a need for “a thorough survey of all legislative support financed by Sida and a thematic impact evaluation of this support”.

Hitherto, no thematic evaluation has been made of Sida-funded programmes that have the aim of strengthening parliaments. In general, there is a great need for thematic evaluations of Sida’s work in the field of democratic governance cooperation. Support to political party systems and electoral support have, to some extent, been the subject of reviews of this type. In 2002, financial management will be scrutinized. Other key areas in the field of democratic governance will follow. All should include an assessment of the programmes’ relevance for poverty alleviation.

3. Description of the Assignment

The evaluators should thus cover the following issues:

- To what extent did programmes aim at and contribute to increasing the capacity of parliaments to fulfil their legislative, representative, oversight and conflict resolution functions?
- To what extent did programmes aim at and contribute to promoting the democratic governance values of accountability, transparency, openness, participation, separation of powers, balance of powers, legitimacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts?
- To what extent did programmes aim at and contribute to building a culture of parliamentarism?
- Was the political will (official and unofficial) for change assessed before the project started?
- Were the programmes contextualised, i.e. did they consider structures of powers, authority, interests, hierarchies, loyalties, and traditions in society?
- Was strict use made of Swedish models? (assess when relevant)
- To what extent were the programmes mainly ‘institutional repair’?
- Coherence and connectedness: were the programmes part of a Swedish strategy in the country/region? Part of a concerted effort by donors? Were other synergies, e.g. in the form of support to actors outside parliament, taken into account?
- Were the objectives realistic? Were they fulfilled? Did the implementing organisation or agency have the capacity needed to fulfil its objectives? Was it able to act with flexibility when necessary?
- Was the potential of Parliaments and Parliamentarians as regards implementation of international human rights treaties used? If not, how could it be improved?
- To what extent was gender equality an explicit goal? What was the gender balance among the implementing agencies?
- To what extent did the objectives and implementation of the programmes and projects relate to the overriding goal of all Swedish development cooperation – that of poverty alleviation?
- Would the project have been more successful if Sida had acted in a different way?
- The consultants should include recommendations on how Sida can better implement the strategic thinking behind its legislative support as stated in the quotation in the preamble to the ToR. The

consultants should also include recommendations on needs to improve links to poverty alleviation in programme objectives and implementation.

Time plan

The assignment will entail ten weeks of full-time work for one person, including one or two field visits/visits to Headquarters of key Parliamentary/Parliamentarian organisations or institutes and key donors. The consultant should be prepared to take on limited additional tasks related to the assignment.

4. Purpose and Objective

The evaluation should include:

1. A brief overview of Sida's evaluations, policies, portfolios and experience (e.g. the DESA-project on political institutions as well as ongoing and finalised evaluations) during the last five years, and that of other key donors and organisations, such as USAID (Center for Democracy and Governance), CIDA, DFID, NORAD, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, FINNIDA and the Netherlands MFA. The World Bank Institute's work with Parliamentarians should be included, as should the work of International IDEA and the Parliamentary Centre of Canada. The degree to which donors and organisations are trying to strengthen the marginal role of Parliaments in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Processes (PRSP) of the IBRD should be included in the overview. Efforts to increase the representation and influence of women parliamentarians should also be included. A final issue that warrants special attention concerns potential initiatives to improve the overview and implementation of international human rights conventions through support to parliaments.
2. An overview of all Swedish support to parliaments and parliamentarians in developing and transition countries during the last five years.

The main focus of the evaluation should be on programmes supported by Sida, such as those implemented by Inter-Parliament Union (IPU), Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), AWEPA, UNDP and Riksdagen. The evaluation should include at least 5 programmes and, although suggestions may be included in the inception report, the final selection should await the overview of Swedish support (see 2 above).

The point of departure should be the conclusions drawn in the DESA project on political institutions. The principal issue is whether Sida's current programmes of cooperation are in conformity with the strategic thinking developed at Sida – the focus is thus on methods rather than results – and if not, how to make them meet.

5. Method

The consultants should start by identifying parliamentary cooperation programmes through screening Sida's internal accounting system (Plus). The final selection of programmes should be made in collaboration with DESO/DESA.

