# TEN YEARS OF STRENGTHENING PARLIAMENTS IN AFRICA, 1991–2000

## Lessons learnt and the way forward

Report of a joint IPU/UNDP Survey

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Democracy is based on the existence of well-structured and well-functioning institutions, as well as on a body of standards and rules and on the will of society as a whole, fully conversant with its rights and responsibilities.

Democracy is founded on the right of everyone to take part in the management of public affairs; it therefore requires the existence of representative institutions at all levels and, in particular, a Parliament in which all components of society are represented and which has the requisite powers and means to express the will of the people by legislating and overseeing government action.

*Universal Declaration on Democracy, Inter-Parliamentary Union 1997*

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# FOREWORD

This publication is the result of a collaborative effort between the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) aimed at securing a better understanding of the relatively new area of assistance to national parliamentary institutions. It presents the findings of a survey of programmes of assistance to African parliaments in the 1990s. Technical assistance to parliaments underwent considerable development and change in the early 1990s, when democracy began to spread in Africa, although it predates this process.

When they became independent in the early 1960s, the majority of African countries inherited institutions, and more particularly legislative assemblies, that were often modelled on those of the former colonial power.  In many cases, the government and parliament of the former colonial power initially provided them with substantial assistance to help them to establish their own infrastructures and also to ensure that they functioned properly. Such assistance often comprised training courses for their staff and the secondment of expert advisors.

This bilateral assistance continued over the years despite a growing tendency towards single-party rule following increasingly frequent coups d'état.  It endured for as long as the parliament remained in existence, albeit on a reduced scale, generally limited to material assistance.  It was provided not only by the former colonial power, anxious to maintain special ties with the recipient state, but also by other countries, equally concerned to establish or reinforce their relations with the state in question.

Assistance to parliaments became multilateral because of the growing concern within the international community about the need to accelerate the development of African countries, notably through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).  In the 1970s, the Inter-Parliamentary Union was the first multilateral cooperation body to launch a (then very modest) programme of technical assistance to parliaments.  UNDP which, until then, had funded only government development projects, supported such assistance from a growing conviction that parliaments, regardless of their nature, had a vital role to play in executing national development plans and that building the capacities of the parliamentary institution would therefore be beneficial to a country's development.

In the early 1970s, the concept of "human development" had not yet emerged and development was viewed essentially from an economic perspective.  Moreover, the African countries, following the lead of the socialist countries and anxious to build a strong state capable of curbing centrifugal forces, opted for the single party system.  The leaders of these states sometimes felt that the structures within the party for representing or providing guidance to citizens made it possible to dispense with a parliamentary assembly.  The parliaments which remained were less monolithic or homogeneous than it might have seemed; indeed when the time came for the changeover to a multi-party system, new political groupings often emerged from within the single party. However, the context did not lend itself to the type of technical assistance that sought to do more than simply reinforce the infrastructure and material capacities of parliaments.  The projects launched during this period by the IPU and UNDP were thus primarily concerned with setting up parliamentary libraries and documentary services or providing technical training for staff.

With the end of the Cold War, new ideas came to the fore, in particular the idea that the individual, not the state, is at the heart of development, as both protagonist and beneficiary. An increasingly broad consensus developed with regard to the concept of democracy and its corollaries, in particular genuine participation by citizens in the management of public affairs and good governance.

These changes have served to assert the value of the parliamentary institution, and the central role it plays. The international community has shown a renewed interest in the institution, providing it with increased assistance in order to promote democracy. As a result of this evolution, both the nature and goals of the technical assistance offered to parliaments in Africa have undergone striking change. Projects are no longer limited to strengthening the infrastructure and technical capacities of parliament but are also aimed at improving its political functioning. This is achieved through a range of activities covering both the institution and the activities of MPs, including their relations with their constituents. In addition, the link between the smooth functioning, in the broad sense of the term, of the parliamentary institution, on the one hand, and democracy, good governance and human development, on the other, most often serves as a justification for launching projects. However, the fact that achieving these ideals is often quoted as the very purpose of the projects sometimes makes it difficult to evaluate their success.

The substantial enlargement of the scope of technical assistance to parliaments was only natural since it was clearly perceived as contributing to democratisation and the establishment of good governance. Parliament, an institution that is central to the state, is the interface through which citizens participate in the management of public affairs. Parliament does not exist in a vacuum and its ties with society at large, its relationships with civil society and political parties, and the interest it displays in public affairs, all have a considerable impact on its functioning. Institutions with a mandate to support the democratisation process throughout the world therefore tend to conceive of technical assistance to parliaments in the broadest possible manner.

Today, UNDP's activities in support of parliaments account for an important share of its work to promote good governance and its efforts to improve the legal environment within which development activities take place. For the IPU, strengthening the capacity of parliaments and ensuring that they are equipped to perform their role efficiently at both the national and international levels is central to its work to promote democracy. In its capacity-building activities, the IPU adopts a flexible approach focussing on the institution of parliament taking into due account its diverse components.

It is hoped that the findings of the survey will be useful to those working to bolster the capacity of parliaments throughout the world. The report highlights the pitfalls to be avoided in such programmes of assistance, and identifies promising approaches. Experience shows that, given the necessarily complex and sensitive environment within which assistance to parliaments takes place, it is not possible to develop a set of universal guidelines that are directly applicable to all. It will always be necessary to give due consideration to the more volatile factors influencing the workings of parliament, factors that derive as much from the current political context as from historical and cultural influences.

The IPU and UNDP would like to thank all those who contributed to the survey, and in particular, those who provided data. Special thanks are due to the many representatives of donors, too many to enumerate here, who took time out of their busy schedules to meet

the survey team. The two organisations are particularly grateful to Pierre Cornillon, former Secretary General of the IPU, for his contribution to the survey. He was closely involved from its conception to the report-drafting stage. His field visits to several parliaments in the context of the case studies and his reports on those visits, as well as his substantive reflections on the subject provided important insights.

Special thanks are also due to those parliaments which responded to requests for information on the assistance they had received. Their responses were crucial in reaching a balanced view. Many of these parliaments are now managing their own legislative strengthening programmes. It is hoped that they will find this report when they meet the donor community to discuss programmes to enhance their capacity to answer the expectations of their electorate.

While the survey has been a collaborative venture between the IPU and UNDP, the findings and recommendations contained in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of UNDP. The IPU assumes full and sole responsibility for its contents.

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Inter-Parliamentary Union

# INTRODUCTION

## BACKGROUND

The early 1990s witnessed a rapid development of democratic processes in many countries worldwide. In particular, parliaments in the emerging democracies of Africa, which previously had only a limited role in decision-making, emerged as key institutions of democracy and accountable governance. A review of the development of African parliaments in this period shows that many of them have sought to assert themselves as effective oversight bodies. To mention a few examples, the parliaments of Benin, Kenya and Uganda have been at the forefront of the campaign against corruption in these countries. The Mozambican parliament has endeavoured to establish itself as an effective forum for debate and policy-making bringing together former warring parties. In Burundi and Rwanda, the parliaments have made an important contribution to the peace process in these countries by fostering dialogue and by establishing the legislative framework for the restoration of the rule of law in societies scarred by civil war in recent years.

However, it was not evident in the early 1990s, that the prominent role that African parliaments were then being expected and were beginning to play was matched by an increase in the resources (material, human, procedural, financial, etc.) available to them, out of national resources, to ensure their more effective functioning. Furthermore, increased efficiency is not only a resource issue; knowing how to achieve this objective is equally essential.

Several parliaments in Africa and elsewhere lacked the capacity to respond to the new challenges brought about by democratisation and the increasing demands of their peoples for more effective governance. Mention should also be made of the issue of globalisation which has posed a new and additional challenge to these parliaments. The inadequacy of resources and capacity to respond to all these challenges has meant that many parliaments have increasingly looked to the international community to provide assistance to enable them to play their role more effectively.

The international community has responded, at both the bilateral and multilateral levels, with various forms of support to parliaments, mainly as part of efforts to strengthen governance. Many national parliaments and established democracies in the developed world have programmes intended to support parliamentary institutions in the emerging democracies of the developing world. Moreover strengthening parliaments has become a standard feature in the programmes of organisations such as the United Nations (including the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP), the European Commission, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), etc. In the case of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), its programme of assistance to parliaments, initiated in the early 1970s, has witnessed an exponential growth since the early 1990s.

Since support to parliaments is a relatively new area of bilateral and multilateral co-operation, very little impact data has been gathered and few technical evaluations have been conducted. The only such evaluations of which the Inter-Parliamentary Union is aware are those conducted by USAID, NDI and UNDP. These evaluations focus on the projects designed, carried out and implemented by or with the support of these agencies, but analyses comparing the experiences of the different agencies are lacking. As in any new field, much innovation has been necessary and many assistance programmes are still experimental. There has been limited

analysis of best practices which could guide and further strengthen technical assistance delivery in the field.

It is in response to the need to fill this vacuum that the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the United Nations Development Programme embarked on an in-depth survey and assessment of programmes of assistance to national parliaments in Africa during the 1990s.

## SURVEY OBJECTIVES

The survey was aimed at examining past and existing programmes of assistance to African parliaments over the period from 1991 to 2000 with a view to assessing, to the extent possible, their impact on the functioning of the parliaments concerned and their capacity to respond adequately to the new challenges of democratisation and good governance. It sought to identify the lessons learnt and to develop guidelines for future action in this field.

The survey was thus designed to promote a better understanding of the structure, contents and impact of programmes of support, their strengths and weaknesses and to identify best practices for the delivery of technical assistance to parliaments.

## SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For practical reasons, the survey focused on the decade of the 1990s during which African parliaments grew in prominence and when the need for technical assistance became particularly evident. It was also thought that the relevant documentation would be readily available for this recent period.[1]

The survey was launched in April 2000 with an inventory of programmes of assistance that were initiated and implemented in Africa during the 1990s. For this purpose, a questionnaire was drawn up and sent to all national parliaments in Africa (48 in all) and to several donors, both bilateral and multilateral[2].

The information gathered was analysed and entered into data sheets for each parliament for which information was available. Each data sheet contains whatever factual information could be obtained on the project (areas covered, duration, objectives, donor(s) and volume of funding). They also contain information on the circumstances under which each project was requested, initiated and implemented, the specific activities undertaken, missions to assess the needs and to evaluate projects and to assess project execution.

