IRI's Approach to Governance Programming

The [International Republican Institute's](#) (IRI) technical approach to program design and implementation is informed by the Institute's more than 30 years of global experience in democracy and governance programming. Viewing governance projects as one element within the entirety of a country's political system and cycle, IRI assesses the political economy of countries, looking to understand fully the political system and context. This includes the structure of institutions—not only their formal hierarchy but also informal norms, traditional centers of power and external influences—as well as the range of stakeholder interest groups and the inclusivity of processes.
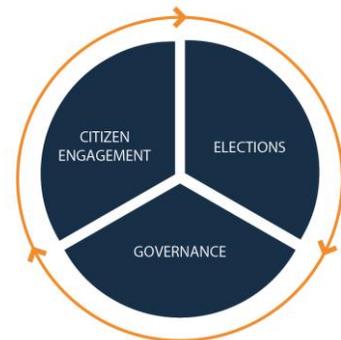
Even in countries where IRI has been present for more than 20 years, it conducts ongoing assessments of the political landscape to chart both unexpected and gradual changes over time or because of elections, natural disasters, structural policy shifts or other disruptive events. This evidence-based, holistic view allows the Institute to recommend and pursue program activities that best fit the environment and existing power structures in order to achieve development objectives.

IRI programming takes into account the full cycle of the democratic process, with a deep understanding of each stage.

IRI's vast experience in conducting global programing has shaped its unique approach to governance programming, an approach that includes a dual focus on supporting both the citizenry as well as the government. Citizen confidence in government institutions is critical for a strong, sustainable democracy; where governments are unable or unwilling to fulfill citizen needs, the democratic process is undermined and risks becoming a democratic façade.

The following equation sums up this approach:

DEMAND SIDE — Citizens & Civil Society + SUPPLY SIDE — Elected Officials & Government Bureacracy = ACCOUNTABLE, RESPONSIVE AND TRANSPARENT INSTITUTIONS

Through IRI's governance programs, the ability of citizens to participate meaningfully in government planning and decision-making is strengthened, while IRI simultaneously helps those in office respond to citizen needs in an accountable and transparent way. The ideal expression of this equation would be a virtuous cycle and feedback loop, with citizens and civil society groups on the "demand" side and elected officials and government bureaucracy on the "supply" side.

SUPPLY

*IRI views a democratic political system as a **feedback loop**; where government officials and institutions are accountable, responsive and transparent to citizens, and citizens have a say in decision-making.*

DEMAND

Legislative Change Agents: Multi-Partisan Caucuses

At the core of IRI's work to strengthen democratic governance are its efforts to ensure that governments listen to and consider citizens' voices, and that legislators understand their role as representatives of citizens. Legislative initiatives responsive to citizen priorities significantly improve the democratic culture and process in their country. To this end, IRI programs equip both legislators and their staff with the capacity to conduct their official roles and responsibilities and foster direct engagement with their constituents as a necessary means to fulfilling their mandates. Simultaneously, IRI programs support inclusive civil society networks and coalitions that represent citizens and enable them to "demand" effective, responsive legislation by communicating their views and needs to their elected officials. Further, IRI provides legislators and their staff with timely public opinion survey research, which informs awareness of key issues facing their constituents and their corresponding legislative responses.

IRI's approach to legislative strengthening contributes to the long-term institution building of legislatures through programs which strengthen not only the capacity of legislators to carry out their duties effectively and transparently, but also strengthen legislative operations such as independent research services, committees, and caucuses. IRI has found

particular success in supporting the creation and operation of multi-partisan legislative caucuses, which can serve as effective agents for change, especially in newly formed democratic legislative bodies, or in highly fractious bodies when partisan identities thwart cross-party consensus during the legislative process. Multi-partisan caucuses are often an effective solution to effecting change when partisan identities prove a distraction to policy development, such as when parties exhibit a weak ideology or undeveloped policy agenda.

