



Global Partners
Governance

Parliaments, Politics and Adaptive Programming

19 February 2019

GPG Background

- Supporting parliaments, parties, ministries and local government
 - Established 2005, aiming to provide more politically-astute and agile form of programming
 - Expert Associates with direct political experience
 - Problem-solving rather than project management
- Analysis, advice, delivery
- Delivery projects
 - Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Honduras, Ukraine, Fiji, Nepal, Libya, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Rwanda, Uganda, Afghanistan, ...



Strategic Analysis and Advice



Why engage with parliaments?

International assistance and parliamentary strengthening – an overview.

It seems that almost every system of government needs a parliament. Given that fewer than half the world's population qualify as 'democracies', it is not surprising that a parliament is not the same as having a democratic government.

Parliaments vary considerably in terms of power, significance and effectiveness. Yet however flawed they may be, their presence appears to be essential to the idea of the state's legitimacy and its claim to represent the public interest.

Parliaments play a critically important role in emerging democracies. The nation's performance in those early years will shape public perceptions, establishing the norms and values which determine the democratic culture. Their work serves every significant policy area connected with political and economic development.

Parliaments can perform a pivotal role in poverty reduction strategies, promotion of gender equity and conflict management through debate and deliberation.

In short, parliaments are concerned with the same strategic objectives as international donor agencies. They should be provided with the assistance, training and resources they need to perform their functions. Yet, for the most part, they receive limited, uncoordinated and largely uncoordinated support.

Despite increased recognition of the centrality of parliaments, they remain a small part of the international support to governments.

The purpose of this report is to:

1. Why engage with parliaments?
2. Political economy analysis and parliamentary support.
3. The functions of parliaments: Legislation, oversight, representation, and extra-parliamentary.
4. The role of parliaments in political development.
5. Consideration of parliaments as powerful allies.

1. Why engage with parliaments?

International support to parliaments has a poor track record. This is due to a number of reasons:

1. Limited international assistance has disrupted an capacity building, training and the provision of resources. This often, implementing organisations have rolled out the same programme and departed on templates, regardless of the country or political context.

Because of such limits the field of parliamentary development has sometimes been criticised as the least effective area of

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

A DIPD READER



Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States

The difficult development of parliamentary politics in the Gulf: Parliaments and the process of managed reform in Kuwait, Bahrain and Oman

Greg Power

LSE



Better parliaments, stronger democracies.

GLOBAL PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

Empowered lives. Resilient nations.

The changing nature of parliamentary representation

Department for International Development

GUIDE TO WORKING WITH PARLIAMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT



February 2018

Politically Agile Programming, Paper 3.

Global Partners Governance

All About Behaviour: KAPE®, Adaptation and 'Sticky' Institutional Change

Greg Power

One of the theoretical problems for international assistance is getting institutional changes that are both effective, and that 'stick' – especially in the political institutions shaping policy and service delivery.

The growing donor interest in adaptive programmes has highlighted the importance of going beyond simply transferring structures to engage with the incentives and interests of the people whom such reforms are designed to help. There are a number of commonly-agreed principles to inform assistance, including: include entry points, leverage, accept an and political outcomes. These are all important, but they are always to an extent. Ultimately, international assistance should be about changing behaviour. Behaviour to institutional structure, process and power are meaningless, unless they are accompanied by shifts to working patterns, institutional culture and behavioural norms. There is still a big gap between the theory of more agile programming, and practical guidelines to actually make it work on the ground' – especially when it comes to behaviour.

It is true that an increasing number of donor agencies and think tanks are now highlighting the importance of behaviour. But it is almost never articulated as a specific programme objective – the assumption appears to be that it will happen organically and inevitably as the result of a project. In contrast to the business world, where 'adaptive management' has been recognised as a discipline over the last thirty years, there are few strategies within the development field which highlight how problem management needs to engage with, and alter behavioural norms.

This paper describes Global Partners Governance's (GPG) approach to institutional reform and political change. Discussion over the last decade of working in some of the most complex and sensitive public environments with politicians and officials in parliaments, political parties, ministries and local government, has identified the KAPE® (knowledge application-practice-effect methodology) that we adopted to get 'sticky' institutional and behavioural change.

The KAPE methodology was the result of our need to describe, in straightforward terms, to our funders the logic of our approach, the intended effects, and how we measure impact. This paper sets out that logic in three sections. It discusses, first, the central role of behaviour in getting lasting institutional change, second, how we use KAPE to deliver projects, with specific reference to how KAPE provides a way of measuring change and impact that acts as an alternative or add-on to the lightbox.