In addition to the data sheets, a spreadsheet was also drawn up to facilitate comparison of some key factual data for all reported projects. For several of them the information provided is only partial.

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[1] As will be seen later in this report, this assumption was not borne out in practice. Obtaining the relevant information from donors as well as recipients turned out to be less easy than expected. This factor substantially delayed progress of the survey and limited its scope.

[2] A copy of this questionnaire is annexed to this report.

On the basis of the data gathered and analysed, a sample of six parliaments was selected for further investigation. These included the parliaments of Benin, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Field visits were paid to all these except that of Uganda[3].

A number of criteria were used to select these six parliaments. The initial responses to the questionnaire and other available documentation indicated that all of them had received substantial donor support[4]. In most cases there had been several donors, enabling a comparative analysis of the various interventions and their impact on the functioning of the parliaments[5]. Furthermore, it was the IPU's understanding that donor assistance to many of these parliaments was guided by considerations which included a reform agenda of which they were themselves the prime movers. Moreover, the IPU itself had been or was currently implementing projects in two of these parliaments and was therefore well placed to obtain the required information either from the documentation already available to it or through its existing contacts. Finally, since most African parliaments are modelled on either the Westminster or the French or other European parliaments, the parliaments for the case studies were selected to reflect these different models.

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[3] The reasons for this are not relevant to this report.

[4] Observations later in this report show that this assumption was not entirely true in at least two cases: Benin and Burkina Faso.

[5] The question may be asked why a parliament such as that in Mozambique, which has also received substantial donor assistance, was not selected for the case studies. In fact, this parliament was chosen initially but the IPU was given to understand that considerable evaluative material was already available on the assistance it has received.

**FINDINGS**

**METHODOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS**

The survey sought to collect as much information as possible by means of a questionnaire sent to all African parliaments, to a number of international and national institutions providing bilateral assistance, and to several national parliaments which have long provided technical assistance to African parliaments. Unfortunately, the data collected in this process fell short of what was expected.

It was expected that the replies to the questionnaire received from the African parliaments would contain information on all the assistance received. Yet these replies did not give a complete picture. Those received were far from complete, apparently for two reasons: a certain reluctance to detail all the assistance received, especially that of a bilateral nature, and difficulty in recalling activities dating back several years. Respondents may also have thought that the data requested was confidential, given the political context in which a parliament functions.

However, some of the missing data was obtained in the interviews conducted during the field visits. Indeed, the survey team found very useful the information received from various interlocutors, including senior parliamentary authorities (including speakers, clerks, MPs and other parliamentary staff) and representatives of donor agencies.

Because of these methodological difficulties, it is difficult to evaluate with any precision the results of the technical assistance provided to African parliaments over the past decade. When information on this subject was available, the replies often indicated only that a project had been evaluated and that its execution had been judged satisfactory, for example, with the reservation that a given aspect of the project had not been completed for a reason often couched in general terms. It is hard to know what criteria and indicators were used for these evaluations.

Evaluation is viewed only in terms of efficiency and relevance, that is, the means employed and the extent to which they achieve their basic purpose. A rational evaluation in terms of effectiveness, i.e. in terms of results in relation to the stated goals, would be entirely out of the question for all projects for which the aim is democracy or good governance. Indeed, how can one evaluate the success of a parliamentary assistance project in the strengthening of democracy or good governance given that parliament, no matter how important its role, is not the only force pursuing these objectives? Moreover, the success of a parliamentary assistance project may in fact depend on the success of assistance to other institutions. Nevertheless in a long-term perspective, one can regard as a success the fact that despite national political environments that are still extremely closed, several projects have helped to make parliament a "pocket of democracy**".**

Notwithstanding the difficulties described above, a basic analysis of the data collected during the survey and as shown in the annexed table yielded the following broad findings.

**BROAD FINDINGS**

- Of the 48 national parliaments in Africa, some 24, that is half, benefited from some form of donor-funded technical assistance during the period covered by this survey.

- Most of the parliaments benefited from one project only. However, many others received assistance through projects funded by different donors ranging from two projects to five (for Zimbabwe). The English-speaking parliaments received relatively more assistance than those using other languages. Indeed, they account for 12 out of the 24 parliaments. The French-speaking parliaments rank second with 9, while the Portuguese-speaking parliaments number 3. This spread roughly corresponds to the relative numerical importance of these languages in Africa.

- The total volume of funding reported for the 30 projects for which this information was provided is about US$54.2 million[6]. The largest recipient is Egypt with $12 million, followed by Namibia and Zimbabwe with $9 million and over $7 million, respectively. The largest donor in terms of funding is USAID, which contributed about half of the reported funding. In terms of the number of projects supported, UNDP stands out as the main donor with involvement in 14 projects, followed by USAID (12) and the European Union (6). Most of the other donors are those who provide support on a bilateral basis or through a pool of donors in a multilateral arrangement.

- The overwhelming majority of projects were funded multilaterally or in some form of multilateral arrangement. The volume of funding made available through bilateral sources is insignificant when compared with multilateral funding. Special mention should be made of the IPU, which is both a donor and implementing agency on behalf of donors. During the period covered by the survey, the IPU was involved in 12 of the projects reported.

- Most of the projects were multi-activity projects and thus covered a whole range of areas including advisory services, professional development for MPs and training for parliamentary staff, as well as equipment. At least half of the projects had a substantial equipment and infrastructural repairs component.

- Most of the projects were initiated and implemented after 1995, especially those sponsored by UNDP. This indicates that donors were slow in responding to democratisation in African countries, which began in the early 1990s. The explanation for this could be that many of the projects were complex, involving several institutions, with much time needed to analyse the needs of the various partners, prepare the various project components and secure the corresponding funding.

- The average duration of a project is 2.5 years, with several of the projects for which this information is available programmed to last five years. This indicates that technical assistance to parliaments is seen as a medium- to long-term undertaking.

- The survey highlighted the fact that parliaments in countries where the regime was reluctant to embrace democracy and good governance nevertheless received substantial support from the international community, whereas in some countries

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[6] A word of caution may be in order : it was often difficult to differentiate between funds committed and funds actually spent.

which had made considerable progress towards democracy the parliaments received little or no assistance. For instance, the Parliament of Benin, a country widely acknowledged as having achieved major success in its democratisation efforts since the early 1990s, has received relatively little assistance. There seems therefore to have been an element of subjectivity and judgement in the selection of parliaments for technical assistance. It may be that the parliaments in countries with limited democracy were considered pockets of democracy worth strengthening in the hope that such action would have positive long-term multiplier effects given a favourable environment. According to this theory, because of its composition, involving various shades of opinion, parliament may be viewed as a breeding ground and motor for inspiring the democratic reform of other State institutions. The example of the Parliament of Zimbabwe, which was studied in detail during the survey, supports this argument.

## CLASSIFICATION OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PARLIAMENTS

The information gathered during the survey revealed that the technical assistance provided by some organisations to African parliaments includes activities which in fact go far beyond the bounds of parliament. This tendency is perhaps natural for organisations which promote democracy and are accustomed to working with a diversity of institutions, but it can be a source of confusion and over-diversification. The survey also highlighted inconsistencies in the terminology employed by the different organisations and respondents, who used the same word to refer to different activities or used different terms to designate one and the same activity.

It is therefore useful to classify technical assistance to parliaments by (1) *Types or Categories*, (2) *Areas* and (3) *Modes*. While the Inter-Parliamentary Union is committed to a broad conception of the democratic process, which it was among the first to advocate, the present study focuses on the relatively narrowly defined field of technical assistance to parliaments.

### *Types or Categories of technical assistance to parliaments*

Conceptually, technical assistance can be divided into the following five types/categories:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Infrastructure-building/ development* | Any kind of support provided to a parliament to strengthen its material and basic infrastructure (premises, equipment, technical services, etc.) |
| *Institutional development* | All support given to improve the functioning of the institution of parliament (preparation of standing orders and rules, creation or modernisation of parliamentary services and processes, etc.) |
| *Awareness-building* | Exposure of MPs to efficient parliamentary processes through exchanges of experience |
| *Capacity-building /Professional development* | Training of MPs or staff in all aspects of the parliament's work, tutorials |
| *Legislative content development* | Exchange of experience and recipient-driven advisory services on the substance of new or important legislation |

## *Areas covered by technical assistance to parliaments*

If we consider technical assistance in terms of a parliament's organisational structure or the activities supported, the following areas can be identified:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Standing Orders/Rules of procedure* | Development of an appropriate legal framework for the efficient functioning of the parliament (including the plenary sittings) |
| *Committee system* | Infrastructure and institutional development of the Committees; training for both MPs and staff |
| *Legislation* | Assistance in drafting or improving the quality of legislation |
| *Representation* | Training in public hearings, open door day, relations with the media |
| *Oversight* | Budget oversight including: investigatory powers of parliament; its role in ensuring accountability and transparency in government |
| *Administration* | Development of appropriate and efficient administrative departments; development of a legal framework for parliamentary services |
| *Information technology* | Computerisation of parliamentary departments; computer networking; development of information policies, etc. |
| *Library/Documentation/Research/ Archives* | Supply of books, computer equipment, furniture; training, advice, etc. |
| *Précis-Writing/Transcription (Hansard)/ Translation/Interpretation* | Training of staff; supply of transcription equipment |
| *Public Address/Audio/Video Recording* | Supply of public address equipment, electronic voting systems and training in the operation of such equipment |
| *Printing* | Provision of integrated printing equipment; provision of desktop publishing equipment |
| *Transportation* | Supply of vehicles |
| *Premises* | Design of new building, repairs, refurbishing, procurement of furniture |
| *Programming* | Management of assistance, programming of parliamentary development |

## *Modes of technical assistance to parliaments*

Technical assistance to parliaments can be delivered in different modes or forms, which can be broken down into hardware and software:

### *Hardware (material)*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Equipment/furniture* | Computers, printing, public address, interpretation video/audio recording and power supply equipment, office furniture, etc. |
| *Books* | Books on parliamentary law and practice; newspapers, periodicals on issues of topical interest to parliamentary work |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Vehicles* | |
| *Repair, refurbishing of premises* | |

### *Software*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Evaluation missions/feasibility studies* | To prepare technical assistance projects |
| *Advisory services/Consultancies* | Apply to almost all categories of technical assistance |
| *Seminars and workshops* | Apply mainly to professional development |
| *Study tours* | For capacity-building/professional development |
| *In-service training/tutorials* | " " |
| *Attachments* | " " |
| *Tuition in formal learning institutions (in situ or by correspondence)* | " " |
| *Meetings, conferences and visits (for MPs)* | Mainly for sharing of experience/ information on substantive issues |

The data collected during the survey show that the projects implemented during the 1990s cover the full range of assistance to parliaments; and the activities carried out include all the types, areas and modes defined above.