Case Study: Somaliland
Formation of Caucuses
Somaliland, the self-declared independent but not internationally recognized region located in north-west Somalia, "has emerged as the most stable polity within the territory of the former Somali Republic, and indeed, since 1996, [has been] one of the most peaceful places within the Horn of Africa."[1] IRI's work in Somaliland from 2002-2014, provided support in the areas of civil society capacity building and advocacy, political party development, electoral processes and legislative strengthening.   From late 2010, IRI's USAID-funded Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes program sought, among other objectives, to "enhance the ability of Somaliland's Parliament to develop effective and informed policies that address top national issues." One of the avenues pursued to achieve this goal was to support the development of multi-partisan, issue-based caucuses in the Somaliland House of Representatives.

Prior to the work of these caucuses (and eventually committees) supported by IRI, Somaliland's parliament could be characterized as a "rubber stamp" for legislation drafted and promoted by the Executive. Members of, and structures within, the lower house had little to no capacity for legislative research, drafting or debate, and lacked the ability to coalesce members around policy issues; in addition, parliamentary committees did not originate legislation.

In July 2011, IRI held initial meetings with the members of parliament (MPs) to explore the possibility of introducing multi-partisan, issue-based caucuses in the Somaliland House of Representatives as a vehicle for issue-based policy development by the legislature. IRI specifically explained the difference between legislative caucuses and committees and the use of caucuses to unite MPs around common issue priorities—regardless of party or clan. To ensure buy-in for the program, the MPs determined the issue areas covered by the caucuses. It is also important to note that in the formative stages of the caucuses, IRI focused on meeting with key committee leaders in the House of Representatives to ensure that they understood that the caucuses would complement committee work—not compete with it— and to secure their buy-in and participation in the caucuses. Similarly, IRI kept the secretary general of the House of Representatives updated on developments and garnered his support for the development of the issue-based caucuses so that there would be no political or institutional barriers to caucus work. By late 2011, MPs officially launched the "Green Caucus" and "Health Caucus" as the first multi-partisan, issue-based caucuses ever formed in Somaliland.

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[1] Bradbury, Mark. *Becoming Somaliland*. Oxford: James Currey, 2008. Print, p. 49.

Just six months later, in early 2012, both caucuses were meeting regularly to review pending legislation in the House (introduced by the executive). However, the caucuses lacked a mechanism through which to review and develop policies that incorporated input and feedback from citizens and topical experts. In response to this identified gap, Green Caucus member and Environmental Committee Chair, Honorable Saed Mohamed Elmi, approached IRI for assistance with enabling caucus members to engage with citizens in the six regions of Somaliland on environmental issues. At the time of this request, IRI was in the process of working with USAID to align its existing program with USAID-Somalia's new stabilization strategy. IRI saw an opportunity to link its work with the parliamentary caucuses directly to its work with Somaliland civil society[2] and reinforce a USAID-identified driver of stability, partnerships between civil society, the public sector and government. IRI worked with the Green Caucus to develop a plan for a series of site visits and field hearings in all six regions of Somaliland. These activities would give caucus members an opportunity to observe and engage with ordinary citizens on environmental issues through site visits, conduct field hearings to present policy proposals, and facilitate feedback on these proposals from local civil society organizations and citizens.

Preparation for Site Visits and Field Hearings
Prior to each site visit and field hearing, IRI held pre-trip briefings for each participating MP and staff member. IRI tailored the briefings to outline the goals of the trip and, recognizing that this kind of citizen interaction was new for MPs in Somaliland, emphasized the importance of collecting and documenting how environmental or health issues directly affected ordinary Somalilanders. IRI reiterated to the MPs that the purpose of the site visits and field hearings was to gather information on citizen concerns and not to campaign for votes or for other personal business. IRI also reiterated that listening and engaging with citizens is an effective way to earn votes without asking for them directly, and offered expertise on how to most effectively listen to and engage with citizens.

