Although many factors determine whether a democracy will deliver, one of the most significant is the participation of citizens. Citizens must be willing and able to participate. Based on the last 25 years of work, NDI understands that the practice (meaning something repeated, habitual, or customary) of active participation can make democratic systems work more concertedly on behalf of citizens and also creates a deeper social commitment to democracy. Therefore, fostering the practice of participation is an important part NDI’s “helping democracy deliver” strategy.

In most cases that NDI encounters, there is an expectation that democracy will deliver more than political freedoms and elected leaders. A common refrain from citizens is “you can’t eat democracy.” When citizens do not believe that democracy can satisfy their basic needs and improve the quality of life, they are less likely to actively demand or defend it. While they may be supporters of democracy in principal, they may not be compelled to develop and deepen the practice. It is under these types of circumstances that democracy is unable to take root, despite new-found freedoms and appropriate institutional frameworks.

For the last few years, the Citizen Participation team has worked to better define what role participation plays in helping democracy deliver, by trying to understand the difference that participation makes and the type of participation that can make a difference. What we are finding seems to indicate that organized participation is a critical means of amplifying the voice of citizens, expanding political space and strengthening government accountability.

I say all this as a way to provide the reasoning that informs NDI's recent efforts to support political-process monitoring by citizens. An increasing number of NDI's civil society partners have begun to monitor and publicly report on their government’s activities. Civil society organizations (CSOs) are using these initiatives to raise the voice of citizen awareness, create additional space for political engagement and increase government accountability. NDI currently supports five types of political-process monitoring initiatives - budget monitoring; participatory budgeting and expenditure tracking; legislative monitoring; shadow reporting; policy implementation monitoring; and election-related monitoring.

This issue of the Civic Update examines these different types of monitoring. Program examples are drawn from Albania, Burkina Faso, Jordan, Mexico, Philippines and Zimbabwe. As always, comments on this Civic Update and suggestions for future editions are encouraged.

Aaron Azelton
Director of Citizen Participation
Political-Process Monitoring comprises a broad range of citizen and CSO-driven monitoring and reporting initiatives that hold government more accountable and strengthen transparency in government processes. Examples include:

- **Budget Monitoring**: An initiative where citizens observe the budget process and examine budget documents in order to understand and raise awareness of how public funding is allocated.

- **Expenditure Tracking**: A monitoring initiative where citizens monitor the implementation of projects, resource allocations and spending in order to ensure that budgeted funds are spent as intended and are used efficiently and effectively.

- **Participatory Budgeting**: A process through which citizens directly engage in the government budgeting process, most often at the local level. In some cases, citizens allocate a percentage of the budget according to community priorities, while in other cases citizens present and advocate for specific budget allocations.

- **Election-Related Monitoring**: Pre-election monitoring activities involve gathering and publicizing information on citizen priorities, candidate promises to citizens, and party platforms, while post-election monitoring activities involve creating a public record of campaign promises so that citizens can hold newly elected officials accountable. The focus of election-related monitoring is to create a two-way flow of information between party candidates and citizens; so in this context, it does not include domestic election monitoring or any other monitoring for the purpose of reporting on the freedom and fairness of electoral systems and processes.

- **Legislative Monitoring**: A process of monitoring, evaluating and commenting on legislators’ work and performance, focusing on the effectiveness and efficiency of legislative processes in meeting citizens’ needs.

- **Policy Implementation Monitoring**: A process where citizens and CSOs monitor how well governments implement policies - such as domestic violence policies, power sharing accords and electoral reform laws.

- **Shadow Reporting**: A means of monitoring and raising awareness of government compliance with signed international treaties, conventions and declarations by researching and producing a supplement or alternative “shadow” report to the report released by a national government.
Although political-process monitoring programs seem to be rising in prominence, these types of activities are not new to NDI partners. NDI’s Democracy and Governance in Albania (DGA) program provides an example of how citizens engaged in local government budget processes in order to advocate for community needs. From 2000 to 2004, NDI implemented its flagship Civic Forum program in Albania. The program developed the capacity of community based organizations to increase citizens’ democratic awareness, prompt civic organizing and support local activism. Subsequently, NDI’s 2004-2007 DGA program built upon Civic Forum’s outcomes by providing engaged citizen groups with tools and methods to further enhance their participation in local government decision-making processes. During the DGA program, the groups used skills acquired through both programs to monitor and report upon local government budgetary processes. In partnership with the Albanian Associations of Communes, NDI developed a budget monitoring worksheet to support the citizen groups’ monitoring activities. NDI also assisted its partner in distributing the monitoring worksheet to citizen groups in 308 local communes. Using the budget worksheets and evaluation criteria the Albanian Association of Communes developed in collaboration with NDI, citizens observed budget meetings and recorded information for analysis and awareness raising. Reporting on the budget processes allowed citizens to demand government transparency and better understand how the government spent money on public programs.