It would be useful to evaluate the relative importance of the various types/categories of assistance. However the available financial data for the different types of assistance is insufficiently detailed to permit such an analysis, which in any cases might not in fact lead to precise conclusions because although some activities are more costly than others, this does not necessarily mean that they are more important or have a more significant impact.

An examination of the information collected during the field visits suggests the following conclusions:

- In the past, when a parliament first began to receive assistance, a certain priority was generally given to the provision of equipment in order to strengthen its infrastructure (which seems logical), although this type of assistance can be costly. At the end of the decade covered by the survey, it appears that donors to parliaments which had already received substantial assistance in terms of equipment prefer other types of aid, arguing either that they do not see the point of continuing such assistance, which has not achieved concrete results in the absence of political will to move towards reforms; or that the parliament has not maintained or improved the equipment provided; or that the parliament has developed to the point that it can meet its own material needs.

- Nevertheless, recipient parliaments continue to strongly favour the provision of equipment, which yields visible benefits and which, for those parliaments which are reluctant to commit themselves to a genuine democratisation process, has the apparent advantage of not having direct political implications and is therefore more palatable.

- With regard to training, the general tendency is to prefer "home-grown" training: on-site seminars, national experts whenever possible, training of trainers. As for the use of national experts, this trend is rather recent insofar as capacities, particularly in the parliamentary field, have only developed over the past decade. Moreover, there is a

growing belief among donors and project executing agencies that the parliaments of the South have reached a degree of maturity which means that a pool of intellectual skills can be made available to other parliaments of the South.  This is the direction in which South-South co-operation has developed in recent years.

- Assistance in programming has not received all the attention it deserves.  When projects have included such activities, they have focused on project management training, whereas more emphasis deserves to be placed on the acquisition of national capacity to design and manage projects for the development of the institution. This point is discussed further in the next section.

### *Funding and managing technical assistance to parliaments*

- An overview of the general level of funding for programmes to assist legislatures over the ten-year period covered by the survey is provided elsewhere in this report under the heading "Broad findings". However the data relating to funding are incomplete.  In many cases, where such data were made available, it was difficult to ascertain their accuracy or to determine whether the figures corresponded to the amount budgeted or to the amount actually disbursed.

- This situation is further compounded by the fact that the accounting systems differ from donor to donor. Some donors give the total expenditure for implementing assistance activities as such (procurement of equipment, expert missions, etc.) as the project total, sometimes increased by a percentage of some 7-10 per cent for overheads.  Others charge to the project all costs incurred by the donor institution for its preparation and implementation, including the salaries and other costs of setting up and operating the field office needed to run the project, which may be one of several projects implemented on behalf of institutions other than the parliament.  These expenses may account for 50-60 per cent of the stated project total.  This method of accounting has provoked complaints by recipient parliaments[7].  They see themselves as deprived of a substantial share of the aid they were supposed to receive, the total amount of which is included in the statistics on aid granted to their countries, although in fact a large portion reverts directly to the donor country.  This portion is even bigger when certain project activities consist of visits by experts from the donor country or the purchase of equipment.

- As far as project management is concerned, the situation has evolved considerably since the early 1990s. The days of fully donor-driven projects, provided or imposed by sincere or politically motivated donors and executed from start to finish by those same donors, are over. The survey showed that in most cases there was involvement, in varying degrees, of the parliamentary authorities in the design and management of the projects.  However, many of the persons interviewed during the field visits noted that much still had to be done in this respect. They complained in particular about the minor role they had played in the management of projects funded by certain institutions which had maintained control over them. Even in those cases where the projects were nationally executed, parliamentary involvement seems to have been more limited than desired. A partial explanation for this may be that in line with the

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[7]    Indeed, during the field visits undertaken in the context of the survey, at least two of the parliaments explained that they had found it difficult to convince the donor/implementing agency to reduce the amount earmarked as overheads.

new approach to aid for democracy, donor institutions have launched large-scale national programmes targeting several institutions within a country or even civil society[8]as a whole. In such cases projects involving assistance to parliaments are only a component, sometimes modest in financial terms, of a much larger programme for which the management at the national level is in the hands of a body within which parliament may wield little influence or within which its representation is insignificant. In consequence parliament may feel that decisions concerning the project are out of its hands, and its various components, especially the opposition, may perceive themselves as not represented or involved.

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[8] This approach may explain in part why most of the projects, particularly those managed by UNDP, started only after 1995 (because of the necessary complexity of a global project, and the time needed to analyse the needs of all partners, to prepare the various project components, and to secure funding, etc.).

# CASE STUDIES

As indicated earlier in this report, following the initial data gathering and analysis phase, several parliaments were identified for more in-depth analysis, the objective being to seek to cross-check the data already collected for accuracy and to complete it, to examine the interventions carried out by various donors and to ascertain to the extent possible the impact of these interventions on the functioning of the parliaments concerned.

These case studies were carried out by field visits to the parliaments concerned. On the occasion of these visits, interviews were conducted not only with parliamentary authorities (Speakers, MPs, Clerks and other staff) but also with representatives of donor organisations and sometimes with representatives of other institutions whose contribution was deemed useful. The findings from these field visits are described below. Each case study concludes with some general observations based on the interviews as well as the responses to the survey questionnaire.

**BENIN**

**Structural profile and configuration**

Unicameral parliament (National Assembly) comprising 83 directly elected members with a four-year term. Some 16 political parties are represented with women holding some 6 per cent of the seats.

**Historical profile**

Political instability characterised much of the immediate post-independence period in Benin (then known as Dahomey). Following a series of coups d'Etat, a Marxist regime was established with a single-party parliament.

In the wake of the National Conference of 1990, a provisional multi-party legislative body was established and a new Constitution approved by referendum. This Constitution provided for a 64-member National Assembly elected for five years. Multiparty elections were held in 1991 resulting in several political parties gaining representation. The largest single group (an alliance of parties favourable to then Prime Minister Soglo) had only 12 seats. During the period following the elections, the parliament emerged as a major counterweight to the government, challenging many of the measures proposed by the latter. For instance, it refused to ratify the third phase of the structural adjustment programme.

The present Parliament was elected in 1999. Sixteen parties are represented, with parties aligned with current President Kerekou holding a slim majority.

A study carried out by the State University of New York led to the creation in 2000 of a Parliamentary Reform Committee comprising representatives of various political parties and staff.

**Donor assistance**

**a. Francophonie Parliamentary Assembly (APF):**

Support extended in the context of APF's Parliamentary Documentation Programme (PARDOC) to strengthen the capacity of documentation services.

*Activities*

- Establishment of a parliamentary documentation centre.
- Equipment (computer/printer, modem, photocopier, binder, fax, cataloguing software; library stock; office supplies.
- Seminars, study tours and staff training (documentation) in Paris.
- Expert advice.
- Establishment of database network.

*Results Reported*

- Greater motivation among staff of documentation centre. They have developed a web page.
- Capacity gained by staff has been used to help the Parliament of Togo thus promoting South-South cooperation.

*Observations*

- Involvement of local expertise in project implementation helped to inspire confidence.
- Lack of maintenance has curtailed the utility of equipment provided.
- Parliament is required to take over the project upon withdrawal of international assistance. It would seem it has done nothing to meet this obligation.

**b. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)**[9]

Assistance in preparing and disseminating a parliamentary handbook; introduction of MPs to new information technologies.

**c. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)**[10]

*Ad hoc* assistance in terms of books for the library, recording equipment/scanner; study visit to the US for the head of documentation to learn website design.

*Funding:*        *$5,000*

**General observations**

The Parliament of Benin, a country which has been a leading light of democracy on the African continent does not seem to have received much donor assistance during the decade covered by the present survey. In other words, the Parliament did not received the support for democratisation which it might normally expect. This is all the more regrettable as the regimes that ruled the country before the advent of democracy left it in a state of poverty. However there is no doubt that the Parliament had, and still has, considerable needs. One reason advanced for this unfortunate state of affairs is the apparent lack of understanding of the Benin parliamentary authorities of donor mechanisms and how to access the available resources. These authorities were not familiar with the type of support that the international community can provide and had not approached representatives of donors in the appropriate fashion. It may also be the case that donor interest focussed on the executive arm of government while being wary of an institution in which representatives of the previous regime were still

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[9] The UNDP country office was closed during the field visit and so it was not possible to meet representatives of UNDP to discuss in detail its interventions in favour of the National Assembly. In addition to the support referred to in this report, at the time of publication UNDP was implementing a project intended to create a budget and fiscal analysis capacity within the parliament and thereby enhance the parliament's contribution to the budget process and fiscal oversight.  This project is not reviewed in this report as it falls outside the period covered by the survey.

[10]At the time of publication, USAID is also implementing a new 2-year project which is not reviewed in this report as it started after the period covered by this survey. The Africa Capacity Building Foundation has also initiated a four-year project with a budget of US$1.6 million. A DANIDA-funded study on the establishment of an IT network had not given rise to a project when this report was initially drafted.

numerous and often slowed down government efforts at liberalisation. Nevertheless this situation is apparently being corrected with the recent launching of donor-supported programmes for the Parliament.

The Parliamentary Reform Committee seems not to be as active as its counterparts in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

# BURKINA FASO

## Structural profile and configuration

Unicameral parliament (National Assembly) comprising 111 members elected for five years. Eleven parties are represented in the National Assembly. Women hold some 11.7 per cent of the seats.