The consultants should use the following documents as background material:

- Justice and Peace – Sida's Programme for Peace, Democracy and Human Rights. Stockholm: Sida, January, 1998. Available on request.
- Democracy and Human Rights in Sweden's Development Cooperation. Government Bill 1997/98:76. Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1998. Available from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 46-(0)8-405 10 00. Article number UD 98.030.

- Political Institutions, Mimeograph. Stockholm: Sida's Division for Democratic Governance, August 2001. Available on request.

When the consultants have completed a draft report on the questions above, they should proceed to interview Sida desk officers who coordinate major programmes involving Parliaments and parliamentarians (a list of interviewees will be provided by DESO/DESA) as well as officials of the International Department of the Parliament of Sweden in order to benefit from their experiences and discuss and validate the findings of the consultants.

6. Requirements/Qualifications

The tenderer shall possess the compulsory requirements below.

Qualifications of the evaluation team

The team should have the following qualifications and experience:

- documented expertise in the challenges facing legislatures and legislators in transition and developing countries.
- strong background in democracy assistance – a thorough understanding of the political dimensions of legislative support would be preferable. Knowledge of Sida's democratic governance programmes would be an asset.
- The personnel proposed shall have knowledge of development cooperation/ international cooperation or equivalent knowledge that relate to tenderer's core activities.
- Documented extensive experience of evaluating programmes of support for democracy, including experience of evaluating methods
- At least one member of the team must be fluent in written Swedish as a substantial number of internal documents are written in Swedish
- The personnel proposed shall have very good knowledge of written and spoken English.
- Team members should have at least the equivalent of a Master's Degree in Social Sciences, preferably Political Science. The team leader should have published experience of research at post-doctoral level in fields relevant to the tasks of the evaluation.

6.1 Quality in performance of the Assignment

The tenderer shall submit the following documents/information:

- a) Confirmation that above requirements are fulfilled by the tenderer
- b) Specification of qualification of each and every one of the persons/sub- contractors provided by the tenderer and a Curriculum Vitae for each and every one.
- c) The tenderer and the proposed personnel shall show prior experience from similar assignments and at least two references whose names and telephone numbers shall be stated and the persons in question ought to have been notified.

The tenderer shall account for his/her understanding of the assignment in his/her/own words

The tenderer shall clearly and concretely specify and motivate the approach and methods to be applied in performing of the assignment, including those employed in the various task of the assignment

The tenderer shall provide a detailed time and work plan for fulfilment of the assignment, a) a manning schedule that specifies the tasks performed by and the time allocated to each of the team members, and b) estimates of the time required for the different tasks of the assignment. Tenderer shall state the shortest possible notice at which personnel/sub-contractors may be available for the Assignment

Exchange of proposed personnel can only be made according to conditions stated in the draft contract, Appendix B.

6.2 Price and Other Commercial Conditions

The tenderer shall present a budget, which differentiates between and proposes ceilings for fees and reimbursable costs, specified for the different elements of the assignment and for the different staff categories. For additional services, as described in section 3, Time Plan, the Tenderer shall propose a fee.

All fees shall be stated hourly. All costs and fees shall be stated in SEK, exclusive of Swedish VAT, but including all other taxes and levies. Individuals (natural person) however shall state their fee exclusive of social contributions.

The tenderer shall state and specify any minor reservations as to the draft contract and Sida's General Commercial Conditions for Services, issue 1999 and propose alternative wordings, which shall however not lead to material changes of the present draft contract and conditions.

6.3 Qualifications (Requests)

The tenderer should possess the requests below.

It should be possible to conclude a contract to be effective as from June 1, 2002

It should be possible to commence the Assignment on or before June 1, 2002

7. Reporting

Conclusions and main findings of the evaluation should be reported in the following ways. The consultants should present the report at a seminar arranged by Sida no later than six weeks after completion of the report. The consultants should also be prepared to report their conclusions and recommendations at an appropriate seminar or conference, should Sida wish to invite the consultants.

The evaluation report shall be written in English and should not exceed 20 pages, excluding annexes. The format and outline of the report shall follow the guidelines in Sida Evaluation Report – a Standardized Format (see Sub- appendix 1:1). The draft report shall be submitted to Sida electronically and in 10 hardcopies (by air or surface mail or delivered by hand) no later than 16 September, 2002. Within 2 weeks of receiving Sida's comments on the draft report, a final version shall be submitted to Sida, once again electronically and in 10 hardcopies. The evaluation report must be presented in a way that permits publication without further editing. Subject to Sida's decision, the report will be published in the series Sida Evaluations.