1) Two dimensions of 'adaptive programmes': Flexible delivery and getting behaviour change

It is now widely recognised that one of the most significant changes of tradition

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1. Two dimensions of 'adaptive programmes': Flexible delivery and getting behaviour change
2. Enabling Change: KAPE and The Logic of Institutional Reform
3. Measuring Impact: Monitoring and Evidencing
4. Conclusions: Behaviour insights, objective management and sticky change

Options and entry-points

- **Organisation, structures, procedural reform: Working with parliamentary leaders.** Support to improve the co-ordination of parliamentary work, improve internal efficiency and provide strategic direction.
- **An effective engine-room: Working with parliamentary committees.** It is difficult to overstate the importance of committees. The committee system will cover all policy areas shaping development.
- **The importance of institutional memory: Working with parliamentary staff.** Where parliaments lose 70% or 80% of MPs at each election staff can be the institutional memory, providing advice on parliamentary rules, working practices in committee and plenary, and acceptable standards of behaviour.
- **Listening to voters: Improving constituency service.** MPs are expected to give citizens money, pay for tuition, hospital bills or find jobs – this can have a distorting effect, sometimes leading to the direct buying of votes, corruption, or MPs only serving the needs of supporters.

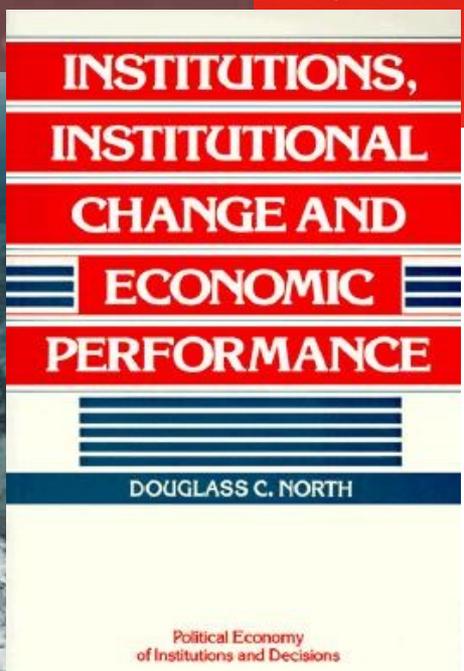
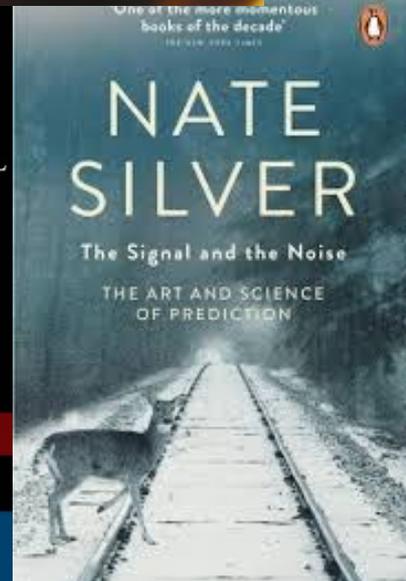