In advance of the site visits and field hearings with MPs, IRI also worked with local CSOs (selected due to their issue-focus which aligned with the topics to be discussed at the field hearings) to prepare them for participation in the field hearings with members of the caucuses. During the preparatory sessions, CSO representatives discussed the top concerns facing their communities and developed lists of official recommendations to share with MPs during the field hearings. Additionally, for Green Caucus hearings, IRI briefed the CSOs on three pieces of pending environmental legislation that MPs would likely discuss during the field hearings, the National Environmental Policy, the Forestry and Wildlife Act and the Solid Waste Management Act. With that knowledge, the CSOs then prepared an analysis of and recommendations for all three pieces of legislation based on the priorities and concerns of their communities.

Site Visits and Public Hearings
IRI conducted the series of site visits and field hearings with the Green Caucus from March to December 2012 and, given the success of the project, replicated it with the Health Caucus from March to July 2013. Breaking the norm of interaction, MPs met with ordinary

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[2] Objective 3: Civil society influences decision-making and political processes.

Somalilanders, not just clan leaders or elders, to record their stories during the site visits to each region. They also took photos to document evidence relating to any of the issues raised. A member of the Parliament's communications team accompanied the MPs as they travelled through the regions to assist in recording stories and notes.

Every site visit to the regions concluded with a public hearing. During each hearing, MPs spoke to constituents, demonstrating an understanding of the environment and health issues they learned about during their site visits, while providing them with an overview of how parliament works to address constituent needs through the drafting of bills, passage of laws and appropriation of funding. A "presentation team" of CSOs and academics followed the MPs and responded with recommendations and comments on pending legislation, and a formal presentation of their list of priorities to the parliamentary delegation. The MPs opened the hearing for comments from the public to allow ordinary citizens another opportunity to participate in the discussion. At each field hearing, those who did not get a chance to speak were invited to complete and submit official comment cards; which proved to be a very popular aspect of the field hearings. Community members overwhelmingly welcomed the rare opportunity to meet their representatives within the parliament and to engage in an open discussion about environment, health and other problems in their communities. When possible, parliamentary staff also recorded citizen feedback on audio equipment in order to preserve constituent stories. In most cases, the parliamentary communications secretariat staff who participated in the site visits and field hearings posted reports of the trips on the Somaliland parliament website (www.somaliland parliament.net) which was created with IRI support.

In this initial phase of support to the multi-partisan, issue-based caucuses, IRI began to see members directly engage in legislative debate on pending legislation introduced by the executive, and to coordinate efforts between caucuses. Following visits by the Health Caucus to government-funded health facilities in Hargeisa, members of the caucus agreed to advocate for the passage of the National Health Professional's Act, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Environmental Committee. The Chairman of the Environmental Committee, also an active member of the Health Caucus, worked with Health Caucus members to promote the Act's passage. Of the 37 MPs who voted in favor of the Act, 15 were members of the Health Caucus, and four of those had participated in the Hargeisa region health site visits. In late October, the Chairman of the Environmental Committee praised the Caucus, noting that "without the support of the Health Caucus MPs, the bill would not have been passed."

> **"Without the support of the Health Caucus MPs, the bill would not have been passed."**
> *Chairman of the Environmental Committee*

Joint Civil Society-Parliamentary Working Groups
Based on the success of the regional field hearings, and recognizing the benefits of gathering input from stakeholders, caucus members committed to drafting new pieces of legislation in an attempt to address priority issues. Because the parliament lacked the capacity to fully research and draft such legislation internally, IRI supported the creation of joint civil society-

parliamentary working groups which would bring together MPs with experts in civil society who could contribute to the legislative research and drafting process. IRI identified civil society organizations based in Hargeisa who were able and willing to provide expert input on environmental and health legislation.[3] IRI held initial workshops with each caucus and their respective civil society partners to initiate dialogue between MPs and civil society to formally establish joint civil society-parliamentary legislative drafting working groups; the first of their kind in Somaliland. Each working group was formally established through a cooperation agreement that was drafted and signed by the group members; the agreements detailed the objectives of the group, and outlined the division of labor, reporting requirements and guidelines for interacting with the media. Participants were then divided into working groups for each piece of legislation to be drafted, identified coordinators and distributed research responsibilities.

