

POLITICAL-PROCESS MONITORING

**CONSIDERING THE OUTCOMES
AND HOW THEY CAN BE MEASURED**

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National Democratic Institute

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The National Democratic Institute (NDI) recognizes that citizen participation, driven by real community needs and desires, is a powerful transformative force. Citizens all over the world want to improve their well-being and are often very interested in taking peaceful political action when they believe that they can make a difference.

Long-term democratic and socio-economic development requires citizen activism as a means of establishing political space and fostering accountable government. For more than 25 years, NDI and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) have worked to increase the political participation of citizens. Deepening democracy so that it can help deliver tangible improvements in people's lives is an overarching objective of NDI's citizen participation work. Programs that support civic education, voter education and getting out the vote, issue organizing, advocacy, and political-process monitoring are designed to increase citizens' influence over government institutions and actors so that an appropriate balance of power is established and sustained between them. Time and again, NDI has found that when citizens care about an issue and have the opportunity to express their voice in decisionmaking, they will readily participate in efforts to foster positive, lasting change.

In order to enhance understanding of how citizen participation contributes to change, NDI undertook an investigative process to identify potential outcomes resulting from political-process monitoring initiatives. The results of the study are found in this guide and are intended to complement NDI's toolkit, *Political-Process Monitoring: Activist Tools and Techniques*, which provides practical examples, normative frameworks, and recommendations for supporting and carrying out five types of monitoring initiatives. That toolkit does not, however, examine the type of change resulting from such initiatives.

This new guide, *Political-Process Monitoring: Considering the Outcomes and How They Can Be Measured*, is aimed at NDI program staff and other practitioners who are considering political-process monitoring as a way to deepen democratic processes and institutions. Whereas NDI designed the political-process monitoring toolkit to assist program implementation, this guide is focused on program design and evaluation. The guide explores outcomes across the five types of political-process monitoring and across three interrelated dimensions of democratic practice: citizen voice, political space, and government accountability.

NDI also used the development of this guide as an opportunity to create an approach for identifying and measuring political-process monitoring results. The approach relied on outcome mapping and most significant change techniques, and involved key-informant interviews and focus group discussions with NDI staff members, local monitoring groups and other key individuals operating in Burkina Faso, Indonesia, Jordan, and Zimbabwe. NDI researchers then analyzed the data and drafted a case study for each country.

In trying to determine whether support for political-process monitoring is a possible or practical way to deepen democracy in a given circumstance, this guide is designed to provide NDI staff, other democracy assistance providers, and grant making organizations with a point of reference when making these decisions. We hope this guide may also be used to help frame objectives, set realistic expectations, and develop participatory methods to measure results.

Aaron Azelton
Director of Citizen Participation Programs
The National Democratic Institute
May 2012

AU – African Union

CBO – Community-Based Organization

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

CRC – Citizen Report Cards

CSO – Civil Society Organization

FOIA – Freedom of Information Act

HIV/AIDS – Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

IBP – International Budget Partnership

MA – Municipal Assembly

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

MP – Member of Parliament

NDI – National Democratic Institute

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

OCHA – United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OHCHR – Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights

PBET – Participatory Budgeting and Expenditure Tracking

PPM – Political-process Monitoring

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SIDA – Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

UBS – User-based Surveys

UN – United Nations

UPR – Universal Periodic Review

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

Accountability – A situation where those with the power to make and enforce rules are answerable to those that live by rules.

Advocacy – A set of organized, strategic actions to influence a decision maker and affect an outcome.

Budget cycle – A four-step process that includes budget formulation, budget approval, budget execution and budget oversight.

Budget monitoring – The observation and examination of the government's budget processes and related documents by citizens and citizen groups in order to understand, raise awareness, and influence how public funding is allocated and spent.

Bylaws – Rules adopted by an organization to govern its own affairs.

Campaign-related monitoring – The monitoring and recording of information gathered by citizens or CSOs in order to analyze and publicize party platforms, campaign promises, and compliance with pledges signed during the campaign. These types of monitoring activities fall into either the pre-election monitoring or post-election monitoring category.

Capacity building – Assistance that helps individuals or organizations develop skills or competencies to enhance overall performance.

Chamber of Deputies – Lower House or House of Representatives in Jordan.

Citizen-based public service delivery evaluation – A method of assessment in which community members rate and critique the quality and availability of government provided services.

Citizen report cards – A scored report derived from a questionnaire given to citizens on service delivery, accountability, availability and quality of a particular service or institution in order to generate user feedback on public services.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) – A wide array of organizations autonomous from the state and the market. These organizations include non-governmental organizations, citizen organizations, labor unions, indigenous

groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations and foundations. For the purposes of NDI programming, media and political parties are not considered CSOs.

Claimed space – Space in which participation is based on citizen terms and objectives

Community platform – A set of policy priorities developed by community members and usually presented to candidates and political parties during a campaign period.

Developmental subgrant – Financial assistance used to build the capacity and effectiveness of local groups as they pursue their self-defined goals and objectives.

Expenditure tracking – The monitoring of government resource allocations, spending, and publicly funded projects by citizens or civil society organizations to determine if budgeted funds are spent as intended and are being used efficiently and effectively.

Invited space – Space in which citizens are invited to participate by authorities.

Kabupaten – Bahasa Indonesia term for district.

Legislative monitoring – A process through which civil society organizations observe, evaluate, and comment on legislators' work and performance; often focused on the effectiveness and efficiency of legislative processes in meeting citizens' needs.

Legislative scorecard – A tool used by CSOs to provide information on legislators' behavior in the legislature published primarily for the benefit of citizens and other civil society organizations. A legislator's attendance and participation in meetings with constituents are just two points that may be included in a scorecard.

Musrenbang – Bahasa Indonesia term for local council meeting and townhall for citizens to voice concerns.

Monitoring government follow-through – Processes by which CSOs monitor how well governments implement official decisions such as the execution of domestic violence policies, power sharing agreements, electoral reform laws, and mandates for constitutional reform.

Pan-African Parliament – The legislative body of the African Union which currently provides oversight and has advisory and consultative powers and aims to exercise full, binding legislative powers in the future.

Participatory budgeting – A process of democratic deliberation and decision making through which governments allocate a percentage of a budget, usually at the municipal level, for civil society to directly budget according to community priorities.

Pledge campaign – A program in which CSOs ask candidates and political parties to commit to a set of principles that they promise to uphold or actions they pledge to take if elected.

Political mapping – A technique of outlining and analyzing alliances and/or positions of political actors within a particular policy area.

Political-process monitoring – A broad range of citizen- or CSO-driven initiatives that seek to hold government officials accountable by monitoring and reporting on their actions. Political-process monitoring activities include: legislative monitoring; budget monitoring; budget advocacy and expenditure tracking; shadow reports; monitoring government follow-through; and election campaign related monitoring.

Political Space, or Space – The avenues and opportunities that exist for citizens to organize, voice their preferences, act individually and collectively, and engage government.

Political Voice, or Voice – Citizens’ abilities to express their preferences, aggregate interests, act individually and collectively, and influence public officials and other decision makers.

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 national government’s official report to the United Nations. A CSO creates an independent report that accounts for how the government is adhering to or meeting requirements of a treaty, convention or declaration that the government has signed onto and presents it to the United Nations to supplement incomplete or inadequate information that may have been presented in the government’s report.

Social accountability – A process by which citizens work to hold government accountable as a means of ensuring good governance and responsive policymaking.

Town hall meeting – A gathering between citizens who are linked by common geography or interest and public officials in order to discuss issues of importance and provide a forum in which citizens may publicly express their views.

Transparency – The availability of information to the general public and clarity about government rules, procedures, and decisions. Open access to government information is a key component of transparency.

Voter guide – A resource that compiles biographical, policy, and/or platform information about the candidates or parties contesting an election.

Watchdog – An individual or organization that guards against government waste, fraud, corruption, or other undesirable practices.

With support from the National Endowment for Democracy, NDI has created this guide to inform the design and evaluation of programs supporting political-process monitoring. The guide's findings and conclusions have been drawn from a methodical examination of NDI programs and they underscore a commitment to institutional reflection and learning from experience.

Political-process monitoring refers to a range of citizen or civil society organization (CSO)-driven initiatives that encourage government accountability by monitoring government institutions and actors and reporting on their actions. The five types of political-process monitoring are: budget monitoring and expenditure tracking; legislative monitoring; shadow reporting; monitoring government follow-through; and campaign-related monitoring. Each of these involves a distinct approach, which NDI captured in its earlier toolkit, *Political-Process Monitoring: Activist Tools and Techniques*.

To complement that toolkit, this guide offers an explanation of the outcomes that may result from political-process monitoring, how the outcomes can be measured, and why the outcomes matter for democratization.

This guide is unique in that it represents an initial attempt by NDI to consider such outcomes in light of a theory of change. A theory of change describes how and why change happens. In this case, the theory of change delin-

eates NDI's views about the instrumental role that citizen participation plays in democratic development.

The research informing the guide suggests that political-process monitoring initiatives are a form of participation that citizens can undertake effectively in different environments as a way to foster interactions with public officials and set the stage for greater government accountability. For instance, legislative monitoring initiatives that focus on recording legislators' performance and making this information public can increase citizen voice by providing information to citizens that they may not have had access to otherwise. This work can be extended to include analysis about how legislators' performance meets the needs of citizens. These initiatives can expand political space by using the information collected from the monitoring project to create dialogue with government and citizens. This creates an opportunity to press for greater accountability. Additionally, steps can be taken to compare the efforts and interests of legislators with citizen priorities. In turn, this information can then be used in future election cycles to help citizens make an informed decision about who they elect. This is the pattern that emerged over time with NDI's partner in Jordan, the Al Quds Center for Political Studies. By using scorecards as a means of analyzing the legislature's performance, Al Quds began a Jordanian Parliamentary Program (JPM) that has grown in size and significance over several years.

TYPES OF POLITICAL-PROCESS MONITORING:

Budget monitoring – The observation and examination of the government's budget processes and related documents by citizens and citizen groups to understand, raise awareness, and influence how public funding is allocated and spent.

Campaign-related monitoring – The monitoring and recording of information gathered by citizens or CSOs in order to analyze and publicize party platforms, campaign promises, and compliance with pledges signed during the campaign. These types of monitoring activities fall into either the pre-election monitoring or post-election monitoring category.

Legislative monitoring – Observing, evaluating, and commenting on legislators' work and performance, often focusing on their effectiveness and efficiency in meeting citizens' needs.

Monitoring government follow-through – Monitoring how well government implements official decisions such as the implementation of domestic violence policies, power-sharing agreements, electoral reform laws, and mandates for constitutional reform.

Shadow reporting – Monitoring and raising awareness of government compliance with ratified international treaties, conventions, and declarations by researching and producing a supplementary shadow report to the national government's official report to an international body, such as the United Nations.

The guide is divided into two sections. **Section One** frames the research, discusses findings, and provides a matrix that aligns outcomes related to citizen voice, political space, and government accountability with different types of monitoring. Also explored are changes that seem to occur when voice, space, and accountability intersect during political-process monitoring initiatives. This section concludes with a set of baseline questions to consider and with four country-specific case studies.

Section Two focuses on the approach and corresponding tools used to capture the outcomes detailed in section one. The tools are flexible and can be tailored for use when mapping outcomes or trying to capture significant changes resulting from other programs as well.

Part 1: Research Purpose and Process

In 2011, NDI undertook research to better understand the outcomes resulting from political-process monitoring and to determine how they matter for democratic development. The research process included an initial desktop review of more than 20 NDI program interventions, including programs that, while not currently being funded by the NED, have benefited from NED support in the past. NDI also reviewed different evaluative tools that could be adapted and used during in-country research. NDI developed a set of data collection tools, drawing heavily from outcome mapping and most significant change models, that could be used across a range of contexts. Researchers employed these tools during interviews and focus groups with NDI field staff members and with members of the local partner organizations who had implemented the monitoring campaigns. A detailed description of the tools and the data collection process can be found in **Section Two**.

Researchers conducted studies in Burkina Faso, Indonesia, Jordan and Zimbabwe. These locations provided a cross-section of country contexts, local partners, and types of political-process monitoring approaches, as well as examples of both local and national-level initiatives. For each of the four countries, researchers compiled a case study exploring how the monitoring project worked, what changes occurred and why, and why the changes matter for long-term democratic development. The full case studies are found in Part 5 at the end of this section.

Part 2: Framing the Research

A specific set of institutional perspectives, which shape NDI's democracy assistance approaches, framed the research process. For example, there is an underlying conviction that democracy will only develop and endure if it delivers concrete outcomes for citizens. NDI also understands that democracy takes hold most strongly where it is actually practiced, not only where it is formally adopted. And, in every instance, *NDI believes that there is a need to support fundamental shifts in political behavior and power relationships* between those who govern and those who are governed.

These perspectives have led NDI to develop "helping democracy deliver" approaches that are focused on putting democratic institutions and processes to work for citizens. The approaches emphasize helping local partners, on

both the supply and demand sides of governance, utilize democratic practices when dealing with tangible public interests and issues. This may mean the use of deliberative policy development, open and inclusive decisionmaking, information dissemination, collective action and oversight. Additionally, there is deliberate attention paid to outcomes, recognizing the stark reality that if democracy fails to deliver just, visible socio-economic gains, its value as a process can be fatally undermined by discontent in which there is a distinct possibility that dissatisfaction linked with democracy will lead to its failure under the strain of social conflicts.

When thinking about the demand side, NDI understands that citizens organize and participate politically as a means to address issues that they care deeply about. In authoritarian environments, this is often seen in the courageous efforts by activists to organize around democracy and human rights, while in nascent democracies it often involves organizing around socio-economic development issues.

Instead of bypassing government, parliaments, political parties, and politics altogether, NDI works with citizens to engage these institutions in ways that transform political practices and increase the degree of congruence between government priorities and the priorities of its citizens. When this happens, democracy is better able to deliver outcomes that satisfy the public good. In most cases, NDI partners with local CSOs, as well as governments, parliaments and political parties. CSOs provide an important vehicle through which citizens can aggregate their interests, express their preferences, and exercise the political power necessary to effect change. NDI's assistance to local partner organizations often focuses on helping groups navigate and alter channels of power and achieve the political and socio-economic changes they seek for their communities.

The connection between CSOs and citizens is a critical one. NDI understands that civil society derives its political legitimacy from citizens; it is citizens that animate civil society, giving it substance and influence.

The type and quality of political participation matters when trying to help democracy deliver. Emphasis needs to be placed on those forms of participation that help build relationships and create a more appropriate balance of power between citizens and public officials so that governments are accountable to citizens. Because

every context is different and decisions need to be made about what types of citizen participation to support at any given moment, it is necessary to take into account existing levels of citizen participation, political space, and government accountability in order to identify needs and opportunities. It also makes it even more necessary to understand the outcomes associated with different types of participation.

NDI and others posit a theory of change for how citizen participation can deepen democracy as a means of improving people's lives. The theory underscores the idea that citizen participation is instrumental for democratization because it is through this participation that citizens develop a voice, expand political space, and foster government accountability. These ideas are illustrated in Diagram 1, which depicts a dynamic interrelationship between participation and democratization.

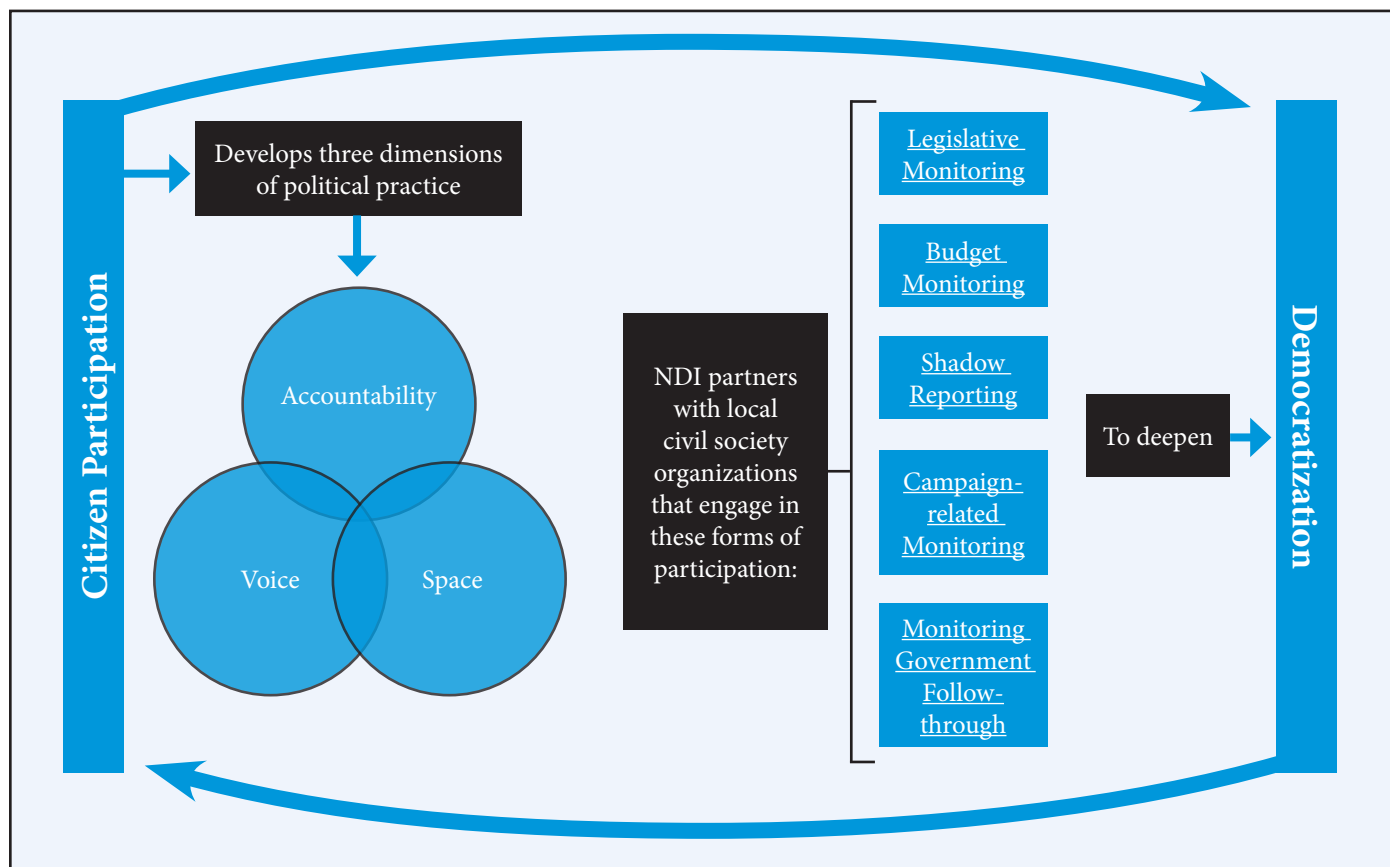
For the purpose of NDI's theory of change, **participation** is a reflection of citizens' voice in political life. It can take a variety of forms, such as awareness raising, voting, advocacy, community organizing, or monitoring government institutions. It can be done individually or collectively, passively (e.g., reading a newspaper) or more actively (e.g., observing an election). **Democratization** is the process through which a democratic system develops and deepens. The process may look different

from one country to another, but will always include the interplay between values, norms, institutions and practices. It will also necessarily involve citizens - along with government, political parties, the media, and judiciary - fulfilling certain roles and responsibilities, including selecting political leaders and holding government accountable.

At the theory's core rests three dimensions of democratic practice that shape citizen interactions with public officials: citizen voice, political space, and government accountability. At the nexus of these three dimensions, politics is practiced and power dynamics come into play.

For NDI, **voice** refers to citizens expressing their preferences, aggregating interests, acting individually and collectively, and influencing public officials and other decisionmakers. Without the active involvement of citizens in political life, government power can be abused and the basic rights and freedoms of democracy can go unrealized. Because democracy requires informed participation, citizens must understand basic ideas about citizenship, politics, and government. They need to understand how to make decisions about policy choices, what the limits and responsibilities of authority are, and how to hold public officials accountable. This know-how is developed and institutionalized over time through active citizen participation.

DIAGRAM 1



The notion of **space** refers to the avenues and opportunities (e.g., voting, meeting with an elected leader, writing a blog, joining a union, attending a city council meeting, etc.) that exist for citizens to access information, express their preferences, and engage government. To exercise these democratic rights and responsibilities, citizens need to be free from harassment or unreasonable restrictions. Political space exists along a continuum from relatively open and inclusive to closed and exclusive. The degree of political space that exists in any given context is an important variable when NDI is framing citizen participation programs. Programs can be designed to take advantage of existing space or can help create and enlarge political space. When space is closing or severely limited, NDI often finds itself designing programs that help create some opening for civic activists. The degree of political space can also fluctuate. In all democracies, established and emerging alike, political space must be actively demanded and defended by citizens. Citizens have an important role to play in helping to establish political space and in making sure it remains occupied to diminish the threat of disappearance.

Accountability refers to a situation where those with the authority to make and enforce rules are answerable to those who live by the rules. A fundamental principle of democracy is that citizens have the *right* to demand accountability and public sector actors have an *obligation* to be accountable. Government officials can and should be held accountable for their conduct and performance. They are also expected to obey the law, not to abuse their powers, and serve the public interest in an efficient, effective, and fair manner. New and emerging democracies, however, often suffer from an accountability deficit – a legacy from their non-democratic predecessor. In many cases, government feels no need to answer to citizens and political-processes are closed and arbitrary. The lack of accountability not only undermines democratic governance, it can also impede socio-economic development. Citizen participation plays an important role in helping establish and maintain government accountability by organizing and demanding government transparency, consistency, and responsiveness.

Based on its theory of change, NDI developed a research hypothesis maintaining that **political-process monitoring can contribute to the development of citizen voice, political space, and government accountability.**

NDI tested the research hypothesis through investigations carried out in Burkina Faso, Indonesia, Jordan and Zimbabwe and developed the case studies to provide a detailed accounting for each country. Additionally, NDI brought all of the researchers together, along with

member's of NDI's in-house functional team for citizen participation programming, in order to uncover cross-cutting themes and draw some conclusions about the democratic development implications of political-process monitoring generally.

Part 3: Research Conclusions

To provide an aggregated picture, NDI compiled an outcome matrix that lists the types of monitoring and the related changes to voice, space and accountability. Informed by the four country studies and desktop research, the matrix suggests that political-process monitoring can foster the development of citizen voice, political space and government accountability. Of course, this list of outcomes is not exhaustive and does not provide a complete picture of the change that may unfold when the various monitoring initiatives are carried out repeatedly over longer periods of time, or when monitoring is purposefully coupled with other forms of engagement, such as advocacy. Rather, the matrix reflects what NDI found at a particular point in time based on a structured and methodical qualitative review of what is possible under a given set of circumstances.

Although each of the cases involves a different context when it comes to democratization, they all represent situations where government traditionally wielded unlimited power and citizens had few opportunities to monitor or influence government behavior. Recent developments, however, created situations in Burkina Faso, Indonesia, Jordan and Zimbabwe where new entry points for political engagement have emerged. For example, in Burkina Faso, this came in the form of the government's obligation to provide periodic reports to the United Nations on CEDAW implementation. In Indonesia, it came in the form of government policies stipulating more citizen participation in local decisionmaking; whereas the Global Political Agreement created an opening, albeit limited, in Zimbabwe. The political-process monitoring campaigns of NDI's local partners took advantage of these different opportunities.

In each of the cases examined, the local political-process monitoring groups – with assistance from NDI – increased their ability to gather and analyze information systematically and then produce and disseminate reports. According to the groups, NDI's assistance helped them develop the strategies, plans and tools needed to undertake the monitoring in a way that would be most effective, and minimize potential risks. As a result, all the groups gained confidence and expressed a strong interest in continuing their monitoring efforts.

When looking across the examples, some additional similarities are found. Based on systematic monitoring, all the groups developed a relatively objective body of “evidence” and produced reports that shined a light on a political-process. The immediate result was an increase in transparency. A couple of other results also happened along the way. The monitoring also helped the groups establish a voice in the process and created new avenues for expressing that voice, and raising awareness among citizens and public officials. The groups also packaged and presented the performance information in ways that prompted discussion of the reports.

When the researchers and others met for a roundtable discussion on the matrix and the implications for deepening

democracy, it seemed clear that none of the monitoring efforts had immediate transformational effects. However, the monitoring did seem to set the stage for more substantive political interactions, at least in terms of a particular process or issue. For example, new types of relationships began to emerge during the monitoring and reporting. This led the roundtable participants to note that some of the ‘most-significant changes’ did not fit neatly in the matrix. Rather, some outcomes seemed to transcend the individual dimensions of voice, space and accountability. These outcomes occurred when voice, space and accountability intersected and they seemed to hold potential for introducing new practices and reshaping politics. NDI developed Diagram 2 to illustrate the outcomes that can occur at this nexus.