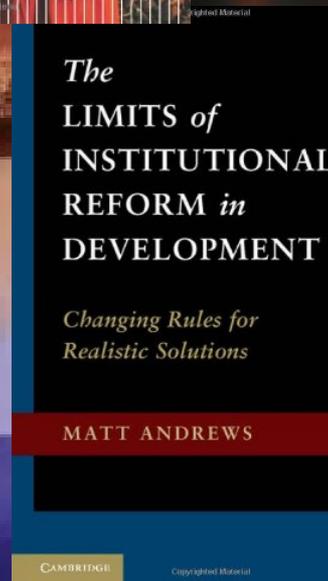
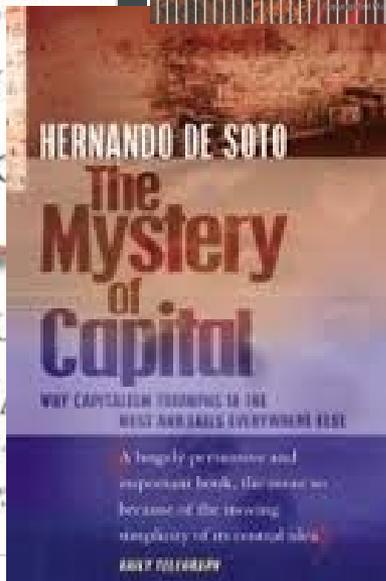
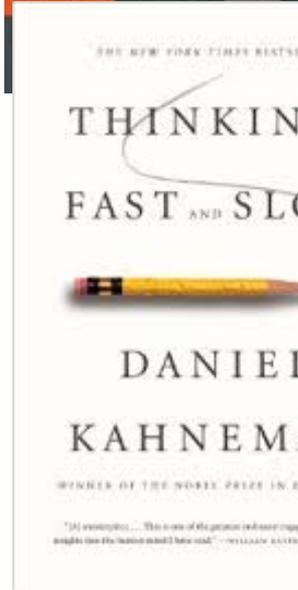
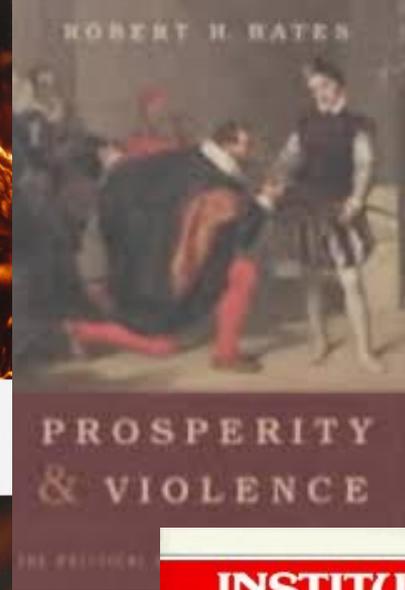
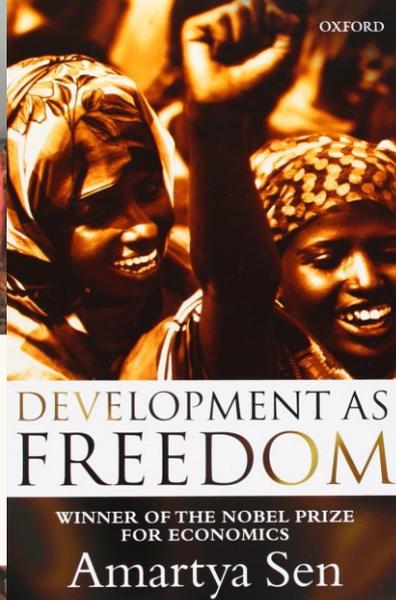
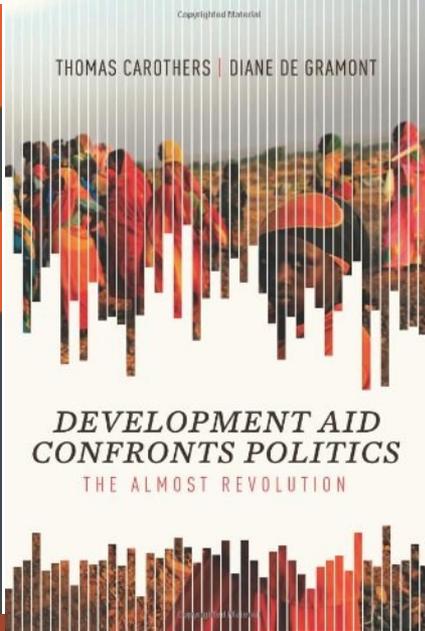
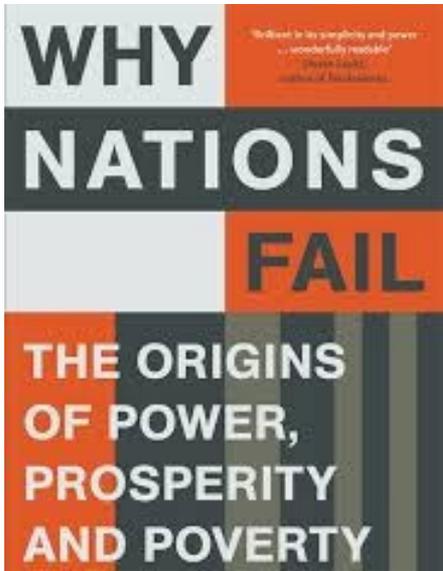
The purpose of assistance to parliaments – and the failings of traditional assistance

The point of changing institutions is to improve outcomes
Improving the quality of policy, and the delivery of services
that affect people's lives

1. Too much training and 'induction'
 - What happens in a classroom is less important than what happens afterwards.
2. Too many templates, not enough problem solving
 - What implementers know, not what parliaments need.
3. Focus on structures rather behaviour
 - Tendency to look for technical solutions to political problems
4. Absence of politics
 - Where are the incentives for change? Why hasn't change happened already?



Understanding politics better



The evolution of 'political' methods: DoC, SGACA, PEA, TWP, DDD, PDIA, ... etc

- Political Economy Analysis
 - Drivers of Change, Power Analysis, Strategic Governance and Corruption Analysis
- Doing Development Differently
 - Upside Down Governance, Good Enough Governance, Working with the Grain, Locally-led/Politically Smart
- Problem Driven Iterative Adaptation/Thinking and Working Politically
 - Moving from thinking to doing



All About Behaviour

1. Identifying the Gap

- In every parliament there is a gap between the power the institution has to call the government to account, and the willingness, or ability, of MPs to use those powers.