As groups developed relationships with local government officials and gained greater knowledge of the budget process, some of them began to shift their activities towards participatory budgeting. This involved using public forums to identify community priorities and carrying out advocacy initiatives to ensure that these were included in their local government’s annual budget. In many cases, groups in 308 local communes. Using the budget worksheets and evaluation criteria the Albanian Association of Communes developed in collaboration with NDI, citizens observed budget meetings and recorded information for analysis and awareness raising. Reporting on the budget processes allowed citizens to demand government transparency and better understand how the government spent money on public programs.

In 2006, residents from Barbullush in the Skhodra district of Albania put their knowledge of the local budget process to work when they advocated to the local government to include a budget allocation for an infrastructure project to prevent floods during the winter. After the government agreed to include the project in the budget, the citizen group used techniques learned from NDI to carefully examine the budget. Their analysis uncovered that the amount originally allocated for the project was not sufficient for its successful completion. The citizen group then negotiated with local officials to increase the amount, and eventually agreed to volunteer the community’s labor on the condition that government funds pay for the necessary machinery and supplies. The citizen group’s solution was approved by the commune officials and the project was soon underway.
Shadow reporting may be conducted by civil society organizations (CSOs), UN agencies, other intergovernmental organizations, academic institutions and the press as a means of monitoring and raising awareness of government compliance with signed international treaties, conventions and declarations. The purpose of shadow reporting is to supplement, or "shadow", the report of the government of a particular nation. In most cases these reports are provided to either the United Nations Treaty Body Committees or to the Human Rights Council’s Universal Periodic Review as “additional information” for consideration. While a useful tool for all CSOs, shadow reporting can be a particularly powerful mechanism for groups representing traditionally marginalized populations because the reporting process provides a relatively safe space for citizens to be constructively critical of their government. Shadow reports can also legitimize and strengthen CSOs' efforts to hold their government accountable for promises to end discriminatory practices – a benefit particularly attractive to organizations with marginalized constituencies. Developing a shadow report often creates opportunities for CSOs to bring attention to their priority issue and build collaborative relationships with both national and international stakeholders.

In September 2008, Zimbabwe's ruling political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (commonly referred to as ZANU – PF), and the two opposition party factions of the Movement for Democratic Change signed a power-sharing agreement that created the Government of National Unity. This power-sharing agreement, called the Global Political Agreement (GPA), was developed so that policy priorities and other governing decisions could be agreed upon in a cooperative and collaborative process. The GPA has twenty-five articles focused on restructuring the government and establishing policy priority areas that include drafting a constitution and a new government framework, restoring economic stability, recognizing the rule of law and freedom of association, reinforcing human rights protections and promoting tolerance.

The Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), a nonprofit human rights organization consisting of lawyers and law students, recognized that the GPA could create a more representative and accountable national government. ZLHR requested NDI's assistance to form and coordinate a coalition with 22 other civil society organizations (CSOs) to monitor the implementation of the GPA. The coalition was called the Civil Society Monitoring Mechanism (CISOMM).

A majority of the coalition members had not previously engaged in government monitoring activities, but had the willingness to learn and apply techniques introduced through a series of consultations with NDI. During the first meeting, CISOMM determined that it would monitor the implementation of seven sections of the GPA - economic recovery, humanitarian and food assistance, constitutional reform, political transition and justice, institutional transformation and respect for human rights. The members divided themselves into seven clusters, each one collecting information on a different section of the GPA. The coalition then set benchmarks based on the implementation plan outlined in the GPA and created monthly workplans for their monitoring activities.
In 2007, NDI partnered with the local Filipino organization, Newsbreak, to assist their monitoring efforts for a mid-term election, so that citizen priorities would be included in candidate and party campaign platforms. During the three-month campaign period leading up to the May elections, NDI worked with Newsbreak to produce two online voter guides - one focused on national citizen priorities and one focused on youth priorities.

Newsbreak developed its first voter guide based on three citizen priority issues identified through a national survey and a study of the most prominent political issues reported in the media. Based on the top priorities that emerged from the survey and study - pork-barrel allocations, employment and political reform - Newsbreak developed a voluntary, open-ended survey for the candidates. The open-ended survey allowed candidates to write personal responses on their positions for each of the citizen priority areas. The candidates’ responses, party platforms and biographical profiles were compiled into the voter guide for Newsbreak’s special election website, which Newsbreak then widely publicized with NDI’s assistance.