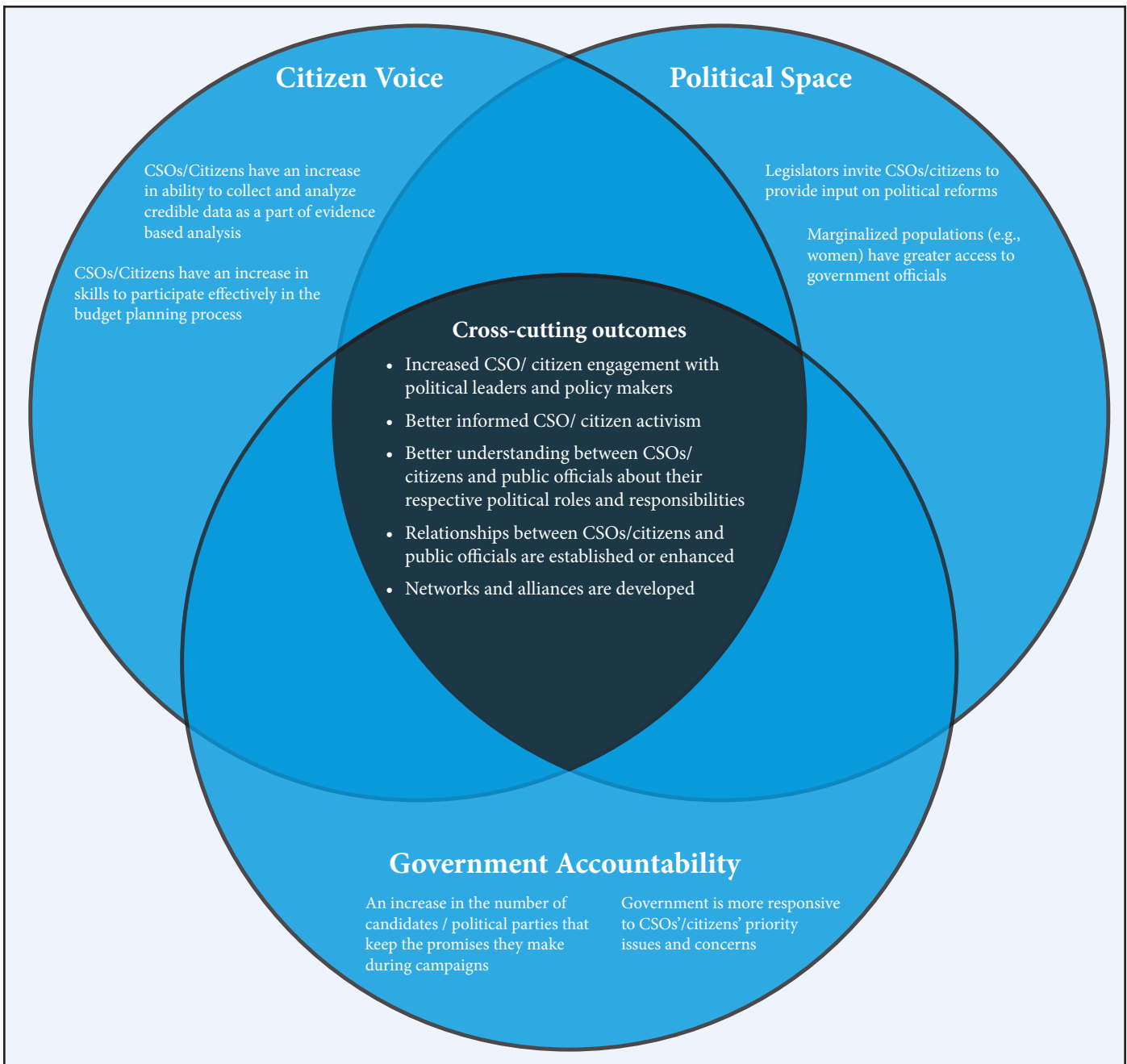
SAMPLE CASE STUDY OUTCOMES

		Legislative/ Parliamentary Monitoring	Budget Monitoring/ Participatory Budgeting/Expenditure Tracking	Shadow Reporting	Monitoring Government Follow- Through	Campaign-related Monitoring
TYPES OF CHANGE	Voice	CSOs/Citizens have increased skills to credibly monitor legislative processes and/or legislator performance	CSOs/Citizens have increased understanding of the budget process cycles and budget-related laws and regulations	CSOs/Citizens have increased ability to work in coalition or networks on issues of common concern	CSOs/Citizens have increased knowledge of government's policies, regulations and actions towards issues of interest	CSOs/Citizens have increased understanding of what political parties and/or candidates campaign platforms include
		CSOs/Citizens have increased understanding of legislative processes; know where to collect and how to access relevant information	Citizens/CSOs have increased understanding of how to monitor a budget process	CSOs/Citizens have increased capacity/ability to promote relevant issues more clearly to various parties – including citizens, government, media etc.	CSOs/Citizens have increased ability to collect and analyze credible data as a part of evidence based analysis	CSOs/Citizens have increased capacity to analyze the campaign platforms of political parties and/or candidates
		CSOs/Citizens have increased ability to gather and analyze information about legislator performance	CSOs/Citizens have increased skills to participate effectively in a budget planning process	CSOs/Citizens have increased investment in the shadow report development process and its outcome	CSOs/Citizens have increased ability to discern occasions to use evidence-based monitoring for their ongoing activities	CSOs/citizens have increased ability to collect information from political parties and/or candidates in order to develop effective voter education materials, such as voter guides
		Target groups (including women, youth, persons with disabilities, etc.) have increased awareness about the performance of legislators and the legislative process	CSOs/Citizens know how to identify and prioritize community priorities in order to develop better quality budget proposals	CSOs/Citizens have increased awareness and understanding of issues related to the shadow report	CSOs work in coalition with other like-minded organizations in order to increase the power of their collective voice	CSOs/Citizens can use the data collected during the campaign period to express a more clearly their priority concerns
				Shadow Report Coalition members have more skills to effectively pressure government to implement the applicable convention/declaration/treaty	CSOs increase the capacity of citizens to collect credible data on government actions/policies/procedures	
				Participating CSOs/citizens have increased-collaboration and share knowledge with each other, relevant stakeholders and citizens	CSOs/Citizens are better able to make use of the access afforded to them by current government policies/procedures/agreements	

SAMPLE CASE STUDY OUTCOMES

		Legislative/ Parliamentary Monitoring	Budget Monitoring/ Participatory Budgeting/Expenditure Tracking	Shadow Reporting	Monitoring Government Follow- Through	Campaign-related Monitoring
TYPES OF CHANGE	Space	CSOs/Citizens have increased access to legislative proceedings and documents	CSOs/Citizens have increased access to government budget documents and processes	Shadow reports can be publicly disseminated and discussed	Monitoring findings can be publicly disseminated and discussed	CSOs/Citizens have increased opportunities to raise issues with political parties and candidates (e.g., candidate forums, call-in programs, candidate debates)
		CSOs/Citizens have opportunities to discuss monitoring reports with legislators and other stakeholders	CSOs/Citizens use relationships with key stakeholders to gain greater access to budget process	CSOs/Citizens access an international forum and provide testimony	CSOs/Citizens have more access to media outlets	CSOs/Citizens have increased opportunities to evaluate and comment on the performance of public officials and political parties
		Legislators provide more information to CSOs/citizens	An increase in citizen budget proposals are presented during the budget planning process	Marginalized populations (e.g., women) have greater access to government officials	CSOs/Citizens have access to necessary information in order to monitor political processes	Campaign platforms and promises can be tracked and disseminated
		Monitoring reports can be publicly disseminated and discussed	There are more frequent interactions between CSOs/citizens and public officials on budget issues	CSOs/Citizens have access to necessary information in order to monitor political processes	CSOs/Citizens have access to necessary information in order to monitor political processes	There are increased candidates and/or political parties that keep the promises they make during the campaign period
		Legislators invite CSOs/citizens to provide input on political reforms	Media outlets provide an increase in informed coverage of budget issues	Legislators invite CSOs/citizens to participate in policy discussions	Government is more responsive to CSOs'/citizens' priority issues and concerns	
		Information is made publicly available through web based platforms	There are increased allocations for basic citizen services in district budgets			
		Legislator's actions are informed by CSO/citizen views				
	Accountability	Legislators are more sensitive to public perceptions and preferences	There is an increase in the Government's usage of information from the citizen report cards (CRC) and user-based surveys (UBS) to help improve service delivery	Government acknowledges work and information gathered by shadow reporting coalition and considers the information		Elected officials and/or political parties are more responsive to citizens concerns
		Legislators meet with CSOs/citizens to discuss their performance in terms of citizen concerns		Government initiates interactions with CSOs/citizens to address Shadow Report recommendations		Political parties and/or candidates include more realistic and achievable goals in their campaign and party platforms

DIAGRAM 2



Based on the research examples, the voice, space accountability intersection seems to encompass the dynamics surrounding attempts by monitoring groups to get their foot in the door and influence government actions. This includes the dialogue that can be prompted by the monitoring and reporting. In large part, it is through dialogue that the monitoring groups began to develop new and unprecedented relationships with public officials. *The research strongly suggests that relationships matter a great deal if monitoring groups want to have any chance of getting and keeping government's attention. This includes relationships inside government, as well as relationships with other civil society groups and the media.* These rela-

tionships provide groups with political assets that they can draw on for leverage.

All the monitoring groups involved in the research acknowledged that issues of power had to be considered and that most of changes they expected would have to be negotiated. No one believed that government actors would make wholesale changes because of a bad "report card." *The groups expected any change to involve a more complex process requiring an interface with public officials. In most of the cases, the ability to interface with government was highlighted as a most significant change.*

The roundtable participants also pointed out that political-process monitoring initiatives can be conducted in

concert with other types of activism that seeks to increase government responsiveness to citizens. In every example included in this study, local partners indicated the need for further political action that used the monitoring information as a stepping stone.

This all highlights a need to hold reasonable expectations when it comes to political-process monitoring and democratic development. Context and timing clearly matters. The cases examined here ranged from situations where the monitoring simply helped keep existing space open and establish closer relationship between civic actors, to situations where public officials started to act on behalf of citizens. In most of the cases the political-process monitoring work signified the very first attempts to shine a light on political institutions and processes, outside of elections. These attempts typically ran counter to existing political practices and power dynamics.

NDI has concluded that political-process monitoring can result in incremental changes that can help set the stage for greater accountability. These are also non-linear processes that may stall for a number of contextual reasons. In every instance studied, the groups still had to be concerned about the possibility of government retribution and they often had difficulty accessing all the information they needed to provide a thorough analysis.

Part 4: Baseline Considerations in Designing Political-process Monitoring Programs

Based upon the research conducted for this guide, NDI has compiled a list of key questions and considerations, many of which address issues of politics and power, that should be addressed before designing and implementing a political-process monitoring program. The information elicited from these questions highlight why it is important for civic actors to have a good understanding of how politics works in their country.

- What is the **political context** that local partners are operating within? How open or closed is the political space in which the group is operating?
- What is the existing **capacity of the local partner organization**? What skills or capacities need to be strengthened in order for them to be successful at conducting political-process monitoring programs?
- What is the **reputation or credibility level** of the local partner organization?
- How do monitoring political-processes fit in with the local organization's existing mission and **goals**?

IMPLEMENTER'S NOTE:

How these questions are answered by the local group will dictate what types of monitoring activities they wish to pursue, what types of tools and methods they will use, and what type of action their results may be best suited for. Answers will dictate the level and type of assistance NDI will need to be prepared to provide to the local partner so that the projects are successful.

What **other development initiatives** are happening that may affect the outcomes or impact of the political-process monitoring initiatives?

- Do local partners have **access** to official documents, meetings, etc.? What barriers exist to accessing official information?
- Who are the primary **stakeholders** (such as government officials, political parties, community members)? Equally important is determining who the less obvious stakeholders are, such as business owners involved in supplying the government project, government civil service workers who provided information to the CSO partner, etc. What **relationships** currently exist with these stakeholders?

In addition to these questions, there are also a number of variables to be taken into account when helping local groups undertake these types of activities, including:

Political Atmosphere

Having a solid understanding of the political environment is critical to the success of political-process monitoring initiatives.¹

- What does the **current political environment** look like and how might that impact political-process monitoring initiatives?
- What **legal framework** currently exists that would either allow or hinder a political-process monitoring project?
- **Who has power and the authority** to both provide information as well as absorb the information in a way that can bring about positive change? For example, is the monitoring project targeting a political institution in its monitoring project? Can that institution absorb and respond to the results of the monitoring project? Can the institutional infrastructure respond to the de-

1. McGee, Rosie and John Gaventa. "Shifting Power? Assessing the Impact of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives," IDS Working Paper, Vol 2011 No 383. Institute of Development Studies, November 2011.

mands or requests presented in the findings from the monitoring project?

- What are the **political outcomes the local partner is seeking to achieve** by undertaking the political-process monitoring project? Specifically, how can the political-process monitoring initiative help to increase citizen voice, expand political space and/or increase government accountability?
- What **power dynamics** exist between the local civic partner who is monitoring and political actors?
- What interests do stakeholders have in **the outcome of the results** of monitoring initiative? Are there any **implications** of making the monitoring initiatives findings public? Could this expand or shrink political space?

Each country and each type of political-process monitoring project will have different answers to these questions. Depending on the political atmosphere, groups may decide to conduct other activities before undertaking a monitoring project. For instance, a group may decide that it is necessary to first push for freedom of information or access laws in order to conduct a meaningful political-process monitoring project. The political environment may also shape a civic groups' ability to release the results of their monitoring initiatives.

Goals of the Partner Organization

Helping the local partner organization clearly define their goals and determine how the political-process monitoring initiative will help further those organizational goals is important. Linking goals and desired outcomes to the types of activities a partner undertakes is central to all good development programs. Political-

process monitoring initiatives are no different. Helping a local partner identify the change that they are seeking will help them more clearly understand the types of actions that they need to take in order to reach those goals and achieve those outcomes. Specifically, both NDI and local partners should ask and answer the following questions related to the political context:

- Is the partner **seeking to increase citizens' voice** by providing them with information on the roles, responsibilities and performance of their elected officials – information that citizens did not have access to prior to the project?
- Is the partner seeking to **occupy existing political space** or further expand it?
- How will local partners use their findings to **hold government accountable**?

Capacity of Local Partners

Having a clear understanding of the existing capacity level of the local partner organization is a crucial part of the program design process. Questions and considerations include:

- Has the local organization ever **conducted this type of program before**?
- Have they ever carried out **rigorous data collection** before (for example, have they conducted a survey)?
- What types of **analytical papers or reports** have they written in the past?
- What experience does the partner organization have in **conducting politically neutral and unbiased activities**?

While the answers to these types of questions should not automatically dictate the decision about whether or not to partner with a group or prepare them to undertake a monitoring initiative, the answers will help both NDI and the local organization have a better understanding of the capacity building and technical assistance that will be needed before, during, and after the monitoring activities.

The responses to these key questions and areas of consideration can be used to establish a baseline from which to measure impact and program successes. Baselines can be set to measure a variety of changes such as the change in a program partner's capacity as a result of technical assistance provided by NDI; changes in citizen voice, political space, or government accountability;

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS MONITORING POLITICAL PROCESSES

In its research to better understand how these programs are designed and carried out, NDI also took note of the types of groups conducting political-process monitoring initiatives. Across more than 6 countries formally studied, and an additional 15 included in desktop research, the scope, composition, and reach of partner organizations vary. In Jordan, NDI's partner was a research-focused organization. In Indonesia, NDI partnered with groups at the national, district and village level. In Mexico, NDI's partners were issue-based organizations that operated on a national, regional and local level.

programmatic impact and the change in beneficiary and target group behaviors as a result of the monitoring initiatives. In the methodology section below is an example of baseline data collected using the data collection tools developed for this project. At the beginning of a political-process monitoring initiative launched in the Spring 2011 with local organizations in Iraq, the research team took the opportunity to collect baseline data on the existing knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviors and relationships of key program stakeholders. This specific information can be useful to understanding and measure any changes to citizen voice, political space, and government accountability once the program concludes.

A theme that runs through all of the questions and considerations above is power - understanding what power looks like, who has power and influence, and how civil society might be able to increase their influence is critical in helping local organizations succeed in holding their government accountable. It is especially important to help local partners understand that in politics there are often winners and losers and there are risks involved for everyone. It is NDI's responsibility as technical advisors to help local organizations understand those power dynamics so that they can mitigate their risks and maximize their successes.

Part 5: Case Studies

Case Study #1: Participatory Budgeting and Expenditure Tracking in Indonesia: Impact and Outcomes of a Budget Monitoring, Tracking and Advocacy Program - Kourtney Pompei and Lacey Kohlmoos, Lead Researchers

Despite the decentralization and significant democratic gains that took place in Indonesia throughout the late 1990s and into the 2000s, few CSOs or individual citizens actively participate and vocalize their concerns to local government authorities. To help encourage greater citizen participation at the local level, NDI supported eight Indonesian national and regional level organizations to gain the skills necessary to participate in local budget development processes in 14 districts. Specifically, NDI provided assistance to Indonesian partners focused on budget monitoring, expenditure tracking, and budget proposal development around improving the quantity and quality of local services. CSOs were able to occupy the political space provided within Indonesia's musrenbang process, a government-sanctioned participatory policymaking mechanism at the local level. As a result of this participation, tangible outcomes were seen, including building and strengthening of relationships among CSOs, between the media and CSOs, and between CSOs and government officials. These local CSOs had more freedom to challenge the status quo and demand a level of government accountability. This worked best when coupled with actions taken outside the musrenbang. While state accountability to citizens' needs remains weak, NDI's CSO partners built and strengthened key relationships, increased citizens' awareness of the budget process and encouraged many to use the findings from user-based surveys on public service to advocate for budget revisions.

Introduction

Following the resignation of President Suharto in 1998, Indonesia took dramatic steps to embrace democratic reform and to decentralize government. As part of the wave of reform that began in 1999, the national government passed Law No. 22, which gave district governments more autonomy and primary responsibility for managing the delivery of public services at the local level. Also passed in 1999, Law No. 25 changed the distribution and disbursement of funds coming from the national government coffers to the provincial and local governments. The law also introduced provincial and district government

revenue sharing.² Amendment Laws No. 32 and 33 enacted in 2004 further contributed to the decentralization process by more specifically delineating local government funding mechanisms, roles, and responsibilities. In accordance with these amendment laws, the Ministry of Home Affairs passed a series of regulations between 2004 and 2006 to make the local budget cycle more participatory. While these reform-era laws and regulations contributed to changing the political-process and the political space available, citizens and CSOs remained largely unaware of how to participate and affect government actions due to a lack of political knowledge.

In 2005, NDI began work on the World Bank-funded Participatory Budgeting and Expenditure Tracking (PBET) program in partnership with eight national and regional level organizations. The program provided support to the local groups to monitor and track public expenditures and eventually to measure the quality of public services at the local level. The program intended to take advantage of new regulations on transparency and public participation that more explicitly spelled out the right to obtain information on, or provide input into the budgetary process. *To help citizens and CSOs take advantage of this newly opened grassroots political space, NDI's assistance focused on building the capacity of civil society to monitor local budgets, raise awareness of local budget issues among community members, advocate for pro-poor resource allocations, track local expenditures, and evaluate public service delivery.* The program aimed to increase citizen and CSO participation in district budget cycles as a means of fostering more responsive public services through the development of community-driven budgeting by developing and using citizen report cards.

The following analysis of PBET is based on the findings from in-country research conducted by NDI in November 2010 - three years after the program's end date. Using a qualitative, mixed-method approach, NDI researchers held one focus group discussion with NDI staff who had worked on the program and three focus group discussions with the partner CSOs. The researchers also interviewed two NDI staff that worked on the program and eight representatives from PBET partner CSOs.

Observable Outcomes

Field research indicates that the PBET initiatives strengthened the voice of CSOs, expanded political space, and set the stage for more accountable government decisions. The PBET program also had some success in fostering

2. Alm, James and Roy Bahl. "Decentralization in Indonesia: Prospects and Problems." (5-7) The Andrew Young School of Policy Studies at the Georgia State University, June 1999. <http://aysps.gsu.edu/publications/1999/990601_IndonesiaReport.pdf>.

improved public services³, especially in the health and education sectors. *The most significant change that focus group participants identified as a result of the PBET initiatives was the building and strengthening of relationships with key program stakeholders, including government officials, media, citizens, and other CSOs.* During focus group discussions, many of NDI's partner groups indicated that the PBET program provided them with their first opportunity to work together to identify and address citizen priority issues within their communities. Discussion participants also indicated that their relationships with the media became stronger and that they perceived a change in how local government perceived civil society. Over the course of the PBET program, discussion participants felt that local government viewed civil society with less hostility, in some districts even working together on developing guidelines for making the budget cycle more participatory. While these new and stronger relationships did not immediately result in greater government accountability, discussion participants believe that these relationships provided more political space for CSOs to interact with decision makers and will, over time, increase their influence in the budget process.

Relationships Between CSOs

The PBET program cultivated relationships between groups that had never before worked together. According to discussion participants, when the program initiated collaboration between civic groups in Indonesia in 2005, such collaboration did not yet extend beyond Muslim CSO networks and student coalitions. PBET's design, however, encouraged groups to work together in influencing the budget process, an experience which led them to appreciate the power of collective action. They coordinated efforts, combined their expertise, and harnessed the strength of their collective networks together - all of which helped increase their legitimacy and raise their profile in the eyes of the local government and media. Research found that this change in attitude toward coalition work among the PBET participants extended beyond the life of the PBET program, with several CSOs continuing to work together and coordinate monitoring and advocacy efforts.

Relationships Between CSOs and the Media

Prior to the PBET program, local CSOs had uneven relationships with media, ranging from close, personal ties to no contact at all. There were no instances in which CSOs engaged the media on local budget issues. Rather,

interaction generally focused on elections, corruption, or issues of local interest. In part, the media never saw a story in examining budgets, a topic deemed too boring and irrelevant to citizens to put on the air or in print. This lack of media interest stemmed primarily from a lack of understanding about the budget and budget process. The research suggests that this started to change when CSOs began presenting the media with their analysis of local budgets and public service delivery based on solid, evidenced-based data, whose relevancy resonated with members of the media. As a result, media began writing about the budget process and the community implications. By the end of the PBET program, CSOs frequently worked with media to get information out and raise citizen awareness in support of advocacy efforts. This newly strengthened relationship benefited both parties, in that the media received a steady flow of relevant information and CSOs reached a broader audience with their message.

Focus group respondents identified an increase in citizen awareness of the budget cycle and their participation in the budget process as significant changes resulting from PBET initiatives. Increased citizen awareness helped move more citizens to promote government accountability. Likewise, a growing relationship with the media allowed CSOs to quickly disseminate information about how citizens could participate in the budget cycle and why they should. Through the media, CSOs succeeded in giving citizens a fuller understanding of how pervasive corruption in the budget cycle had become and how this impacted public services. This encouraged greater citizen participation in the invited space of the *musrenbang* and also in the CSOs' advocacy campaigns. For example, in some districts, citizens volunteered to work alongside local CSO partners in identifying discrepancies between local budget line items and the actual implementation of public projects, and then together reported the findings to local government authorities.

Relationships Between CSOs and the Local Government

The majority of program participants interviewed identified the most important components of PBET as the trainings on budget analysis, budget advocacy, and user-based surveys. The participants claimed that the skills and knowledge gained through these trainings allowed them to collect, analyze, and present data in such a way that government officials were more likely to take their position on issues into account. Before the program, focus group participants indicated that the interactions between civil society and the local government were

3. As indicated by the citizen report cards developed by the local CSO partners.

On Monogan Island, scrutiny of budget data by villagers led to the exposure and dismantling of an illegal fees syndicate that had diverted 7 million rupiah from each local school as a facilitation payment for release of annual funding. In Bandung, community groups discovered that the district had wrongly allocated twice the amount of yearly funding to schools in one village and inadequate funds to schools in another.

based primarily on the personal relationships between individual activists and public officials. Those members of civil society who were not one of the select few activists with political power found themselves frozen out of the system. Those CSOs that did attempt to engage the government through advocacy tended to use confrontational techniques and present arguments unsupported by evidence. This made the local government officials wary of what they perceived as unreasonable attacks by CSOs and they were largely unwilling to work with civil society in any meaningful way.

As a result of PBET trainings and support, the local CSO partners changed the way in which they engaged with local government, becoming more constructive in their critique instead of confrontational and using fact-based evidence as the foundation for their advocacy efforts. This new approach was viewed by local governments as less threatening, thereby providing increased opportunities for CSOs to interact more frequently and meaningfully with local government officials. Relationships between the local governments and CSOs strengthened and CSOs in some districts were invited to participate more fully in the budget cycle. It became easier for civil society to access budget documents in advance of public hearings. Perhaps most importantly, political space expanded, allowing for more meaningful one-on-one interactions with government officials. Some local governments even took steps to make changes to budget allocations and service delivery based on the local CSOs' user-based survey findings and evidence-based advocacy campaigns.

While changes in the quality of service delivery experienced by some districts are notable following the PBET program, the effects on government responsiveness and accountability are perhaps even more so. PBET participants reported that local governments were using the findings from their monitoring and analysis to inform budget decisions. Though limited in scope and localized to only a few districts, by engaging in both invited and claimed space, citizens and CSOs have gained new access to development resources and local government has become slightly more transparent.

Lessons Learned

More than three years after assistance ended, it is clear that those involved believed the program activities had an impact. Through trainings conducted by NDI and its technical partners, the local CSO partners gained the knowledge and skills to participate effectively in the budget cycle. When using their newly-strengthened voice in both invited and claimed political spaces, they managed to build external alliances and move citizens from awareness to activism. This allowed them to fill and, in some cases, expand the spaces in which they engage. As a result, some local governments have become more responsive to citizen needs.

The outcomes of the PBET program, however, did not generate increased state accountability to citizens' needs. Any increase in citizens' ability to participate more fully in the budget process generally extended from national level government regulations and laws, which occurred independently of NDI's partner engagement. Local governments in some districts did become more open and responsive to the CSO working groups' advocacy efforts, with the greatest impact being seen in health and education issues. As one discussion session participant noted, improving public health and education services was directly beneficial to the local governments because they would collect more user fees if there was an increase in service usage. This change is important because despite the *musrenbang* process, which was designed to include citizen voices in local development planning, civil society had remained isolated from decision making processes prior to the PBET program.

Formal Engagement in Invited Space

The term "invited space" refers to "those [spaces] into which people (such as users, citizens or beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies or non-governmental organizations."⁴ The PBET program was designed to take advantage of a new invited space that provided an opportunity for citizens to influence community level decision making. In 2005, NDI determined that the *musrenbang*, district level participatory planning meetings, offered a primary entry point for increasing citizen participation in the budget cycle. Local CSO partners in the PBET program often presented proposals for allocations based on their own budget analysis or from discussions with community members, but local government officials rarely took these proposals into account when making decisions. This is believed to be due in large part to the

4. Cornwall, Andrea. "Making spaces, changing places: situating participation in development." IDS Working Paper, 2002.

tokenistic nature of citizen participation in *musrenbang*. As one discussion group participant said, “The budget practices may have changed, but the budget procedures did not.” This sentiment was expanded upon by the director of one of NDI’s partner organizations who suggested during an interview that changes in budget allocations occurred because elite activists leveraged personal relationships to make the changes occur, not because the local CSOs presented budget proposals. She went on to explain that budget allocation is a political issue and that citizens and CSOs must therefore work in the political arena to change budget allocations.