In total, six working groups were formed to research and draft legislation:
1. Wildlife and Forestry Act Working Group
2. National Environmental Act Working Group
3. Waste Management Act Working Group
4. Rape Prevention Act Working Group
5. Prevention of HIV/AIDS Act Working Group
6. Prevention of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Act Working Group

The working groups held regular meetings to discuss and come to consensus on proposed legislation. The working groups then drafted initial bills that were submitted to an attorney provided by IRI, who reviewed the drafts and put it into the proper legal format necessary for legislation. IRI then assisted the working groups to thoroughly review the draft bills received from the attorney and, as needed, resubmitted the draft with edits. Once agreement on a particular draft bill was made, IRI facilitated meetings between the working groups and the relevant parliamentary committees to present the draft legislation to garner support before official submission to the parliament for review and vote.

As of the close of the IRI program in Somaliland in September 2014, three of the six working groups had officially submitted their bills to parliament for review and vote. On January 5, 2015, the first bill to come out of the caucuses, the Wildlife and Forestry Act, was passed with overwhelming support in the Somaliland House of Representatives. More than a year after the end of IRI's legislative strengthening program, these working groups still exist and are successfully developing and passing legislation:

Caucus Working Group	Legislation	Status
Wildlife and Forestry Act Working Group	Wildlife and Forestry Act	Passed in 2015
National Environmental Act Working Group	National Environmental Act	Submitted to Parliament in 2015

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[3] Many of these groups were umbrella organizations with their local affiliates having participated in the field hearings in each of Somaliland's six regions.

Waste Management Act Working Group	Waste Management Act	Submitted to Parliament in 2015
Rape Prevention Act Working Group	Act was revised to "Anti Sexual and Gender Based Violence Prevention Act"	Submitted to Parliament in 2015
Prevention of HIV/AIDS Act Working Group	HIV/AIDS Act	Will be submitted to Parliament in November 2015
Prevention of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Act Working Group working to	Prevention of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Act	Draft Law is completed; Working Group is currently advocating for support from religious and cultural leaders before it is officially submitted for vote in the Parliament.

In addition to the legislation developed by the six working groups, coordination between the Parliament's Environmental Committee and Health Caucus led to the passage of the National Health Professional's Act. The success of the joint civil society-parliamentary working groups created and led by the issue-based caucuses led to the parliamentary committees in Somaliland replicating the model. In late 2013, the chairman of the Internal Affairs, Security and Defense Committee requested IRI support to replicate the working group model to draft needed amendments to Somaliland's election law in advance of local elections. IRI worked with the committee to establish a working group, referred to as the Election Task Force, which drafted and submitted amendments to the Voter Registration Law, all of which were passed by parliament.

Case Study: Peru
Formation of the Caucus
Peru is a diverse, multi-ethnic country encompassing a variety of semi-autonomous regional governing bodies within a federal model of government. In 2001, Peru returned to a path of democratization after 10 years of authoritarianism under the Fujimori regime, one of the most corrupt in Latin America. Under Fujimori's rule, representatives of democratic institutions such as political parties had been severally weakened. In addition, while national political parties have deep roots in Peruvian history, the growth of regional movements resulted in a backlash against traditional parties' inabilities to act on constituent concerns at the national level. IRI began programming in Peru in 2002, building the capacity of political parties to advance democratic political reform and strengthen their grassroots organizations. IRI also began supporting Peru's efforts to increase women's representation in political life and elected office. IRI worked with women legislators from a wide spectrum of political parties who found a common identity in their commitment to eradicate all forms of social, ethnic, and gender discrimination, and sought a mechanism to build consensus around key issues facing women and children.

In 2006, in an effort to mobilize support around these key issues and to promote gender equality and equal opportunities for all people, as fundamental conditions to achieve development, strengthen democracy and respect for human rights, 22 women legislators (63

percent of the total number of women legislators) across five parliamentary blocs[4] formed the Women's Peruvian Parliamentary Caucus (MMPP).[5] Formation of this caucus was supported in part by IRI with funding through the National Endowment for Democracy. With the support of the President of the Congress of Peru, Mercedes Cabanillas, the official establishment of the MMPP took place in 2006 with the signing of an agreement committing to create a multi-partisan space for dialogue and consensus on gender equity and the achievement of an inclusive and democratic society.

