

**UNDP TANZANIA
LEGISLATURES SUPPORT PROJECT (2011-2016)
TERMINAL EVALUATION
May 2016**

Disclaimer

The Terminal Evaluation of “UNDP TANZANIA LEGISLATURES SUPPORT PROJECT 2011-2016” has been drafted by Kevin Deveaux with the support of Chris Awinia. The views expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of these institutions.

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms	3
Executive Summary	4
I. Introduction	7
a. Background	7
i. Brief History of Legislative Development in Tanzania	7
ii. Objectives of the Terminal Evaluation	8
b. Context Analysis	9
i. Constitutional and Legal Framework of Tanzania	9
ii. Current Situation in the National Assembly	10
iii. Current Situation in the Zanzibar House of Representatives	11
iv. Challenges.....	12
c. Methodology of Evaluation	12
d. Limitations of the Review	13
II. Findings & Analysis	14
a. National Assembly	14
i. Relevance.....	14
ii. Efficiency.....	16
iii. Effectiveness.....	18
iv. Sustainability	22
v. Conclusion	22
b. House of Representatives	24
i. Relevance.....	24
ii. Efficiency.....	26
iii. Effectiveness.....	27
iv. Sustainability	29
v. Conclusion	30
c. Project Management	30
III Lessons Learned	31
IV Recommendations	32
a. Overall	32
b. National Assembly	33
c. House of Representatives	35
Annex 1: List of People Interviewed	37
Annex 2: List of Documents Considered	39
Annex 3: Terms of Reference	43

List of Acronyms

ACT-Maendeleo	Alliance for Change and Transparency
ADC	Alliance for Democratic Change
AFP	Alliance for Tanzanian Farmers Party
APNAC	African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CRC	Constitutional Review Commission
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CTA	Chief Technical Adviser
CUF	Civic United Front
DDTP	Deepening Democracy in Tanzania Project
ESRF	Economic and Social Research Foundation
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
LSP	Legislatures Support Project
LTTE	Long-term Technical Expert
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kuondoa Umasikini Tanzania
MKUZA	Mkakati wa Kuondoa Umasikini Zanzibar
MoH	Ministry of Health
MPs	Members of Parliament
NA	National Assembly
NACSAP	National Anti-Corruption Strategy
NCCR	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NFGG	National Framework for Good Governance
PBO	Parliamentary Budget Office
SMS	Short Message Service
SPs	Strategic Plans
STTEs	Short-term Technical Experts
TADEA	Tanzania Democratic Alliance
TWPG	Tanzanian Women's Parliamentary Group
UKAWA	Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi
UN	United Nations
UNDAP	United Nations Development Assistance Plan
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZHoR	Zanzibar House of Representatives

Executive Summary

UNDPs *Legislatures Support Project* is scheduled to conclude in 2016, as it has operated since 2011 in support of the Tanzanian National Assembly and the Zanzibar House of Representatives. The project reflects the evolution of the relationship between UNDP and the two parliaments, one that has grown stronger over the years, thus allowing for more results.

The project was formulated after the 2010 elections and was intended to be in place for the length of the term of both parliaments. It was extended in 2015 for one more year to ensure continuity in the transition from one term to the next and the provision of induction support for the newly elected MPs in the current terms of the two institutions.

This evaluation is based on four criteria – relevance; efficiency; effectiveness and sustainability. These criteria are based on the generally accepted standards by which development projects are to be measured. As a result of a review of key documents and interviews with MPs, parliamentary staff, civil society, development partners and UN staff, the evaluation team was able to reach certain conclusions about the project’s work with the National Assembly and the House of Representatives.

Relevance: The project was well-aligned with the strategic priorities for the Governments of Tanzania and Zanzibar, the National Assembly, the House of Representatives and the UN/UNDP in Tanzania. The context analysis upon which the project was designed was limited in its scope and could have been both more detailed and updated on an ongoing basis. As a result, the project design was less flexible than one would hope for such a project, including the over reliance on seminars, trainings and other static knowledge events, to the exclusion of more effective and interactive methods of capacity development.

Efficiency: The inputs from the project were a key factor in its success. The use of long-term expertise (CTA for the National Assembly; LTTE for the Zanzibar House of Representatives) was critical to the establishment of a trusted relationship between the project and the respective parliaments. Both of the long-term experts used their relationships to “nudge” the parliaments in the direction of more open and inclusive institutions that reflect regional and international best practices. The development and use of specific knowledge products (e.g. – Guidelines for Norms and Practices of Public Hearings; Gender Mainstreaming Toolkit) was well-received and had an impact on the two parliaments.