The evaluation assignment includes the completion of Sida Evaluations Data Work Sheet (Sub- appendix 1:2), including an Evaluation Abstract (final section, G) as defined and required by DAC. The completed Data Worksheet shall be submitted to Sida together with the final version of the report. The report cannot be processed without a completed Data Worksheet.

Sub-appendices

1:1 Sida Evaluation Report – a Standardized Format

1:2 Sida Evaluations Data Work Sheet

Appendix 2: List of Persons Interviewed

Tom Abrahamsson, DESO/UND, Sida
Ingmar Armyr, DESO/DESA, Sida
Dalton Barrientos, DESO
Per Bjälkander, Former JPO, PGA
Helena Bjuremalm, DESO/DESA, Sida
Peter Bloch, AFRA
Eva Brolin, International Department, Riksdagen
Anette Dahlström, DESO/DESA, Sida
David Donat Cattin, PGA
James L. Donovan, Division for Policy and Socio-Economic Analysis
Jutta Delden, SIPU
Eva Dunn, PGA
Ellenor Ekman, DESO/DESA, Sida
Eva Falkenberg, DESO/DESA, Sida
Rolf Folkesson, DESO/DESA, Sida
Lisa Fredriksson, DESO/DESA, Sida
Pär Granstedt, AWEPA
Lisa Hellström, Department for Administration
Lars Hultstrand, International Department, Riksdag
Ulrika Josefsson, SEKA
Juan Kim, PGA
Thomas Kjellson, DESO/DESA, Sida
Marie-Claire Leman, PGA
Lars Lindblad, DESO, Planning Secretariat
Jan Lindström, Former Sida Programme Officer (Tanzania)
Inger Lundberg, Riksdag Member
Hans Lundquist, Sida-Öst
Emma Nilenfors, RELA
Helen Nilsson, Sida-Öst
Kikki Nordin-Olsson, DESO/DESA, Sida
Hans Norgren, SIPU
Åke Pettersson, Chairman, Centre Party International Foundation
Mari Rydingstam, International Department, Riksdag
Marja Ruohomäki, DESO/DESA, Sida
Ingeborg Schwarz, IPU
Gun Eriksson Skoog, Sida, Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit
Lars Starell, International Department, Riksdagen
Sten Ström, DESO/DESA, Sida
Tove Strömberg, SIPU
Katie Tell, PGA Programme Officer
Araceli von Tell, DESO
Siv Ramsell Westberg, Secretary General, Centre Party International Foundation
David Wiking, Conflict Management Adviser, SEKA
Nebiyat Woldemichael, PGA

Appendix 3: List of Acronyms used

AEI	African European Institute
AFRA	Africa Department, Sida
ASR	Administration of the Swedish Riksdag
AWEPA	European Parliamentarians for Africa
CDPR	Centre for Development Policy and Research, University of London
DESA	Division for Democratic Governance, Sida
DESO	Department for Democracy and Social Development, Sida
DFID	British Department for International Development
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GLOBE	Global Legislative Organization for a Balanced Environment
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPSA	International Political Science Association
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
JPO	Junior Professional Officer
MINUGUA	United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PGA	Parliamentarians for Global Action
PGU	Sweden's Policy for Global Development (Politik för Global Utveckling)
PLUS	Sida's Internal Planning and Accounting System
PRP	The Parliamentary Reform Project in Zambia
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RELA	Department of Latin America, Sida
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEKA	Division for Cooperation with Non-Governmental Organizations and Humanitarian Assistance, Sida
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SIPU	Swedish Institute for Public Administration
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UND	Division for Education, Sida
WBI	World Bank Institute, World Bank Group
WTO	World Trade Organization