## Historical profile

When Burkina Faso (then known as Upper Volta) became independent, a National Assembly was established. Between 1960 and 1990, the country experienced a series of political upheavals and coups d'Etat. The democratisation process began in the early 1990's with the adoption of a new constitution in 1991. This constitution established a bicameral parliament. Multiparty elections were held in 1992 which yielded a National Assembly in which the majority party, the ODP/MT, held the most seats (78 out of 107). Nine other parties were also represented. Some of these parties merged with the majority party, forming the Congress or Democracy and Progress (CDP) with an even bigger majority in Parliament. This party also obtained a large majority in the 1997 election, where it won 101 out of the 111 seats. Constitutional amendments in 2002 led to the abolition of the House of Representatives and the Parliament thus became unicameral.

In recent years, the National Assembly has tried to enhance the role of the opposition, even establishing a charter (statute) for it. The Electoral Law has been amended to guarantee freer and fairer elections and better representation of the people. The May 2002 elections witnessed an large influx of the opposition into the National Assembly.

## Donor assistance

### a. Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)/ European Union (EU)

Support to strengthen the capacity of the newly elected Assembly and thus the democratic process in Burkina Faso

*Funding*:  $200,000 provided by the European Union.

*Activities – 1995 to 1997*

- Training seminars; study tours for staff to Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, France, Switzerland (in relation to international cooperation; transcription and reporting of parliamentary proceedings, information services; administrative and legislative procedures).
- Equipment (computers/printers; video equipment; desktop printing equipment; photo processing equipment; fax machine; and office supplies).

*Results reported*

- Well-trained although over-worked staff.
- Project helped to encourage the establishment of an autonomous civil service for the parliament, guaranteeing the best possible terms and conditions of service.

*Observations*

- Allocation of substantial proportion of project resources to equipment and infrastructure, the reason being that this was the first donor-supported programme to the parliament following its re-establishment after an 11-year hiatus.
- The project was managed locally by the Bureau of the Parliament and very little information on the opportunities available trickled down to MPs and staff.
- The fact that the opposition was not well represented in parliament resulted in it not making full use of the potential offered by the project.
- This parliament is a good example of a recipient which has provided a counterpart contribution in terms of equipment and infrastructure (the parliament even constructed a new building).

**b. Francophonie Parliamentary Assembly (APF)**

Support extended in the context of APF's Parliamentary Documentation Programme (PARDOC) to strengthen the capacity of the documentation services.

*Funding*: $7,200

*Activities*

- Establishment of a parliamentary documentation centre.
- Equipment (computer/printer, modem, photocopier, binder, fax, software; library stock; and office supplies).
- Seminars, study tours and staff training (on documentation) in Paris.
- Expert advice.
- Establishment of database network.

**General observations**

A question may be asked: why has there been such limited donor assistance to the parliament in spite of efforts by the authorities to democratise? This situation is apparently being corrected: at the time this report was initially drafted, the European Union was in the process of negotiating a project for the consolidation of the democratic process, the rule of law and good governance; one component of this project will concern the strengthening of representative political institutions, including the National Assembly. During the period covered by the survey, UNDP considered support to the parliament in the context of a programme intended to improve governance generally. During the IPU mission, the consultant did not receive any confirmation that initial contacts in this regard had progressed substantially. It was understood that one of the points of contention was UNDP's intention to entrust the piloting of such a future programme to the government, an approach with which the parliament, for reasons related to its autonomy, did not agree. Similarly, contacts between the parliament and USAID had not progressed.

**ETHIOPIA**

**Structural profile and configuration**

Bicameral Parliament (House of Representatives comprising 550 members and House of the Federation with 120 members). Members of the House of Representatives are directly elected for 5 years. Eighteen political parties are represented in the House and women hold 7.6 per cent of the seats. As for the House of the Federation, its members are directly or indirectly elected by the regional councils which they represent. Women hold some 8 per cent of the seats.

**Historical profile**

Following the fall of Mengistu Haile Mariam's DERG regime and the independence of Eritrea, a new Constitution was adopted in 1994, establishing a Federal Democratic Republic. General elections were held in 1995 within a legal framework institutionalising pluralism and democracy. These elections produced a parliament almost totally dominated by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which had overthrown the Mengistu regime. Opposition was virtually non-existent in that legislature and held no positions in the parliament or its committees.

It is against this background that international institutions and countries which had actively encouraged the country along the path towards democracy during the election process, decided to expand these efforts to include assistance to the Parliament.

The May 2000 elections witnessed a considerable turnover in the membership of the parliament (some 50 per cent) with more representation for the opposition and independent candidates.

**Donor assistance**

**a. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)**

Support provided in the context of efforts to strengthen parliament's capacity to contribute to good governance. Project comprised three phases.

*Funding:* Provided by a pool of donors from funds left over from the 1995 elections. $3.8 m for phases 1 and 2.

*Activities since 1996*

- Equipment (for simultaneous translation; video recording and broadcasting; electric generator; computers, vehicles).
- Workshops/seminars for MPs: Lectures, Human Rights conference, and annual seminars for committee chairs and secretaries.
- Study tours to several parliaments in federal states.
- Expert advice and staff training (concerning a review of rules of procedure; printing; international law, by correspondence; computer training; operation of interpretation systems).
- Support in managing assistance and programming parliamentary development (human resource plan; feasibility studies on a research institute).

*Results reported*

- 75 per cent of parliament's printing needs met.
- Parliamentary documents made available more rapidly; cost effectiveness and autonomy ensured.
- More publicity relating to parliamentary proceedings on national TV; MPs encouraged to participate actively in proceedings when they know that their interventions will be broadcast on TV.
- Electric generator has helped to alleviate the acute problem of power cuts which often disrupted parliamentary proceedings.
- Vehicles have facilitated committee work as they are used for spot enquiries and missions.
- Research capacity has improved.
- Opposition and independent members now have a greater say in parliamentary business (are now represented in committees).
- Proceedings more lively, enhancing Parliament's oversight role.
- More gender inputs with a review of legislation to ensure gender equality.
- Parliament has gained considerable experience in project planning and implementation.

*Observations*

- Equipment component as high as 75 per cent due to the fact that everything had to start from scratch.
- Printing equipment well maintained; however, staff not trained to operate equipment; shortage of supplies and spare parts that are not readily available on the local market.
- Need to enhance computer literacy among MPs and staff.
- Information policy not yet designed.
- Phase 1 implemented by UNOPS the procedures of which, the parliament felt, could be simpler; also, the recipient would have appreciated more substantive inputs from UNOPS.
- Phase 2 implemented by the parliament. UNDP provided training in project management.

**b. International Parliamentary Union (IPU)/European Union (EU)**

Project to modernise the operations of parliament through the efficient use of information technology.

*Funding*: $ 500,000 provided by the European Union.

*Activities (since 1996)*

- Equipment (mainly computer hardware and software, books).
- Seminars (on parliamentary information management; parliamentary administration).
- Study tours for staff (Sweden, Norway, South Africa on library and parliamentary information management; IT).
- Consultancies and advisory services (parliamentary information management; library; IT).

*Results reported*

- Major improvement in library resources and functioning (books properly processed and management thereof computerised).
- MPs use the library facilities more often.
- The full benefits of the project are yet to be realised as the project has not been completed.

*Observations*

- Project due for completion in 2000 but delayed due to complicated tender procedures.
- The language barrier has limited the use of library facilities as the bulk of documentation is in foreign languages.
- Regrettably, international support resulted in the Parliament reducing the library budget in the hope that international support would continue.
- Project implementation was easy because of clear allocation of funds and responsibilities between the various parties.

**c. Canadian International Development Agency**

Although Canada is one of the donors for the UNDP programme, it has decided to develop an additional Parliamentary Capacity Development Project to strengthen committees and research capacity; develop start-up plans for the Human Rights commission and Ombudsman; promote gender awareness and civil society outreach.

*Funding:* $ 3 m provided by the Canadian Government.

*Activities (since 1999)*

- Evaluation missions.
- Planning and management of assistance.
- Workshops/seminars.
- Study tours for MPs.
- Expert advice and staff training.

*Observations*

- Project management is a joint endeavour between donor and recipient although, *de facto*, the donor seems to have the upper hand.

**Other donors**

- Austria supported the production of a manual and a course on law. *$80 000*
- F. Ebert Stiftung (Germany) funded a manual on basic political economics. *$150 000*
- Norway and Netherlands provided support to the print shop. *Volume of funding unknown.*
- Canada and European Commission: production and discussion of concept papers on the Human Rights Commission and the Ombudsman. *$500 000*

- UK: Computers and books to the library. *$57 000*
- USAID: Evaluation with a view to preparing strategy for the development of parliamentary and legislative procedure. *Volume unknown*

**General observations**

- It seems that international support was instrumental in the parliament 's decision to establish a Human Rights Commission and an Ombudsman.
- Similarly, as a result of this international presence, the opposition gradually increased its influence in parliament and received better treatment during the May 2000 elections.
- Furthermore, there is a strong desire in parliament to manage support programmes.
- The opinion was generally expressed that management of the IPU/EU project benefited from greater cooperation between the IPU and parliament. This may be due to the close relations existing between the two, the parliament being a long-standing member of the IPU.
- Ethiopia is a good example of the benefits of donor coordination. UNDP was given the lead in ensuring this coordination although the bilateral donors also kept a watchful eye on project implementation. However, some donors, in order to increase their visibility and for other reasons, subsequently broke ranks and developed their own separate projects. Nevertheless, as there was a regular exchange of information on various activities, overlapping was avoided.

**KENYA**

**Structural profile and configuration**

Unicameral parliament  (National Assembly) comprising 224 members with a five-year term. Seven political parties and coalitions are represented in this parliament, the majority of seats being held by the National Rainbow Coalition. Women hold 3.57 per cent of the seats.

**Historical profile**

The National Assembly has functioned without interruption since independence in 1963. Up until 1991, it functioned for most of the time as a one-party parliament. In 1991, the Constitution was amended to allow for political pluralism and the first multi-party elections were held in 1992.

During the 7th legislature, 1993-1997, the parliament felt a strong need to adapt to the requirements of a multi-party environment. Initially, relations between the ruling and opposition parties were fraught with tension and there was little dialogue between the two sides. However, the parliament perceived the need to transform itself from an appendage of the government to a truly autonomous institution.