Although the invited space provided a forum for local CSO partners to apply the knowledge and skills that they had gained through the PBET program, such as budget analysis and budget proposal development, local CSO partners discovered that they still had difficulty influencing decisions. While this is not a new finding, it is a major problem that often arises when governments organize civil society consultations or invite citizens to participate in planning meetings or assessments. By occupying this invited space, citizens and CSOs may become a part of the political-process, but only at the discretion of the ruling power and not on their own terms. This may lead to further marginalization of those not invited to participate, maintenance of the status quo, and less energy put into other types of participation that might lead to greater changes.⁵

Going Beyond Invited Space

Citizen participation in musrenbang alone did not seem to increase accountability; however, groups did influence greater change in those districts where local CSO partners coupled their musrenbang engagement with additional forms of participation. Such participation has included tracking government expenditures and analyzing the quality of public service delivery, and then using those findings to inform advocacy campaigns. The research indicated that participation in *musrenbang* did inform CSOs about where authority and power resides within the budget process, illuminating the fact, for example, that authority for priority setting exists above the local level. By opening new avenues for participation, the groups employing these methods became more successful in fostering change because they had more opportunities to engage decision makers and demand responsiveness.

5. *ibid.*

**TABLE: INDONESIA PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING AND EXPENDITURE TRACKING PROGRAM,
MOST SIGNIFICANT OUTCOMES AND ACTIVITIES
(based on discussion participants' responses)**

Engaged by PPM (as perceived by discussion participants)			External to the Program (as perceived by discussion participants)	
Directly Influenced	Most Significant Outcomes Attributed to PPM Program Engagement	PPM activities	Group	Most Significant Impacts Attributed to PPM Activities
Participating CSOs <i>(as perceived by CSOs that participated in group discussion)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CSOs have an increased understanding of the entire budget cycle CSOs have increased understanding and access to government budget documents CSOs are better able to analyze and track budgets CSOs have increased knowledge of tools for specific local level budget and public service monitoring CSOs have more skills to monitor service delivery CSOs believe there is a strengthened network to monitor budgets and service delivery emerges CSOs better coordinate their budget advocacy efforts CSOs include a wider range of citizens in the budget planning process CSOs' advocacy efforts are more evidenced based and supported by analytical and research documents CSOs/citizens successfully present budget process recommendations to decision makers CSOs are better able to collect and analyze citizen priorities CSOs engage in additional advocacy with local government based on analysis of citizen priorities 	Community discussions Proposal writings Trainings Expenditure tracking Budget monitoring Citizen report cards User based surveys Budget analysis	Civil Society as a Whole <i>(as perceived by CSOs that participated in group discussion)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Citizens understand the budget process Citizens understand budget-related laws and regulations Citizens understand budget monitoring and advocacy Citizens know how to participate effectively in the budget planning process Citizens know how to analyze budgets Citizens know what documents are needed to track budgets Citizens know how to identify community priorities for quality budget proposals Citizens understand that budget monitoring and tracking is a long-term process Citizens have improved budget analysis skills Citizens outside of the elite class participate in the budget cycle An increase in citizen budget proposals presented during the budget planning process Citizens monitor, analyze, and track budget allocations over multiple budget cycles
Local government relationships with CSOs <i>(as perceived by CSOs that participated in group discussion)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participating CSOs have better relationships with local government The district and subdistrict budget planning process is more participatory The local government invites citizens to budget meetings and public hearings before a draft budget is developed The local government provides a draft budget to citizens before public hearings The local government invites citizens to propose projects to be included in the budget An increase in the specific district budget allocations for basic services for citizens An increase in allocations in the district budget that are based on citizen priorities identified by CSOs The government uses the findings from citizen report cards and user-based surveys to help inform service delivery decisions 			
Media relationships with CSOs <i>(as perceived by CSOs that participated in group discussion)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participating CSOs have a stronger relationship Increased citizen awareness of potential corruption and inefficiency during the budget implementation stage of the budget cycle 			

Case Study #2: NDI and Al-Quds Partnership on the Jordanian Parliamentary Monitor Project - Koebel Price, Lead Researcher

The 15th parliamentary elections in Jordan were perceived as a moment of change in the country. The new Members of Parliament (MPs) ran on platforms based on integrity and fighting for national interests, a change which excited and engaged citizens. Additionally, this election marked the first time that domestic CSOs monitored elections, signaling a shift from focusing solely on social issues to more active political engagement. Despite the high hopes for parliament, legislative performance and legislators' regard for the desires of citizens' concerns after the election remained unchanged. Despite political reforms over the last 15 years, the Jordanian Al-Quds Center for Political Studies discovered that the parliament's constitutionally provided legislative and oversight powers represented an unrealized opportunity for further democratization in the country. At the same time, civil society was frustrated by the lack of government transparency and accountability and felt that their participation had little impact. In response to these frustrations and opportunities and with technical support from NDI, the Al-Quds Center embarked on the Jordanian Parliament Monitor (JPM) Project in 2008 with the goal of improving the effectiveness and accountability of the parliament. Through parliamentary monitoring tools such as conducting a national survey, observing parliament sessions, and production of a report on the activities of parliament, the Center succeeded in deepening public participation in the political-process. Making the JPM Project findings public gave civil society actors the opportunity to utilize that information for more effective political engagement. It also improved Jordanians' knowledge of politics in their country. By accessing, analyzing and publicizing information about elected officials' actions, the project made use of, and expanded opportunities for political engagement that existed in Jordanian law, if not in practice. Prior to the JPM Project, information on Jordan's legislative processes was not publicly available, as the parliament itself does not have the capacity to record or make it available. Moreover, as project monitoring reports were published, the findings were used as focal points for unprecedented public forums at which MPs, CSOs and citizens met to discuss issues of community concern, the monitoring report, and the MPs' work in parliament. Throughout implementation of the project, the Al-Quds Center benefited from having a long-term strategy built on incremental change. This started with building the relationships, trust, and skills necessary to provide accurate information, and only then moving on to greater analysis, reporting, and inclusion of other actors. The Al-Quds

Center also understood the importance of including issue-based CSOs in political-process monitoring activities and equipping them with the knowledge to impact their issues, thereby delivering real change to Jordanian citizens.

The Jordan Context

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral parliament, the National Assembly or Majlis al-'Umma. Executive authority resides with the monarch, who appoints the 60 members of the Senate (also called the House of Notables or Majlis al-Ayan) and the prime minister, and must approve Cabinet appointees. The Chamber of Deputies' (also called the Lower House, House of Representatives or Majlis al-Nuwaab) 120 members are elected, but the parliament consists principally of individuals with tribal and business affiliations, and is not a genuine venue for political parties to debate issues and represent citizens' interests. In addition, laws governing elections, political and civic associations, and freedom of the press limit the opportunities and activities of democrats and activists.

When King Abdullah II came to power upon the death of his father, King Hussein, in 1999, his pledges for democratic reform suggested that the country would move purposefully toward democracy, increased government transparency, and more opportunities for citizens to meaningfully engage in political life. Modest progress has been made towards these goals: parliamentary and municipal elections have been held at regular intervals; participation of women as voters, activists, candidates, and elected officials has increased dramatically; and Jordanian civil society organizations have become more active in advocating for democratic governance.

Methodology

The analysis in this case study covers the 2008 - 2011 time period, during which NDI, with support from USAID, provided technical assistance to the Jordanian Parliament Monitor Project (JPM) of the Al-Quds Center for Political Studies. It is informed by a desktop review of materials related to the project, including proposals and reports, key informant interviews and most significant outcome analysis sessions.

In January 2011, an NDI researcher traveled to Amman to work with local partner organizations and conduct research about both the political-process monitoring activities of Jordanian CSOs and NDI's supporting role. With the help of NDI's in-country staff, the researcher conducted 10 key informant interviews of partner and non-partner organizations' leadership and led two most significant outcome analysis sessions: one with NDI part-

ner and Jordanian Parliamentary Monitor (JPM) project implementer Al-Quds Center for Political Studies and one with NDI program staff who had been responsible for supporting them. Representatives of various partner organizations provided invaluable insight into Jordan's political context and the challenges and opportunities for political activism.⁶

[Al-Quds Center for Political Studies](#)

The Al-Quds Center for Political Studies is an independent research institute, established in Amman in 2000. The Center aims to provide a comprehensive and more accurate understanding of the developments and challenges that the Jordanian state and society are facing. The Center looks to examine, from all possible angles, the regional and international environments surrounding these developments, and to contribute to keeping the Jordanian and Arab public opinion informed regarding the strategic transformations that the region is witnessing.

[The Jordanian Parliament Monitor Project](#)

Since its inception, Al-Quds has worked to bridge the gap between Jordan's citizens and their elected representatives. Al Quds' public opinion research indicated that citizens were so frustrated by the lack of transparency and accountability, tribalism, and inefficiency in the parliament that they felt that their participation had little impact and the entire system needed to be reformed. Over the course of its work, the Center concluded that the parliament's constitutionally mandated legislative, oversight and representation functions provided an important, yet unrealized, opportunity for further democratization in the country.

With assistance from NDI and support from USAID, Al-Quds launched the JPM project in order to help strengthen the roles of parliament and enhance the voice of citizens. The project sought to help provide information about the effectiveness of parliament and performance of MPs. Al-Quds based the approach on the belief that providing Jordan's citizens with reliable information to monitor their elected representatives' was essential to improving parliament's ability to carry out its duties.

The JPM project's objectives were to:

1. assess and enhance the performance of MPs in terms of transparency and accountability.
2. promote best practices for the Jordanian Parliament to implement its legislative oversight and representative functions.
3. encourage constructive interaction between the parliament, citizens, and stakeholders.

In order to accomplish these goals, Al-Quds has carried out a series of monitoring, reporting, and dialogue activities that centered on continual observation and reporting of parliament's actions. The initial sequence of activities included:

1. A national survey: Al-Quds assessed how citizens view MPs and the parliament and which issues citizens care about most.
2. Consultations with MPs: In order to understand how MPs prioritized issues and perceived their role as representatives, Al-Quds consulted directly with them
3. Observation of parliament sessions: Two Al-Quds staff members monitored and reported on parliamentary sessions and committee meetings. The Center hired two additional staff to document and analyze their reports and the media's coverage of parliament. Data is collected from the parliament's official minutes, observer's reports of proceedings, and articles from four leading Jordanian newspapers, to be classified by one of parliament's three roles: oversight, legislation, or representation.
4. Roundtables and town hall meetings: Al-Quds conducted roundtables with approximately 25 CSO participants and town hall meetings that comprised approximately 60 participants, including MPs, citizens, academics, and representatives from CSOs and political parties. The agenda for each meeting entailed a JPM project introduction, followed by a discussion to gather qualitative information on public priorities, perceptions of parliament's and MPs' performance, and recommendations for the project's development. Subsequently, as monitoring reports were published, Al-Quds used report findings as focal points for a series of roundtables and town hall meetings at which an MP from the region, local CSOs and citizens met to discuss issues of community concern, the monitoring report, and the MP's work in parliament.
5. Web portal: Al-Quds launched a non-partisan web portal to assist public participation in the democratic process by providing information on legislative pro-

6. Participating organizations included: Amman Center for Human Rights, Identity Center, The Human Forum for Women's Rights, *Al-Hayat* Center for Civil Society Development, The Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists *Al-Mizan* Center for Human Rights, National Coalition for Shadow Reports on the Rights of People with Disabilities

cesses and tools for visitors to email their MP or join a chat forum. The site has given Jordanians a rare window into the country's legislative processes, as the parliament itself does not have the capacity to record such information nor make it publically available.

6. Publication of reports on the activities of the parliament: The initial reports were published in 2009, and contained the first comprehensive data base of Jordanian parliamentarians available to the public, including CVs, committee assignments, constituency, political block affiliations, oversight activities, and an analysis of speeches regarding the government budget.

Considering the Outcomes

While disaggregation of the myriad forces influencing Jordan's democratization is not possible in absolute terms, the examination of the JPM project confirmed that Al-Quds has made significant progress toward the project's goals and in turn deepened democratic practices by establishing new norms and expectations for citizens' access to legislative information and the public's right to openly meet with and discuss the performance of their elected leaders. The JPM project activities, combined with the efforts of cooperating CSOs, MPs, and activists, as well as the reformist winds of the Arab Spring, have *given civil society a more informed and stronger voice in political processes, created expectations that these voices will be given more – and more meaningful – spaces for deliberation and that government is obliged to respond.*

The outcomes of the JPM project were analyzed in terms of citizen voice, political space, and government accountability.

Citizen Voice

As with similar situations, the most common complaint Al-Quds heard from Jordanians was that they could not follow what their elected MPs did in office due to a lack of transparency. Moreover, the Center's public opinion research indicated that this lack of transparency strongly discouraged citizen participation. Citizens need sufficient information about political-processes and actors in order to understand how they may have an impact. *The research suggests that the factual and timely information provided by the JPM addresses this concern and offers a fundamental building block for increased citizen voice.* The Center's strategy of presenting and discussing the JPM project's findings with representatives of the media, CSOs, political parties, and communities further helped build citizen voice by acting as an educational and training resource for CSOs and citizens seeking help understanding and engaging in the political-process. Such public dialogue

efforts provide opportunities for civil society to build the analytical and participatory competencies necessary for effective political engagement. Not only did these public activities, such as media outreach, poll studies, and report dialogues, build citizen competencies, they had some of the greatest impact when it came to influencing MPs. By all accounts, the project's public forums have broadened and deepened Jordanians' knowledge of how politics is practiced in their country.

Furthermore, the JPM issue-based CSOs seemed to help strengthen the potential for future cooperation around issues of common interest. NDI has found elsewhere that these new alliances are important in establishing a more representative and credible citizen voice that has more influence over public policy. These types of networks give more citizens a stake in the activism and help create more links with parliamentarians and other decision makers.

Political Space

Recent years have seen a modest increase in Jordan's political space, as evidenced by the domestic election monitoring efforts of CSO coalitions in the 2007 and 2011 elections, and increased opportunities for civil society to comment upon, and assist with, government compliance of ratified UN conventions.

The JPM project made use of and expanded opportunities for political engagement that existed in Jordanian law, if not in practice. Nonpartisan parliamentary monitoring processes offered a rare entry point into Jordan's opaque political processes. Project leadership recognized that monitoring provided an opportunity for long term democratic engagement, and, rather than use it as a tool to expose poor performance or embarrass MPs, they strove to build trust with MPs and parliamentary staff by meeting with them regularly to seek their assistance and explain the process and goals of the project. They also made strategic decisions to begin by monitoring and reporting primarily on basic process information such as committee selection, legislation tracking and MP attendance, and collaborating with an array of civic and political actors as a means to establish the credibility necessary to secure and incrementally open political space for more substantive engagement. As a result, some of those who might otherwise be most threatened by such initiatives (e.g., MPs, political parties and blocks, and government officials) are working with Al-Quds and other CSOs in order to be more responsive. *This is demonstrated by the active participation of MPs in Al-Quds sponsored public events, at which provocative political matters, such as reform of the election or civic association laws, are openly addressed.*

Accountability

It is too soon to gauge the long term impacts the JPM project will have upon parliament's accountability to the public. What is clear at the time of this writing is that, according to the Jordanians interviewed for this research, the project has helped *establish the expectation that CSOs and citizens have a right to initiate and participate in dialogue about substantive political and socio-economic matters and that parliamentary leaders are obliged to respond*. This is demonstrated by the various public forums at which MPs and party and government representatives actively engage with citizens and, significantly, the increased media coverage of such events and scrutiny of MPs' actions in delivering on their promises.

Table one below elucidates the JPM project's most significant outcomes as identified by research participants. It disaggregates these outcomes in order to highlight how they impacted the organizations and individuals directly engaged by the program, as well as substantial impacts on a broader circle of actors.

Conclusion

The JPM's political-process monitoring activities play an important role in democratization efforts in Jordan. Due to the project's web portal, periodic reports and public forums, Jordanian citizens and CSOs have access to information essential to understanding and meaningfully engaging in parliamentary politics. This has enabled involvement by more citizens, CSOs, political parties and the media, and assisted in forging new, cooperative relationships between and amongst these actors.

The success of the JPM project underscores several lessons NDI has learned elsewhere. Foremost is that Al-Quds had a long range strategy for the organization's democratization work, into which political-process monitoring programs fit naturally. This allowed for an incremental approach that saw the Center's staff first build the relationships and skills necessary to provide accurate information, then move on to greater analysis, reporting, and inclusion of other actors. This established them as a credible, nonpartisan organization and allowed them work with multiple stakeholders, thereby occupying existing space and then expanding it to include more substantive political discourse and a greater range of organizations engaged. Second, Al-Quds' leadership seemed to instinctually understand that while democracy and governance-oriented CSOs such as Al-Quds can help make opportunities for citizens to learn about and engage in their political processes, those opportunities may carry little practical meaning for citizens. At the same time, *Al Quds* recognizes the risk of these opportunities being di-

minished if not also occupied by citizens and other civil society organizations. Thus, the Center worked diligently to bring issue-based CSOs into political-process monitoring activities and equip them with the knowledge and relationships necessary to impact their issues. By effectively engaging citizens and government around matters that effect the quality of people's daily lives, these groups can play a vital role in establishing enduring democratic practices. Finally, Al-Quds effectively mediated the interactions between the various actors engaged by the JPM project, which helped shape political space around less adversarial relationships.

AL-QUDS PARLIAMENTARY MONITORING PROGRAM, MOST SIGNIFICANT OUTCOMES AND ACTIVITIES
(based on discussion participants' responses)

Engaged by PPM (as perceived by Al-Quds staff that participated in the group discussion)				External to the Program (as perceived by Al-Quds staff that participated in the group discussion)		
Al-Quds's Primary PPM Activities	Directly Influenced	Most Significant Outcomes Attributed to PPM Program Engagement	PPM Activities With the Greatest Impact	Group	Most Significant Impacts Attributed to PPM Activities	PMM Activities With the Greatest Impact
Polls, studies and reports	MPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More interaction Increased interest in sharing information with Al-Quds' observers Participation in relevant activities Keenness on maintaining a positive image 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Polls, studies and reports Proposed legislation Media outreach 	Civil Society as a Whole	<p>More awareness of Parliament and MPs</p> <p>Better awareness and understanding of democratic culture</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Polls (tie) Website Media
Interaction with different stakeholders	CSOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partnership with Al-Quds Demand for Al-Quds' PM services Increased CSO awareness of Parliament developments Encouraged new initiatives to monitor Parliament by other CSOs 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> (tie) Polls and reports Networking and coalition building Stakeholder Interaction 	Non – participating women's organizations	<p>More awareness and participation in the legislative process and following their group-related issues and policies</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Media (tie) Website Polls
Media outreach						
Training						
Proposing amended legislation	Women's Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhanced partnership between Al-Quds and women's organizations Increased awareness among women leaders on MPs' performance and women's representation in Parliament 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> (tie) Media outreach Networking and coalition building Training 	Professional Associations	<p>More awareness and participation in the legislative process and following their group-related issues and policies</p>	
Networking and coalition building						
Website	Political Parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased awareness of Parliament Demonstrated interest in parliamentary monitoring reports Increased engagement in the legislative process 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> (tie) Proposed legislation Training Polls and reports 	Refugee Camps	<p>More awareness; increased confidence in the democratic process; increased participation in elections</p>	
Additional Impacts of the PPM program (as perceived by Al-Quds staff that participated in the group discussion)						
	Local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Better knowledge about MPs Better information on Parliament in general 		The Private Sector	<p>More awareness and participation in the legislative process and following their group-related issues and policies</p>	
	Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acquired an independent and credible source of information on Parliament Increased interest in covering the activities of Al-Quds' parliamentary monitoring work 				
	Public Opinion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased awareness 				
	Local Councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased awareness, especially women members in local councils 				
	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased governmental openness regarding electoral reform and parliamentary monitoring Sponsoring and participating in activities 				
	Senate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sponsoring and participating in activities Interaction with parliamentary monitoring reports 				
	Academicians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acquired more resources of information on Parliament Increased appreciation of the project 				

Case Study #3: Zimbabwe: Overcoming Obstacles to Holding Governments Accountable - Kourtney Pompi, Lead Researcher

Following the controversial 2008 election in Zimbabwe, key political actors negotiated the Global Political Agreement (GPA), which created a Government of National Unity (GNU) comprised of both opposition leaders and the ruling party. In a country where political space is highly restricted, the GPA provided an entry point for civil society to monitor government actions. With the assistance of NDI, the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) brought together 29 CSO groups to form the Civil Society Monitoring Mechanism (CISOMM) to monitor the implementation of the GPA. Many CISOMM partners had significant experience in monitoring both elections and political violence and saw political-process monitoring initiatives as a natural next-step in the progression of their activities. By expanding their existing skill sets and knowledge and leveraging their existing relationships, CISOMM was able to overcome obstacles that organizations new to this type of activity often face. CISOMM members discovered a measure of protection in the strength of their numbers, which allowed their monitoring efforts to be critical of the implementation of the GPA. The use of evidence-based monitoring was useful for CISOMM and helped build their credibility. While CISOMM members had difficulty identifying the direct impact of their initiatives on government accountability, their ability to occupy the space created by the GPA may be considered an initial achievement. CISOMM's ability to carry out efforts without interference by the government or security forces helps to set an important precedent for future citizen action. The Zimbabwe program illustrates that while monitoring the government may be risky, not monitoring at all may pose an even greater risk - including the closing of political space.

Introduction

For more than 30 years, Robert Mugabe has presided over the people of Zimbabwe. The most recent elections in 2008 gave Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) another six years at the helm of government. The 2008 elections were characterized by both the international community and domestic election observation groups as deeply flawed. With opposition and independent candidates participating in this election, opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai won the first round, Tsvangirai eventually withdrew from round two, however, due to significant election-related violence and election procedures that were viewed as highly corrupt. While this gave Mugabe the electoral win,

Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party won the majority of parliamentary seats. This win led opposition parties to push for a power-sharing agreement. Mediated by South African President Thabo Mbeki, the GPA⁷ was signed on September 15, 2008, creating the GNU with Mugabe as president, Tsvangirai as prime minister, Arthur Mutambara as deputy prime minister and a politically inclusive cabinet to be determined. The agreement outlined the roles and responsibilities of signatories and their respective parties, political and socio-economic guarantees for citizens, the rule of law and human rights commitments.

The GPA provided opposition leaders a political seat at the table that acknowledged their electoral victories, something that had never before happened, and provided a framework that civil society could use to monitor progress toward agreed upon reforms. Several local CSOs recognized that the GPA opened political space and created both an opportunity and need for civic activism. With the assistance of NDI, a leading local human rights organization, the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), brought together like-minded organizations in late 2008 to find ways to help ensure that the GPA is enacted. The CSOs explored the implications of the GPA and what role civil society could have in relation to the new power sharing arrangement. The groups determined that they should begin by monitoring and reporting on the implementation of the GPA. Seen as a natural progression in their human rights and election monitoring work, ZLHR and 29 other groups formed CISOMM⁸ to monitor the implementation of the GPA. Headed by a secretariat

7. "Agreement between the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations, on resolving the challenges facing Zimbabwe", 16 September, 2008. <www.cisomm.org>.

8. Current list of CISOMM member organizations: Bulawayo Agenda (BA), Centre for Community Development in Zimbabwe (CCDZ), Centre for Research and Development (CRD), Christian Alliance (CA), Civic Education Network Trust (CIVNET), Counselling Services Unit (CSU), Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (CZC), General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union (GAPWUZ), Justice for Children Trust (JCT), Legal Resources Foundation (LRF), Food Security Network (FOSENET), Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI), Media Institute of Southern Africa – Zimbabwe Chapter (MISA-Zimbabwe), Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe (MMPZ), National Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (NANGO), Oxfam International (OI), Platform for Youth Development Trust (PYD), Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ), Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU), Restoration of Human Rights Zimbabwe (ROHR), Save Zimbabwe Campaign (SZC), Students' Christian Movement of Zimbabwe (SCMZ), Students Solidarity Trust (SST), Transparency International, Veritas, Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe (VMCZ), Women's Coalition (WC), Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA), Youth Agenda Trust (YAT), Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR), Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZIMCODD), Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights), Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (ZHRF), Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU), Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA), and Zimbabwe Young Women's Network for Peace Building (ZYWNP).

made up of representatives from several member organizations, CISOMM discussed which articles of the GPA they could effectively monitor and eventually organized themselves into seven thematic cluster groups to monitor issue areas covered under the GPA: economic recovery, humanitarian and food assistance, constitutional reform, political justice and transition, institutional reform, respect for human rights, and freedom of expression.

NDI supported CISOMM in its early stages by providing technical assistance in the form of comparative experiences from Kenya, including advice on how to organize member organizations around this type of monitoring project. NDI also provided a technical advisor to help CISOMM members develop a set of benchmarks to be monitored and with the CISOMM to establish a reporting schedule and report dissemination strategy, and provided guidance to CISOMM as they held their first report launch event. Following this early assistance, CISOMM operated on their own to monitor the GPA and the broader political environment. CISOMM has written monitoring reports every 3-6 months since the project's inception and continues to monitor the situation to this day.

The following analysis of the CISOMM project is based on findings from in-country research conducted by NDI in April 2011. Using the standardized interview template found in this guide, NDI held four key informant interviews with three lead CISOMM partners. Due to security concerns for CSOs operating in Zimbabwe, NDI did not to conduct focus group discussions. Each interview consisted of the interviewer and one to three members from selected partner organizations that worked on the CISOMM monitoring project. Partners that were selected had the highest profile and largest coordinating role within the project. Each organization was interviewed separately due to security concerns. NDI also conducted one group discussion with NDI staff who worked on the CISOMM program, with supplemental information gathered via email exchange following the research trip.