Appendix 4: Chart of Parliamentary Assistance Programs

Plus	4.1a	4.1b	4.2	4.3a	4.3b	4.3b				
Contribution ID	Country/Region	Project Name	Amount Authorized	Program Model	Implementing Organization	Cross-Sectoral Issues	Geographic Distribution	Level of Political Freedom	HDR Polity score	Contacts
1 72630310	Afghanistan	UNDP Afghanistan 2005	10,000,000	UN	MO	?	A	7,7 NF	-7	Carl Fredrik Birkoff
2 21002179	Africa	AWEPA – 1997 Core Fund. (w/AEI)	1,000,000	PN	INGO	N/A	ANCS	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
3 7200023901	Africa	AEI – 1998 Core Funding	500,000	PN	INGO	N/A	ANCS	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
4 72000116	Africa	AWEPA – 1998 Core Funding	5,750,000	PN	INGO	N/A	ANCS	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
5 72600044	Africa	AWEPA – 2000 Core Funding	2,500,000	PN	INGO	N/A	ANCS	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
6 72600184	Africa	AWEPA – 2001 Regional Contrib.	3,000,000	PN	INGO	N/A	SA	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
7 72600118	Africa	AWEPA – 2002/3 Core Funding	3,500,000	PN	INGO	N/A	ANCS	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
8 71003176	Asia	Internatl. Courses – 2001 Parl. Program	1,700,000	PE	SS,PC	None	G	N/A	N/A	Lisa Hellström
9 2100002201	Burundi	NAI – Parliament Exch. 1998	837,478	PE	SS	PP, HR	CA	6,6,NF	-1	Nina Larrea
10 21000168	Burundi	NAI – Parliament Exch. 1999	837,478	PE	SS	HR	CA	6,6,NF	-1	Kikki Nordin-Olsson Thomas Rideus
11 2100003501	Burundi	PGA – Task Force for Africa	1,700,000	PN	INGO	N/A	CA	6,6,NF	-1	Nina Larrea
12 72600059	Burundi	Interparliamentary Workshop	2,500,000	DA	INGO	PP	CA	6,6,NF	-1	Joanna Athlin
13 71004981	Central America	Internatl. Courses – 1998 Parl. Program	2,500,000	PE	PC	None	CAm	N/A	N/A	Lisa Hellström

Plus				4.1a	4.1b	4.2	4.3a	4.3b	4.3b		
Contribution ID	Country/Region	Project Name	Amount Authorized	Program Model	Implementing Organization	Cross-Sectoral Issues	Geographic Distribution	Level of Political Freedom	HDR Polity score	Contacts	
14	74001657	Central America	Regional Conference on Small Arms	570,000	DA	INGO	PP	CAm	N/A	N/A	Doris Attve
15	61000229	Colombia	Parliamentary Study Mission	130 000	PE	INGO	PP, HR	SAm	4,4,PF	7	Hans Magnusson
16	76000431	Estonia	EU Database Access for Parliamentary Staff	769,000	CN	PC	None	BS	1,2,F	6	Hans Lundquist M Larsson
17	71018501	FSU	Internatl. Courses – 2000 Parl. Program	1,800,000	PE	SS	None	FSU	N/A	N/A	Lisa Hellström
18	760004690	Georgia	Parliament Administration	2,280,000	CN	PC	None	FSU	3,4,PF	5	Birgitta Weibahr Christina Danielsson
19	72600423/ 72600584	Global	e-parliament	4,000,000	DA	INGO	None	G	N/A	N/A	
20	72000295	Global	PGA – Funding Study	193,050	TL	PC	None	G	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
21	72001528	Global	PGA – 1997–8 Core Funding	1,500,000	PN	INGO	N/A	G	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
22	720048370	Global	PGA – 1999 Core Support	1,200,000	PN	INGO	N/A	G	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
23	72600006	Global	PGA – 2000–4 Core Funding	7,500,000	PN	INGO	N/A	G	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
24	72600534	Global	PGA 2004–2006	6,000,000	PN	INGO	N/A	G	N/A	N/A	Helena Bjuremalm
25	73004788	Global	GLOBE – Sweden Johannesburg	300,000	TL	INGO	E, PR	G	N/A	N/A	Ulrika Akesson
26	73004721	Global	GLOBE– Rio+ 10	750,000	TL	INGO	E, PR	G	N/A	N/A	Ulrika Akesson
27	72001485	Global	IPU – Women’s Participation	110,110	TL	MO	G	G	N/A	N/A	Lena Forsgren