Designing a Gender-based Legislative Agenda
Through the MMPP, women legislators from a wide spectrum of political parties found a common identity in their commitment to eradicate all forms of social, ethnic and gender discrimination. According to the MMPP,

> "*Laws, as any public policy or act of government, have an impact on the lives of men and women; therefore, we must ensure that the legislation does not adversely affect women; we also need to prioritize the analysis of those measures required to bridge the gaps of inequality that persist and negatively affect the full exercise of women's fundamental rights.*"

One of the most important actions taken by the MMPP after its formation was the adoption, by consensus, of a gender-based legislative agenda for the Congressional mandate of 2006 – 2011. To allow for the full exercise of the fundamental rights of women and girls in Peru and, in particular, to expand women's political participation, the MMPP's legislative agenda outlined these main issues required to ensure adequate legal frameworks:

1. Recognition of sexual and reproductive rights;
2. Elimination of all forms of discrimination;
3. Ensuring inclusive and equal education opportunities;
4. Elimination of violence against women and children;
5. Revision of the Citizen's Participation and Control Law to incorporate gender focus;
6. Revision of the Integral Health System in order to provide assistance to women who suffer from AIDS, cancer and chronic malnutrition;
7. Documentation of national, regional and local statistics with gender variables; and
8. Preservation of the use of native living languages.

Site Visits and Town Hall Meetings
In the spring of 2009, IRI together with the MMPP began holding town hall meetings throughout Loreto, Piura, Cusco, Lima and Arequipa in order to engage in direct conversation with citizens to identify their most pressing concerns. Domestic violence was overwhelmingly identified across the five regions as adversely affecting Peruvian women. Women expressed not only the occurrence of violence in their homes, but the difficulty in reporting such crimes to local authorities. At the conclusion of these town halls, members of the MMPP presented the issue to

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[4] Alianza Parlamentaria, Partido Aprista Peruano, Partido Nacionalista, Unión Por el Perú and Unidad Nacional
[5] Congress of the Republic of Peru, Peruvian Women Parliamentarians Table: Work plan.

Congress which as a result resolved to form the Special Committee to Revise the Domestic Violence Law.

Collaboration between Caucus and Committees
Following elections in April 2011, IRI encouraged the re-establishment of the MMPP for the 2011-2016 Congress and in early November 2011, women of the new Congress gathered to elect officers and re-establish the MMPP. After MMPP's officers were internally elected, IRI provided key support to the Caucus to recreate the successful town hall program from the previous Congressional term. IRI facilitated opportunities for MMPP members to travel to the regions to meet with constituents, which led to the formulation of the MMPP's legislative agenda for the 2011-2016 congressional term.

As the MMPP did not have the legislative mandate to introduce legislation, it was imperative that it worked with the legislative committees to encourage the advancement of MMPP's legislative agenda within Congress. IRI worked with MMPP to connect with legislative committees to seek collaborative opportunitites. In June 2012, IRI hosted a collaborative meeting between MMPP and the Women and Family Committee. IRI provided specific advice on how each group could advance their legislative agendas and offered suggestions for areas of cooperation. Both groups discussed their common goals and the Women and Family Committee agreed to prioritize legislative initiatives offered by MMPP, while working jointly on projects designed to empower women to participate in politics and strengthen an existing law to enforce the payment of child support and alimony.

Women's Peruvian Parliamentary Caucus Achievements
While IRI's USAID funded program ended in 2012, the MMPP continues to effectively function, propose and pass legislation in Peru's Congress. The MMPP's ability to build a consensus around key issues led to the adoption of a myriad of laws during the 2006-2011 congressional term:

Equal Opportunity	
Law No. 28983 (March 16, 2007)	A framework law on equal opportunity between women and men with gender equality, which guarantees the existence, expansion and exercise of rights already recognized in the domestic legal framework and international instruments adopted by the Peruvian State.
Law No. 29083 (September 12, 2007)	Amends Article 47 of Law No. 28411, General National Budget Act, to assess budget execution by public sector agencies. The agencies are requested to incorporate analysis of the impact of gender equity policy.
Access to Justice for Women and Their Families	
Law No. 28970 (February 27, 2007)	Created the Alimony Debtor Register, to ensure compliance with judicial sentences regarding alimony in cases where such compliance has been suspended for more than three months. This law seeks to protect minor children.
Law No. 29032 (June 5, 2007)	Orders the issuance of new birth certificates when the recognition of parenthood takes place after the regular deadline. Therefore, the law eliminates the need to affix special seals on the certificates, which created discrimination.