[How CISOMM Operated in a Tough Political Environment](#)

Political-process monitoring initiatives provide citizens with a mechanism to promote accountability and increase transparency of government actions. Ideally, monitoring government action should be a regular part of civil society's role in the political-process. However, in countries like Zimbabwe where political space is limited and often disappears at the whim of the ruling party, civil society oversight activities may appear threatening to those in power. Consequently, access to information is limited and

society's ability to monitor government action is hampered and may result in physical threats or detentions. Moreover, CISOMM partners knew that these risks needed to be considered and managed. In the past, CISOMM partners had come under severe scrutiny by Zimbabwe's security forces for their activism and monitoring efforts. During interviews, key CISOMM representatives indicated that joining CISOMM and monitoring the GPA was a logical next step, since most CISOMM members had conducted some type of monitoring activity in the past, including human rights monitoring, violence monitoring, and election monitoring, and had learned how to monitor political-processes in ways that safeguarded their activists. For the groups interviewed, all felt that monitoring the GPA was within the scope of their activities and that they could make use of existing skill sets and networks of volunteers to collect information. One CISOMM partner acknowledged that NDI had helped them develop monitoring skills that could also be used to monitor the GPA, including: creating data collection tools; recruiting, training and managing volunteers; developing methods of collecting data from volunteers; writing reports; and working with the media. One CISOMM partner commented that monitoring the GPA only added a few extra data collection points to their existing efforts, since they already had volunteers in the field collecting information on food distribution and access to health care, and did not necessarily create any additional risk. *CISOMM partners specialized in finding ways to maximize small amounts of political space. Monitoring the GPA proved to be a way to expand political space and raise the voice of civil society in a meaningful and constructive way.*

Working together toward a common goal was beneficial for CISOMM members. Most important, as expressed by all the CISOMM partners that were interviewed, was the members' ability to tap into their existing areas of expertise and interest. By organizing themselves into groups around areas of existing interest, member organizations did not have a steep learning curve in relation to the GPA issue they monitored. Members leveraged their existing knowledge, expertise, and relationships in their cluster area to collect information on the implementation of the GPA. Some CISOMM members have specific technical skill sets that were extremely useful to the project. Legal expertise was particularly helpful in understanding the technical language used in the GPA document, for example; and CISOMM's secretariat had members with strong writing and analytic skills who contributed to efforts at synthesizing cluster group input and writing the monitoring reports. Everyone interviewed also recognized that there was safety in numbers, which would make it harder

for the government to crackdown on 30 organizations than to crackdown on one or two.

[Outcomes of CISOMM's Monitoring Efforts](#)

CISOMM members told NDI researchers that the GPA monitoring has begun to alter relationships and government perceptions of civil society by those in government. When specifically asked if they thought there was a change in relationships between government and CISOMM members as a result of GPA monitoring, all the CISOMM members interviewed said no. Upon having them describe their interactions with government before, during, and after their GPA monitoring activities, however, that response may not be completely accurate. One partner described a situation in which their organization was invited to meet with a specific ministry office, which was perceived by the organization as a positive meeting (i.e., to act as a resource for the ministry). Interviewees acknowledged that generally most of the government invitations come from more progressive politicians, however this invitation was not described as such. The relationship between this ministry and the CISOMM member before the monitoring project was described as antagonistic, as this particular partner had been subjected to extensive scrutiny by security forces in the past. The meeting invitation indicates that evidenced-based monitoring may help to change the perception and nature of how government views and responds to civil society's monitoring efforts - certainly a positive outcome.

A similar result was observed with the media. Interviewees did not describe a particularly strong relationship with the media prior to the CISOMM project. In environments with limited political space, the media is often a wildcard: either politically aligned and favorable to the ruling party or more apt to help provide civil society a platform to voice concerns about government behavior.⁹ In Zimbabwe, CISOMM partners were rather neutral on the role of the media in aiding their monitoring efforts. While the media was not proactive in helping to publicize CISOMM's findings, the media did attend press conferences and publish information found in CISOMM's monitoring reports.

Perhaps most significant was CISOMM's ability to leverage existing relationships with some members of parliament, ministry officials and other civil society actors. These relationships helped provide CISOMM members with access to information, which was one of the biggest challenges interviewees identified. The ruling party has

always been reluctant to make information about their actions public, so by having a few allies with access to information, CISOMM partners were able to access official documents and people in order to monitor how the commitments outlined in the GPA were being met.

[Lessons Learned](#)

Often it is the small victories and the little steps toward larger openings for civil society to participate in the political-process that count the most; such may be the case with the CISOMM project in Zimbabwe. That the CISOMM members were able to collect information, develop regular reports, and disseminate their findings to the media without their efforts being stymied by the ruling party or security forces is significant.

By analyzing each discussion with CISOMM members in its entirety and looking across all the information collected during the in-country research trips, several outcomes can be highlighted:

- Political-process monitoring initiatives are often a natural next-step in a civil society organization's progression in activities. This is especially important to consider when political space is limited.
- Expanding upon existing skill sets and knowledge may help organizations overcome some of the hurdles that organizations new to monitoring government face.
- Using evidence-based monitoring can build an organizations' credibility.
- When space is limited to monitor and hold government accountable, working in a network or coalition may be beneficial as there is safety in numbers.
- Leveraging existing relationships are key to overcoming challenges of access to information and to disseminating findings.

Finally, one of CISSOM's most significant achievements was their ability to occupy the space that the GPA created. Even more important, several CISSOM member organizations created a new initiative, the Independent Constitution Monitoring Project (ZZZICOMP) to monitor the constitution drafting process called for in the GPA. Not only did these organizations recognize the unique opportunity to monitor the GNU that the GPA provided, but they also created and demanded additional space by expanding their monitoring efforts into new areas. While there may be great risk in monitoring government, for the members of CISOMM, the risks associated with monitoring the GPA were outweighed by the risks of not participating in some way around the GPA's implemen-

9. This has happened on several occasions in Cambodia, where Beehive Radio, an independent media outlet, often aired commentary that was critical of the government.

tation. For CISOMM and ZZZICOMP, to not monitor government and allow existing limited opportunities for government accountability to close was riskier than any crackdown by the government for their efforts. At present, the GNU is under scrutiny to make the GPA work and for all signatories to uphold the commitments they signed on to. If civil society does not continue to monitor government and report their findings, that opportunities for political engagement could disappear. In challenging environments such as Zimbabwe, the challenge is for civil society to look for opportunities to engage in political-process monitoring efforts so that political space does not shrink or disappear.

ZIMBABWE: CISOMM MONITORING PROJECT, MOST SIGNIFICANT OUTCOMES AND ACTIVITIES
(based on discussion participants responses)

Engaged by PPM (as perceived by CISOMM member organizations that granted interview)			External to the Program (as perceived by CISOMM member organizations that granted interview)		
Directly Influenced	Most Significant Outcomes Attributed to PPM Program Engagement	PPM activities	Group	Most Significant Impacts Attributed to PPM Activities	PPM most significant activities
Political Parties/ GPA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is greater political space for political party actions in accordance with the GPA Political parties utilize the recommendations in the periodic report by the CISOMM The MDC increased its efforts to include involvement by civil society in parliamentary work 	Outreach meetings Questionnaires COPAC committee trainings Workshops Media trainings Reports and newsletters	Civil Society as a Whole	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community members feel ownership in the constitution writing process There is greater understanding of the constitution writing process CSOs enhance the capacity of citizens to monitor government follow through Public confidence in the parliament is built through the shadow report Electoral monitors understand constitutional elements 	
CSOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coalition partners are more open to sharing particular field expertise between each other CSOs are becoming authoritative sources on the GPA Relationships are strengthened between CSO partners CSOs increased their skills in event documenting CSOs acquired new skills in monitoring government follow through CSOs acquired event documentation skills CSOs increased their ability to design their own monitoring instruments CSOs expanded on existing skill sets in monitoring Partners feel increased safety to monitor because of the number of groups engaged 	Technical assistance	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government is aware that there are outside monitoring its performance Ministries invite CISOMM partner organizations to meet and discuss concerns 	
CISOMM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CISOMM publications are recognized by international conventions Coalition reports are presented to Geneva Commission Collective work prevents individual CSOs from unnecessarily duplicating monitoring activities There is increased communication and report sharing in the Constitution Selection Committee COPAC 				
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is an increased demand for information from CISOMM Media attends press conferences of CISOMM Media publishes information found in CISOMM reports 				

Case Study #4: Shadow Reports and Government Compliance with International Conventions: Burkina Faso

- Michael O. Murphy, Lead Researcher

From 2009 to 2010, NDI provided technical and financial assistance to a coalition of Burkinabe civil society organizations to write and submit a shadow report on the Government of Burkina Faso's implementation of the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to the Convention's Committee in Geneva. These CSOs saw this as an important initiative for several reasons, including the fact that the Burkinabe government's reporting to the Committee had not been consistent and that there had previously been few opportunities for local CSOs to monitor government compliance with CEDAW. The CEDAW Implementation Monitoring Coalition of Burkina Faso, or the CEDAW Coalition, comprised of 17 Burkinabe CSOs and two quasi-governmental agencies, produced a shadow report and submitted it to the Committee on the occasion of Burkina Faso's sixth periodic review in Geneva. NDI's assistance included training the CEDAW Coalition members on shadow report processes and data collection techniques, as well as providing support on following up on the government's response to the coalition's recommendations. In addition to concrete outcomes, such as the government's adoption of most of the CEDAW Coalition's 53 recommendations, participants identified several other changes. These included an improved understanding within civil society of CEDAW, an increased awareness of the obligations of the Burkinabe government for domestic implementation of the treaty among parliamentarians, and more openness from the Minister for the Advancement of Women to input from CSOs. NDI's program provided the opportunity for like-minded CSOs to collaborate and network as a coalition while building skills in political-process monitoring that would empower women. The process of joining together in a coalition illustrated the benefits of collaboration, which can lead to greater access to information and institutions. However, the coalition partners also learned that political-process monitoring is a long-term process that leads to gradual change, rather than immediate improvements in the lives of everyday women.

Introduction

The UN General Assembly adopted the CEDAW in 1979. CEDAW provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women's equal access to and equal opportunities in political and public life - including the right to vote and to stand for election - as well as education, health and employment. Signatories agree

The CEDAW quadrennial reporting requirements create an opportunity for local CSOs to produce shadow reports. Shadow reporting is a means of monitoring and raising awareness of government compliance with signed international treaties, conventions and declarations by researching and producing a supplemental or alternative report to the national government's official report to an international oversight body.

to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women may enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Countries that have ratified the convention are legally bound to put its provisions into practice. They are also committed to submit national reports every four years outlining measures they have taken to comply with their CEDAW obligations.¹⁰ The CEDAW Committee is an independent UN body composed of 23 experts on women's rights that meets three times annually to monitor domestic implementation of the treaty parties. In order to ensure that it is as informed as possible, the committee and the pre-session working group¹¹ invite representatives of national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to provide country-specific information and analysis.

The government of Burkina Faso signed CEDAW in 1984 and became a full party following its 1987 ratification. While the Burkinabe government is obligated to produce reports that measure progress made toward full CEDAW implementation every four years, their reporting has been inconsistent and CEDAW implementation has been uneven at best. The government submitted the sixth periodic report covering the years 2001-2006 in 2010.

Burkina Faso ranks lower than both Haiti and Afghanistan on the Human Development Index with high rates of illiteracy and limited access to health care and education, particularly for women and girls. There are competing justice systems, including religious, customary, and civil systems, which often result in *de facto* or *de jure* legal restrictions on discriminatory and inhumane practices, such as female genital mutilation, in one system, while the same practices are encouraged by another. Accord-

10. The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is a human rights treaty that obliges state parties to take necessary steps to promote women's rights. The Convention sets out standards and outlines areas of concern. CEDAW came into force in 1981.

11. According to the rules of procedure for the Committee on the CEDAW and in accordance with Article 18 the pre-session working group meets beforehand in order to formulate questions on the party reports submitted to the committee and forward those questions and issues to the state parties concerned.

ing to local women's organizations, the inequalities facing women and girls in Burkina Faso are a major drain on the country's development. Women and girls are discriminated against in health, education and the labor market, all of which negatively affect their participation in community life and politics and inhibits their wealth creation.

In 2009, NDI began providing technical and financial assistance to a coalition of Burkinabe CSOs that came together to prepare a shadow report for the UN CEDAW Committee. The shadow report drafted by the CEDAW Coalition sought to augment the information contained in the Burkina Faso government's sixth periodic report submitted for consideration to the 47th Session (October 4-22nd 2010) of the UN CEDAW Committee.

The work of the organizations comprising the monitoring coalition had all focused primarily on women's human rights and political participation throughout Burkina Faso, with the majority of groups headquartered in the capital. Their shadow report focused on articles 1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 19 of the Convention.¹² Through a systematic, collective process of analyzing the draft government report, debating the government's version, and developing alternative language, the Coalition drafted a shadow report containing 53 recommendations related to advancing CEDAW implementation in Burkina Faso.

In October 2010, four CEDAW Coalition representatives presented the shadow report in Geneva to the CEDAW Committee and advocated for the inclusion of the CEDAW Coalition's recommendations in the Committee's Concluding Observations Report to the Burkinabe government. The Committee included 44 of the CEDAW Coalition's 53 recommendations. *Following the presentation of its shadow report at the 47th Session, the CEDAW Coalition, with support from NDI and the International Women's Rights Action Network (IWRAP) held its first roundtable on the status of CEDAW's implementation with Burkinabe political and civic leaders, including the second vice president of the National Assembly.*¹³ During this gath-

ering, the Coalition began conversations with members of parliament and ministerial staff members about how to ensure that national laws reflect the principles and intent of CEDAW. Following the roundtable, an MP who was particularly impressed with the CEDAW Coalition invited them to attend a regional African Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting to discuss potential legislative action concerning violence against women.

To gain a better understanding of what changed as a result of the Burkina Faso shadow reporting process, NDI conducted field research in June 2011. Using outcome mapping and most significant change techniques, the research team conducted a series of key informant interviews and focus groups. This process involved 14 one-on-one interviews with members of the CEDAW Coalition, as well as two focus group discussions: the first including members of the team responsible for writing the shadow report and presenting its recommendations to the CEDAW Committee in Geneva; and the second involving key local NDI staff who provided assistance to the CEDAW Coalition.

The research suggests that the Burkina Faso shadow reporting process contributed to several modest yet potentially significant changes. In addition to raising public awareness about CEDAW, the shadow reporting process opened new, non-confrontational avenues for promoting government accountability on CEDAW implementation. The shadow reporting process brought international attention to both the Burkinabe government's limited implementation of the convention principles and to the CEDAW Committee's previous recommendations made to the Burkinabe government. It also promoted increased engagement between women activists and public officials in Burkina Faso around steps that could be taken to better meet CEDAW obligations.

Background

With the financial support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), NDI has worked to increase Burkinabe women's political participation as part of a larger effort aimed at poverty reduction and improved governance. In addition to assistance being offered to local councils, the national parliament, and political parties, NDI has also supported CSOs in their efforts to enhance gender equality, promote inclusion, and urge greater local and national level government accountability on issues of particular importance to women.

After initial an examination of development needs, potential partners, and political entry points, NDI recognized that shadow reporting might be used to help organize and amplify women's voices, create additional opportunities

12. These articles of the Convention refer to the definition of discrimination as well as ensuring that women are free from discrimination and that equality is appropriately achieved without further discrimination unless necessary to set equality into motion. The articles set appropriate standards to prevent discrimination against women in education, marriage, maternity, rural development, and in front of law enforcement and the judiciary. Art. 19 sets guidelines for procedure of the CEDAW Committee.

13. International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia Pacific (IWRAP Asia Pacific) is an international women's human rights organization based in the Global South that works to fill the gap between the promise of women's human rights embodied in human rights treaties and their actual realization at the national level. This involves mobilizing women's groups at all levels to demand accountability from governments on the domestic application of human rights standards. This is done primarily through the lens of CEDAW and other international human rights treaties. Established in 1993, IWRAP Asia Pacific currently works throughout South and Southeast Asia and over 100 countries globally. <<http://www.iwraw-ap.org>>.

for women's political participation, and encourage government to focus more on gender equality. To achieve these outcomes, NDI supported the creation of a coalition organized to assess and analyze the government's compliance with its obligations under CEDAW.

Prior to NDI's efforts, CSOs had not collaborated to monitor or influence government compliance with CEDAW. Although the Burkinabe Movement for Human Rights (*Mouvement burkinabe pour les droits des l'homme et des peuples* or MBDHP) produced a shadow report in 2005, the group did not consult broadly with other CSOs working on gender equality and women's rights issues. The MBDHP also struggled with how to use their shadow report as a way to engage public officials and push for more meaningful CEDAW implementation. This experience helped inform the development of the CEDAW Coalition.

Civil society organizations have a necessary role to play in ensuring CEDAW is implemented. According to IWRAW, "the reporting and review process is most powerful if it is approached as a continuous cycle. The cycle includes [the] State party reporting to the Committee; dialogue between the Committee and the State party; Concluding Observations by the Committee; follow-up by the Committee, the State party, and civil society; and the next report. This cycle will not be effective without NGO monitoring, participation, and informing the general public in the State. It is important to complete the cycle by using the Concluding Observations as a tool for advocacy and lobbying during the years between reviews."¹⁴

To help enhance the potential impact of the shadow report, NDI provided technical and financial assistance to the coalition. This support focused on increasing the group's capacity to assess and analyze CEDAW implementation in Burkina Faso and then draft a public report. NDI transferred specific skills and political knowledge as it guided the groups through the shadow report process. Some of the critical areas of capacity building included developing the Coalition's:

- understanding of the government of Burkina Faso's obligations under CEDAW;
- understanding of the structure and substance of a shadow report;
- awareness of the steps followed by other CEDAW state parties and civil society organizations when submitting periodic and shadow reports to the UN;
- ability to create an action plan and delineate roles;

- ability to collect and analyze relevant data;
- ability to deliberate findings and draft a shadow report;
- ability to present findings and publicly discuss the report; and
- ability to develop a plan to follow-up on report's recommendations with the Burkinabe government.

This final point acknowledges that the process of treaty monitoring and reporting sets the stage for the additional action that is required to achieve government support for genuine change. In other words, the shadow report may raise women's rights issues for government consideration, but getting the government to act on these issues usually necessitates additional engagement by civil society groups.

For this reason, in April 2011 NDI provided financial and technical support to help the CEDAW Coalition develop a strategic plan to advocate for the implementation of CEDAW.

Research Findings

The research undertaken by NDI mapped the outcomes of the shadow reporting process and identified the most significant changes as described by key informants and focus group participants. The qualitative methods provided the researchers the opportunity to ask participants questions related to the situation before and after the shadow report and to ask for specific examples of what changed, why they believed the change occurred, and why the change is significant. Researchers then considered the significance of the change, or lack thereof, in relation to Burkina Faso's political context and the development of citizen voice, political space, and government accountability.

Participants in the interviews and focus groups indicated that the shadow reporting process influenced developments within civil society, the national assembly, and government ministries. The reporting process had a direct influence on the capacities of the CEDAW Coalition's members that seemed to coincide with their level of participation in the analysis, deliberation, and report writing. Before the process, many of the coalition members reported that they had limited knowledge of CEDAW's details or how they could influence government.

CEDAW Coalition members that participated in the focus groups and interviews (i.e., those who were the most involved in the development and writing of the shadow report) agreed that they now had a voice that the government was more likely to acknowledge. They increased their knowledge of CEDAW, learned how to collect and analyze data that reflected the articles of the convention, became better able to interpret the government's sixth pe-

14. <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/iwraw/reports.html>

riodic report, learned how to write a shadow report and how to present to the CEDAW Committee in Geneva, became familiar with advocacy techniques such as “corridor lobbying¹⁵,” and learned how to conduct roundtable meetings that gained media attention.

Civil society’s awareness of CEDAW and the work of the coalition extended beyond the coalition’s membership, according to information provided during the focus groups and interviews. The reporting and the roundtable also contributed to helping a broader segment of civil society understand the government’s obligations under international treaties and become interested in joining the work of the coalition.

The research also indicated that prior to the work of the shadow report, MPs had limited knowledge of CEDAW and the government’s obligations pursuant to the convention. In part, this lack of knowledge prevented MPs from initiating legal measures needed to enforce the provisions of the convention. In fact, many respondents believed that MPs were unaware that Burkina Faso had signed and ratified CEDAW. This changed after the coalition held a roundtable meeting on their shadow report following the Geneva meeting in December 2010. The CEDAW Coalition invited MPs, government officials with line responsibilities for the implementation of CEDAW, locally elected representatives, religious leaders, and members of civil society to attend a session where they provided an overview of their shadow report findings, as well as recommendations contained in the CEDAW Committee’s Concluding Observations to the government’s sixth Periodic Report. The CEDAW Coalition members also provided suggestions to MPs and government officials about how to ensure that national laws are in compliance with the principles and intent of CEDAW. Focus groups participants and interviewees believed that MPs would now be more interested in following-up on the suggestions partially because they are now aware that CEDAW is binding on all branches of government.

The coalition members also viewed the roundtable as a mechanism through which they increased the knowledge of the Minister for the Advancement of Women and the Minister’s openness to input from the Coalition.¹⁶ This translated into increased attention by the Minister to

the opinions of CSOs on issues related to CEDAW and improved attitudes on behalf of ministry staff toward coalition members.

Considering the Outcomes of the Shadow Report

According to CEDAW Coalition members and NDI local staff, the most significant changes culminating from the shadow reporting process included:

1. Increased civil society’s understanding of CEDAW principles, processes, and priorities as a means of aligning support for reform; and
2. Greater understanding by elected leaders to the government’s CEDAW obligations and civil society’s interest in the issues as a means of gaining the ear of policymakers.

The reason that research participants viewed these changes as most significant is because in combination the two create a modest new force for pushing government on CEDAW implementation. Amongst focus group participants, there was widespread agreement that:

- government is now aware that civil society has both the capacity and intent to monitor CEDAW implementation;
- women have become more assertive with government;
- government has agreed to consider a review of the Code of Individuals and Families to bring it more in line with CEDAW Committee recommendations; and
- Burkinabe parliamentarians have committed to review the laws related to violence against women as related to the state’s obligations under CEDAW.

While acknowledging that the shadow reporting process did lead to some change in the way they now work in coalition in issues of common concern, the language used by interviewees and focus group is best expressed as cautious. For example, they qualified their responses with language such as “slightly better” and “somewhat improved”. This seemed to reflect a realistic approach about what could be achieved, as well as some skepticism in believing that civil society could drive significant change. Some said that the shadow report’s full effects were ongoing and that it was too soon to tell what would really result. Nonetheless, most participants expressed some level of optimism that awareness among stakeholders had changed and that these changes, however modest, could be categorized as positive.

NDI staff involved directly in the shadow report program also reported that the work of the coalition had gener-

15. As the name suggests, this form of lobbying takes place in the corridors, cloakrooms and cafeterias of places where decision makers meet. It is gaining in popularity with civil society organizations who often lack the resources, expertise, or cache to directly influence the making of decisions but instead rely on the personal impact of strong individual pressure in the corridors.

16. The CEDAW Coalition participants’ comments refer to Minister Céline Yoda, who was Minister for the Advancement of Women from 2007 to April 2011. A new government was appointed on April 21, 2011, which included the new Minister for the Advancement of Women, former NDI staff member Nestorine Sangaré.

ated interest within the donor community. For example, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) invited the coalition to submit a proposal to continue their CEDAW monitoring work. Also, following the coalition's report, other women's organizations in Burkina Faso are now expressing interest in getting involved in monitoring the government's compliance with the Convention.

It is also necessary to highlight a few of the deficiencies with the shadow reporting process that, according to the research respondents, may be attributed to the short time frame involved in its preparation and the unevenness of the coalition's reach throughout Burkina Faso. Many Burkinabe organizations do not have access to the most vulnerable women in rural areas who are the most likely to experience multiple forms of systemic discrimination. Article 14 of CEDAW refers specifically to rural women, but this article was not addressed in the coalition's shadow report. One of the interviewees who represented disabled women reported that there was no attention paid to her constituency, whom she referred to as the "most vulnerable of the vulnerable". The Coalition's writing committee was made up of professional associations, such as the Association of Burkinabe Women Jurists (*Association des femmes juristes du Burkina Faso*, AFJB), and all of the organizations were based in the capital, Ouagadougou. This configuration may have resulted on the lack of focus on rural women and disability issues.

[Concluding Remarks](#)

In many ways, the shadow report process provided an opportunity for a coalition of like-minded organizations focused on human and women's rights to constructively critique the Burkinabe government on its implementation of CEDAW. Whether this experience leads to sustainable improvements in women's rights and gender equality is yet to be seen. At the time of the research, however, there did seem to be a level of government openness and a motivated CSO coalition eager to continue pushing for CEDAW implementation. The coalition perceives itself to have a stronger voice and more space to hold government accountable to CEDAW commitments following their production of the shadow report. Beyond the CEDAW shadow report project, Coalition members continue to work together to promote a variety of issues of common concern. The networking skills built during the shadow report development process have become a valuable tool for pushing forward local partner organizations agendas for change.

TABLE: BURKINA FASO SHADOW REPORT PPM, MOST SIGNIFICANT OUTCOMES AND ACTIVITIES
(based on discussion participants' responses)

Engaged by PPM			External to the Program		
Directly Influenced	Most Significant Outcomes Attributed to PPM Program Engagement	CEDAW Coalition's PPM activities	Group	Most Significant Impacts Attributed to PPM Activities	PPM most significant activities
CSOs/civil society <i>(as perceived by CSOs that participated in group discussion)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participating CSOs felt a stronger presence as a coalition Participating CSOs are able to translate and promote CEDAW to more citizens through radio programs Participating Coalition members are equipped with more skills used to dissect, criticize, and discuss legislation Participating Coalition members are encouraged to monitor government processes regularly versus only in urgent situations Participating CSOs inform greater sections of civil society of the process Participating CSOs incorporate monitoring initiatives into other legislative processes Participating Coalition members apply PPM skills to pressure government to implement the 2006 Optional Protocol Participating CSOs increase collaboration and knowledge sharing The Code of Individuals and Families is translated by Coalition member AFJB to increase outreach to more populations Participating CSOs have active ownership of the shadow report process 	Review CEDAW recommendation process Shadow report training Training on data collection Self-assessments on capacity Strategic planning Citizen Questionnaires Government information requests Internal reporting Shadow report presentation Roundtable	Civil Society as a Whole	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Citizens are able to analyze gender equalities and engage in advocacy with local government Collaborations between government and civil society are increasing Citizens can more readily recognize CEDAW issues Citizens are motivated to address CEDAW issues publicly The government is aware of civil society monitoring The government is more open to conversations on concerns with civil society 	Internal reporting Citizen questionnaires Outreach Shadow report presentation
Minister for the Advancement of Women and Ministry Staff <i>(as perceived by CSOs that participated in group discussion)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior government agencies follow the recommendations of the shadow report and increase women's presence The government is considering a review of the Code of Individuals and Families based on coalition recommendations The government is aware of the need for more regular and accurate reporting The government is aware of CSO skill building in monitoring 		CEDAW	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shadow Report recommendations are acknowledged in legislation Citizens utilize the findings of the shadow report to petition the government Shadow Report is used to establish government report contradictions Coalition members are trained on the details of the CEDAW Coalition members can speak about the CEDAW in local languages Coalition members learned how to write a shadow report 	
Members of Parliament <i>(as perceived by CSOs that participated in group discussion)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is an increase in commitments to review laws concerning violence against women Magistrates apply lessons learned from the CEDAW shadow report to domestic work MPs are aware of CSO monitoring efforts The government is aware of the Shadow Report's presentation to international actors in Geneva There is greater recognition of gender equality issues 		National Assembly		
			Political parties	Party members introduce policy initiatives that address women	
Additional Impacts of the PPM program					
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participating CSOs now have a strong relationship with the media based on the shadow report 				
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's issues are taken into consideration within recommendations to the government Women engage local authorities on issues of particular concern them 				
Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth voice was heard in the process 				

Part 1: Research Methodology

During the last few years, NDI has assisted local partner organizations in developing methodologies and tools for monitoring government performance. Although this area of assistance is beginning to mature, there remains a need to document what approaches work best and to better understand the extent to which the different types of political-process monitoring foster democratic change.