The 8th legislature, the current one, has been characterised by efforts by the parliament to fully play its oversight role. Committees have thus become more active. In 1999, a private member's bill seeking an amendment of the Constitution was adopted by parliament unanimously. This amendment established a Parliamentary Service Commission and guarantees the parliament's budgetary autonomy. The parliament now has its own civil service and decides on the conditions of service for its staff without interference from the government. In 2001, the Commission was finalising a strategic development plan which will serve as a framework for donor assistance.

**Donor assistance**

**a. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)**

Assistance provided in the context of UNDP's 6th country programme (Enhanced Public Administration and Participatory Development) designed following the 1992 multi-party elections. The support sought to strengthen the operational capacity of the parliament.

*Funding*: $576, 693, including a $100, 000 contribution from Finland.

*Activities – 1995 to 2000*

- Equipment (printing press, computers, printers, sound recording equipment for committees and plenary rooms) procured.
- Study tour for members of Standing Orders Committee (UK, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
- Attachments for staff (to Ghana, Canada, Australia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, India, South Africa and UK).
- Training seminars and workshops (orientation seminar in collaboration with CPA; retreat for members of the Parliamentary Service Commission, party leaders and whips to finalise strategic plan for the parliament).

*Results reported*

- Study tour by Standing Orders Committee to UK, Canada, New Zealand and Australia resulted in the total restructuring of Committee rules and amendment of the procedure for the examination of bills.
- Printing equipment has given parliament the capacity to produce its own documents rapidly and cost-effectively; confidentiality is ensured as parliamentary documents are printed internally.
- Study tours gave exposure to relevant experience and helped to ease tension between the political parties.
- Committees seem to have become more active with more oversight being exercised.
- MPs are reported to be more familiar not only with constituency issues but also with policy issues.
- The project facilitated the process of establishing the Parliamentary Service Commission thus enhancing the parliament's autonomy.
- Staff members have a clearer vision of their role. The staff are generally perceived to be of better quality.

*Observations*

- Although the printing equipment has been well maintained, its efficiency has been limited by the parliament not allocating sufficient funds for supplies.
- Written and oral reports were presented on study tours (although this information could not be verified).
- Lack of follow-up to recommendations made by staff members following detachments, because of a lack of resources.
- Recommendations of a more practical nature were acted upon, for instance during the revision of the Standing Orders.
- While attachments and study tours were found to be useful in providing exposure to different experiences, it was felt that some host parliaments did not have anything new to offer.

**b. United States International Development Agency (USAID)**

The project Strengthening Democracy and Governance in Kenya was initiated following the 1992 elections. The project sought to enhance legislative performance. As a result of a disagreement between USAID and the government and given the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the latter, project implementation was limited in scope.

*Funding:* $ 1.5 million

*Activities – 1993 to 2000*

- Tour by multi-party MP delegation to USA.
- Tour by multi-party delegation to Canada, UK, and USA.
- Participation of MPs in Legislative Strengthening Conference.
- Visit by Anti-Corruption Committee to Botswana.
- Seminar for MPs on economic governance.
- Staff attachments to US. Congress and State legislatures.

- Training seminar in Nairobi in collaboration with National Conference of State Legislatures (USA).
- Participation by staff in training workshop in Harare.

*Observations*

- Project activities involved both ruling and opposition parties**.**

## c. Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

Project initiated to contribute to the improvement of the functioning of committees  budget.

*Activities - 1999*

- Two-week study tour for Committee Chairs to Canada.
- Three-day workshop on committee systems in Nairobi.

*Observations*

- Project activities involved both ruling and opposition parties**.**

## d. Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Assistance provided in the context of the IPU/UNDP parliamentary support programme. Project sought to improve the role of parliament in the budget process and to enhance MPs' capacity to examine the budget.

*Funding:* $15, 000

*Activities - 2000*

- Seminar for MPs on Parliament and the budget process.

*Observations*

- Project activities involved both ruling and opposition parties.
- Seminar on budget came at an opportune moment when the government was introducing a new budget system.

## General observations

In three of the projects in Kenya, the recipient felt it did not own the process. The parliamentary authorities also expressed the wish that the UNDP procurement procedures be simplified. The parliament felt uncomfortable with a project that was part of a wider national project implemented under the aegis of the government, in which its own decision-making role was limited. It would have preferred to have a separate project in order to protect its autonomy.

The tense political climate that prevailed in Kenya at the time UNDP initiated its project (early 1990s) made resource mobilisation from donors rather difficult. As a result, not all project

components were implemented. For instance, supplementary equipment for the sound recording system was not procured.

Similarly, the USAID project suffered constraints as a result of lack of enthusiasm on the part of the government (the support of which was crucial to the implementation of the project) and the consequent reluctance of USAID to proceed with the project. In fact, apart from the study tours and detachments for MPs and staff organised by USAID, the other components of the project were shelved.[11]

In spite of these constraints, donor assistance seems to have been greatly appreciated and to have had a tangible impact.

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[11] A new USAID project is currently being implemented through the State University of New York. It is not reviewed in this report as it falls outside the period covered by the survey.

## ZIMBABWE

### Structural profile and configuration

Unicameral Parliament comprising 150 members with a five-year term: 120 are directly elected; 20 are nominated by the President and 10 chiefs are elected by a special electoral college. Two political parties are represented, with an independent holding one seat. Women hold 15 per cent of the seats.

### Historical profile

Parliament is a well-established institution in Zimbabwe. Upon independence in 1980, the Parliament of Zimbabwe elected in that year on the basis of universal adult suffrage under the Lancaster House Constitution, inherited the procedures, practices and experience of the legislative assembly that had existed for decades during the colonial period. This legislative body, modelled on the British parliamentary system, functioned well although it was far from being representative, the vast majority of citizens being disenfranchised at the time.

The first Parliament of independent Zimbabwe was a bicameral Parliament, with a 100-member lower House (20 seats were guaranteed for white Zimbabweans) and a 20-member Senate. The Constitution was revised in 1989 and made provision for a one-chamber Parliament with no seats reserved for whites.

For much of its post-independence history, the Parliament functioned as a de facto single-party parliament, although several political parties were represented. It was dominated by the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). The fourth Parliament elected in 1995 initiated reforms with the creation in 1996 of the Parliamentary Reform Committee. The Committee produced a report in 1998 after wide-ranging consultations within the country and abroad. The recommendations of this report are being implemented in the 5th Parliament elected in 2000. Recent years have seen the rise of a strong opposition represented by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The 2000 elections were won by the ruling party by only a slim margin.

### Donor assistance

### a. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Support provided in the context of the project on '*Technical support for parliamentary reforms*, negotiated between 1997 and 1999. This project sought to enhance parliamentary reform with a view to improving policy formulation, governance and efficiency in general.

*Funding*: $610,000 provided by a pool of donors led by Denmark.

*Activities - 1998 to 2001*

- Basic equipment (computers, photocopiers, TV set for information/public relations dept and budget committee).
- Workshops, seminars, and conferences on budget-related matters.
- Study tours.
- Training for staff (project management and planning, report drafting, etc).

- Expert advice (review of PRC report; advice on substantive legislation; information services).
- Production, translation, printing or dissemination of documents and publications (key policy documents in Zimbabwean languages; Parliamentary Bulletin, etc.).

*Results reported*

- Staff benefited greatly in terms of enhanced competence and professionalism. They cope better with the presence of the opposition as a result of international exposure they have received.
- The library has been transformed into a more efficient information tool
- Better management of human resources.
- National execution has helped to build capacity for project planning and management.

*Observations*

- Equipment well maintained; however, the parliament has not followed up with additional equipment.
- No full-scale computer network to link the various computers donated.
- The fact that the project is a separate project for the parliament and not linked to any other project involving the government, coupled with direct co-operation between the parliament and UNDP in project implementation, have helped to boost confidence with parliament taking ownership of the project.

## b. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

Support provided in the context of a five-year Institutional Strengthening for Parliament Project implemented by the Institutional Development Group of the State University of New York. The project sought to provide technical assistance in the parliamentary reform process and to strengthen legislative support services in Parliament.

*Funding:* $ 5.5 million

*Activities since 2000*

- Basic equipment (computers for library, party caucus rooms, better internet access).
- Study tours, conferences for MPs, Speaker and Deputy Clerk to Washington; MPs and three staff to Conference on Legislative Strengthening.
- Local workshops for staff (clerks and researchers).
- Expert advice (database of experts; committees; substantive legislative issues).

*Results reported*

- Better management of human resources.
- Greater professionalism among staff.

*Observations*

- No full-scale computer network to link the various computers donated.
- Project management costs deemed too high by recipient.

- Project management is perceived by the Parliament to be too donor-driven.
- Recipients felt that exposure to a variety of experiences in addition to the US model during study tours would have greatly enhanced the impact of these visits. They felt that, in selecting host parliaments for such tours, consideration should be given to important factors such as the level of development of the countries concerned.

## c. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

Support provided as an expansion of support given to the Parliamentary Reform Committee (PRC). The project sought to strengthen the role of Parliament in the budget process, by developing the capabilities of the Parliamentary Budget Committee and the Parliamentary Reform Committee.

*Funding:* $15,000

*Activities*

- Basic equipment (computers, printers, filing cabinets).
- Professional development for MPs (Budget Committee).
- Expert advice (budget).
- Support for information dissemination (radio and TV programmes).

*Observations*

- No full-scale computer network to link the various computers donated.

## d. United States Information Service (USIS)

The project sought to computerise the Parliament's operations and assist the Budget Committee as well as the Parliamentary Reform Committee.

*Funding:* $ 1 million

*Activities - early 1990s*

- Equipment (computers, photocopiers, printers).
- Consultancy.
- Training seminars.
- Study tours abroad (including an internship in a State legislature in US).

*Observations*

- No full-scale computer network to link the various computers donated.

## e. Other donor support

Much of the donor assistance was initially designed to support the Parliamentary Reform Committee (PRC). Thereafter, donor assistance was expanded. The following other support was provided to the PRC between 1997 and 1998.

- Australia, Canada and the US funded visits by the PRC to these countries.

- UK: library support and seminars bringing together UK and Zimbabwean MPs; visits to the UK House of Commons; consultancies; production of PRC's report.
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Konrad Adenauer Foundation: visits to the German Bundestag and the European Parliament; dissemination of the Parliamentary Reform Commission's report.
- Canada: MPs participation in workshop on poverty reduction.