Law No. 29462 (November 28, 2009)	Mandates free registration of birth, first certified copy of birth certificate, and certificate of live birth. It also amends several articles of the Organic Law of the National Register of Identification and Marital Status (RENIEC, in Spanish).
Law No. 29222 (May 2, 2008)	Amends Article 37 of Law No. 26497, Organic Law of the National Registry of Identification and Civil Status - RENIEC, which gives a validity of 8 years to the National Identity Document (DNI).
Law No. 29269 (October 17, 2008)	Amends Articles 81 and 84 of the Code of Children and Adolescents, to incorporate joint guardianship.
Law No. 29274 (October 28, 2008)	Amends Article 46 of the Civil Code, stating that the inability of citizens over 16 years of age to engage in certain legal actions ceases in the case of marriage or when the individual receives a certificate establishing a profession or occupation; in the case of those over 14 years, legal disability ceases when the individual has a child. Thus, legal actions can be taken to seek recognition by the father
Divorce and de facto Unions	
Law No. 29227 (May 16, 2008)	Regulates the non-litigated conventional separation and subsequent divorce in municipalities and notary offices, in those cases where such a decision only involves or affects both partners.
Increased Women's Political Participation	
Law No. 29470 (December 14, 2009)	Amends several articles of Law 27683, Regional Elections Act, reiterating mandatory gender-based, youth, and indigenous representation quotas.
Law No. 29490 (December 25, 2009)	Amends the Political Party Act, thus strengthening several aspects of democracy within the political parties.
Health Care	
Law No. 29430 (November 8, 2009)	Amends Law 27942: Law on Prevention and Punishment of Sexual Harassment.
Law No. 29414 (October 2, 2009)	Establishes the rights of health services users.
Law No. 29344 (April 9, 2009)	Establishes framework of the Law on Universal Health Insurance.
Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children	
Law No. 28950 (January 16, 2007)	Trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants.
Law No. 28963 (January 24, 2007)	Amends Article 170 of the Criminal Code, relating to rape perpetrated against persons who are subordinate to the aggressor as a result of an employment relationship, work contract, or in the case the victim serves as a domestic worker.
Law No. 29139 (December 1, 2007)	Amends Law No. 28119, which prohibits minors' access to pornographic websites.
Law No. 29194 (January 25, 2008)	Establishes the aggravated cases of parental rights loss when the parents are responsible for intentional crimes against their minor children.
Law No. 29282 (November 27, 2008)	Amends the Organized Single Text of the Protection against Family Violence Act, Law No. 26260 and the Criminal Code regarding the crime of domestic violence.
Law No. 29340 (March 31, 2009)	Establishes a special committee to revise the Organized Single Text of the Protection against Family Violence Act.

Law No. 29360 (May 14, 2009)	Counsel Service Act for victims of family violence, sexual violence, physical and moral neglect, attention to children, and senior citizens who are victims of crimes against life, body, health, freedom, family, as well as for low income citizens in civil and family law matters.
Law No. 29570 (August 25, 2010)	Extends the inapplicability of prison benefits of semi-freedom and parole in cases of rape of minors.
Women's Economic Integration: Access to Credit, Property, and Jobs	
Law No. 29409 (September 20, 2009)	Grants the right to paternity leave to public and private employees.
Law No. 29700 (June 4, 2011)	Includes unpaid domestic work in the national accounts in order to achieve greater effectiveness and efficiency in budget implementation.
National, Regional, and Local Budgets Under a Gender-based Approach	
Law No. 28927 (December 12, 2006)	Includes topics to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the Public Sector Budget for Fiscal Year 2007.
Law No. 28929 (December 12, 2006)	Contains topics to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the Law on Financial Balancing of the Public Sector Budget for 2007.