In order to begin to address this gap in both knowledge and measurements of change, NDI developed a set of data collection tools to be used by the research team as they conducted their in country assessments. The research team conducted a comprehensive desk-top review of leading evaluative frameworks - including Outcome Mapping¹⁷, Participatory Impact Assessment¹⁸, Logical Framework Approach¹⁹ and the Most Significant Change Technique²⁰. Each evaluative framework was reviewed with each of the five featured political-process monitoring programs.

The data collection tools that NDI developed for this project are based largely on the most significant change technique²¹ and outcome mapping²² and include a mixed methods approach using tools to collect information from group discussions and key informant interviews. The resulting mixed approach was developed based upon its applicability across different case study country and program contexts, timing factors (including timing within the program cycle and the time and resources available for the review), as well as ease of use of the tools by local

staff and local partners' capacity. This section of the guide contains the following:

- Data Collection Tool Development;
- Information on baseline data collection; and
- Additional frameworks that may be used to evaluate outcomes from political-process monitoring initiatives.

Part 2: Data Collection Tool Development

NDI conducted in-country reviews of political-process monitoring programs in Burkina Faso, Indonesia, Jordan and Zimbabwe to identify programmatic outcomes and pilot data collection tools for measuring the changes that can be attributed to these programs. For each in-country review, the NDI research team engaged both local NDI staff and local partner staff that worked on the political-process monitoring. The in-country data that was collected was triangulated against the team's observations and program documents, which were collected and analyzed during NDI's previous project to strengthen political-process monitoring programs. Research was first conducted in November 2010 on the Indonesia budget monitoring and expenditure tracking program and lessons learned from the application of these initial tools aided in further refinement of the final tools used in Jordan, Zimbabwe and Burkina Faso. The final tools are contained in part four of section two.

SUGGESTED IN-COUNTRY RESEARCH TRIP SEQUENCING

1. Meet with translator/local staff point person to review the discussion session activities, phrasing and concepts (as needed);
2. Discussion session with NDI staff;
3. Interviews with NDI staff;
4. Discussion session(s) with NDI partners;
5. Interviews with NDI partners;
6. Discussion session(s) with non-NDI partners (if applicable);
7. Interviews with non-NDI partners (if applicable); and
8. Debrief with NDI staff (If necessary and there is time).

17. Outcome Mapping is a monitoring and evaluation technique that focuses on measuring changes in the behavior, relationships, and actions of groups or organizations that are directly involved in a program.

18. Participatory Impact Assessment is a methodology that combines the use of participatory tools with more conventional quantitative approaches to measuring program impact on participants' lives.

19. The Logical Framework Approach is used during the planning phase of a program to map out a linear logic model, the assumptions behind the logic, and the criteria for determining programmatic success. Monitoring, evaluating and reporting plans are also then based on the causal chain outlined by the logical framework approach.

20. The Most Significant Change Technique is a form of participatory monitoring and evaluation that involves the collection of significant change stories emanating from the field level and the systematic selection of the most significant of these stories by panels of designated stakeholders or staff.

21. Davies, Rick and Jess Dart. *The "Most Significant Change" (MSC) Technique*. April 2005. <<http://www.mande.co.uk/docs/MSCGuide.pdf>>.

22. Van Ongevalle, Jan and Anneke Maarse. *Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation of Complex Processes of Social Change: Towards a Diverse PME Approach*. June 2011. http://www.intrac.org/data/files/Cross-Case_Analysis_TLP_PME_June_2011.pdf; and Gaventa, John and Gregory Barrett. *What Difference Does it Make? Mapping the Outcomes of Citizen Engagement*. October 2010. <<http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/Wp347.pdf>>.

TIPS FOR PRIORITIZING TOOLS

1. If possible, provide interviewees with a brief overview of the research project and its intended outputs in advance. If significant time has passed since the program was conducted, it may also be useful to provide discussion participants/interviewees with a brief summary of the project and its goals for their review. If applicable, the local organization's subgrant proposal may also be a useful document for the participants/interviewees to review.
2. Participants/Interviewees may have a difficult time separating their responses and analysis as distinctly as desired for information gathering and reporting. This can be especially true for non-partner groups included in the research, as there is no specific grant or project on which for them to focus. While NDI encourages this organic approach to political engagement, the research team will need to think through how to tailor and/or re-design questions to respond to this issue.
3. Carefully consider the amount of time necessary to conduct these data collection activities, allowing for adequate time for translation and explanation. If a translator is needed, the ideal resource is a local NDI staff member who can translate and has worked on the project and/or has some familiarity with the program terminology and context. When possible, local staff should help facilitate the interviews/discussions in order to save time and complete as much of the data collection tool as possible.
4. Triage may be necessary. Be prepared to cut the interviews down to essential questions once you have enough program context. If necessary, use only one method (interviews or a group discussion) with NDI staff.

The in-country research focused on gaining a better understanding of NDI's partners' activities and related outcomes, as well as NDI's interventions. The first part of each review captured the changes that could be attributed to the partners' political-process monitoring initiatives and why those changes occurred within that particular context. The second part focused on the areas in which NDI was most effective in providing assistance to its partners.

The information gathered from the use of these data collection tools can be found in each of the case study

narratives, as well as in the charts contained at the end of each case study.

Part 3: Collecting Baseline Data For Program Evaluation And Design

Collecting baseline data at the start of a political-process monitoring initiative is an important step in preparing for program evaluation and understanding outcomes. Gathering data before a program begins allows an organization to assess and measure change brought about by the program at its conclusion. Baseline data is also important for program design, as it may assist an organization in setting objectives, understanding beliefs and attitudes within the community, and identifying relevant issues to address. The before and after exercise, contained in the following set of tools can be used for collecting baseline data. An example of how the research team used this tool for such purposes can be found in Appendix B.

Part 4: Data Collection Tools

1. Facilitators' guides for group discussions with:
 - a) NDI staff who worked on the program
 - b) NDI partners who conducted the program;
2. Interview questionnaire template for NDI partner organizations (includes guide for interviewer)
3. Case Study Country Charts: Most Significant Change Outcomes and Activities
4. Suggested pre-research questions to ask participants prior to conducting in-country discussions or interviews

Note: The Facilitators' Guides use a legislative monitoring project as an illustrative program. Please tailor to fit the specifics of the program you are working on.

Data Collection Tool #1a: Facilitator's Guide for Group Discussions: NDI Partners' Political-process Monitoring Activities, Discussions with NDI Staff Members

APPROXIMATELY 2 HOURS

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Things to Remember

Prepare yourself for the group discussion – read the discussion guide again before you start

1. Have all materials ready prior to beginning the discussion. This includes flip chart paper, stickers, markers, recording device if necessary, chairs arranged in a circle, etc. If time is limited, write out the known timeline entries in advance. Prepare flipchart paper with headings (such as the before/after exercises, the spheres diagrams, etc.) prior to beginning to save time and aid the flow of the discussion session. Please read through the entire guide to determine which materials may be prepared ahead of time.
2. Make sure the room or location is set up so that everyone can participate. For example, can you see everyone in the room? Can you hear everyone in the room?
3. The group should have no more than 6-8 participants.
4. Ensure that participants are comfortably seated and in a position and location where they can hear each other.
5. Introduce yourself and explain that this is research conducted by NDI that will be used to compile a guide on the changes that local partners have seen as a result of their political-process monitoring initiatives.
6. Ask each participant to introduce her/himself.
7. Inform participants that the meeting will last about TWO hours.
8. Remind participants that this is a research project and they may remain anonymous if they desire. Ask participants if they wish to remain anonymous.
9. Clarify your role as a facilitator – you are here to guide the discussion, not add to it with your own commentary.
10. Reinforce the importance of participants speaking their opinions and explaining them clearly.

Common Definitions

Part One: Political-Process Monitoring Programs

Political-Process Monitoring - A broad range of citizen- or civil society organization-driven initiatives that seek to hold government accountable by monitoring and reporting on their actions. Types of political-process monitoring include budget monitoring and expenditure tracking, legislative monitoring, shadow reports, monitoring government follow through and campaign-related monitoring.

Budget Monitoring – The observation and examination of the government’s budget processes and related documents by citizens and citizen groups in order to understand, raise awareness, and influence how public funding is allocated and spent.

Expenditure Tracking – The monitoring of government resource allocations, spending, and publically funded projects by citizens or civil society organizations to assess if budgeted funds are spent as intended and are used efficiently and effectively.

Legislative Monitoring – The process through which civil society organizations (CSOs) observe, evaluate, and comment on legislators’ work and performance – often focused on the effectiveness and efficiency of legislative processes in meeting citizens’ needs.

Shadow Reporting – A means of monitoring and raising awareness of government compliance with ratified international treaties, conventions and declarations by researching and producing a supplemental or alternative shadow report to the national government’s official report to the United Nations (UN). A CSO may create an independent report that assesses how the government is complying with its treaty obligations and present it to the UN to supplement incomplete information that may have been presented in the government report.

Monitoring Government Follow-Through – Initiatives where civil society organizations monitor how well governments implement official decisions and laws – such as the execution of domestic violence policies, power sharing agreements, electoral reform laws, and mandates for constitutional reform.

Campaign-Related Monitoring – The monitoring and recording of information gathered by citizens or civil society organizations in order to analyze and publicize information on party platforms, candidates’ follow-through on campaign promises, and compliances with pledges signed during the campaign. These types of monitoring activities fall into two categories: pre-election monitoring and post-election monitoring.

Part Two: Discussion Specific Terminology

When referring to NDI's PPM Programs:

Sphere of Control – NDI's interventions or activities

Sphere of Direct Influence – Changes experienced by NDI's partner during the program

Sphere of Impact – Changes in organizations, people, institutions, sectors, laws/policies, and population groups that did not have direct contact with NDI through the program, but may have been impacted by changes experienced by the partner organization

External Forces – Events unrelated to the PPM program that may have had an effect on program outcomes

When referring to NDI Partner and non-NDI Partner PPM Initiatives:

Sphere of Control – The partner's PPM activities

Sphere of Direct Influence – Changes in the individuals and groups with whom the partner came in direct contact through their PPM initiative

Sphere of Impact – Changes in the people, groups, institutions, sectors, laws/policies, and population groups that were not in direct contact with the partner through the PPM initiative, but may have been impacted by the PPM initiative

External Forces – Events unrelated to the PPM initiative that may have had an effect on initiative outcomes

INTRODUCTION

[10 - 15 MINUTES]

Part One

1. Welcome the participants
2. Introduce yourself
3. Have any translators introduce themselves
4. Have each discussion participant introduce her/himself

Part Two

Explain the objectives of the research NDI is conducting:

1. To identify changes in NDI's partners that may be attributed to its political-process monitoring program
2. To identify changes in the people and organizations directly involved with NDI partners' political-process monitoring initiatives that may be attributed to the initiative activities
3. To identify changes in the broader political environment that may be attributed to NDI partners' political-process monitoring initiatives
4. To pilot monitoring and evaluation tools and methods

Note: Ask the participants if they understand the research objectives. If not, explain again using different terms.

Part Three

Explain the format of the discussion:

The main area of questioning will be NDI's political-process monitoring program that the staff members helped implement and manage. Within this main area of discussion, there will be **three** secondary areas of discussion:

1. Developing a timeline of activities and important events;
2. Identifying the desired goals and impacts of the monitoring initiatives; and
3. Placing NDI's program activities in the context of these goals and impacts.

Part Four

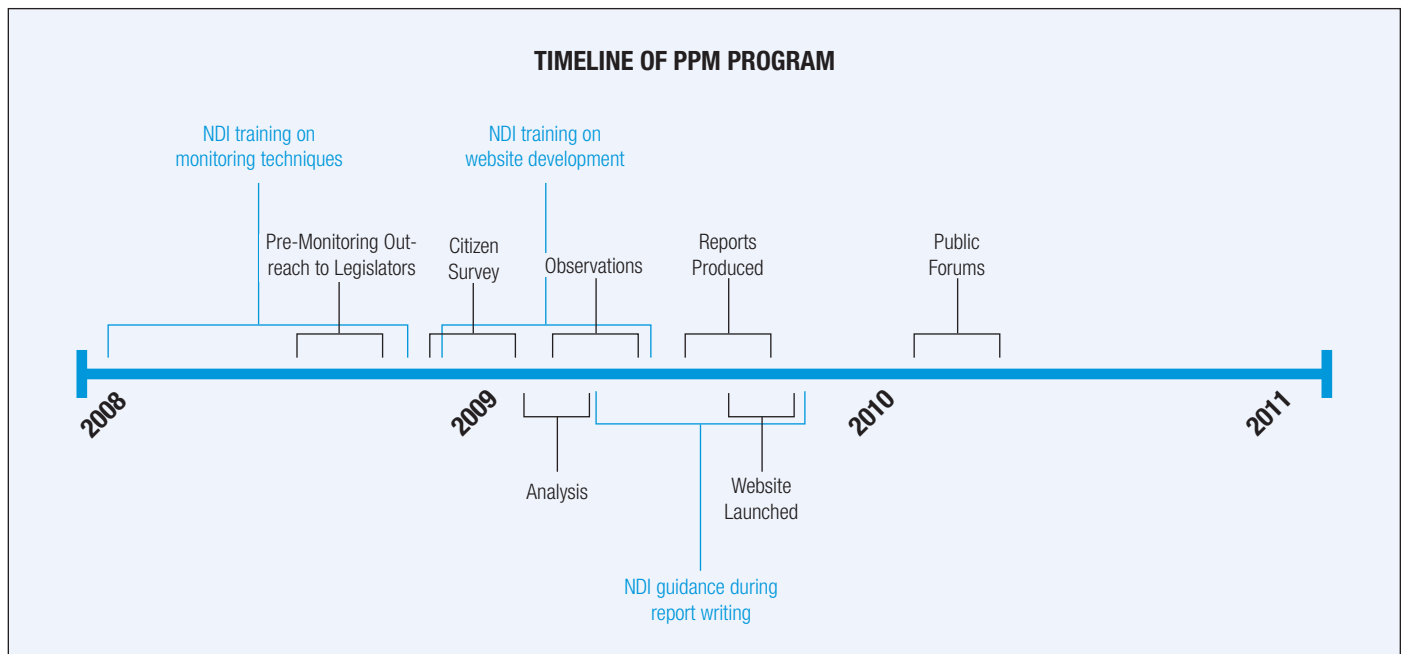
Reminders for participants:

- Emphasize that you will not record individual names if participant(s) do not wish to be so identified by name;
- If using a recording device, ask participants for permission to record the session so that their words will be recorded accurately;
- Ask participants to speak clearly and loudly so their voices can be heard;
- Emphasize that there are no right or wrong answers; it is OK to say "I don't know"; and
- Participants should speak based only on their experience working on NDI's on the political-process monitoring program.

Timeline Exercise

[30 MINUTES]

Note: This is a sample from a legislative monitoring program, so many of the points made in your session may be much broader than this example.



Facilitator Instructions:

1. Explain the exercise objectives: to create a timeline of the life of the program in order to guide the discussion and to help with participant recall throughout the session;
2. Ask the participants to list all of NDI's interventions throughout the program;
3. Ask the participants to list all of the partner's interventions throughout the program; and
4. Tape the timeline on a side wall so that it is always visible during the discussion, but not the center of attention.

Note: If time is limited, post a timeline that already has the major NDI and partner activities listed and ask if the participants if they have any events/activities to add. Confirm with the participants that there are no inaccuracies in the timeline.

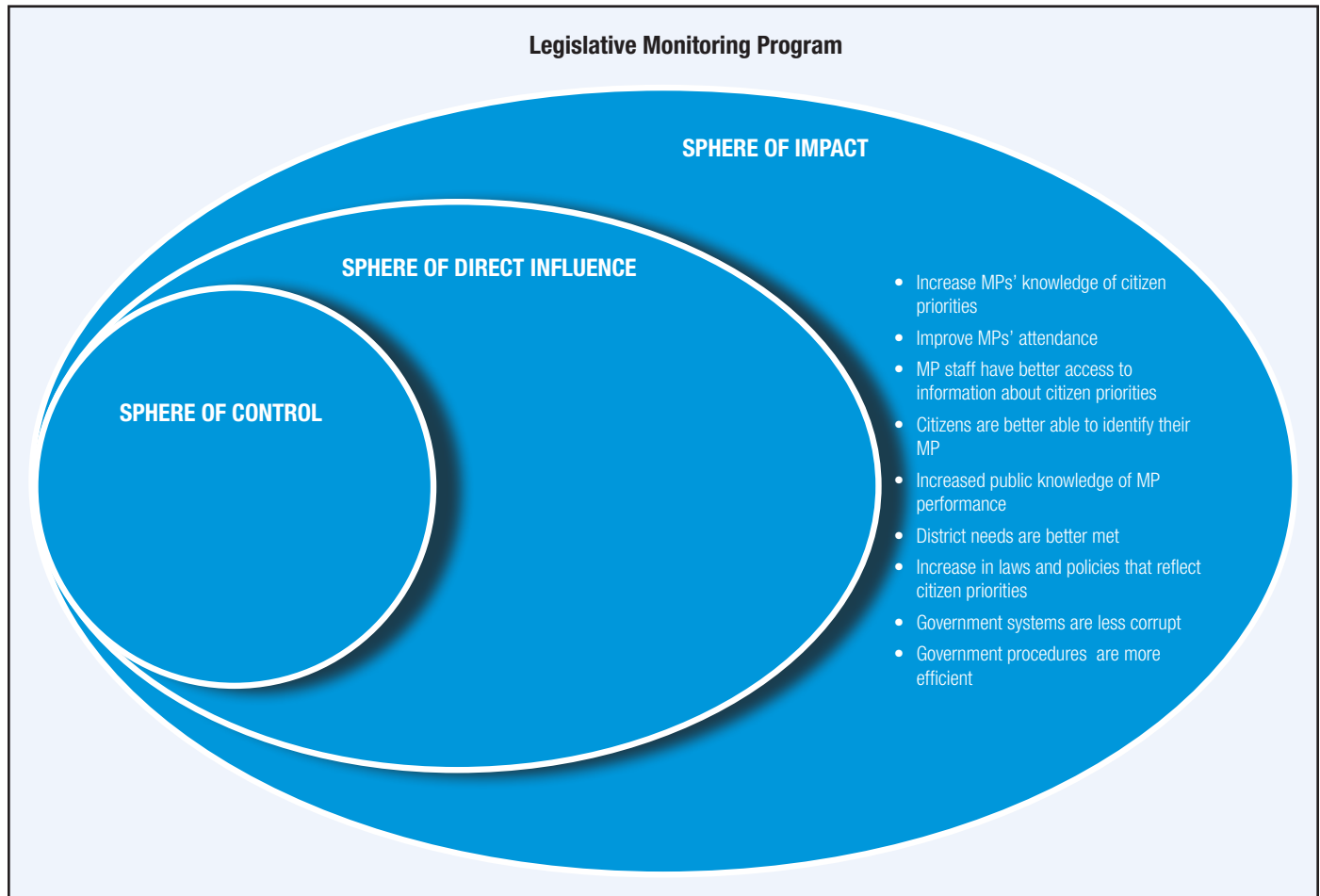
Identifying the Desired Impacts and Goals of the Program

[45 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:

Part One

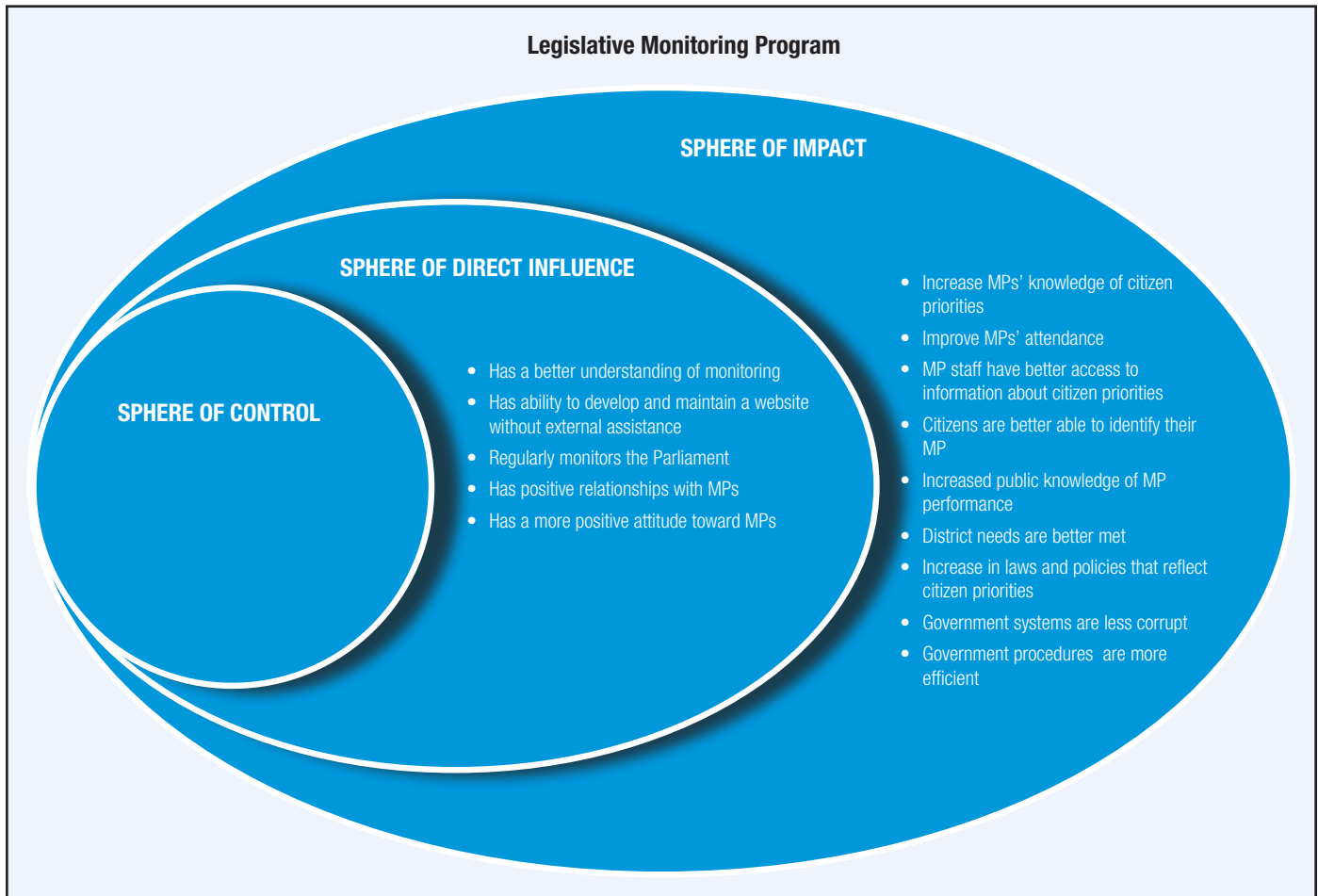
1. Post a blank flipchart paper (or one prepared with the spheres drawn on them) on the wall.
2. Explain the objective: to understand the program logic and NDI's desired changes.



3. Explain the method: We will examine the types of changes that the program sought to affect (outside of those within the partner organization). Then we will examine what NDI did to try to foster that change.
4. Explain the spheres:
 - The sphere of impact refers to changes in organizations, people, institutions, sectors, laws/policies, and population groups that did not have direct contact with NDI through the program, but may have been impacted by the changes in the partner. In this context, we are talking about the end/external goals of the program, which are likely drawn from the proposal.
 - The sphere of direct influence refers to changes experienced by NDI's partner during the program. These should be along the lines of intermediate objectives of the program within the partner organization (e.g. capacity changes in the partner) or ways to achieve the end goals of the program.
 - The sphere of control refers to NDI's interventions and activities. These are the things that NDI staff did in order to help the partner carry out their activities, in order to achieve intermediate and program goals.
5. Ask the NDI staff members what the program's goals were and what NDI sought to change about the partner's environment, government systems and procedures, laws and policies, public services, etc. Write these in the sphere of impact. These should relate back to the objectives discussed in the program proposal.

Part Two

Ask the NDI staff members how they intended the program to affect the partner. How did they aim for the program to change the partner's knowledge and/or skills? This may include the partner's attitude, behavior, and relationships with other organizations or government entities. Write these in the sphere of direct influence.