Effectiveness: Based on the evidence gathered it can be said that the project was able to achieve many of its intended outputs, including key results such as:

- National Assembly:
 - *Reformed Budget Oversight Process* (Budget Committee; Budget Department; Budget Law)
 - *Bill Analysis* (Increased engagement by MPs)

- *More Effective Women MPs* (through the TWPG)
- *Enhanced Parliamentary Programme Planning* (beyond the work of the project, the National Assembly is using modern planning methods throughout its operations)
- Zanzibar House of Representatives:
 - *Public Input into Committee Work* (Committees now routinely engage the public when reviewing Bills or conducting oversight)
 - *More Effective Women MPs* (through the UWAWAZA)
 - *Bill Analysis* (Increased engagement by MPs)

However, not all the outputs of the project were fully achieved and key results were not accomplished. These include the limited engagement of the public by National Assembly committees, the inability of the Zanzibar House of Representatives to adopt a parliamentary budget office and the limited impact by both parliaments in promoting gender mainstreaming.

Sustainability: For the National Assembly, the project was able to institutionalise key reforms, such as the budget oversight process, which will ensure sustainability. However, for the House of Representatives, the situation is more complex after the recent parliamentary elections and the gains made by the House of Representatives will need to be monitored to ensure they remain in place during the current term.

As a result of the review of the project based on the above-mentioned criteria, certain **lessons learned** can be identified:

- A capacity building project must be flexible in how it provides capacity support. Trainings and seminars have a place, but cannot be the exclusive means of development and others, such as peer-to-peer coaching, mentoring, piloting and attachments for those staff and MPs who are fully engaged must be kept as options.
- A good context analysis that is regularly updated is critical to ensuring a parliamentary development project is reflecting the current political situation and is flexible in how it adapts its work to those situations.
- Establishing and maintaining long-term technical advisers allows for a stronger, more trusted relationship between the project and the parliament, which, in turn, will result in the consideration and adoption of new techniques and methods that will make the institution more open, transparent and inclusive.

Based on the analysis conducted and the findings of the evaluation team, recommendations have been provided for consideration by the National Assembly, the House of Representatives and UNDP. These recommendations build on the successful aspects of the project and attempt to provide guidance on new approaches that will make subsequent projects with the two parliaments even more successful.

**Legislatures Support Project
Table of Recommendations**

No.	Recommendation
Overall	
1.	Create Separate Projects for Each Parliament
2.	Establish a Project Management Unit in Parliaments
3.	Create Space for All Project Actors in Project Management
4.	Increase Inclusiveness of Project Formulation
5.	Project Lifespan Beyond 2020 Elections
6.	Plan for Delays in Recruitment of Project Staff
7.	Design Exit Strategy into Project Components
8.	Maintain Focus on Institutional Development
National Assembly	
9.	Establish more In-Depth Methods of Staff Training
10.	Implement Public Hearing Protocols
11.	Support Broad Public Engagement in the Work of the National Assembly
12.	Work Directly with a Small Number of Committees
13.	Promote Law Review Process Reform
14.	Continue Support to the Budget Committee and Department
15.	Training for MPs Should Be Done In-House
16.	Engage Civil Society in the Monitoring of the National Assembly
17.	Bridge Gap Between LSP and Next Project
Zanzibar House of Representatives	
18.	Limited Engagement with the House of Representatives until Political Situation Improves
19.	Establish more In-Depth Methods of Staff Training
20.	Full Political Economic Analysis Prior to Full Project
21.	Establish Media Centre in House of Representatives

I. Introduction

a. Background

i. Brief History of Legislative Development in Tanzania

The present-day situation in parliamentary development in Tanzania can be traced back to the first multi-party parliament (7th and 8th Parliament and 6th and 7th House in Zanzibar) between 1995 and 2005. The period marked adjustment from a single to a multi-party Parliament for both the National Assembly (NA) for the Union and Zanzibar House of Representatives (ZHoR). With regard to the NA, the proportion of the Opposition was 46 members in the first multiparty Parliament (19.8%). The ZHoR had a larger proportion of the Opposition right from the start with 24 members (48% 1995-2000), to 16 members (32% in 2000-2005) and 19 members (38% in 2005-2010).

The legislatures in Tanzania are provided for under Article 6(1) of the Constitution of the United Republic for the case of the NA and Article 63 of the Constitution of Zanzibar for the ZHoR. Tanzania's national development policies including the Vision 2020/2025 for Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar respectively call for transformation of the Tanzanian economy into a middle-income country that enshrines the principles of good governance and rule of law including well functioning legislatures (V2025: 22; V2020: 40). Subsequently national development frameworks including the MKUKUTA, MKUZA and the First Five Year Development Plans 2011-2016 all emphasized the centrality of good governance and rule of law, including continued enhanced legislative oversight. Key National Frameworks such as the National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACSAP) and the National Framework for Good Governance (NFGG) call for strengthening the rule of law, including through legislative oversight. Given these national priorities, the UN in Tanzania reflected these priorities in its planning frameworks including the UNDP and Country Plans.