Plus				4.1a	4.1b	4.2	4.3a	4.3b	4.3b		
Contribution ID	Country/Region	Project Name	Amount Authorized	Program Model	Implementing Organization	Cross-Sectoral Issues	Geographic Distribution	Level of Political Freedom	HDR Polity score	Contacts	
28	72004715	Global	IPU – Women’s Pol. Exp.	1,000,000	TL	MO	G	G	N/A	N/A	Lena Forsgren
29	72000077	Global	IPU – Human Rights Officer	700,091	TL	MO	HR	G	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
30	72001486	Global	IPU – Code of Conduct	300,000	TL	MO	None	G	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
31	72600254	Global	IPU – Manual	330,000	TL	MO	None	G	N/A	N/A	Helena Bjuremalm
32	72630413	Global	IPU 2004–2008	7,500,000	PN	INGO	None	G	N/A	N/A	Helena Bjuremalm
33	61000019	Guatemala	MINUGUA – Proley I and II	1,493,947	UN	MO	PP, HR	CAm	3,4,PF	8	Henrik Riby Emma Nilenfors
34	61000048	Guatemala	MINUGUA – Proley III	2,685,000	UN	MO	PP, HR	CAm	3,4,PF	8	Henrik Riby Emma Nilenfors
35	61003117	Guatemala	MINUGUA – Proley IV	4,000,000	UN	MO	PP, HR	CAm	3,4,PF	8	Henrik Riby Emma Nilenfors
36	61000648	Guatemala	MINUGUA – Proley V	4,260,000	UN	MO	PP, HR	CAm	3,4,PF	8	Henrik Riby Emma Nilenfors
37	6100392	Guatemala	Delegation on Decentralization	110,000	PE	PC	None	CAm	3,4,PF	8	Asa Stenman
38	-	Guatemala	UNDP Guatemala 2004	2,120,000	UN	MO	None	CAm	4,4 PF	8	
39	3000001413	Guinea-Bissau	ANP Parliamentary Exchange	150,000	PE	Emb Doc	HR	WA	3,5,PF	6	Tom Abrahamsson
40	-	Guinea-Bissau	Funding of Extraordinary Session	42,000	DA	RS	PP	WA	3,5,PF	6	Ulla Andren
41	-	Guinea-Bissau	Rehabilitation of Parliament Building	350,000	DA	RS	PP	WA	3,5,PF	6	Ulla Andren
42	-	Guinea-Bissau	Training for MP Ferreira	65,000	DA	SS	PP	WA	3,5,PF	6	Ulla Andren

Plus				4.1a	4.1b	4.2	4.3a	4.3b	4.3b		
Contribution ID	Country/Region	Project Name	Amount Authorized	Program Model	Implementing Organization	Cross-Sectoral Issues	Geographic Distribution	Level of Political Freedom	HDR Polity score	Contacts	
43	7200474502	Honduras	Strengthening Dem. Governance	11,293,635	UN	MO	None	LA	3,3,PF	7	Ellenor Ekman
44	3121003601	Kenya	Engendering the Pol. Process (EPPP)	1,500,000	DA	LNGO	G	EA	6,5,NF	-2	Johan Ndisi
45	3121003001	Kenya	Women's Caucus Strategic Planning	318,000	DA	LNGO	G	EA	6,5,NF	-2	Lena Schildt
46	3121006001	Kenya	CKRC Seminar on Women's Rights	700,000	DA	LNGO	G	EA	6,5,NF	-2	Lotta Sylwander
47	760005030	Latvia	Parliamentary Administration and IT	2,000,000	CN	PC	None	BS	1,2,F	8	Hans Lundquist
48	76000219	Lithuania	Document Handling Systems	935,000	CN	PC	None	BS	1,2,F	10	Helen Nilsson
49	2100019301	Malawi	Printing Malawi Constitution	79,683	DA	RS, SS	HR	SA	3,3,PF	7	Kalle Hellman J Donovan
50	2100013401	Malawi	Parliamentary Study Mission	212,000	PE	SS	None	SA	3,3,PF	7	J Donovan Kalle Hellman
51	760007610	Moldova	Women in Parliament	1,184,000	CN	MO	G	FSU	2,4,PF	7	Birgitta Weibahr
52	21001589	Mzmbq	AWEPA – Dem. Support, 1995–8	2,200,000	PN	INGO	N/A	SA	3,4,PF	6	Rolf Folkesson
53	72600185	Mzmbq	AWEPA – 2001 Mozambique	1,000,000	PN	INGO	N/A	SA	3,4,PF	6	Rolf Folkesson
54	72600315	Middle East	UNIFEM Middle East/MENA 2004–2006	7,900,000	UN	MO	G	ME/NA	n/a	n/a	Carl Fredrik Birkoff
55	72600392	Nigeria	PGA – JPO Program in Nigeria	900,000	JPO	INGO	G, PR	WA	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
56	2100001701	Rwanda	International Alert – Regional Program	350,000	DA	INGO	G, PP	CA	7,6,NF	-4	Nina Larrea Ulrika Josefsson