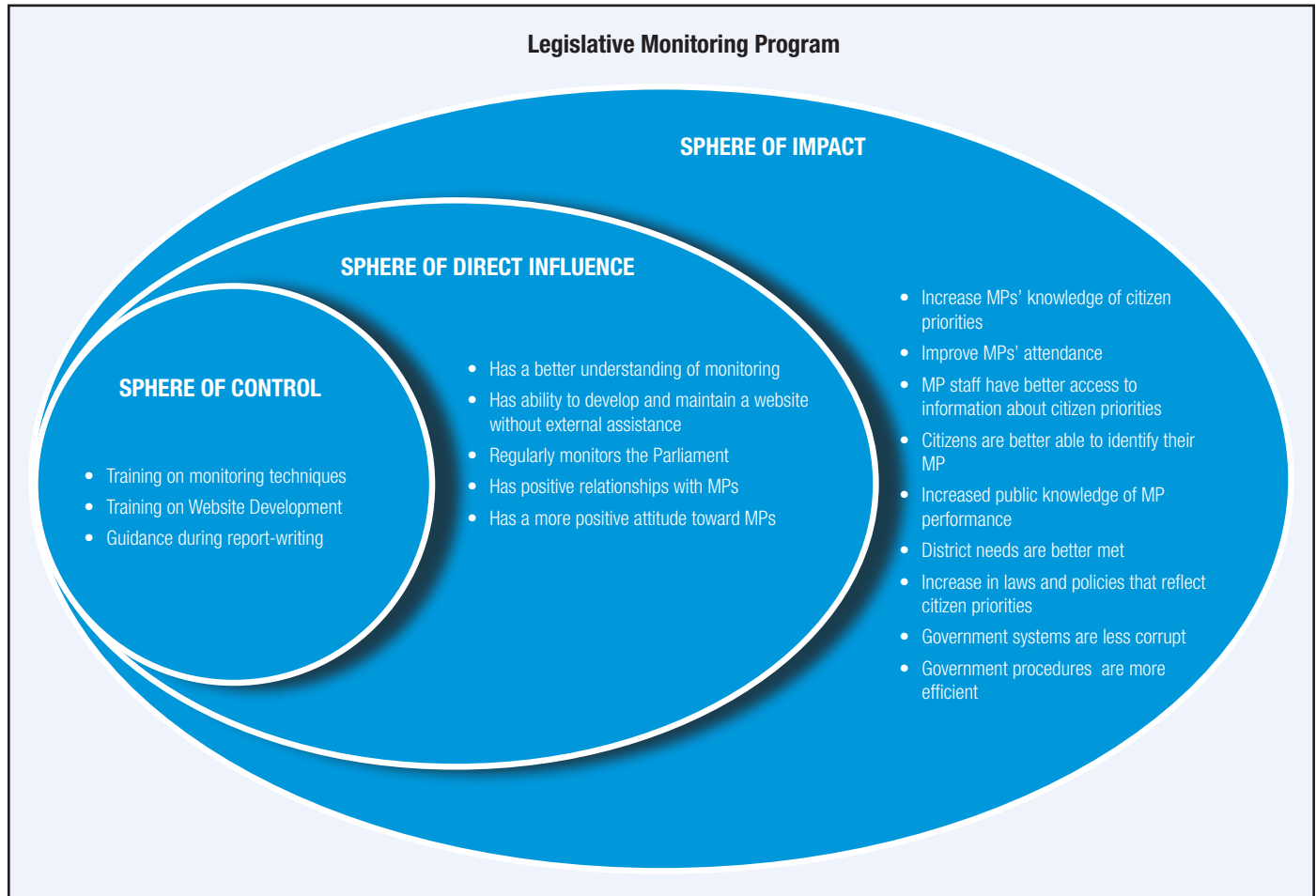


Part Three

1. Ask the participants what NDI's interventions and activities were. Write these in the sphere of control.

Before and After Exercise

[20 MINUTES]



Facilitator Instructions:

Before PPM Program Exercise:

1. Explain the objective: to identify the observed changes in the partner and its environment that occurred over the course of the program.
2. Explain the method: first, we are going to identify the partner's circumstances, including certain external circumstances, before the program and then identify its circumstances at the end of the program.
3. Post the "Before" flipchart page. It should already be divided into two sections – one for the partner and another for the partner's environment. The partner section should contain the following subheadings: knowledge/skills; attitude; behavior; and relationships. The partner's environment section should contain the subheadings: government systems and procedures; laws and policies; and public services.
4. Ask the participants to describe their observations of the partner group's knowledge, skills, behavior, attitude, and relationships before the program. Record them in the top section of the paper.
5. Ask the participants to describe their observations of the partner group's environment, including the government systems and procedures, laws and policies, and public services - specifically those that related to the program. Record these in the bottom section of the paper.

BEFORE	
Partner	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Knowledge/Skills• Attitude• Behavior• Relationships
Partner's Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government Systems and Procedures• Laws and Policies• Public Services

After PPM Program Exercise

1. Next to the “Before” flipchart page, post the “After” flipchart page (with the same subheadings already written).
2. Referring back to the partner circumstances listed on the “Before” flipchart page, ask the participants how each circumstance of the partner and its environment changed by the end of the program. (It is ok if there has been no change. If there has been no change, go on to the next circumstance.)

BEFORE	
Partner	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Knowledge/Skills• Attitude• Behavior• Relationships
Partner's Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government Systems and Procedures• Laws and Policies• Public Services

AFTER	
Partner	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Knowledge/Skills• Attitude• Behavior• Relationships
Partner's Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government Systems and Procedures• Laws and Policies• Public Services

Conclusion

Thank the participants for their time and attention.

Let them know that the information they contributed will help NDI better understand the types of changes that can be achieved from conducting political-process monitoring activities.

Their contributions will be analyzed and included in the next volume of the Political-process Monitoring Guidebook.

Data Collection Tool #1b: Facilitator's Guide for Group Discussions: NDI Partners' Political-process Monitoring Activities, Discussions with NDI PPM Partners

APPROXIMATELY 6 HOURS

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Conclusion

Things to Remember

Prepare yourself for group discussion – read discussion guide again before you start

1. Have all materials ready prior to beginning the discussion. This includes flip chart paper, stickers, markers, recording device if necessary, chairs arranged in a circle, etc. If time is limited, write out the known timeline entries in advance. Prepare flipchart paper with headings (such as the before/after exercises, the spheres diagrams, etc) to save time and aid the flow of the discussion session. Please read through the entire guide to determine which materials may be prepared ahead of time.
2. Make sure the room or location is set up so everyone can participate. For example, can you see everyone in the room? Can you hear everyone in the room?
3. The group should have no more than 6-8 participants.
4. Ensure that participants are comfortably seated and in a position and location where they can hear each other.
5. Introduce yourself and explain that this is research conducted by NDI that will be used to compile a guide on the changes local partners have seen as a result of their political process monitoring initiatives.
6. Ask each participant to introduce her/himself.
7. Tell participants that the meeting will last about **SIX** hours.
8. Remind participants that this is a research project and they may remain anonymous if they desire. Ask participants acknowledge if they wish to remain anonymous beyond their organizational affiliation, which they are representing in this discussion group.
9. Clarify your role as a facilitator: you are here to guide the discussion, not add to it with your own commentary.
10. Reinforce the importance of participants speaking their opinions and explaining them clearly.

Common Definitions

[Part One: Political-Process Monitoring Programs](#)

Political-Process Monitoring (PPM) – A broad range of citizen- or civil society organization-driven initiatives that seek to hold government accountable by monitoring and reporting on their actions. Types of political-process monitoring include budget monitoring and expenditure tracking, legislative monitoring, shadow reports, monitoring government follow through and campaign-related monitoring.

Budget Monitoring – The observation and examination of the government’s budget processes and related documents by citizens and citizen groups in order to understand, raise awareness, and influence how public funding is allocated and spent.

Expenditure Tracking – The monitoring of government resource allocations, spending, and publically funded projects by citizens or civil society organizations to assess if budgeted funds are spent as intended and are used efficiently and effectively.

Legislative Monitoring – The process through which civil society organizations (CSOs) observe, evaluate, and comment on legislators’ work and performance – often focused on the effectiveness and efficiency of legislative processes in meeting citizens’ needs.

Shadow Reporting – A means of monitoring and raising awareness of government compliance with ratified international treaties, conventions and declarations by researching and producing a supplemental or alternative shadow report to the national government’s official report to the United Nations (UN). A CSO may create an independent report that assesses how the government is complying with its treaty obligations and present it to the UN to supplement incomplete information that may have been presented in the government report.

Monitoring Government Follow-Through – Initiatives where civil society organizations monitor how well governments implement official decisions and laws – such as the execution of domestic violence policies, power sharing agreements, electoral reform laws, and mandates for constitutional reform.

Campaign-Related Monitoring – The monitoring and recording of information gathered by citizens or civil society organizations in order to analyze and publicize information on party platforms, candidates’ follow-through on campaign promises, and compliances with pledges signed during the campaign. These types of monitoring activities fall into two categories: pre-election monitoring and post-election monitoring.

Part Two: Discussion Specific Terminology

When referring to NDI's PPM Programs:

Sphere of Control – NDI's interventions or activities

Sphere of Direct Influence – Changes experienced by NDI's partner during the program

Sphere of Impact – Changes in organizations, people, institutions, sectors, laws/policies, and population groups that did not have direct contact with NDI through the program, but may have been impacted by changes experienced by the partner organization

External Forces – Events unrelated to the PPM program that may have had an effect on program outcomes

When referring to NDI Partner and non-NDI Partner PPM Initiatives:

Sphere of Control – The partner's PPM activities

Sphere of Direct Influence – Changes in the individuals and groups with whom the partner came in direct contact through their PPM initiative

Sphere of Impact – Changes in the people, groups, institutions, sectors, laws/policies, and population groups that were not in direct contact with the partner through the PPM initiative, but may have been impacted by the PPM initiative

External Forces – Events unrelated to the PPM initiative that may have had an effect on initiative outcomes

INTRODUCTION

[15 MINUTES]

Part One

1. Welcome the participants
2. Introduce yourself
3. Have any translators/NDI local staff introduce themselves
4. Have each discussion participant introduce her/himself giving their names and organizations

Part Two

Explain the objectives of the research that NDI is conducting:

1. To identify changes in NDI's partners that may be attributed to its political process monitoring program
2. To identify changes in the people and organizations directly involved with NDI partners' political-process monitoring initiatives that may be attributed to the initiative activities
3. To identify changes in the broader political environment that may be attributed to NDI partners' political-process monitoring initiatives
4. To pilot monitoring and evaluation tools and methods

Note: Ask the participants if they understand the research objectives. If not, explain again using different terms.

Part Three

Explain the format of the discussion:

There are **two** main areas of questioning:

1. NDI's political-process monitoring program you participated in; and
2. Your political-process monitoring initiatives that were carried out during NDI's program, but may have begun before NDI's involvement and may continue beyond NDI's involvement.

Within each of these main areas of discussion there will be **four** secondary areas of discussion:

1. Developing a timeline of activities and important events;
2. Identifying a baseline of the operating environment before the monitoring initiatives;
3. Identifying changes that occurred as a result of the monitoring initiatives; and
4. Identifying the most significant changes as a result of the monitoring initiatives.

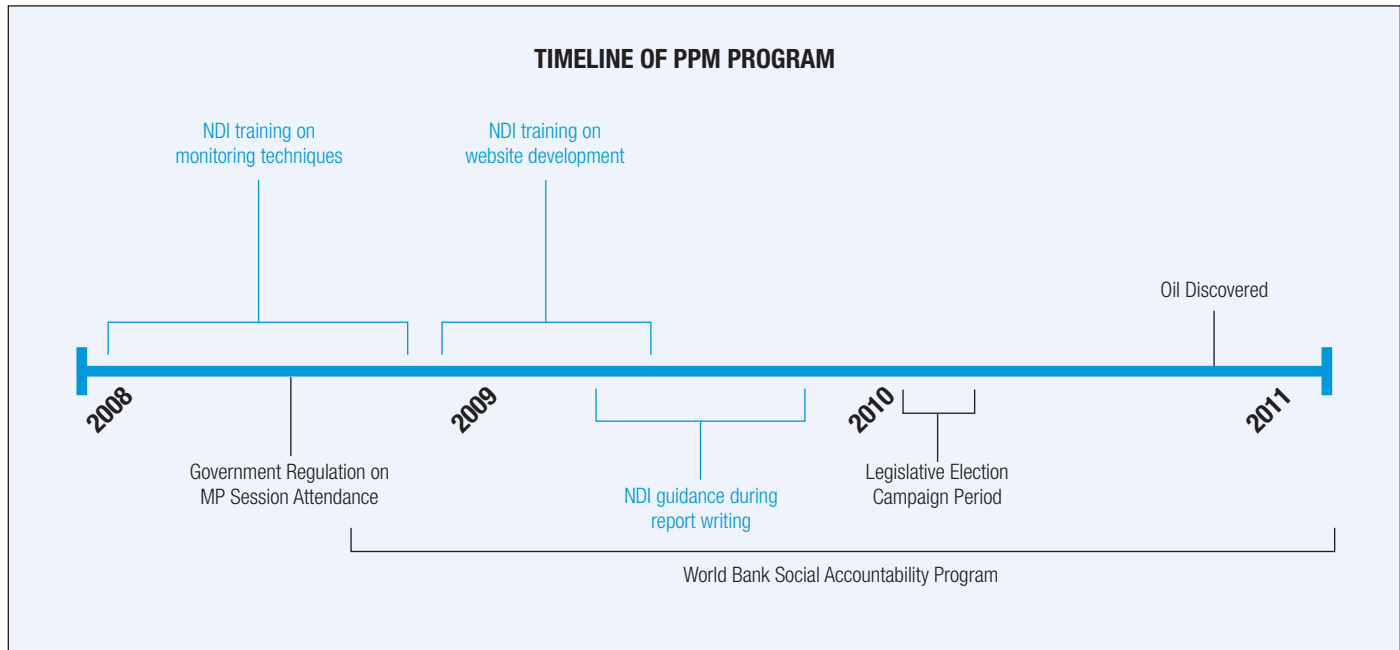
Part Four

Remind Participants:

- Emphasize that, while their organizations will be identified, you will not record individuals names if participant(s) do not wish to be identified by name;
- If using a recording device, request permission from participants to record the session so that their words will be recorded accurately;
- Ask participants to speak clearly and loudly so their voices can be heard;
- Emphasize that there are no right or wrong answers; it is OK to say "I don't know"; and
- Participants should speak based on their experience working for the organization that participated in the NDI program.

NDI PPM Program – Timeline Exercise

[30 MINUTES]



Note: This is a sample from a legislative monitoring so many of the points made during your session will likely be much broader than in this example.

Facilitator Instructions:

1. Explain the objectives: to create a timeline of the life of the program in order to identify external factors that may have affected program outcomes and to help with participant recall throughout the session.
2. Ask the participants to list all of NDI's interventions throughout the program.
3. Ask the participants to list external events that occurred during the program that may have had an effect on program outcomes (ex: government regulations, other programs or elections).
4. Tape the timeline to a side wall so that it is always visible during the discussion, but not the center of attention.

Note: If time is limited, post a timeline that already has the major NDI and partner activities listed. Ask if they have any events/activities to add and confirm that there are no inaccuracies in the timeline.

NDI PPM Program – Before and After Exercise

[20 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instructions:

Before PPM Initiative Exercise

1. Explain objective: to identify the changes in the partner that occurred over the course of the program.
2. Explain the method: first, we are going to identify your circumstances before the program and then your circumstances by the end of the program.
3. Post the “Before” flipchart page with the knowledge, skills, behavior, attitude, and relationships subheadings already written.

Ask the participants to describe their group’s knowledge, skills, behavior, attitude and relationships before the program.

BEFORE	
Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Limited knowledge of legislative monitoring
Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Did not know how to develop a website
Behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Had never monitored the legislature before

After PPM Initiative Exercise

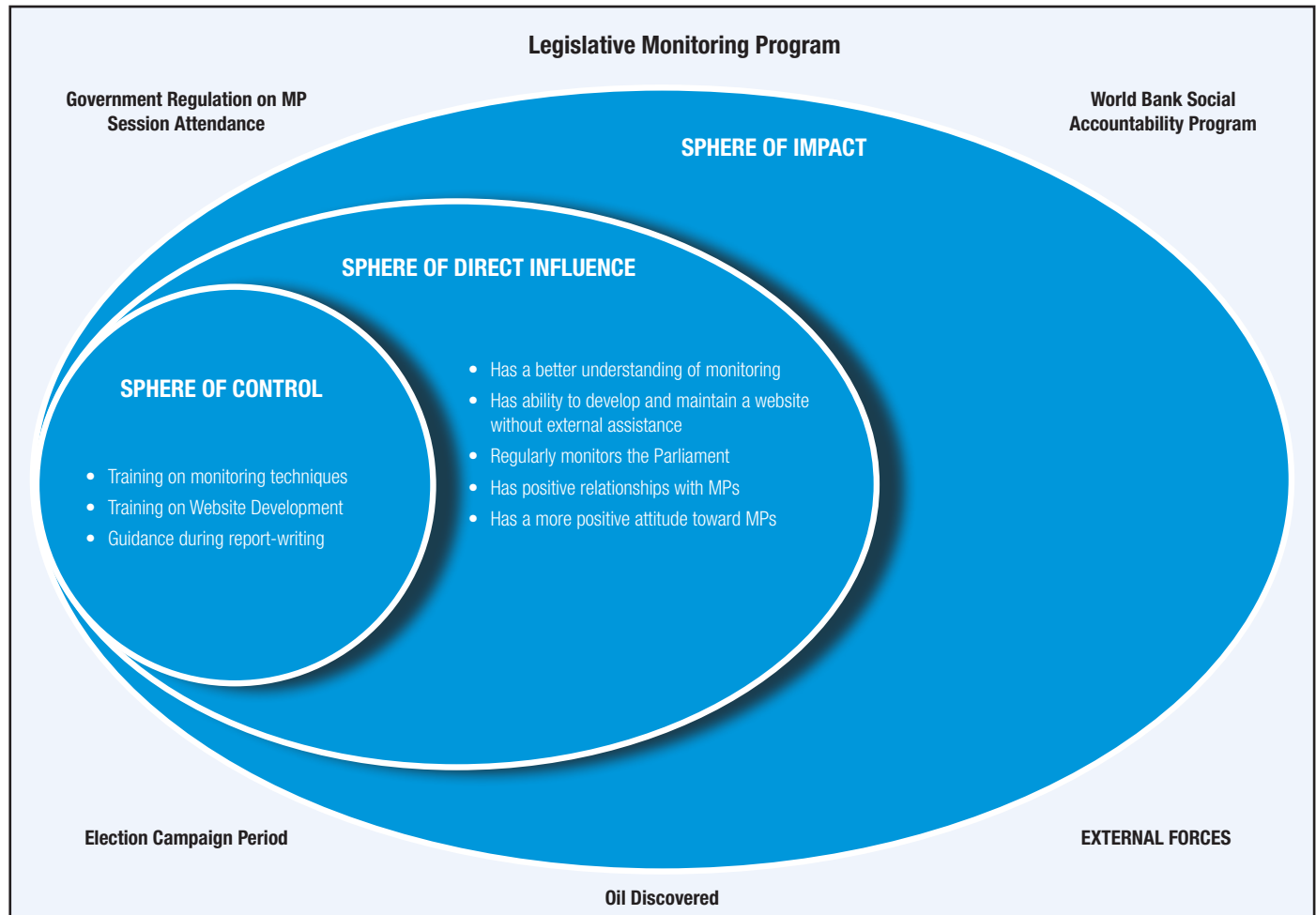
1. Next to the “Before” flipchart page, post the “After” flipchart page with the subheadings already written.
2. Referring back to the partner circumstances listed on the “Before” flipchart page, ask the participants how each circumstance changed by the end of the program. (It is ok if there has been no change. If there has been no change, go on to the next “before” circumstance.)

	BEFORE	AFTER
Partner’s Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Limited knowledge of political process monitoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A good understanding of PPM
Partner’s Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Did not know how to develop a website	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Able to develop and maintain it's website without external assistance
Partner’s Behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Had never engaged in political process monitoring before	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Regularly monitor the legislature• Request and receive budget info monthly
Partner’s Attitude	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Had an adversarial attitude toward the political system and legislature	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Feel that some legislators can and want to be helpful to the community
Partner’s Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Did not have a relationship with MPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Has a positive working relationship with MPs

NDI PPM Program – Identifying Contributing Factors to Sphere of Direct Influence Changes

[25 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:



Note: If possible, use colored markers to make these easier to read.

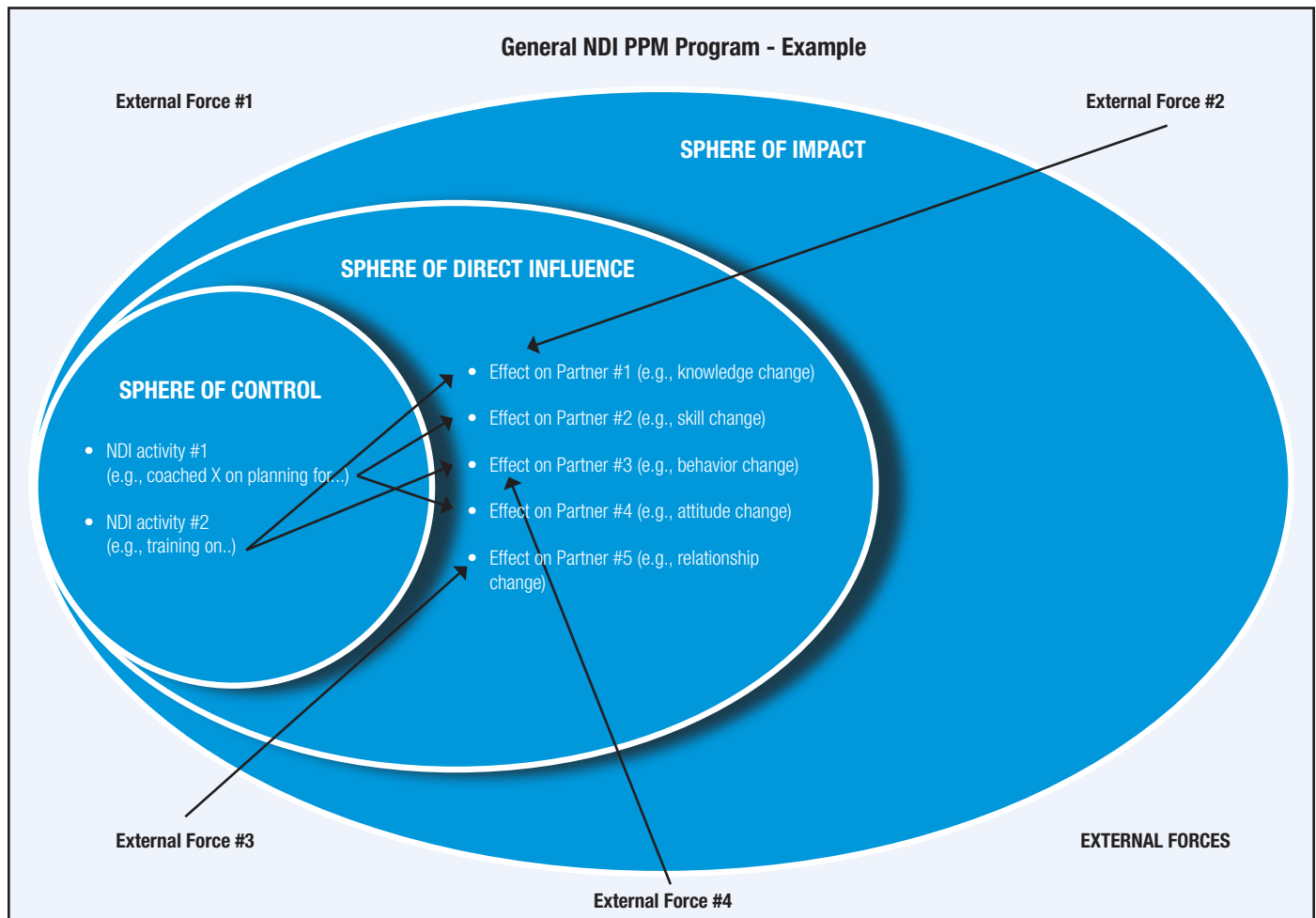
Part One

1. Call a 10-minute break. Take both the “Before” and “After” flipcharts and post them to the side with the timeline. This will reveal the large “NDI Program Spheres” paper (at least three flipcharts across) underneath.
2. Note: Underneath the “NDI Program Spheres” paper is the “Partner Initiative Spheres” paper, which will be revealed when discussing NDI partners’ PPM initiatives.
3. Post two blank flipchart papers on the wall on the other side of the “NDI Program Spheres” paper. These will be used during the Most Significant Changes activity.
4. Also during the break, write the NDI interventions in the sphere of control. If time is limited, fill in the sphere of control before the session when creating the timeline.
5. Write the external forces identified during the timeline exercise in the space outside of the spheres.
6. Write the changes identified on the “After” flipchart in the sphere of direct influence. It is not necessary to include the subheadings).

Part Two

1. Going through each change listed in the sphere of direct influence, ask the participants what NDI interventions, external forces and other internal changes have contributed to each identified change. Draw lines reflecting these relationships. Answers from participants should reference everything that is written on the board at this time.

Note: If the participants say that there is something else not already on the board that affected the changes listed in the sphere of influence, add it where appropriate.



NDI PPM Program – Identifying Most Significant Changes in Sphere of Direct Influence

[15 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instructions:

1. Ask the participants to vote for the two changes listed in the sphere of direct influence that they consider to be most significant. Each person has two votes; do a run-off if needed. Write each change at the top of one of the previously posted blank flipchart papers.

Note: During the interview, ask why the interviewee thinks that these changes are the most significant.

2. Ask the participants to list the contributing factors to each change based upon the arrows drawn on the spheres paper. Write them under the appropriate change heading.