After publishing the first voter guide online, Newsbreak collected information from another NDI partner, First Time Voters (FTV), on youth priorities during the election period. Newsbreak developed a survey for the same candidates based on the top three priorities that youth identified during three workshops held by FTV and NDI. These priorities were access to quality education, access to domestic jobs and reform of the Sangguniang Kabataan. Following the same process as the first citizen voter guide, Newsbreak reached out to the candidates concerning their positions on the top youth priorities, compiled the information into a voter guide and posted it online.

Over the 90-day campaign period, Newsbreak collected information from 24 of 37 senatorial candidates polled. The high rate of participation was due in large part to the candidates’ realization that the online voter guides would provide them with a mechanism for explaining their

(Continued on page 8)

Promoting Information Sharing through Voter Guides

The coalition members monitored the government’s progress in implementing the GPA by examining government press releases, conducting key informant interviews and organizing informal dialogues with experts on the seven sections of the GPA. To ensure that monitoring was carried out uniformly, CISOMM developed a standard reporting tool to record the extent of the government’s compliance with the seven targeted GPA sections. In March 2009, the coalition members came together to share and analyze the information that they had collected through monitoring. They then compiled their findings and analyses into two reports, which were produced in April and May 2009.

In an attempt to create meaningful change based on their findings, CISOMM publicized the findings of the two reports through press conferences, the internet, newspapers and discussions with Zimbabwean leaders. The reports became instrumental in efforts to raise awareness on the implementation of the GPA and advocate for GPA-mandated reforms. CISOMM’s monitoring reports were not only some of the most detailed assessments of the GPA implementation, but were trusted by citizens as objective sources of information in a highly polarized environment.

By mid-2009, attention shifted away from the GPA to focus on the adoption of a new constitution before elections in March 2011. In response, ZLHR, the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) and the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP) – three of the organizations heavily involved in monitoring the constitutional reform section of the GPA – came together to form the Independent Constitution Monitoring Project (ZZICOMP). The ZZICOMP members use the knowledge, skills and experience gained through monitoring the GPA to monitor the constitutional revision process, which is the largest project in Zimbabwe of its kind. Though CISOMM’s monitoring activities may not have had quite the level of impact on the implementation of the GPA as anticipated, the process created a cross section of Zimbabwean civil society with the capacity and desire to sustain political-process monitoring initiatives.
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It also provides an opportunity for citizens to interact directly with their representatives through public discussions and debates. The JPM website complements the public forum activities by providing information to both MPs and citizens through the monitoring reports and analysis. The JPM also allows Al Quds to continually update its analysis of legislative activity and the congruence between MPs’ actions and citizen priorities.

However, very few of Al Qud’s initiatives would be possible if it were not operating in an environment with enough political space to carry out such activities. Legislative monitoring is most appropriate and effective in contexts where there is sufficient public access to government documents, government proceedings are open to the public and a political culture exists that respects CSO input. Al Quds has been able to carry out its parliamentary monitoring activities because the political space in Jordan has allowed it to build relationships with MPs, analyze collected data and information and communicate findings and analyses to the public through multiple forums.

Of course, even in the most open of political spaces, NDI’s support for Al Quds’s parliamentary monitoring activities would not have been nearly as successful without the latter’s capacity and desire to carry out activities. Another reason for the program’s success is that without sacrificing its reputation as a respected non-partisan organization, Al Quds has created an extensive collection of monitoring findings and analysis that allows interested citizens and issue-based CSOs to build well-informed awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns. Al Quds’s public forums and JPM website offer Jordanian citizens and MPs the tools, information and space necessary for meaningful interactions. Under the right circumstances, legislative monitoring activities can lead to more informed advocacy efforts, greater citizen awareness of legislative processes and performance and increased government responsiveness and accountability to citizens’ needs.

1. See the Additional Resources Section at the end of this resource for links to more information on the parliamentary reports.

Creating Change through Budgets: The Albania Experience - Continued

(Continued from page 3)

where several groups were conducting these activities in one commune, they aggregated their community’s priorities into multi – issue ‘budget platforms’ that they then presented to local governments. Of the 137 budget priorities presented to local governments by participating citizen groups in 2006, 79 were incorporated into budgets - including allocations for such projects as road improvements, school upgrades and water supply services.