**General observations**

Most donor assistance focused on 'software' (training, advisory services, etc). Donors considered hardware (equipment) as a national responsibility.

Prior to the mid-90s, the only documented support during the period covered by the survey was that of the US Information Service.  Most of the assistance that was later provided was spurred by the democratisation initiatives taken nationwide. As far as the parliament is concerned, donor support was encouraged and expanded by the work of the Parliamentary Reform Committee. In exchange, this donor support has created a favourable climate for the implementation of the recommendations of the PRC report. The parliamentary reform process thus stayed on course despite the political uncertainty following the 2000 elections. The presence of a strong opposition is playing a major role in this process. The reforms that have taken place include: the establishment of portfolio committees with almost every ministry being monitored by a parliamentary committee; the establishment of a strong Budget Committee playing a major role in scrutinising and monitoring the implementation of the national budget; the institution of question time without prior notice of questions; greater access to information and better capacity to analyse policy.

Regrettably, many bills passed by Parliament following substantial discussion and amendments were not promulgated into law by the President.

Given the crisis currently facing the country, many observers consider the parliament to be a pocket of democracy and they pin their hopes on it as the nursery of democracy in Zimbabwe in the future.

Most donor assistance focussed on 'software' (training, advisory services, etc). Donors considered hardware (equipment) as a national responsibility.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The survey data and the interviews conducted during the field visits lead to a number of conclusions about technical assistance to African parliaments. In the light of these conclusions, recommendations are presented with a view to promoting the more efficient delivery of such assistance.

### Distinguishing characteristics of technical assistance to parliaments

- Technical assistance to parliaments has specific characteristics which make it much more difficult to design and implement than traditional aid projects in other fields, for instance to improve the functioning of a given sector of the administration. Parliament is an arena of constant confrontation between the executive and the legislature and between the majority and the opposition, where politicians and civil servants with different interests and approaches cooperate in the functioning of the institution in a state of positive tension. Moreover technical assistance to a parliament in the context of a democratisation process implies a change in the distribution of power. The establishment invariably dislikes this type of change and although democracy is an ideal to which all politicians refer, they are never enthusiastic, even in countries which pride themselves on a culture of democracy, about working towards reforms which may cause them to be sidelined, or to have less influence in decision-making.

- Although substantial changes may have been made to a country's constitution in order to meet the needs of democratisation, tangible progress along these lines and towards good governance depends on whether or not parliament truly exercises the prerogatives and powers conferred on it in the fundamental legal texts. In order to exercise these prerogatives and powers, the institution, its members and its officials need to develop new capacities, new procedures and new working methods. Assistance in these fields, however practical in nature, may appear as an intrusion into the political arena. In such circumstances, an offer of technical assistance to a parliament is not always perceived as neutral, regardless of the care taken by the donor. The survey showed that this has been a stumbling block for several projects, which have been delayed, changed or cancelled. Broadly speaking, assistance provided by multilateral institutions or institutions from countries with limited global economic or political interests seems to be easier to accept than assistance from institutions in large countries which are often suspected of having hidden agendas.

- Parliamentarians, who quite naturally strive, above all, to be in a position to apply the policies they champion, tend to assess everything in terms of political advantage. Despite having their own opinions, they are obliged to toe the party line while maintaining close personal ties with their constituents. In a closed political environment, parliamentarians who belong to the ruling majority may espouse the cause of parliamentary reform once they are convinced that change is inevitable, that the reforms will provide them with a guarantee for the future and a better chance to make themselves heard, or even to regain power if they should lose it. As parliament is the scene of an ongoing confrontation between

the majority and the opposition – especially when the latter is sufficiently strong – it is only natural for the members of the two camps to have different attitudes towards technical assistance projects. Nevertheless, although opposition parliamentarians are, by essence, the most anxious for parliament to assert its authority in relation to the executive, backbenchers of the governing majority often share this concern.

- A parliament comprises both MPs and staffers. Assistance to parliaments generally includes activities intended for both groups. Experience has shown that improving only the infrastructure of parliament and training for its staffers yields limited results. However, at the other extreme it is equally clear that to aim at enhancing the capabilities of MPs would be relatively unproductive or even helpless if these MPs could not count on competent officials with adequate resources at their disposal.

- The fact that parliamentarians have to run for election at regular intervals means that the political component of a parliament is being constantly renewed. This renewal, which often takes on considerable proportions, particularly in emerging democracies, does not facilitate the development of a trained body of parliamentarians. Given this continuous turnover, parliamentary staffers come to embody permanence and continuity within the institution, but only to the extent that parliament has its own corps of officials which is not part of the civil service with all that this implies in terms of movements and transfers, including politically motivated ones[12]. Establishing such a corps of independent and competent officials was a component of several of the projects reviewed during the survey. Furthermore, the more independent the parliamentary officials are in respect of the parliamentary authorities, especially those in the ruling majority, the more they are identified with the institution. They are thus seen to be serving the institution as a whole and not a particular individual or group of individuals and so tend to be trusted, especially by opposition MPs.

- As in the case of the political establishment referred to above, those parliamentary officials who are political appointees and do not have the necessary skills and competence tend not to throw their weight behind reforms that may expose their shortcomings and cause them to be sidelined.

- The survey showed that the involvement of both MPs and staffers in the work of a parliament was often taken into consideration in the design of technical assistance projects. However, varying readjustments have been made over the years within projects in terms of the proportion of assistance aimed at staffers and at MPs. For some donors, the initial "100% technical (equipment)" period has given way to the "100% political" dimension focusing on activities aimed at developing the capabilities of MPs. This choice seems to be dictated by the new direction of international aid as well as by the clearly expressed wishes of MPs (especially opposition MPs) in the recipient parliaments. In seeking to build these capacities, donors have provided training, often in the form of study tours that have met with varying degrees of success. The choices of the venue and of the candidates for these study tours has often been dictated by technical and

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[12] There were few parliaments in this case in the early 1990s.

political considerations. This factor, coupled with the constant turnover of MPs following elections, has meant that these study tours have often had limited results, despite their high cost.

**Strengths**

- Reform-minded parliaments are associated with greater project success. Of the projects studied during the survey, the ones that met with the most success were those initiated as an outcome of reflection within the parliament itself on ways and means of improving its structures and processes. Projects in Uganda and Zimbabwe bear witness to this point.

- Donor-funded projects that target all the components of a parliament have a positive impact in terms of greater involvement of the opposition in parliamentary processes. By participating in project-related activities, the ruling majority and the opposition gradually get accustomed to cooperating in a constructive manner.

- While projects addressing the full range of parliamentary processes are likely to be more effective than stand-alone activities, well-targeted interventions may be helpful in solving specific problems a parliament may face. For instance, activities intended to promote wider public awareness of parliamentary work can be successful in improving the image of the parliament and forging better ties with constituents.

- Mainstreaming gender and human rights issues into projects has been effective in creating greater awareness among MPs of the importance of ensuring that parliamentary processes serve the needs of all components of society.

- While training in parliamentary procedures and mechanisms has been found to be useful, project training has increasingly focussed on specific issues on which parliaments have to legislate or provide oversight. This type of training deepens the recipient's knowledge of such issues, bringing them up to date with current thinking and enabling them to adopt a more practical approach to these issues.

- Training in a parliamentary setting provides an excellent opportunity for gaining practical experience, which may not be available in an academic institution. Such training is the more useful because there are very few academic institutions that offer training in parliamentary affairs.

- Working visits abroad, by exposing the beneficiaries to best practices elsewhere, can be very useful where the choice of venue takes into account the level of development of the recipient parliament. In many cases, the experience of parliaments in the South may be closer to that of the recipient, and therefore easier to adopt, than that offered in the North.

- The introduction of information technology has been successful in those situations where it has been preceded by an in-depth analysis of the purposes and parliamentary processes for which this technology is required and where this analysis has been clearly set out in a policy document.

- Access to the Internet has proved to be useful in providing reliable information in a cost-effective manner. In many cases, it has been more effective than traditional library services.

**Weaknesses**

- Inadequate consideration of the special political situation of the parliament as a body independent of the other state institutions may breed mistrust between donors and recipients. This mistrust may be exacerbated where projects are implemented in the context of broader programmes addressing governance, but do not take sufficient account of the need to ensure parliamentary autonomy. Where the recipient is suspicious that a donor may have a "hidden agenda" this suspicion may lead to the acceptance, albeit reluctantly, of the assistance offered only if it includes a substantial equipment component.

- Some parliaments tend to seek the same type of assistance from several donors at the same time. Reluctance on the part of these parliaments and some donors to provide reliable information on what they have received or are receiving in terms of donor assistance leads to duplication and overlapping activities.

- Donor support may sometimes lead to over-dependence on this support and national authorities may tend not to allocate sufficient resources to the parliament for its functioning, in the hope that donors will fill the gaps. In many of the projects studied during the survey, the parliamentary authorities failed to ensure proper maintenance of project-funded equipment following the termination of project support.

- Language often constitutes a major barrier in the delivery of project activities, especially training, in those parliaments which do not use the main international languages, English and French. This barrier significantly reduces the scope for training and limits the opportunities that might otherwise be available.

- Recipients do not always have a full understanding of technical assistance, its scope, the opportunities it offers as well as its limitations. Inadequate preparation or a lack of capacity of the recipient to take over a project at its conclusion may seriously impede sustainability. Furthermore, recipients often do not, or are not, able to meet certain counterpart obligations such as those relating to reporting and the implementation of follow-up measures. Project documentation therefore tends to be scarce.

- The choice of the venue of training abroad does not always take into account the recipient's level of development. For instance, many study tours take place in the parliaments of developed countries, where the facilities available are beyond the recipient's reach. This often leads to frustration on the part of the recipient.

- The choice of candidates for study tours tends not to be based on objective considerations. Reporting requirements are not often written into the terms of reference. Even when they are, the beneficiaries often do not, or are not able to,

fulfil them, and so fail to share the experience thus acquired with their colleagues. Thus the impact of study tours tends to be limited.

- Where there are several donors providing equipment, lack of coordination often leads to incompatibility of such equipment and maintenance may become problematic. This problem is particularly acute in the area of computer technology.

- Inadequate involvement of the recipient in project planning and delivery weakens the recipient's commitment to the project.