Conclusions

IRI believes that programs designed to support the capacity of multi-partisan, issue-based legislative caucuses is an important aspect of strengthening legislatures that yields demonstrated outcomes. Caucuses by their very nature unite MPs first and foremost around specific issues which builds the consensus necessary to develop policies and pass legislation. Ideally, legislative strengthening programs should support issue-based caucuses at all levels of government (national and sub-national).

Multi-partisan caucuses, particularly when they are built around a core set of priority issues such as the environment or women's rights, can serve several purposes. First, caucuses help resolve differences in the positions of various legislative political factions on specific issues, allowing for broader consensus on legislative goals, and ultimately lead to the passage of legislation which tackles keys issues, improving the lives of citizens. In both case studies, committees within the parliaments suffered from a lack of cohesion on developing either a legislative agenda or draft legislation. In Peru, while MPs were assigned to committees by their party leadership, in Somaliland, MPs were assigned by the speaker of the parliament. Committee operations also suffered from stagnation due to control being tightly vested in individual committee chairs. Conversely, in both countries, since membership to the caucuses was based on individual initiative, or self-selection, members were readily willing to work across party lines in order to positively affect the issue they were passionate about addressing. Draft legislation originated in the caucuses was supported by a critical mass of legislators—representing multiple parties—committed to its success. This support was important to move the draft legislation through committees and to the chambers for voting.

Second, caucuses allow for direct interaction between citizens and legislators on issues of mutual interest; a useful tool in raising citizen confidence in the ability of their legislators to advance the interests of the people. This in turn can build greater support for democratic institutions among the population as legislators effectively carry out their roles as

representatives of citizens and legislatures function more effectively. This interaction between supply and demand stakeholders reflects the foundational principles of IRI's governance programming. While passage of legislation that directly reflected the needs of citizens was an important and intended outcome of both case studies, a key success of the program was the unification of efforts between citizens, civil society and MPs, and the relationship and respect which grew between these two stakeholder groups. In the case of Somaliland, these two groups did not previously engage with each other, and in Peru, interaction especially in the rural regions of the country were extremely limited. Both sides recognized the advantage of coalescing efforts in order to effectively address shared issues of concern.

Finally, it is important to note that supporting caucuses or committees should not be considered a zero sum game in legislative strengthening programs. Both are important mechanisms to affect change, and exert influence on the legislative process when they work in concert. In Somaliland, the caucuses' successful public field visits and joint civil society-parliamentary working groups became best practices adopted by the committees. After witnessing the success of these caucus initiatives, parliamentary committees asked IRI for support to replicate both processes to improve their own legislative functions.

Designing Successful Legislative Strengthening Programs
IRI's approach to supporting democratic, transparent and accountable governance is based on an awareness that while there are accepted models and generalizable norms related to the democratization process, the establishment of democratic institutions and the emergence of a democratic culture are deeply connected to the broader socio-economic and socio-political systems unique to a country. Thus, IRI's programs are informed by models and norms, but demonstrate a keen awareness of how the actors, relationships and behaviors that determine democratic trajectories are defined by that country's economic, social, historical and cultural conditions. By deeply understanding the political context in which it works, IRI is able to seek out and develop consultative relationships with power holders and political influencers key to achieving results. A key component of IRI's successful programs in both Somaliland and Peru was a result of IRI's long-term relationships with all stakeholders (political parties, CSOs and elected officials) in the political process and the resulting trust this had built over time. This type of trust allows IRI to recommend and pursue program activities that best fit the environment and existing power structures in order to achieve programmatic objectives.