As advocacy and participatory budgeting activities increased citizen priorities in final budgets, a few citizen groups’ activities further evolved into tracking the government expenditures on the citizen priority projects. Citizen groups worked to ensure that government spent appropriated funds on the citizen priority projects for which they were allocated. Networks of organizations were developed to track budget disbursements, while also observing and reporting on the quality of project implementation.

Budget monitoring, participatory budgeting and expenditure tracking can lead to more meaningful interactions between government officials and their constituents. This, in turn, can alter the power dynamics of a community in favor of citizens. However, these types of political-process monitoring activities can be successfully implemented only when governments are willing to open space for citizen participation and share budgetary information with the public. Citizens must also be willing and able to learn about the complexities of the budget process. When implemented in the appropriate context, budget monitoring, participatory budgeting and expenditure tracking programs can provide citizens with immediate and concrete benefits and an incentive to sustain their engagement long beyond NDI’s intervention.
The Burkinabe government ratified the United Nations "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (CEDAW) in 1984, but the government has made little progress implementing the agreement.

Burkinabe women have not traditionally participated in political processes. This is primarily due to socio-cultural barriers that limit access to information and support from political parties. To address these barriers to participation, NDI developed a series of learning sessions in November 2009 for a coalition of 19 human rights and women’s organizations interested in shadow reporting. The initial session informed CSOs of the government’s approach to developing periodic reports; helped participants evaluate the government’s response to the CEDAW committee’s recommendations; and trained the participants on data collection, analysis and report-writing processes. The coalition continued to meet in subsequent sessions to develop their first CEDAW shadow report.

In January 2010, the coalition drafted their first shadow report for submission to the CEDAW Committee within the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights. Although the coalition could not complete a comprehensive study in the two months before the shadow report was due to the 2010 CEDAW Committee, it will continue to work over the next two years to research and produce an in depth shadow report to be submitted to the next CEDAW Committee in 2012. Upon completion of the first shadow report, NDI held a follow-up session to assist the participants in creating a strategic plan to use the report’s findings for advocacy and monitoring activities.

In Mexico, the disabled community also faces barriers to participation. Although, the government signed the UN “Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities” (CRPD) in September 2007, the impact on the disabled community is yet to be realized. Even though reforms in Mexico have opened political space for CSOs, most disability organizations lack the political skills and knowledge to advocate and raise awareness on their priority issues.

Five disability organizations with the political will and motivation to raise awareness on the rights of the disabled formed the Mexican Coalition for the Rights of Disabled Persons (COAMEX) with the support of the American Institute for Research (AIR). In October 2008, AIR coordinated with NDI to provide technical expertise to COAMEX on managing the coalition and developing a shadow report. COAMEX decided to write a shadow report because the process would allow them to benchmark and monitor legislative services for the disabled in an arguably less politically charged manner than other advocacy and monitoring techniques.

NDI’s experts on coalition management and shadow reporting assisted COAMEX as they created a project timeline, designed research methods, hired a report coordinator and developed a questionnaire to collect information directly from the disabled persons’ community in order to ground the report in solid evidence. Furthermore, NDI continues to provide support as COAMEX increases its capacity to develop a report, promote new networks for civic education campaigns and speak on their findings. As a result, the coalition is providing the government with information on disability issues that could improve policy development and implementation in the future.

However, it should be kept in mind that shadow reporting is only an entry point for participation and should not be the last step for most organizations. CSOs can use a shadow report as a stepping stone towards fostering greater collaboration with government officials and advocating for policies and programs that benefit their constituencies. Furthermore, the information collected for the shadow report can be used to raise citizen awareness of an organization’s priority issue, and increase participation in activities such as public forums, budget monitoring, expenditure tracking, electoral activities and advocacy campaigns.
As NDI continues to work with its CSO partners to strengthen political-process monitoring programs, other international organizations are engaging in similar activities. For instance, The World Bank, CARE International, the European Network against Racism and the International Budget Project are among those assisting civil society monitoring efforts under the widely held belief that these programs enhance democratic governance by increasing citizen participation in political processes and ensuring that governments take citizens’ priorities into consideration.

Participatory budgeting, budget monitoring and expenditure tracking are perhaps the most common types of political-process monitoring initiatives. Since participatory budgeting was first adopted by the town of Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989, engaging in budgetary processes has become a popular strategy for citizens trying to improve government service delivery - especially those services targeting traditionally marginalized populations. International development organizations supporting budget-related monitoring include the World Bank, CARE, the Asian Development Bank and the International Budget Partnership. The International Budget Partnership works with its partner in Uganda, The Uganda Debt Network (UDN), on a program design similar to NDI’s Democracy and Governance Program in Albania highlighted on page 3.