Plus				4.1a	4.1b	4.2	4.3a	4.3b	4.3b		
Contribution ID	Country/Region	Project Name	Amount Authorized	Program Model	Implementing Organization	Cross-Sectoral Issues	Geographic Distribution	Level of Political Freedom	HDR Polity score	Contacts	
57	74001701	Somalia	UNDP/Diakonia, Somal. Civil Prot. Prog.	650,000	UN	INGO	none	EA	7,7,NF	N/A	
58	74001723	Somalia	UNDP – Capacity Building for Gov.	–	UN	INGO	none	EA	7,7,NF	N/A	
59	2500392001	South Africa	Women's Empowerment Unit	3,943,121	LPO	RS	G	SA	1,2,F	9	Lisa Fredriksson
60	2100015301	Southern Africa	GCA – Conf. in Zimbabwe	83,000	DA	Emb Doc	Emb Doc	SA	N/A	N/A	Thomas Kjellson
61	71007782	Southern Africa	Internatl. Courses – 1999 Parl. Program	1,800,000	PE	PC	None	SA	N/A	N/A	Lisa Hellström
62	3200417001	Tanzania	AWEPA – Parl. Cap. Building 97–99	2,000,000	PN	INGO	N/A	EA	4,4,PF	2	J. Olsson
63	32009995	Tanzania	AWEPA – Parl. Cap. Building 01–02	700,000	PN	INGO	N/A	EA	4,4,PF	2	Marja Ruohomäki
64	3200991401	Tanzania	Parliamentary Political Parties Committee	1,320,000	LPO	LNGO	None	EA	4,4,PF	2	Marja Ruohomäki
65	3200984101	Tanzania	Nyerere Foundation – Burundi Peace Talks	800,000	DA	INGO	PP	EA	4,4,PF	2	J Olsson
66	-	Timor Leste	Riksdagen – Timor Leste 2004	600,000	DA	SS	None	A	N/A	N/A	Britt Sjöstedt
67	33000016	Uganda	Parliamentary Induction Program	120,000	DA	INGO	None	CA	5,5,PF	-4	Kikki Nordin-Olsson Jan Lindström
68	3300003801	Uganda	Capacity Building for Parliament	3,000,000	UN	MO	None	CA	5,5,PF	-4	Kikki Nordin-Olsson
69	-	Uganda	AWEPA Uganda 2004–2005	2,000,000	PN	INGO	None	CA	5,4 PF	-4	EMB Kampala

Plus				4.1a	4.1b	4.2	4.3a	4.3b	4.3b		
Contribution ID	Country/Region	Project Name	Amount Authorized	Program Model	Implementing Organization	Cross-Sectoral Issues	Geographic Distribution	Level of Political Freedom	HDR Polity score	Contacts	
70	33000038	Uganda	UNDP Uganda 2002	3,000,000	UN	MO	None	CA	5,4 PF	-4	Birgitta Jansson
71	46004296	Vietnam	ONA – Riksdag Cooperation	15,000,000	TP	SS	None	A	7,7,NF	-7	Anette Dahlström
72	-	West Africa	PGA – JPO Program 1999–2001 (estimated)	2,617,730	JPO	INGO	G, PR	WA	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
73	72600392	West Africa	PGA – JPO Program 2001–2	1,400,000	JPO	INGO	G, PR	WA	N/A	N/A	Rolf Folkesson
74	2620005301	Zambia	Parliamentary Reform Project	110,759	MDF	INGO	None	SA	4,4 PF	1	Mikael Boström K. Hellman
75	26200052	Zambia	PACT – Zambia stage 1	500,000	MDF	INGO	n/a	SA	4,4 PF	1	Inger Jernberg
76	26200066	Zambia	PACT – Zambia 2003–2006	6,000,000	MDF	INGO	n/a	SA	4,4 PF	1	Inger Jernberg