2. Individuals determine institutional behaviour

- Parliamentary culture, patterns of behaviour and accepted norms are equally as important as structure, power and resources in determining parliamentary effectiveness.



Why Behaviour Matters More Than Structure

- Most international assistance focuses on the rules of the game
 - Constitutional & Institutional architecture, followed by training, resources and ‘capacity building’
- But, the effectiveness of institutions is determined as much by the “games within the rules”
 - That is, the culture that creates institutional norms and shapes how the game is played
- What does the institution look like from the inside?
 - What needs to be dealt with today?
 - What solutions will tackle the immediate problems and strengthen the institution in the long-run?



Political Economy Analysis for Political Institutions

1. What's the problem?
 - Identifying the manifestations of weakness. Symptoms and causes.
2. Who's in charge here?
 - Mapping institutional power: Who has power? Over whom? What is the source of that authority?
3. What's in it for me?
 - Incentives: personal, political, institutional, cultural
4. Who wins & who loses from change?
 - Understanding attitudes to reform
5. “Make sure everybody gets something”
 - Building a coalition for change by aligning incentives towards reform



The Importance of Continual Political Analysis

At a certain point the theory of change and political analysis have to become less theoretical ...

A PEA is a way of:

Understanding

- incentives, context, motivations and political dynamics

Engaging

- offering the basis for a joint plan of action

Altering

- providing an evolving strategy for managing the politics of change



Political Analysis as Change Management

README Project Cycle



Principles for international assistance

- Be realistic
 - An effective parliament makes functional politics more likely, but doesn't make it inevitable.
 - Political change is contingent and donor influence is limited
- More responsibility, less control
 - Be clear about whose job it is to “fix” things
 - Enabling, not implementing - Political change takes time, and has to be driven locally.
- All change is political
 - Any improvement will alter the balance of power: understand who wins and who loses
- Think big, act small
 - Political change tends to be slow and incremental, not seismic and sudden



Parliamentary Assistance as Change Management Strategy

Enabling, not implementing.

Self-sustaining reforms have to be driven by the people affected by them. The job is not to fix problems, but to help others fix them

1. Start with the individual, not the institution: Help MPs and staff do their jobs better.
2. Understand and align incentives to strengthen parliament.
3. Create pockets of good practice.
4. The ripple effect: Capture, repeat and replicate agreed ways of working.



Enabling Change: A Behavioural Approach to Political Programming

International development work has experienced an exceptional surge of interest in politics, with a variety of initiatives and publications seeking to find new ways of understanding and addressing the most intractable problems in developing countries. For some time there has been general agreement about the broad tenets of this approach including utilising small scale projects that are 'politically-smart', locally driven, responsive to need and employing multiple entry-points, and captured most fully under the rubric of the *Thinking and Working Politically* and the *Doing Development Differently* coalitions.

There remains though a gap between the agreement over principles that inform such an approach and workable models for applying these insights in the design, delivery and measurement of international assistance projects. We have written previously about these issues' and Global Partners Governance (GPG) is in a rare position in this field in that we undertake research, analysis, and evaluation for donors and implementing agencies, but also deliver projects designed to strengthen representative politics. Each stream of work informs the other, and this set of 'Politically Agile Programming' papers is an attempt to capture the insights from our analytical work and our experience working in some of the most difficult and sensitive political environments over the last ten years.

Our work is focused exclusively on political institutions and the people that work within them, including parliaments, political parties, ministries, and local government, to make them more effective, resilient and responsive. But we believe that our approach has wider implications and may

be of use to the broader development field. It is perhaps worth noting that international development agencies appear to have struggled to employ political analysis in their programmes, with these most political institutions, perhaps ironically because of the politically sensitive nature of such work.

This note attempts to capture the logic and key features of our enabling approach. That logic is informed by three key principles. First, effective political institutions are defined more by the characteristics they display than by their structure – specifically by the extent to which they are resilient, representative and responsive. Second, meaningful and self-sustaining political change comes about through changing behaviour, not simply by changing rules or structures, yet behavioural change is rarely recognised as an explicit objective of aid programmes. Third, self-sustaining political change can only be implemented by the people who are directly affected by it. The role of project deliverers is thus not to implement change, but to enable others to implement change for themselves.

These insights are obvious to any organisations working on the ground in political institutions, but applying their logic fully would entirely change the way in which international assistance programmes (especially in the political sphere) are designed, commissioned, delivered and measured. Donor agencies and project deliverers need the courage of their convictions to move from simply talking about politics to engaging with the full implications of working politically.



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strengthening representative politics.