Demand driven interventions that are developed in consultation with partners is also key to the success of programs and ensuring outcomes are sustainable in the future. Engaging with political actors as more than just program beneficiaries encourages and ensures local ownership and buy-in for specific program activities and overall program objectives. The success of the programs in Somaliland and Peru stemmed from the design of IRI programs which prioritized stakeholder/beneficiary ownership in program design, implementation and evaluation; commitment of the time and resources necessary to achieving long-term and lasting outcomes and impacts; flexibility to ensure that program approaches keep pace with the complex, emergent nature of socio-political and socio-economic systems; and holistic engagement of the broad spectrum of actors and sectors that influence democratic

institutions, processes and culture. For example, the creation of joint civil society-parliamentary working groups in Somaliland was in response to a request from an MP for assistance in researching and drafting a particular piece of legislation, and as noted, even after the end of IRI's grant, the civil society-parliamentary working groups continue to effectively operate.

Engaging the executive branch and parliamentary leadership is also an important component of legislation strengthening programs to ensure their support of legislation and implementation once the law is passed. For example, in Somaliland, a member of the parliament's Secretariat Communications staff was invited to attend each site visit and field hearing. This led to increased transparency of parliament activities and benefited the parliament in multiple ways through one activity. In addition, representatives of respective ministries were invited and included in the joint civil society-parliamentary working groups; having them as part of the discussion lead to their buy-in and support once the legislation came to parliament for review. In addition, two ministries—the Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Interior—sought IRI's assistance in replicating this practice of inclusive working groups to assist with their own initiatives to draft legislation. In Peru, support from the President of the Congress was vital to ensuring that the MMPP obtained formal recognition and support within the Congress. It also led to organizational strengthening as it resulted in the MMPP being assigned office space within the Congress, and a secretary and legislative staff. In addition, the MMPP worked closely with the Ministry of Justice to develop revisions to the Domestic Violence Law, as the town hall meetings identified the lack of proper education among police officers on the issue, as well as the reluctance of victims to address the issues through the criminal courts versus family courts.

Monitoring and Evaluation
As is the case with many democracy and governance programs, when working with multi-partisan caucuses, the results that are most tangible and easily identifiable are those at the lowest (outputs – such as participation by MPs in IRI-supported caucus meetings) and highest levels (impact – passage of legislation). However, in tracking the progress and successes of these interventions, it is the results that occur in the middle – often changing perceptions and motivations - that are the most telling and most difficult to capture through traditional evaluation methods. To measure this, in Somaliland, IRI implemented a comprehensive monitoring initiative alongside the implementation of its work with issue-based caucuses in the House of Representatives, which involved the development of two scorecards – one for MPs and one for civil society organizations. The scorecards mirrored each other in many ways, looking at aspects of policy engagement and relationship building between MPs and CSOs from the perspectives of each actor. The scorecard monitoring initiative allowed IRI to measure indicators of progress in the development of mutually beneficial relationships in policy development between MPs and civil society organizations which was vital to informing program implementation and assessing critical results that yielded tangible impact.

IRI's Organizational Structure and Mission

Established in April 1983, IRI is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization committed to advancing freedom and democracy worldwide by helping political parties to become more issue-based and responsive, assisting citizens to participate in government planning, and working to increase the role of marginalized groups in the political process – including women and youth.

IRI encourages democracy in places where it is absent, helps democracy become more effective where it is in danger and shares best practices where democracy is flourishing. IRI has conducted programs in more than 100 countries and, along with its global Women's Democracy Network, is currently active more than 85 countries.

IRI's network of field offices and long standing relationships with local partners enables the Institute to rapidly design and implement programs that respond to a multitude of political environments, including post-conflict contexts, around the world. IRI's staff—based in Washington, DC and in more than 30 offices worldwide—brings extensive expertise to programs and enables the Institute to respond in a timely and cost-effective manner to democratic development needs around the globe.

IRI brings extensive experience managing U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) grants and cooperative agreements, complex projects in countries in transition, and large sub-grant portfolios. IRI has managed hundreds of large-scale programs with values of more than $100 million, led programs with dozens of sub-recipients and has overseen individual sub-awards ranging from $500 to $2 million. Currently, IRI is administering more than 100 federal grant projects.

The Institute receives funding through grants from the USAID, the National Endowment for Democracy, a number of European foundations and aid agencies such as the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) and Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (DFATD), and the United Nations.