Key:

A	Asia	F	Free (Level of Political Freedom)	MDF	Multi Donor Financed	PR	Poverty Reduction
ANCS	Africa Non-Country Specific	FSU	Former Soviet Union	MENA	Middle East & North Africa	RS	Recipient State
BS	Baltic States	G	Global	MO	Multi-lateral organizations	SA	Southern Africa
CA	Central Africa	HR	Human Rights	NF	Not Free (Level of Political Freedom)	Sam	South America
CAM	Central America	INGO	International NGO	PC	Private Consulting Firms	SS	Swedish State
CN	Consultant Implemented	JPO	Junior Professional Officer	PE	Parliamentary Exchange	TL	Technical Leadership
DA	Discreet/One-off activities	LA	Latin America	PF	Partly Free (Level of Political Freedom)	TP	Riksdag Partnership Programs
EA	East Africa	LNGO	Local NGO	PN	Parliamentary Networks	UN	United Nations
E	Environment	LPO	Local Parliamentary Organization	PP	Peace Promotion	WA	West Africa

Recent Sida Evaluations

- 05/16 Partnership Evaluation of Forum Syd 2001–2003**
Åsa Köningson, Lennart Köningson, Bo Andreasson, Jens Larsen, Charlotte Mathiassen, Eva Sennemark, Gertrude Hermansen
Department for Co-operation with Non-Governmental Organisations,
Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management
- 05/17 Sida Supported ICT Project at Makerere University in Uganda**
Alan Greenberg, Gerrit Versluis
Department for Research Co-operation
- 05/18 Returning Home
An Evaluation of Sida's Integrated Area Programmes in Bosnia and Herzegovina**
Melita Čukur, Kjell Magnusson, Joakim Molander, Hans Skotte
Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit
- 05/19 Povratak kući: Procjena Sidinih programa integralnog pristupa regiji u Bosni i Hercegovini**
Melita Čukur, Kjell Magnusson, Joakim Molander, Hans Skotte
Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit
- 05/20 Programa de Capacitación en Economía para Funcionarios de la República de Cuba**
Guillermo García Huidobro, Stefan de Vylder
Department for Latin America
- 05/21 Turning Policy into Practice
Sida's implementation of the Swedish HIV/AIDS strategy**
Ulrich Vogel, Anne Skjelmerud, Pol Jansegers, Kim Forss
Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit
- 05/22 General or Selective Intervention? An Evaluation of Sida's Partnership Programmes in Chile and South Africa**
Börje Svensson
Department for Infrastructure and Economic Co-operation
- 05/23 Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) An Evaluation**
Rodrigo Arocena, Eric Hershberg, Rosemary Thorp
Department for Research Co-operation
- 05/24 Fortalecimiento de iniciativas populares de la sociedad civil por la paz en Colombia, 2002–2005. Apoyo de Asdi al programa de Consejería de Proyectos (PCS)**
Nils Boesen, Bente Østergaard Madsen
Department for Latin America
- 05/25 Desmovilización y Reintegración de Niños Soldados, en Colombia.
Apoyo de Asdi a UNICEF, 2003–2004**
Jaime Jesús
Department for Latin America, Department for Co-operation with Non-Governmental Organisations and Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management
- 05/26 Programa "Acceso" en el sector de salud de Honduras**
Nils Öström, Leticia Velásquez, Sergio Rottenschweiler
Department for Democracy and Social Development

Sida Evaluations may be ordered from:

Infocenter, Sida
SE-105 25 Stockholm
Phone: +46 (0)8 779 96 50
Fax: +46 (0)8 779 96 10
sida@sida.se

A complete backlist of earlier evaluation reports may be ordered from:

Sida, UTV, SE-105 25 Stockholm
Phone: +46 (0) 8 698 51 63
Fax: +46 (0) 8 698 56 10
Homepage: <http://www.sida.se>



SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
SE-105 25 Stockholm, Sweden
Tel: +46 (0)8-698 50 00. Fax: +46 (0)8-20 88 64
E-mail: sida@sida.se. Homepage: <http://www.sida.se>