NDI PPM Program - Most Significant Change Matrix Scoring Exercise

[20 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:

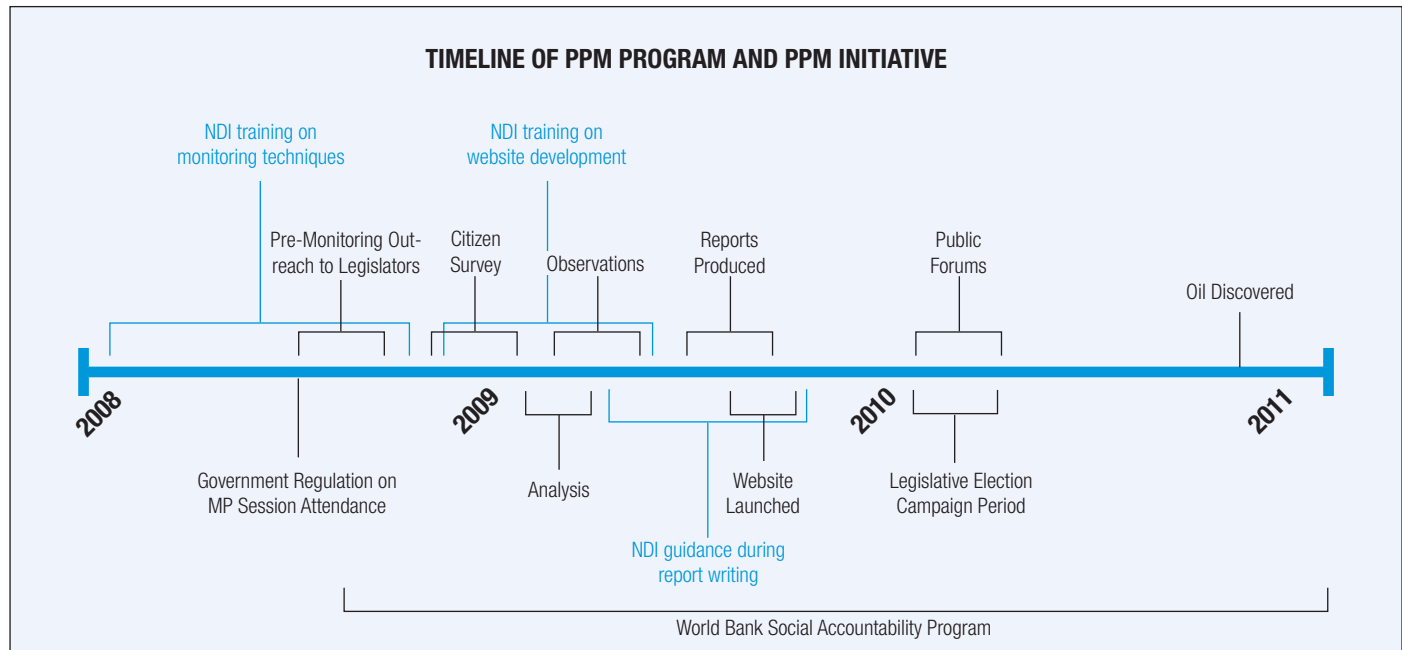
1. Once each of the changes has a list of contributing factors beneath it, ask the participants to take a moment to review each of the lists or read them aloud.
2. Put a sticker or sticky note paper next to each of the changes. Use one for each flipchart paper and use a different color for each change/flipchart page.
3. Hand out stickers or small sticky note papers to each of the participants with colors that correspond to the stickers on each flipchart paper. Each participant should have the same number of stickers. For instance, if there are five participants and two most significant changes, hand out 10 stickers to each participant – five of each color.
4. Ask the participants to put stickers next to the contributing factors according to how influential they feel that reason for change was. What they believe to be the most influential contributing factors should get the most stickers; what they feel to be the least influential factors should get fewer stickers. If they feel that one of the factors listed wasn't influential at all in contributing to the change, they shouldn't give it any stickers. Make sure that the participants do this individually; consider doing this silently.

Note: Colors on the flip chart paper should correspond to the color of stickers participants use to vote. For example, participants should only use their blue stickers to vote for the change marked with a blue sticker.

5. Once all of the stickers are placed, count up how many stickers each of the contributing factors received and circle the factor with the most votes on each page. Each change should have a winning factor.
6. Read the most influential contributing factor for each change identified by the group and ask them if they have any questions or comments about the results.
7. Take down the most significant changes/contributing factors, before and after, and spheres flipchart papers. What remains is the timeline and a new spheres flipchart paper that was hanging underneath the previous one.

Timeline – NDI PPM Program and Other PPM Initiatives

[15 MINUTES]



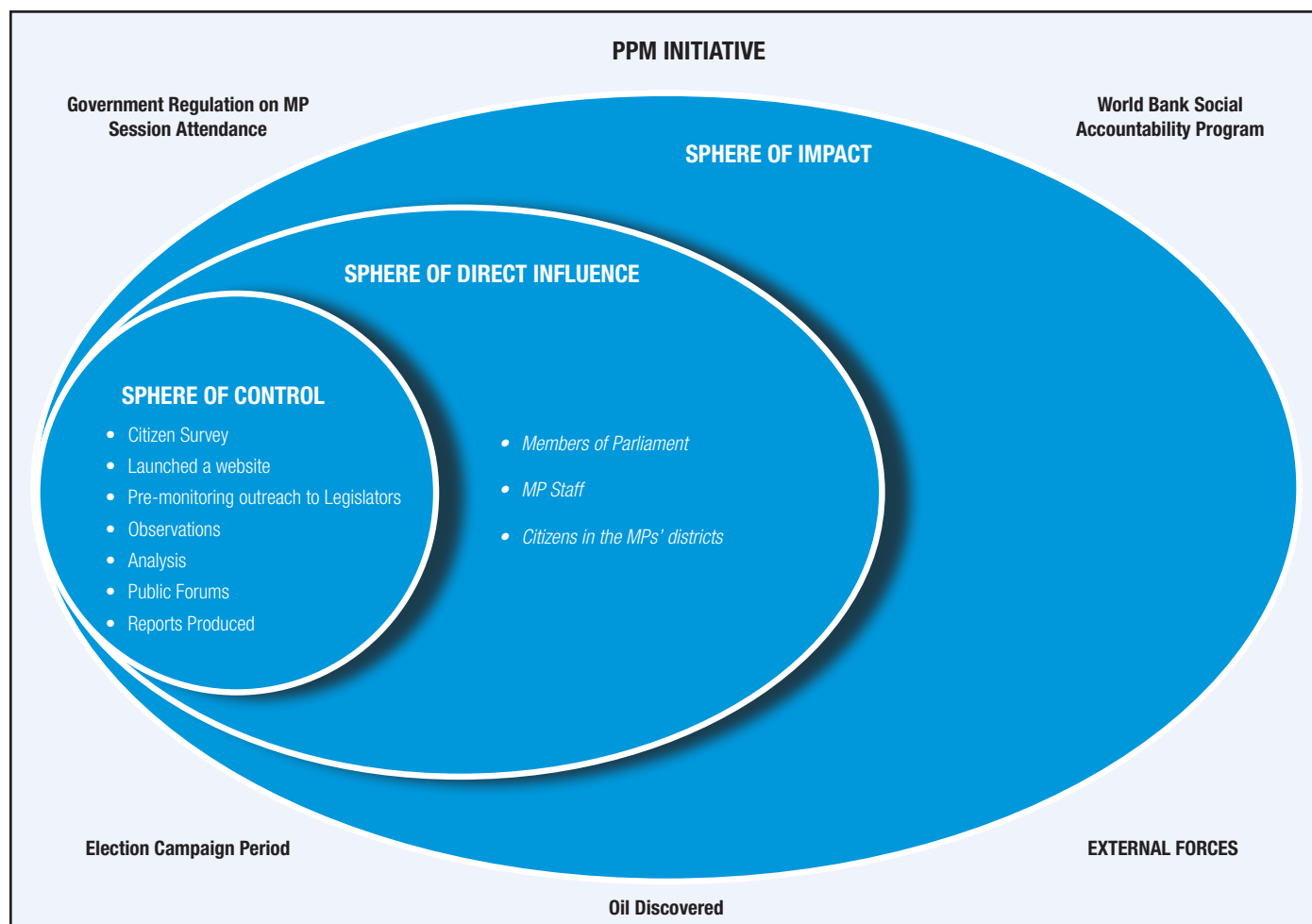
Facilitator Instruction:

Note: Review the timeline; these are NDI's PPM program activities and the primary activities of partner's PPM initiative, not just those contained within NDI's PPM program timeframe.

1. Take down the "NDI Program Spheres" paper to reveal the "Partner Initiative Spheres" paper.
2. Take down the "Before," "After" and "Most Significant Change" flipcharts.
3. Move the timeline back to the front wall.
4. Ask the participants to list the activities that they carried out during their PPM initiative and add them to the timeline. If time is limited, post a timeline that already has the major partner activities based on program documentation on the timeline. Ask if they have any activities to add and confirm that there are no inaccuracies in the timeline.
5. Invite the participants to add any other external events that occurred during the PPM initiative that may have had an effect on program outcomes, for example government regulations, other programs or elections. This will be applicable only if the partner's PPM initiative lasted longer than the NDI PPM program.
6. Tape the timeline to the side of the new spheres flipchart paper so that it is always visible during the discussion, but not the center of attention.

NDI Partner PPM Initiatives – Identifying Spheres of Control and Influence

[15 MINUTES]



Facilitator Instruction:

Part One – Sphere of Control

1. Ask the partners to read aloud their PPM initiative activities listed on the timeline. Write them in the sphere of control.
2. Do the same for the external forces.

Note: This allows the participants a chance to review the PPM initiative activities and external forces again. It also eliminates the need for a break, though the facilitator may call for a break and fill this in her/himself if desired.

Part Two – Sphere of Direct Influence

1. Ask the partners: Who were the people and organizations with whom your group had direct contact during the PPM initiative?
2. Write their answers in the sphere of direct influence.

NDI Partner PPM Initiatives – Before and After Exercise

[25 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:

Part One

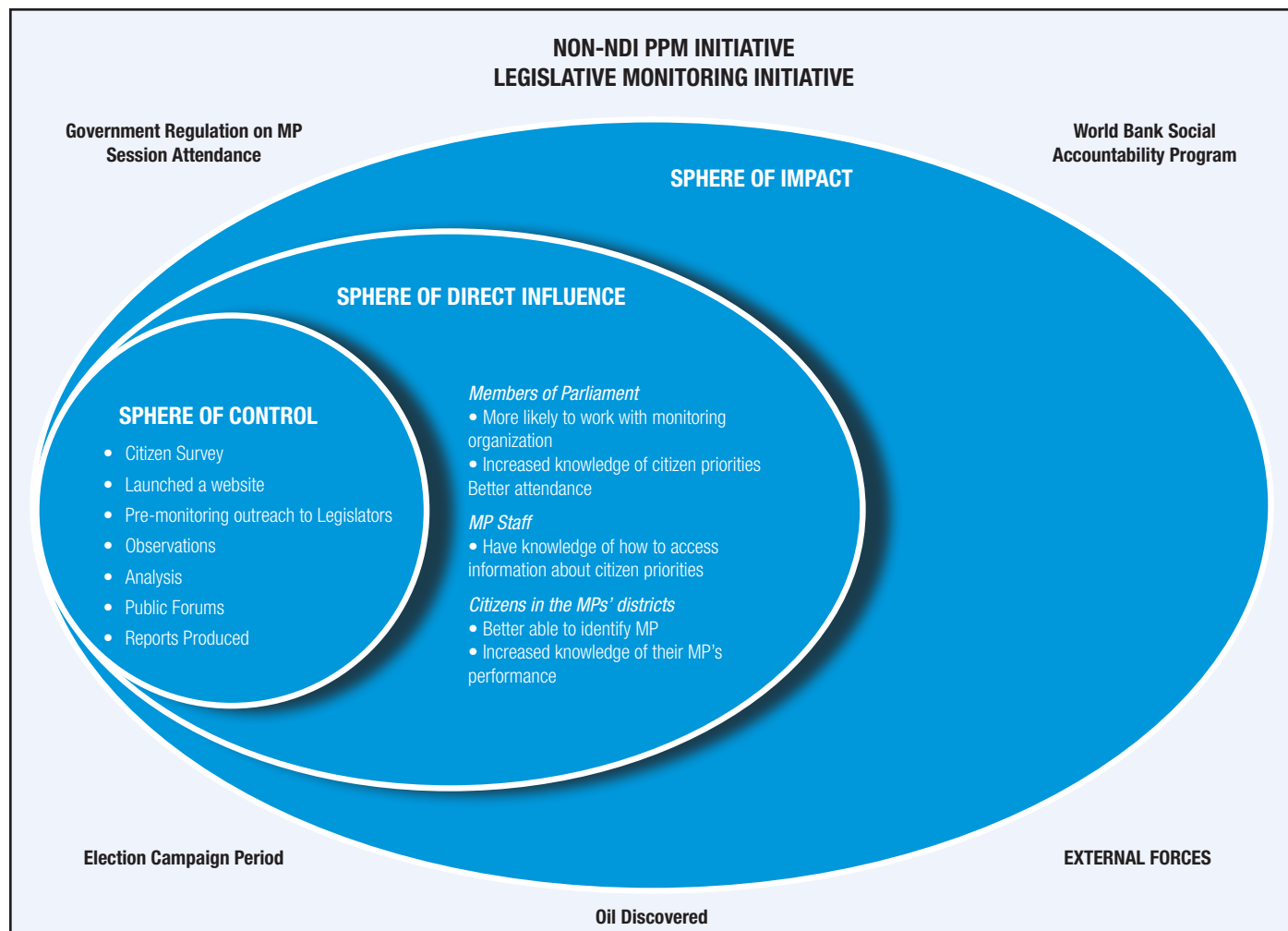
1. Post the “Before” flipchart page with subheadings taken from the organizations and individuals listed in the **sphere of direct influence**.
2. Ask the participants to describe the organizations and individuals before the PPM initiative. Record their responses on the “Before” page. If prompting is needed, ask about observed knowledge, skills, behavior, attitudes and relationships.

BEFORE	
Members of Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Rarely worked with monitoring organization• Did not know what citizen priorities were• Did not regularly attend Parliamentary sessions
MP Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Did not know how to get information on citizen priorities
Citizens in the MP's District	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Few knew their MP by name or sight• They did not know how well their MP was carrying out his/her responsibilities

Part Two

1. Post the “After” flipchart page with the same subheadings taken from the organizations and individuals listed in the sphere of direct influence.
2. Referring back to the descriptions on the “Before” flipchart page, ask the participants what the changes observed in these people/organizations were by the end of the PPM initiative. If there are changes, note these on the “After” page.

	BEFORE	AFTER
Members of Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rarely worked with monitoring organization • Did not know what citizen priorities were • Did not regularly attend Parliamentary sessions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More likely to work with monitoring organization • Increased knowledge of citizen priorities • Better attendance
MP Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not know how to get information on citizen priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have knowledge of how to access information about citizen priorities
Citizens in the MPs' District	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Few knew their MP by name or sight • They did not know how well their MP was carrying out his/her responsibilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better able to identify their MP • Increased knowledge of their MP's performance



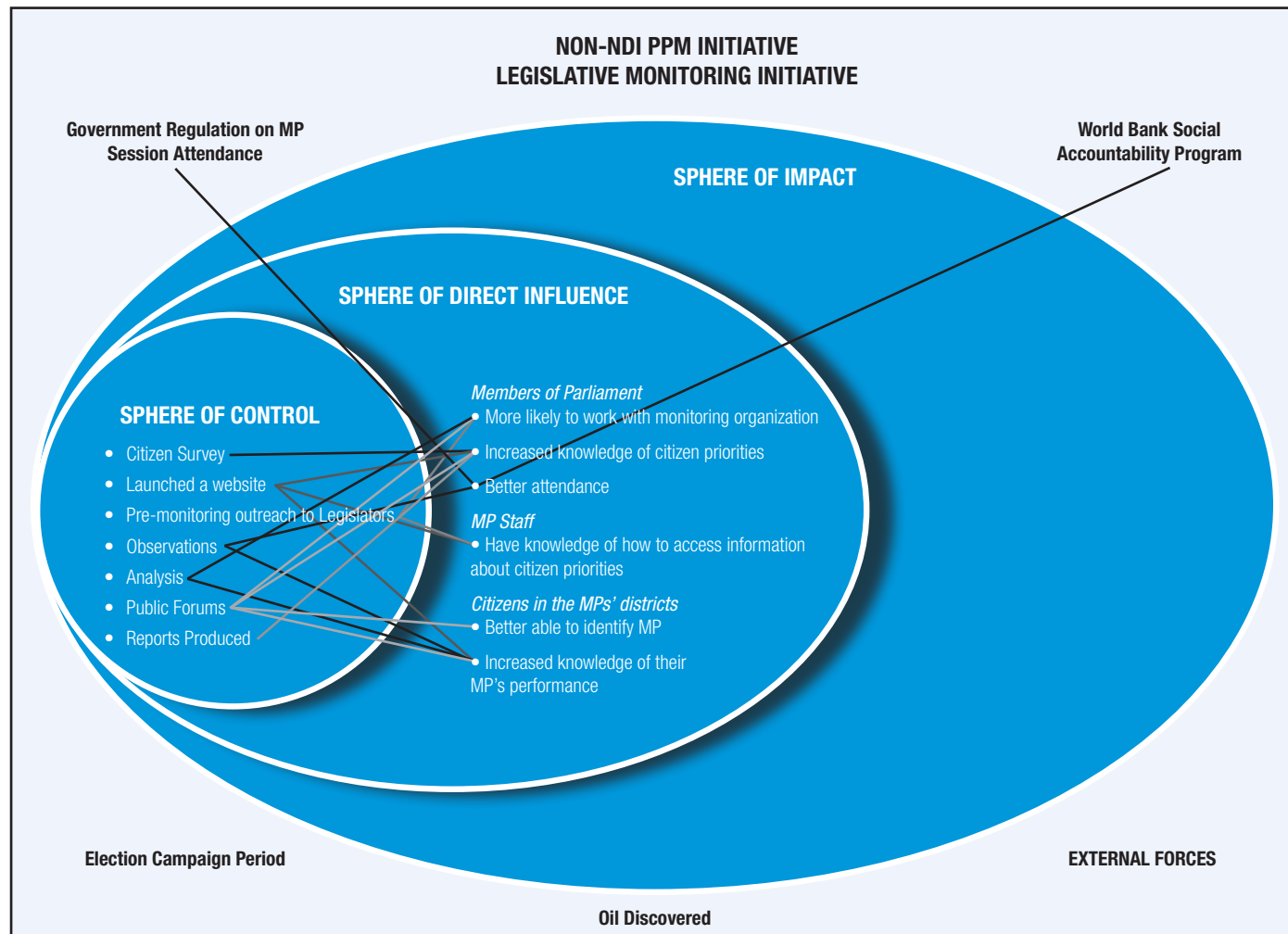
1. Call a 10 minute break.
2. Take the completed “Before” and “After” flipcharts and post them to the side with the timeline.
3. During the break, write the changes identified on the “After” flipchart in the sphere of direct influence under the appropriate subheading.

NDI Partner PPM Initiatives - Identifying Sphere of Impact

[5 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:

1. Go through each change listed in the sphere of direct influence and ask the participants what PPM initiative activities, external forces, and internal changes have contributed to these individuals' and organizations' changes.



2. Draw lines reflecting this relationship. Use colored lines markers, if possible.

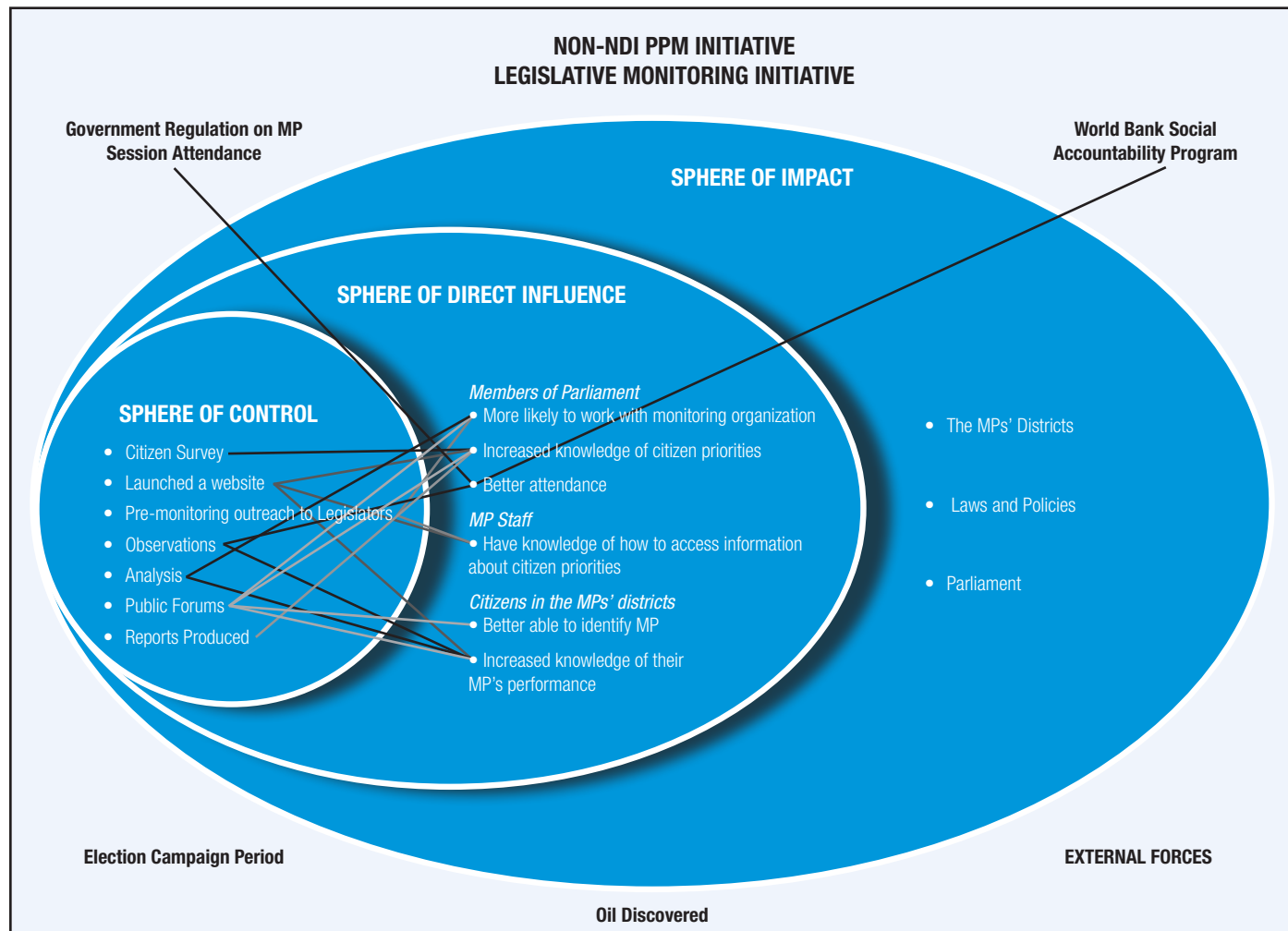
Note: If the participants say that there is something else not already on the board that affected the changes listed in the sphere of influence, add it in the appropriate place.

NDI Partner PPM Initiatives – Identifying Sphere of Impact

[5 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:

1. Ask the participants to list the institutions, sectors, laws/policies, and/or population groups that they did not have direct contact with through the initiative, but may have been impacted by the PPM initiative. This aids in looking at the broader impact beyond those that were directly affected by the initiative.



2. Write them in the sphere of impact.

NDI Partner PPM Initiatives – Before and After Exercise

[15 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:

Part One

1. Post the “Before” flipchart page with subheadings taken from the institutions, laws/policies, sectors, and population groups listed in the sphere of impact. Ask participants to describe the institutions, laws/policies, sectors, and population groups before the initiative. If prompting is needed, ask about observed knowledge, skills, behavior, attitudes, and relationships before the initiative.

BEFORE	
The MPs’ Districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• District needs were not adequately met
Laws and Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Few laws and policies reflected citizen priorities
Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lots of corruption• Inefficient systems and procedures

Part Two

1. Post the “After” flipchart page with the same subheadings taken from the institutions, laws/policies, sectors, and population groups listed in the sphere of impact.
2. Referring back to the descriptions on the “Before” flipchart page, ask the participants what, if any, the changes observed in the institutions, laws/policies, sectors, and population groups were by the end of the PPM initiative?

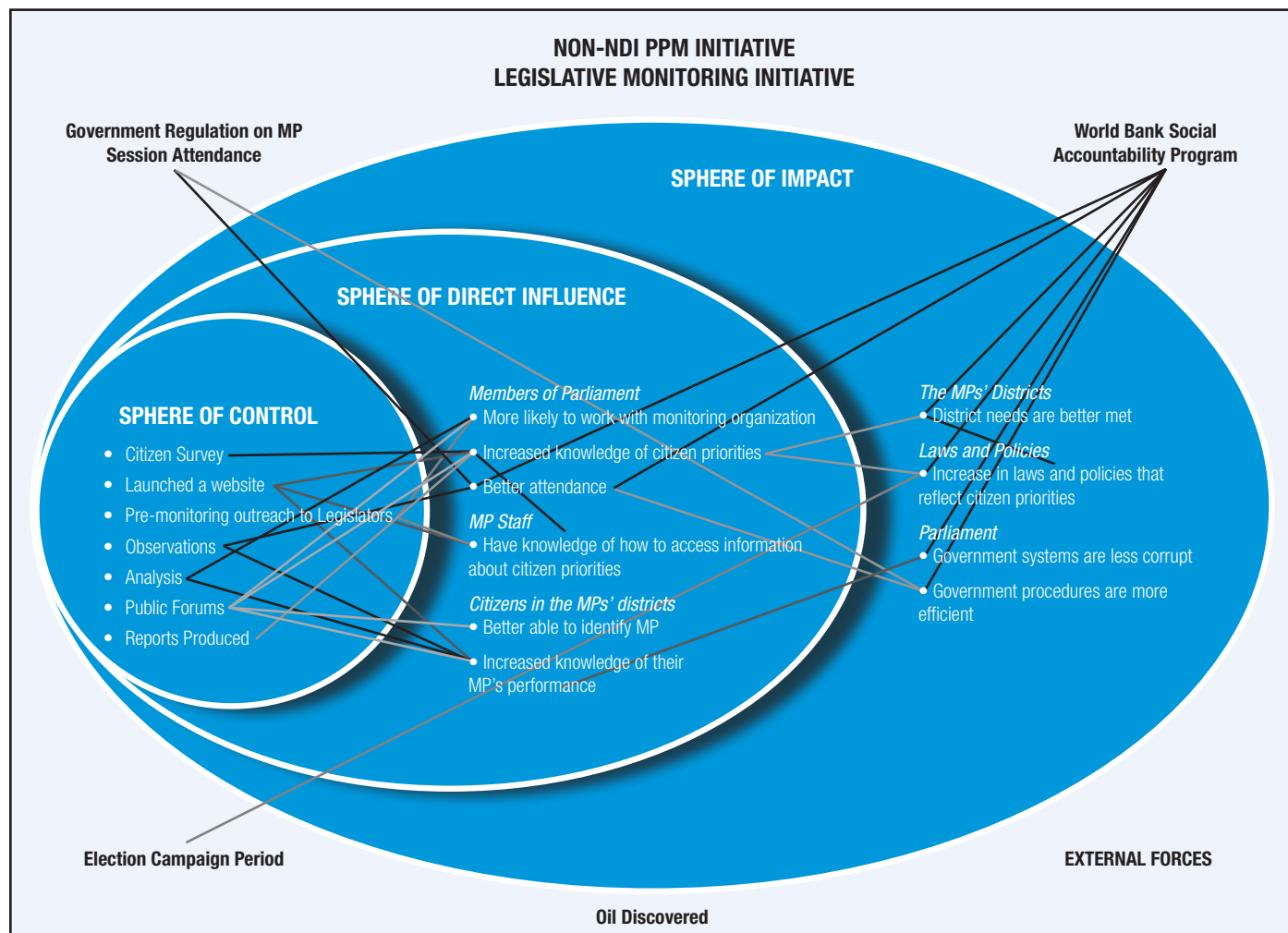
Part Three

	BEFORE	AFTER
The MPs’ Districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• District needs were not adequately met	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• District needs are better met
Laws and Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Few laws and policies reflected citizen priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Increase in laws and policies that reflect citizen priorities
Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lots of corruption• Inefficient systems and procedures	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government systems are less corrupt• Government procedures are more efficient

1. Call a 10 minute break.
2. Take both the “Before” and “After” flipcharts and post them to the side with the timeline.
3. During the break, write the changes identified on the “After” flipchart in the sphere of impact under the appropriate subheading.