- Project management mechanisms are sometimes too complicated and recipients lack the capacity to manage projects. This may be a cause of delay in decision-making and thus in project implementation.

- Complicated procurement procedures, which are not transparent and feature little involvement of the recipient, often breed suspicion.

- Substantial management costs and other overheads may significantly reduce the amount of project resources actually going to the recipient, exacerbating suspicion and frustration on the part of the recipient.

## Recommendations

The following recommendations are additional to those mentioned or implied in the section on "Strengths" above.

- Parliamentary capacity cannot be built overnight. Well-targeted assistance provided in difficult times may prove useful when the situation improves. Donors should therefore display an open and flexible attitude, taking due account of the volatile political environment within which parliaments often have to operate.

- Where, for reasons of consistency, both the parliament and the executive are the recipients of the same project, efforts should be made to ensure that the parliament has control over its own component of the project, thus avoiding unnecessary friction between the two. It is important to give due consideration to the parliament's need for independence. This factor is especially important taking account of the heterogeneous nature of the parliament which brings together officials and MPs, the latter comprising both the ruling majority and the opposition. Regardless of the context, donors should provide for a mechanism whereby they can deal directly with the recipient parliament.

- Project delivery is effective when the parliament establishes a special body, composed of both majority and opposition MPs as well as parliamentary staff, to consider, in depth, desirable changes in parliamentary structures and processes. Such a body may also identify possible solutions to challenges and then design as well as execute all technical assistance projects in cooperation with donor institutions. The day-to-day-management of project activities could then be delegated to a smaller body. Such an approach is useful in ensuring the broad consensus crucial to successful project implementation. It ensures more

accountable and transparent project management and prevents the diversion of project resources for individual or collective political ends. The membership of this project management body should be such as to encourage speedy decision-making. Efforts should be made to inform the wider parliamentary membership and staff of the opportunities available in the various support programmes. Projects should include mechanisms for strengthening the recipient's capacity to develop programmes and manage projects. Flexibility is required on the part of project managers in the sensitive political environment of a parliament.

- When a parliament is the beneficiary of multi-donor support, an adequate co-ordination mechanism should be put in place under the aegis of the parliament itself. Over the years UNDP has developed useful experience in coordinating donor assistance at country level. It is desirable that this experience should be taken into account in the coordination of donor support to parliament, especially where UNDP itself is also extending such support. Transparency and co-operation can thus be enhanced in the overall interest of cost-effectiveness. Donor coordination bodies are also useful for the exchange of information on what type of support parliament may expect from each donor and the mechanisms for obtaining such assistance.

- All external project partners and personnel should be recruited with the full knowledge and concurrence of the parliament. Where donor overheads are provided for, it is desirable that these be clearly distinguished from direct project expenses. This helps to build trust between the parliament and the project partners.

- Reporting requirements should be written into all terms of reference for project activities and fulfilment of these requirements made a condition for continued project implementation. Proper documentation should be kept of project activities to facilitate evaluation and impact assessment as well as future project development.  Recipients should be required to subscribe to and honour basic counterpart commitments intended to ensure sustainability.

- Donor assistance can be more effective where it seeks less to impose particular models than to provide adequate exposure to a variety of systems and experiences from which the recipient can make informed choices. This is especially desirable in the area of training and capacity-building for members of parliament and staff. Such an approach enables the recipient to be confident that the donor is not seeking to impose its own model. This consideration is particularly important in view of the sensitive political environment in which parliaments function.

- More than in the past projects should assist parliament to play its representational role because this role is crucial to its legislative and oversight functions. The engagement of parliament with constituents and groups in civil society is an important factor in ensuring that parliamentary processes and decisions are informed by the views of the constituency and are therefore consistent with its interests.

- In the design and implementation of training programmes, consideration should be given to developing South-South co-operation. Many African parliaments have

now gained in maturity and have acquired useful experience which they can share with their counterparts. Such experience often tends to be more closer to reality of the counterpart country than that available in the more developed parliaments in the North. Given the maturity gained by African parliaments, training programmes, apart from targeting procedural and operational aspects of parliaments, need to focus on the substantive issues on which parliament is required to take decisions, including in particular development, the environment, budgetary questions and human rights. Furthermore, it is important that indigenous expertise be included in training programmes in order to build local capacity but also to ensure that the training given is relevant to local realities and is sustainable. Training efforts should target not only MPs but also staffers, as the latter are the institutional memory of the parliament, providing the permanency that is crucial to their efficient functioning.

| No | Country | Areas requested / covered | Objectives | Project Activities EMN ITS STA E&R, Other | Project Context | Donor(s) | Funding Volume cash / kind | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Angola | Developing and enhancing democratic systems. | Strengthen the democratic system. | EMN | Multi-party era. | EU | €1.3m/$1.2m | Parl. |
| 2 | Benin | | | EMN | | USAID | $1m | Parl./USAID |
| | Benin | Training, equipment and advisory services. | Develop in-house information capacity. | EMN, ITS, STA | Francophone documentation programme | PARDOC | $7200 plus | |
| | Benin | Library and documentation equipment. | | E&R | | USAID | $5000 | USAID/Parl |
| 3 | Burkina Faso | Training staff, seminars and equipment. | Strengthen the democratic process and capacity building. | EMN, ITS, STA | Establishment of democratic system and enhance parliamentary role and responsibility. | EU, IPU | €219,422 | IPU / EU |
| | Burkina Faso | Training, equipment and advisory services. | Develop in-house information capacity. | EMN, ITS, STA | Francophone documentation programme | PARDOC | $7200 plus | Parl. |
| 4 | Burundi | Financial support, emphasis on peace process, political debate sessions and negotiations, including Arusha peace negotiations. | i) Sustain peace process. ii) Enhance democracy through education on human rights. iii) Enhance National Assembly's capacity in conflict resolution. iv) Enhance National Assembly institutional capacity. | STA | National Assembly's role in the settlement of the political crisis | Sweden UNDP AWEPA | $1,022,924 $ 413,000 | UNDP |
| | Burundi | Recruitment and training of National Assembly staff, recruitment of international experts, equipment and repairs, purchase of vehicles. | Strengthen capacity building of National Assembly. | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | Parliament's role and responsibilities in a democracy | EU/ IPU | €834,079/ $760 000 | IPU |
| | Burundi | Training of National Assembly staff members. | Develop capability of National Assembly staff. | ITS | Capacity building in conflict situation | IPT, IPU Swiss govt. | Tuition, $4006 for accommodation and $ 668 for meals | IPU |
| | Burundi | Strengthening civil society, technical assistance and advice to MP. | Restoration of democratic Institutions. | Other | | NDI/USAID | $1.06m | USAID |
| 5 | Cape Verde | IPU needs assessments. | Reform of National Assembly structures. | ITS; STA; Other | | UNDP/IPU | | IPU |
| 6 | Cameroon | Training staff of National Assembly, Verbatim reporting, drafting committee reports. | To assist National Assembly in identifying priority needs to draw up a project document for mobilising international funds. | | | UNDP/IPU | $300,000 | IPU |
| 7 | Egypt | Information services, legislative staff support, information infrastructure, developing, stimulating and expanding MPs' demand for information services. | The Decision Support Services aims at making parliamentarians better informed by providing reliable and relevant information to MPs of both houses. | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | USAID support to institutions | USAID | $12 million | USAID |

**EMN =Evaluation mission of needs     ITS = Information Training Seminar     STA =Study tour abroad     E = Equipment and repairs**

## PROJECTS DOCUMENTED DURING SURVEY

| No | Country | Areas requested / covered | Objectives | Project Activities EMN ITS STA E&R, Other | Project Context | Donor(s) | Funding Volume cash / kind | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Ethiopia | Capacity building, emphasis on committee systems, purchase of equipment rehabilitation of documentation centre and printing service | Sustain good governance through capacity building for MPs; develop ability of MPs and staff ; develop strong committees | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | Enhancement of parliament's role in a democratic system following end of military rule in 1991 | UNDP USA Canada Sweden Italy Nether-lands Norway UK EU | 250,000 150,000 75,000 150,000 300,000 100,000 41,000 15,000 consultancy Total:$1,081,500 | Parl. |
| | Ethiopia | Training seminar, equipment | Improve effectiveness of parliament; improve awareness of MPs; train staff | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | Same as Above. | Same as above | $2,664,282 | Parl. |
| | Ethiopia | Library, documentation, information technology and computers | Improve parliament's library, documentation and computer capacity | | Supplement to above-mentioned assistance | E.U/IPU | $500 000 | IPU |
| | Ethiopia | Committees; research, human rights, gender, civil society outreach | Strengthen committees; research, human rights, gender, civil society outreach | EMN, ITS, STA | | CIDA | $3 000 000 | CIDA/Parl |
| 9 | Gabon | Transcription of debates, recording of proceedings, general knowledge | Review the system for the processing & report of proceedings; develop efficiency of the transcription services | EMN, ITS | Creation of second Chamber | UNDP/IPU | $128,050 | Parl. |
| 10 | Gambia | Training, purchase of equipment and office furniture, library and documentation, library equipment, human resource development | Buildings repairs, technical assistance and training for staff, books and office equipment | EMN, ITS, E&R | Restoration of parliament following end to military rule | UNDP/ IPU | UNDP/IPU $360,000 Govt $10,000 | Parl. |
| 11 | Ghana | Internet connection, capacity building for staff, supply of computers, equipment and refurbishment | Computerize parliament; strengthen and empower parliament through capacity building; provide reliable, non-partisan service | | Provision of reliable non-partisan service | UNDP/ USAID | | Parl. |
| 12 | Kenya | Support for parliamentary committees, legislative and oversight functions, rules and procedures | Enhance capacity of parliamentary commission; strengthen operational capacity of the National Assembly | ITS, E&R | Cooperation between government and UNDP | UNDP, Finland Govt of Kenya | US$ 576,693 ! Govt of Kenya | UNDP |
| | Kenya | Study tours for MPs & staff between 1993-95 | | | | USAID | $20 000 | |
| | Kenya | Training in budget process | Enhance accountability | ITS | Institution of a new Parliamentary Service Commission | UNDP/IPU | $15 000 | IPU/Parl. |
| | Kenya | Committees | Improve committee system | ITS, STA | | | | Parl |
| 13 | Madagascar | Enhance committees and improve legislative resources | Improve functioning and image of the Legislature | ITS, E&R | New Assembly with new deputies and new constitution. | USAID/ NCSL | | Parl. |
| | Madagascar | Enhance good governance by National Assembly following elections | Enhance good governance | STA,E&R | Support to parliament following elections | French Embassy. | FF555,620,46/$80000 !-- | Parl. |
| | Madagascar | Enhance committees, create awareness of legislative functions and improve legislative process | Enhance documentation capacity | EMN, ITS, Other | Francophone documentation programme | PARDOC Ass. Of Fr. Spk. MP. | FF10,000/$1500! P:A. Computer | Parl. |
| 14 | Mali | Evaluation of National Assembly's governance capacity | Reform of National Assembly structures. | EMN, ITS | Internal evaluation process | UNDP | $100,000 | Parl. |
| 15 | Malawi | Training for MPs | Improve democracy and governance | | | UNESCO | $ 181,146 | UNESCO |