NDI helped Newsbreak develop online voter guides as a means of closing the gap between citizen interests and the policy priorities of both candidates and elected officials. Before the elections, Newsbreak worked to create a more informed electorate by identifying citizen priorities and compiling information on candidates’ views on these priorities into online voter guides. After the elections and independent of NDI assistance, Newsbreak focused its investigative articles around elected officials’ positions on the citizen priority issues identified in the voter guides. Newsbreak remains a prominent online journal in the Philippines, reporting on government decisions, political party activities, current events and elections – the issues identified in the 2007 voter guides continuing to figure prominently in its articles.

1 The youth councils under the umbrella of the national youth assembly that are responsible for formulating youth programs in local communities.
2 See the Additional Resources Section at the end of this resource for links to more information on the parliamentary reports.
Since its inception in 1999, the UDN coalition has trained over 2,000 citizens in seven districts of Uganda to use multiple budget monitoring and awareness-raising tools. UDN believes these mechanisms will make budget information and processes more transparent and accessible to citizens, which will enable them to raise government awareness of their needs.

Many organizations specialize in the use of one or two particular political-process monitoring strategies. CARE Peru, the World Bank and a South African NGO called the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) focus their activities to varying degrees on legislative monitoring. PMG has been monitoring and reporting on government activities since 1995 in order to create a better informed civil society sector. PMG shares its monitoring information online in the belief that it will help other civic organizations create more well-informed advocacy campaigns, building their capacity to more effectively advocate on policy issues.

In addition, many local organizations and international human rights groups engage in political-process monitoring activities by using shadow reports to monitor government adherence to international treaties, agreements and accords. For instance, the Asia-Pacific International Women’s Rights Actions Watch (IWRAW) supports local women’s groups’ development of shadow reports on the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Elsewhere CSOs, coalitions, and minority parties in government use shadow reporting to monitor the implementation of other international agreements. For example, the European Network against Racism reports on European national governments’ implementation of legislation based on international standards to limit racism. Furthermore, the Global Youth Coalition on HIV/AIDS is monitoring the impact of government programs to reduce HIV/AIDS in countries around the world. Over the last five years, the Global Youth Coalition developed and reported on indicators based on the goals outlined in the UN Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS. So far, their members have reported on sixteen country programs.

An increasing number of organizations within the development and democracy assistance communities are supporting citizens’ political-process monitoring initiatives. Many development organizations increasingly recognize that political-process monitoring programs can create entry points for sustained citizen participation. Providing developmental and financial assistance to organizations interested in political-process monitoring activities can lead to a more informed citizenry, more transparent political processes and government officials that are more likely to be accountable to their constituents.
Civic Update is a production of The Citizen Participation Team of NDI.

Please send comments or suggestions to The Citizen Participation Team.

Thank You!

Additional Resources

Legislative Monitoring:
- Al Quds Center for Political Studies, Jordan: http://www.alqudscenter.com/english/pages.php?local_type=122&local_details=1&idd=141
- The Jordanian Parliament Monitor: http://www.jpm.jo/
- The Parliamentary Monitoring Group, South Africa: http://www.pmg.org.za/home

Budget Processes and Monitoring
- International Budget Project: http://www.internationalbudget.org/groups/uganda.htm
- Uganda Debt Network: http://www.udn.or.ug/
- World Bank, Participation and Civic Engagement: http://go.worldbank.org/SQCP6G0IH0
- Philippine Budget Monitoring Project: http://www.philbudgetmonitoring.org/Home.htm

Shadow Reporting
- Global Youth Coalition on HIV/AIDS: http://www.youthaidscoalition.org/resources.html

Policy Implementation Monitoring

Election Related Monitoring
- First Time Voters Project, Philippines: http://firsttimevotersproject.wordpress.com/
- Poder Ciudadano- http://www.poderciudadano.org.ar/?do=news&id=539


Team Update

Jessie Schwartz joined the Citizen Participation Team as the new project assistant in January. She is currently working on her Master’s in Public Administration and Nonprofit Management at George Mason University. She earned a dual B.A. at Virginia Tech in Urban Policy and Planning and History in 2008. After graduation, she spent six months working as a research assistant for the Environmental Risk Management Authority in Wellington, New Zealand. Continuing her travels around the world, she then spent five months volunteering in southern India teaching environmental lessons to school children and assisting the local NGO as they developed a strategic plan for managing program activities and volunteers.