NDI Partner PPM Initiatives – Identifying Contributing Factors to Sphere of Impact Changes

[15 MINUTES]



Facilitator Instruction:

1. Go through each change listed in the sphere of impact and ask participants what PPM initiative activities, external forces, and changes in the 'influenced' people/organizations have contributed to the changes observed in the institutions, sectors, laws/policies and population groups.
2. Draw lines reflecting these relationships using colored marker, if possible.

Note: If partners say that there is something else not already on the board that affected the changes listed in the sphere of influence, add it to the appropriate place.

NDI Partner PPM Initiatives – Identifying Most Significant Changes in Sphere of Direct Influence and Sphere of Impact

[15 MINUTES]

MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGES

- Increase in laws and policies that reflect citizen priorities
- Government procedures are more efficient
- Increased citizen knowledge of their MP's performance
- Increased MP knowledge of citizen priorities

Facilitator Instruction:

1. Post four blank flipchart papers to the side of the spheres.
2. Ask the partners to vote for the two changes listed in the sphere of direct influence that they consider to be most significant. Each person has two votes; do a run-off if needed. Write each change at the top of one of the flipchart papers.
3. Ask the partners to vote for the two changes listed in the sphere of impact that they consider to be most significant. Each person has two votes; do a run-off if needed. Write each change at the top of one of the flipchart papers.

[Note: In interview, ask why the interviewee thinks that these changes are the most significant.]

NDI Partner Initiatives – Identifying Contributing Factors to Most Significant Changes

[15 MINUTES]

GOVERNMENT PROCEDURES ARE MORE EFFICIENT

- Government Regulation on MP Session Attendance
- Better MP Attendance
- World Bank Social Accountability Program

Facilitator Instruction:

1. Ask the participants to list the contributing factors to each change based upon the arrows drawn on the spheres paper.
2. Write them under the appropriate change heading.

NDI Partner Initiatives – Most Significant Change Matrix Scoring Exercise

[20 MINUTES]

Facilitator Instruction:

1. Once each of the changes has a list of contributing factors beneath it, ask the participants to take a moment to review each of the lists or read them aloud.
2. Put a sticker or sticky note paper next to each of the changes, using one for each flipchart paper. Use a different color for each change/flipchart page.
3. Hand out stickers or small sticky note papers to each of the participants with colors that correspond to the stickers on each flipchart paper. Each participant should have the same number of stickers. For example, if there are five participants and four most significant changes, hand out five of each color stickers to each participant .
4. Ask the participants to stick the stickers next to the contributing factors according to how influential they feel that reason for change was. What they believe to be the most influential contributing factors should get the most stickers; what they feel to be the least influential factors should get fewer stickers. If they feel that one of the factors listed wasn't influential at all in contributing to the change, they shouldn't give it any stickers. Make sure that the participants each do this individually; consider doing it silently.
5. Once all of the stickers are placed, count how many stickers each of the contributing factors received and circle the factor with the most votes on each page. Each change should have a winning factor.
6. Read the most influential contributing factor for each change identified by the group and ask them if they have any questions or comments about the results.

Conclusion

Facilitator Instruction:

Thank the participants for their time and attention.

Let them know that the information they contributed will help NDI better understand the types of changes that can be achieved from conducting political-process monitoring activities.

- Their contributions will be analyzed and included in the next volume of the political-process monitoring guidebook.

Data Collection Tool #2: Interview Questionnaire Template for NDI Partner Organizations

Interview Questionnaire Template for NDI Partner Organizations

Interviewer Instructions:

- This interview form is a template. The specifics of the partner(s) and program details will need to be tailored to the form prior to use. The template uses the phrase “political-process monitoring” as a place holder. Please insert the specific program, i.e. budget monitoring, legislative monitoring, shadow report program, campaign-related monitoring. If you are researching a program classified as a monitoring program follow-through, you may need to provide a more appropriate description, such as domestic violence policy implementation, for example.
- Prior to beginning the interview, you should determine from background research and group discussions the experience the interviewee’s organization has had with political-process monitoring programming. If the organization has conducted political-process monitoring activities, either before NDI’s direct assistance or following the intervention included in this study, as the interviewer you will need to further refine the below questions so that you may capture the details about a single program intervention or the partner’s broader experience in this area of programming. Without that refinement, it may be extremely difficult to extrapolate if changes and impact are attributable to NDI’s intervention and assistance.
- If time is available, it is best to inquire about all of the main themes covered in this interview template. However, if time is limited a shorter interview may be all that is possible. In this case, it is best to maximize the time you in order to capture the most critical information. The information that is most critical will be dependent largely on your research goals. If you are trying to better understand NDI’s assistance to partner groups during these initiatives, you will want to emphasize those questions. If you are trying to understand what changes occurred within the partner organization and the changes to stakeholders, you will want to be sure to retain those sections.

Template:

NDI’s objectives for program as stated in original proposal:

NDI’s objectives for program as stated in final report, if different than in original proposal:

Objectives of Interview:

- To identify NDI partner’s reasons for participating in NDI’s political-process monitoring program and, if applicable, why the partner is motivated to undertake these types of programs more broadly;
- To identify NDI partner’s roles and activities in the political-process monitoring program;
- To identify changes that occurred as a result of the partner’s political-process monitoring initiatives;
- To identify outcomes observed in the broader community and political environment as a result of the political-process monitoring program;
- To capture the interviewee’s perspective on why these changes occurred;
- To identify challenges and best practices associated with this type of intervention; and
- To identify the most useful of NDI’s interventions.

Introduction to Interview:

- Confirm that recording the interview is OK. Assure them that their anonymity will be protected and that the interviewers are the only ones that will listen to the recording.
- Introduce yourself.

- Explain the reasons for collecting this information:
 - To better understand the changes that occurred:
 - Within their organization;
 - With actors that are within their sphere of direct influence; and
 - Within the broader political environment (other institutional actors, policies, laws, etc.).
 - To better understand why these changes occurred; and
 - To identify NDI's assistance that was most useful to its partners.
- Give an overview of the interview structure:
 - Discussion of the activities the organization carried out during the political-process monitoring program and why;
 - Discussion of the changes observed and felt during the program; and
 - Discussion of NDI's assistance during the program.

Interview Questionnaire

Interviewee Context

1. What are your role and responsibilities in your organization? What was your role in this program?

Program Purpose/Theory of Change:

2. Why did you/your organization decide to become involved in monitoring political-processes in your country?
3. What changes did your organization seek to achieve through the political-process monitoring program (i.e. changes in your own organization, within individuals and groups you directly interacted with during the course of the program, in the broader political environment)?
4. How does political-process monitoring fit into your organization's mission and objectives?
5. Why did you decide to partner with NDI on this initiative?

Program Activities/Roles:

6. What was your organization's role in the political-process monitoring program?
7. What activities did you carry out during the program period?
Interviewer note: You may want to refer to the Sphere of Control from the Discussion Groups as a prompt or as a reference.
8. If you worked in a network or coalition to carry out the political-process monitoring activities, what were the roles of the other network/coalition members in the program? What activities did they carry out?
9. Other than NDI, please identify individuals, groups, institutions, etc. that your program activities worked with directly. Please describe the relationship that you had with each.
10. Please identify any other key program stakeholders. What role did they have in the project and how did your relationship with them change over time?

Observed Program Outcomes:

External reflections:

11. Thinking about the actors you worked with directly, what changes in their skills did you observe over the course of the program (i.e. new skills, improvement in skills they already had)? Why do you think these changes occurred?
Interviewer note: Refer to answers given in Q9 for list of actors the interviewee worked with, if prompt is needed.
12. Thinking about the actors you worked with directly, what changes in their knowledge and understanding did you observe over the course of the political-process monitoring program (i.e. knowledge/understanding of the budget process)? Why do you think these changes occurred?
Interviewer note: Refer to answers given in Q9 for list of actors the interviewee worked with, if prompt is needed.
13. Thinking about the actors you worked with directly, how did these actors apply the skills and knowledge that they gained through the political-process monitoring program (i.e. PPM specific activities such document monitoring, direct observation, interviews, surveys, etc , internal communication practices, communication with local government, communication with citizens in their community, etc.)?
14. Did these actors' relationships with the media change during the political-process monitoring program? If so, how? Why do you think these changes occurred?
15. Did these actors' relationships with the government, national or subnational, change during the political-process monitoring program? If so, how? Why do you think these changes occurred?

16. Did relationships between those you worked with directly and the government ,national or subnational, change during the political-process monitoring program? Why do you think these changes occurred?
17. Did government policies, practices or procedures change during the political-process monitoring program? If so, how? Why do you think these changes occurred?
Interviewer note: You will need to tailor this question to the specifics of the program you are re-searching. As written, this question is likely too abstract and potentially confusing to the interviewee. Examples of how to tailor this program include: Did access to official government information change, did access to legislative/budget meetings change, did budget allocations change, did government procurement procedures change, did the quality of public services change, etc.
18. Thinking about the changes you just mentioned, how did you observe these changes?

Internal reflections:

19. What new skills did you and other staff in your organization gain through the political-process monitoring program?
20. What existing skills did the political-process monitoring program help you and the other staff in your organization improve upon?
21. What changes in knowledge and understanding did you experience because of the political-process monitoring program, i.e. training methodologies, the legislative/budget process, how to conduct rigorous data collection, etc.?
22. How did you and other staff members of your organization apply these skills and this knowledge during the political-process program, i.e. change in the ways in which you or your colleagues conduct trainings or develop manuals?
23. Did your organization's relationship with the media change during the political-process monitoring program? If so, how? Why do you think these changes occurred?
24. Did your organization's relationship with government, national or subnational, change during the political-process monitoring program? If so, how? Why do you think these changes occurred?
25. Did your organization's relationship with the local government change during the PPM program? If so, how? Why do you think these changes occurred?
26. Did your organization's relationship with those actors you worked with directly change during the political-process monitoring program? If so, how? Why do you think these changes occurred?
Interviewer note: Refer to answers given in Q 9 if necessary as a prompt to interviewee.

Best Practices and Challenges:

27. What do you think were NDI's best/most successful activities for providing assistance to your organization? Why do you consider these successful? What do you think made them successful?
28. If you worked on this project with in collaboration with others - in a coalition or network, for example – did you see this as a help or hindrance for this type of programming?
29. Were there any challenges that you were or were not able to overcome while participating in the program? If so, please describe.

Conclusion

30. Thank you again for your time and willingness to share with NDI your thoughts about the work your organization is doing. We have covered many topics, but is there anything else that you would like the research team to know that we have not already discussed?

Data Collection Tool #3: Suggested Pre-Research Questions to Ask Participants Prior to Conducting In-Country Discussions or Interviews

Sample Pre-Interview Questions for Discussion Participants/Interviewees

Prior to conducting the in-country research interviews and discussions, it is advisable to provide participants with an idea of the types of information you will be looking for. For some of the programs we are investigating, programs have ended and significant time may have passed since NDI's intervention. Providing further information ahead of the scheduled meetings may help participants prepare themselves prior to discussion. For example, the broad topics or questions we pose in advance may prompt participants to review program documents or it may help prompt them to reflect about the project so they are more prepared for the discussion. Below is an example that was sent to partners in Zimbabwe. Feel free to edit and tailor as is necessary for your in-country research.

Zimbabwe partner meeting requests

Thank you for agreeing to meet with NDI. As you may be aware, NDI recently published a new guide on political-process monitoring (http://www.ndi.org/political-process_monitoring_guide). The guide not only describes what political-process monitoring is, but it also places specific emphasis on how NDI program partners have undertaken these types of initiatives and the tools they used as they carried out their monitoring activities. NDI is currently conducting research as we develop a second volume. This new guide will describe why these program initiatives matter in helping civil society organizations encourage their government to be more transparent and accountable to citizens' needs. The guide will also include advice on how to design these types of programs, including expected outcomes, indicators of success and potential results as well as tools to monitor and evaluate these program initiatives.

NDI featured CISSOM's work monitoring the GPA in the first guide. As NDI develops this second guide, the Citizen Participation team wanted to conduct additional research and speak directly to members of CISSOM to learn more about their work monitoring the GPA. Specifically, NDI is interested in learning more about:

- Organization's motivation for conducting this type of work;
- Changes - within the organization, with key stakeholders, within the external political environment - the organization has noticed as a result of conducting monitoring activities;
- Challenges experienced conducting this type of monitoring initiative; and
- Relationship with NDI during and after conducting these types of programs.

In addition to the research on NDI partners' work on monitoring political-processes, NDI is also interested to learn more about your organization to better understand the types of organizations that are conducting political-process monitoring initiatives. Specifically, NDI is interested in understanding :

How you would describe the work of your organization. For example, is your organization focused primarily on research and policy development, service delivery, representing citizen and community interests to local and national government, civic and voter education, community mobilization, etc. ;

- How your organization works to improve the issues you work on;
- The types of tactics and techniques your organization utilizes to engage both citizens and government official; and
- How your organization is organized and why you decided to organize this way.

Again thank you for taking the time to talk to NDI about your work.

Additional Evaluative Frameworks

The data collection tools contained in this guide were developed to better understand completed political-process monitoring programs and, after using the tools, NDI believes that they can also be useful for those who are currently conducting similar programs and who want to better understand their program outcomes.

In addition to the frameworks used to develop the data collection tools found in this guide, NDI believes the following frameworks may also prove useful to NDI staff and local partners who want to measure the outcomes and impact of their programs. These tools may be used as designed in their entirety or as part of a mixed methods approach. For more possible tools, see Appendix B.

- **Utilization Focused Evaluation**²³ is a framework designed by Michael Quinn Patton that focuses on the user, audience, and utility of an evaluation in the design process. The value of these types of evaluations is framed around the values of the intended user and audience and what they expect to gain from the evaluation. Utilization focused evaluations first identify the purpose of the evaluation and the primary intended users of the evaluation to inform the design process. This framework can be highly personal, as it is intended to be used within programs and processes to inform and improve future decisions. Patton describes this approach as a process for selecting appropriate content, models, method, and theory for the user's situation. Another feature of this framework is the attention paid to accuracy and feasibility because of its intended utility.
- **Outcome Mapping**²⁴ is a monitoring and evaluation technique that focuses on measuring changes in the behavior, relationships, and actions of groups or organizations that are directly involved in a program. Outcome mapping involves a variety of participatory exercises geared toward determining what behavior changes occurred as a result of the program intervention.
- **Participatory Impact Assessment**²⁵ (PIA) is a methodology that combines the use of participatory tools with more conventional quantitative approaches to measuring program impact on participants' lives. PIA is an extension of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). PIA is noted for its flexible methodology that can be adapted to a variety of local conditions. The approach emphasizes the involvement of project participants and community members in assessing project impact and recognizes that "local people are capable of identifying and measuring their own indicators of change".
- The **Logical Framework Approach**²⁶ is used during the planning phase of a program to map out a linear logic model, the assumptions behind the logic and the criteria for determining programmatic success. Specifically, the logical framework model lays out a program's activities or inputs followed by the expected results, outcomes, and outputs. The Logical Framework model also includes indicators of success that will lead to the overall programmatic impact. Monitoring, evaluating and reporting plans are often based on the causal chain outlined by the logical framework approach.

23. Patton, Michael Quinn. "Utilization Focused Evaluation". SAGE, Fourth Vol. (2008).

24. Roduner, Daniel, Walter Schlappi and Walter Egli. *Logical Framework Approach and Outcome Mapping: A Constructive Attempt of Synthesis*. Zurich: AGRIDEA, April 2008.

25. Catley, Andrew, John Burns, Dawitt Abebe and Omeno Suki. *Participatory Impact Assessment: A Guide for Practitioners*. Medford, MA: Tufts University, October 2008.

26. Roduner, Daniel, Walter Schlappi and Walter Egli. *Logical Framework Approach and Outcome Mapping: A Constructive Attempt of Synthesis*. Zurich: AGRIDEA, April 2008.

Examples of the application of these evaluative frameworks is contained in the following chart.. While the outcomes captured by these frameworks do not reflect every nuance and result of direct program intervention, the use of these methods, both individually and as a mixed approach, provide insight into the ways in which participants perceive change in their ability to engage and seek transparency in government initiatives.

Many of the outcomes identified by these data collection approaches are similar to trends found through this guide's case studies, thereby demonstrating that political-process monitoring can be effective in generating greater citizen awareness, citizen action, and government reaction and responsibility. The approaches used in this guide are stakeholder interviews, written questionnaires, participatory approach, stock taking and outcome mapping. While most of these methods are qualitative in nature, quantitative studies such as indices and surveys may be used as well.

Process Monitoring Type	Data Collection Approach	Outcomes Observed
Citizen Report Cards <i>Assessment of Impact of citizen report cards on Bangalore public sector performance</i> ²⁷	Stakeholder Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved quality of services Increase in civic activism concerning public services Increase in public awareness of the quality of services and the fact that citizens have the right and power to demand better services
Budget Transparency and Monitoring <i>Evaluation of the Extractive Industries transparency initiative</i> ²⁸	Written Questionnaire and Stakeholder Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dialogue between governments and civil society is now in spaces where it did not previously exist Budgets can be discussed openly versus previously classified as confidential state information Increase in the capacity of the public to analyze fiscal policy Governments, corporations, and civil society maintaining a commitment to work together for transparency
Legislative monitoring <i>People's Assessment of Progress of India's Right to information Law</i> ²⁹	Participatory Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 20% of the rural and 45% of the urban public information offices claimed changes had been made in the functioning of their offices because of the ppm initiative. Over 60% of changes reported in access to information pertained to improved record maintenance Nearly 65% of the randomly selected inhabitants of ten state headquarters stated that access to information, especially government information, would significantly help them solve many of their basic problems Nearly 15% of urban respondents cited harassment from officials and uncooperative officials as the most important constraint. Citizens were hesitant to file right to information applications and 30% felt discouraged by the government from filing
Rapid Outcome Mapping in Tanzania <i>Supporting Demand Side Accountability in Tanzania</i> ³⁰	Outcome mapping/ Stakeholder Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CSOs undertook elements of the transparency approach in other organizational and advocacy work CSOs used outcome mapping with other members and projects Increase in demand for outcome mapping training and support from CSOs
Participatory Budgeting <i>Participatory Planning Assessment in Bangladesh</i> ³¹	Stock-taking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government is more attentive to the legislation being monitored The budget process became more transparent Enhanced local government efficiency in local level development Greater ownership by the community in local level development Increased level of trust by the community in local government Local governments were able to mobilize more local resources Representatives became responsive to local needs The central government considered devolving more authority to local governments Corruption in development activities within participating councilors was reduced and reported by the communities

27. Ravindra, A. (2004) "An Assessment of the Impact of Bangalore Citizen Report Cards on the Performance of Public Agencies". Evaluation Capacity Development Working Paper no.12, Operations Evaluation Department. Washington, DC: World Bank.

28. Rainbow Insight. Evaluating the EITI's Impact on the Transparency of Natural Resource Revenues. 2009. <<http://eiti.org/files/Rainbow%20Insight%20Report.pdf>>.

29. RaaG/RTI Assessment & Analysis Group with the National Campaign for People's Right to Information. *Safeguarding the Right to Information. Report of the People's RTI Assessment 2008* 2008. <<http://www.centreforcommunicationrights.org/images/stories/database/debate/india-safeguarding-executivesummary.pdf>>.

30. Hearn, Simon and Harry Jones. (2011) "Supporting demand-side accountability in Tanzania: Is AcT helping CSO partners to become more effective in achieving change?" Overseas Development Institute.

31. Ravindra, A. (2004) "An Assessment of the Impact of Bangalore Citizen Report Cards on the Performance of Public Agencies." Evaluation Capacity Development Working Paper no.12, Operations Evaluation Department. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Stakeholder Interviews - This approach derives data from interviews held with key decision makers and those affected by the program. Evaluators hold structured to semi-structured one-on-one interviews to gather data. This type of data collection allows for deeper exploration into the motivations, beliefs, and perceptions of those most affected by the outcomes.

Written Questionnaires - This approach entails distributing a targeted set of questions for written response to help collect data from larger groups of citizens affected by an initiative and can help in providing statistically significant and quantitative data.

Participatory Approach - This data collection method draws from the participation of focused group discussions and helps to empower those involved in the process. It can be used to help participants learn how to evaluate and apply these methods to their own process monitoring programs in the future. Because this approach collects data based on attitude, perception, and belief, relying solely on a participatory approach often results in a lack of quantifiable data.

Outcome Mapping - Outcome mapping is an emerging method for planning, monitoring, and evaluating development activities that aim to understand factors and actors within a participant's direct sphere of influence. It seeks to identify the correlation between changes in the state and environment that exists and behavior changes in local people and participants.

Stock taking - From the context of the case study, stock taking consists of conducting primary and secondary document reviews to examine and analyze existing data on a particular process monitoring technique. This data review includes reading donor reports, proposals, independent studies, and case studies on programs.

The outcomes show that the results are not exclusive to the collection method, but rather inclusive of the process of political-process monitoring and transparency initiatives. Other methods that have been used in these contexts are indices and rankings, as well as qualitative case studies. These approaches clearly demonstrate that qualitative data can help explain outcomes in a field where outputs and outcomes are not always easily observable or attributable to specific programmatic interventions.

Collecting Baseline Data For Program Evaluation And Design

In October 2010, NDI launched a political-process monitoring initiative with local CSOs in Iraq. NDI provided technical and financial assistance to local advocacy organizations in order to identify new tools and methods for encouraging greater transparency and holding government accountable on issues of concern. In May 2011, NDI took the opportunity to use the before and after tool found in this guide to capture what the CSOs felt the level of knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviors and relationships were for key stakeholders (including themselves) prior to beginning their monitoring initiatives. The Iraqi CSOs planned to conduct a range of political-process monitoring initiatives including legislative monitoring, shadow reporting on Universal Periodic Review (UPR), and monitoring government accountability on the labor law and issues primarily affecting women and youth.

The results³² of this exercise echoed many of the findings from other country case studies. Iraqi CSOs perceived a lack of awareness by key stakeholders, both government officials and citizens alike, on several levels including: knowing roles, responsibilities and job functions; fully knowing the laws, policies or regulations relevant to their specific projects; and how to bring about the desired change. NDI's Iraqi partners also identified attitudes, specifically fear and trust, and weak relationships as barriers to change. A summary of the data is included below. As their initiatives come to a close, NDI hopes to help these groups capture information on how their projects may have affected political-processes.

32. It should be noted that the findings from the baseline “before” exercise were based on respondents’ perceptions. NDI did not do a follow-up exercise with other stakeholders to gather their perceptions on the same questions. The findings are strictly based on the CSOs’ responses.

TRENDS ACROSS OUTCOMES

Based on trends found between baseline data in Iraq and outcomes found in case studies

TYPES OF CHANGE		Knowledge	Skills	Attitude	Behavior	Relationship
	Voice	CSOs have some general awareness of the law and recommendations to be monitored	Citizens want to change the status quo, but they do not have the skills to do so	Citizens do not care about reporting law/ordinance infractions because they believe that the will not be implemented	Citizens ignore the laws because they feel they will not be implemented by government	Media advocacy of law implementation depends on the relationships with the government and civil society
		Citizens have minimal to no information on legislation	Citizens have minimal to no information on legislation	Cultural norms and social practices have produced fear and apathy		Citizens lack trust in and have an inherent fear of institutions
		Key stakeholders and administrators do not have knowledge of laws	Citizens do not know how to use the information they have on the implementation of important laws and legislation			
		Civil society does not understand the roles of the decentralized government	Media have skills to advocate for the implementation of laws			
		Policies most pertinent to women tend to have the least amount of knowledge base				
	Space	Citizens want to change the status quo, but they do not know how	Skills to implement laws are only within the central government or political parties		Legislation and policy in areas with fewer human rights implications, such as the labor sector, face fewer barriers to implementation and monitoring	Relationships are governed by bureaucracies
		Information on implementation of laws is lacking	NGOs have been gaining skills in process monitoring to implement the laws		Citizens are afraid to challenge the law because of fear of reprisal	
		Information on passed laws and legislation for transparency reforms exists, but is not accessible	Media are allowed to criticize government but don't have the skills for deep investigative reporting on implementation			Few attempts to maintain relationships between governments and CSOs
		Media have access to information on law implementation				Few genuine attempts to build relationships between political parties and citizens
		General awareness of laws and recommendations exist				
	Accountability	Many elected officials are as uninformed as citizens on legislation	Institutions and ministries have no organizational capacity to implement legislated laws	Political parties believe they are above the law	Political parties use laws as a political tactic rather than working towards implementation	Decentralization has led to local governments with little power, and a central government with disproportionate power
		Political parties and local governments hold little to no knowledge of local level processes and roles			Media play a large role in advocating adherence to the laws	Stakeholder offices do not know specific roles delegated to them from central government
		Most knowledge of laws, plans, and recommendations is specialized and levels of knowledge depend on level of government		Government neglects law	Key political stakeholders tend to exclude themselves from application of laws	
		Groups and institutions (Police, Education Ministries) essential to carrying out laws are not aware of the laws or proposed implementation			Institutions are not upholding laws because they are not familiar with their roles	

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