**EMN =Evaluation mission of needs    ITS = Information Training Seminar    STA =Study tour abroad    E = Equipment and repairs**

| No | Country | Areas requested / covered | Objectives | Project Activities EMN ITS STA E&R, Other | Project Context | Donor(s) | Funding Volume cash / kind | Source |
|----|---------|---------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------|----------|----------------------------|--------|
| | Malawi | Rules of parliament | Improve role of parliament in context of new democratic process | Other | | IPU | $5,982 | IPU |
| 16 | Morocco | Administration, library, committees and communications | Strengthen human resources | EMN, ITS | Governance Programme | Parl/UNDP | $150,000 $150,000 | Parl.. |
| 17 | Mozambique | Library and documentation | Assist parliament | EMN | Enhancing democracy in post-war situation | IPU | Costs covered under other project | IPU |
| | Mozambique | Administration, committees, refurbishing of buildings, parliamentary work, training in law making | Strengthen parliament's capacity | | Strengthening parliament in a post conflict situation | UNDP | | UNDP |
| | Mozambique | Staff organisation, material resources, training | Assess parliament's needs | EMN | | Parl. of Nether-lands | | Parl. of Nether-lands |
| | Mozambique | Document reproduction facilities, plenary working conditions, library and documentation | Prepare a proposal on short-term assistance | EMN | | Danish Parl. | DKK 3m/$365 000 | Danish Parl. |
| 18 | Namibia | Technical assistance and training | Improve committee system, conduct of public hearings. Improve research as well as legislative skills; enhance public advocacy and media relations | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | Namibia's agenda for change and national development plan | USAID through NDI | $9 million | USAID |
| 19 | Niger | | Strengthen civic organisation, including legislative capacity, enhance parliament-civil society relations | | Consolidation of democracy following elections | USAID | | USAID |
| 20 | Rwanda | Orientation and training | Build capacity of MPs for better law-making and oversight; strengthen capacity of staff in the organisation and functioning of parliamentary administration | | Consolidating democracy | UNDP/IPU | $103,700 $45,700 Parliament received many gifts in kind from various donors | UNDP/IPU |
| 21 | South Africa | Training for MPs in legislative and representative functions of parliament | Improve legislative and representative functions of parliament. | EMN, ITS, E&R | EU support to democracy and development in South Africa following 1994 multiracial elections | EU | €16m/$14.5 | Parl. |
| 22 | Tanzania | Library collection development, training, library equipment and automation, regional library co-operation | Upgrade library and documentation services of parliament | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | | Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through IPU | | Norwegian Parl/IPU |
| 23 | Uganda | Enhancing legislative capacity | | | | USAID | | Parl. Website |
| | Uganda | Library, research and information, finance and administration, committee systems, premises and equipment | Assist government in developing and practicing open, accountable and democratic government | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | Accompany government efforts to enhance parliament's role | UK Dept. of Inter-national Develop. (DFID) | £312,360/ $450 000 | DFID |
| 24 | Zambia | Relations with executive and judiciary, committees, administration, constituency relations | Enhance legislative performance | | | USAID | US$ 150,000 | Parl. |

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## PROJECTS DOCUMENTED DURING SURVEY

| No | Country | Areas requested / covered | Objectives | Project Activities EMN ITS STA E&R, Other | Project Context | Donor(s) | Funding Volume cash / kind | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Zambia | Information technology | Assess parliament's IT needs | EMN | Modernisation of parliament | IPU | Costs covered under other project | IPU |
|  | Zambia | Exchange of experience with other MPs |  | EMN |  | IPU |  | IPU |
| 25 | Zimbabwe | Institutional reform, rules of procedure, library and research, committee systems, computers | Assist in legislative reform to help policy formulation, enhance governance and ensure efficiency | ITS, STA, E&R | Parliamentary reform | UNDP | US$ 1,093,000 | Parl. |
|  | Zimbabwe | Parliamentary reform, practice and procedure, committee systems, information delivery | Assist in production of parliamentary reform report | EMN, ITS, STA | Parliamentary reform | British Council |  | Parl. |
|  | Zimbabwe | Information technology equipment, library and research, committee systems | Computerise parliament, assist budget committee and parliamentary reform committee | EMN, ITS, STA, E&R | Parliamentary reform | USIS | $1000,000 & $15,000 ! | Parl. |
|  | Zimbabwe | Budget analysis, parliamentary reform, committee systems, equipment | Strengthen parliament's budget role through building capacity for budget committee | EMN, STA, E&R | Parliamentary reform | Fredrich Ebert Foundation | $15,000 | Parl. |
|  | Zimbabwe | Legislative procedure, committee systems, civic participation | Provide technical assistance for parliamentary reform, support legislative support services | EMN, ITS, STA | Parliamentary reform | USAID | $5,500,000 | Parl. |

**EMN =Evaluation mission of needs     ITS = Information Training Seminar     STA =Study tour abroad     E = Equipment and repairs**

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ASSESSMENT OF TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE TO PARLIAMENTS IN AFRICA
DURING THE 1990s

*PLEASE COMPLETE ONE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EACH PROJECT INCLUDING THOSE
INITIATED BUT NEVER IMPLEMENTED AND USE EXTRA SHEETS AS NECESSARY. PLEASE
ATTACH RELEVANT DOCUMENTATION/REPORTS[13]*

COUNTRY:_____

NAME OF CHAMBER/PARLIAMENT:_____

I.       BASIC PROJECT DATA

I.1.     PROJECT NUMBER AND TITLE:
I.2.     AREAS COVERED
I.3.     DURATION (*Period covered):*
I.4.     OBJECTIVES:
!.5.     DONOR(S):
I.6.     VOLUME OF FUNDING(in cash/kind) per donor:
I.7.     IMPLEMENTING AGENCY(IES)/PARTNER(S)

II.      CONTEXT OF PROJECT

II.1.    Please describe the context within which project was requested and implemented
         (e.g. project linked to ongoing governance project(s), and if so, which ones?
II.2.    Date of initial request for assistance:
II.3.    Name of entity (parliament, third party on behalf of parliament, donor, etc.) and
         authority requesting/initiating assistance:
II.4.    Donor(s) approached:
II.5.    Area(s) in which support requested:
II.6.    Which donor(s) responded and when:
II.7.    Follow-up to response (needs assessment missions, project formulation, etc.):
II.8.    Follow-up to needs assessment: Project formulation? If not, why not? (e.g. *no
         funding, absence of agreement of nature of follow-up, political and other events,
         please specify)*
If project formulation, follow-up:
II.9.     Volume of funding foreseen:
II.10. Date funding requested:
II.11.   Donor(s) approached
II.12.   Date(s) funding identified
II.13.   Donor(s) and volume of funding identified
II.14.   Other donor contributions in kind to project

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[13] The IPU would be grateful if respondents could attach relevant documentation, including
project descriptions and reports.

II.15.	Counterpart (recipient) contribution:

II.16.	If no funding identified, please give reasons :

III.	CONTENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECT

III.1.	*Project duration:*

a.	Date of commencement of project implementation:

b.	Date of termination of project:

c.	Reason for termination of project (*normal conclusion/completion, shortage of funding, ordinary or extraordinary  political event, please specify*):

III.2.	*Project objectives:*

Please provide detailed description of all project objectives:

III.3.	*Areas covered:*

Please specify areas of parliamentary work covered by project (*for instance rules of procedure and legislative procedure, library and research services, committee systems, equipment and premises, etc*.)

III.4.	*Project activities:*

Nature, number and duration of activities of activities:

a.	Advisory/consultancy missions:

b.	Information and training seminars

c.	Study tours abroad:

d.	Equipment and repairs:

e.	Others - please specify.

f.	Please indicate any special activities, for instance, those intended for specific and/or vulnerable groups (parliamentary opposition, political parties represented in parliament, women, etc.):

III.5.	*Project implementation strategy and arrangements:*

a.	Description of mechanisms established for implementation (*project management team, composition, powers, etc.*):

b.	External partners involved in implementation (parliaments, bilateral and multilateral agencies, persons, universities and other training institutions, etc.) and nature of their contribution:

IV.	EVALUATION/ASSESSMENT OF PROJECT

IV.1.	If an evaluation/assessment of the project has taken place, please answer the following questions:

a.	When did the evaluation/assessment take place?

b.	By whom was the evaluation/assessment carried out?

c.      Please give a description of the main findings/conclusions and recommendations[14].

d.      Did the project achieve all or most of its objectives, and if so, which ones?

e.      If the project did not meet some of its objectives, please identify which ones and specify the reasons.

f.      What were the recipients' general comments about the project?

g.      What were the donor's general comments about the project?

IV.2.   If no evaluation/assessment of the project took place, could you please answer the following questions:

a.      If you were to undertake an evaluation/assessment, what would be your general comments on the main findings/conclusions and recommendations?

b.      Do you think that the project achieved all or most of its objectives, and if so, please give details.

c.      If you think that the project did not meet some of its objectives, please identify which ones and specify the reasons.

V. CONTACT DETAILS OF VARIOUS PARTNERS (donors, implementers): name, address, telephone, fax, e-mail, address, Web site etc.

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[14] It would be greatly appreciated if respondents could attach a copy or extracts from the evaluation/assessment report to the questionnaire.