The practice of parliamentary democracy in Tanzania was further strengthened in the course of the National Assembly and Zanzibar House of Representatives terms from 2005-2010. The debates in the parliaments became more dynamic as the proportion of the Opposition in both parliaments increased following the introduction of multiparty elections in 1995, while the proportion of new and younger MPs from diverse backgrounds increased on both sides. The Opposition in the NA decreased to 29 members in 2005 (12.5%) from 46 in 2000 (19.8%). However 2005 coincided with a change of leadership in both the NA and Executive. The new leadership set the pace of an increased oversight role for the parliament under the motto of "faster speed and higher standards." This leadership change signified a shift towards the notion of Parliament Supremacy as opposed to Party Supremacy that prevailed under the one-party Parliament.¹

¹ Prerogative rights of political parties to sponsor (and therefore withdraw membership) of MPs (save for Speaker) has remained a challenge for the full exercise of the notion of Supremacy of the Parliament which is free from influence of the Executive or political parties. The effect of these prerogative powers account to why, at times, the experience has been more of a collective responsibility along party caucuses compared to individual MPs acting as direct representative of constituencies. This has at times conflicted with Parliament representation role.

A further development was the formulation of the first Corporate Strategic Plan (CSP) for the NA in 2006 and Zanzibar in 2011. The CSPs provided the opportunity for national authorities in the parliaments to articulate their visions and strategies regarding priorities for legislature development in Tanzania and Zanzibar .

With regard to UNDP's support to parliaments, the LSP prodoc clearly states the programme was formulated upon request by the national government to assist Tanzania to build a democratic society and strong legislatures to ensure balance of power. The goal of the project was to provide assistance to both the NA and the ZHoR as they continued to develop based on internationally recognized standards and best practices. The LSP was specifically formulated to provide support to the two institutions that were actively and fully engaged in their own development, with UNDP providing the necessary support, where required, to assist with such development. At all times, it was the intention of the project to have active and informed national partners who were taking the lead in their own enhancement.

ii. Objectives of the Terminal Evaluation

The overall purpose of the LSP evaluation is to assess the performance and achievement of the legislatures support project in relation to the desired outputs and outcomes. The evaluation findings will be used as the basis for further interventions by the UNDP in the field of parliamentary assistance, particularly in the light of developing new governance/ democratic development programming and the new UNDP. The evaluation also aims to address how the project has sought to incorporate a human rights-based approach as well as to what extent gender goals have been reached and gender has been mainstreamed in project activities.

The evaluation has been conducted with the following specific objectives to:

- Assess the effectiveness, relevance, efficiency and sustainability of the project and the results achieved;
- Assess the extent to which improvements at outcome level can be linked to the project interventions;
- Assess the adequacy of resources (human, financial, and material) allocated to the project for the achievement of the established objectives and assess the allocation of the resources across the project objectives and the two legislatures;
- Assess the impact of training activities funded by the project as well as how these were aligned to the training needs of the MPs/ parliamentary staff;
- Assess the impact and results of study visits abroad, South-South exchange and other international knowledge sharing;
- Evaluate the extent to which the project has applied a gender perspective and the human rights-based approach and assess the impact of the interventions for men and women beneficiaries;

- Assess the effectiveness and efficiency of the implementation modality and project staffing;
- Examine to what extent national ownership of the project has been ensured during the project implementation and stakeholders' level of satisfaction with the project's results;
- Assess to what extent the project is managed and advised in relation to the best practice in the field of parliamentary support;
- Identify the lessons learnt and good practices from the project implementation to ensure change impact that can be considered in planning and design of the future parliamentary support activities;
- Assess potential avenues for future interventions in the field of parliamentary support a potential partners and strategies. Suggest the profile of technical support, including potential synergies with other UNDP interventions within and outside democratic governance focus area, for future UNDP parliamentary support.

b. Context Analysis

i. Constitutional and Legal Framework of Tanzania

The Constitutions of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977) and that of Zanzibar (2006) provide for the establishment of the NA (Chap. 3) and ZHoR (Chap. 5). Both Tanzania and Zanzibar have a history of providing for elected legislatures dating back to pre-independence period (since 1926 for both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar). There has been a continuous legislative presence for Tanganyika and subsequently United Republic of Tanzania jurisdiction while the legislative arms of Government in Zanzibar was suspended following the 1964 revolution and re-introduced in 1980 following the enactment of the Zanzibar Constitution in 1979 (<http://www.zanzibarassembly.go.tz>).

Both Constitutions recognise separation of powers, independence, and checks and balances between the legislature and other organs of Government, namely Executive and Judiciary. Both Constitutions have provisions for Parliamentary Immunity and Privileges, legislating the finance and appropriating bills, and oversight over the Executive. In 1995, following the Constitutional amendments that re-introduced multi-party democracy in 1992, both Houses shifted to multi-party politics.

The NA has strengthened its prerogative for oversight by legislating a Budget Law that restrains the Executive from contravening expenditure that has been approved. A similar Bill exists in Zanzibar but the prospect of its enactment into law remains uncertain.

Zanzibar has a history of political impasse, which led to Constitutional Amendments which led to the establishment of a Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2010. The effect of the changes in the House was that both the two political parties in the House formed Government thus having a situation where there is no official Opposition. In 2012 a Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) was established to promulgate a new Constitution for Tanzania. The draft Constitution that

awaits referendum has kept the structure of the two legislatures as they currently stand save for allowing private candidates to be elected as MPs, set a 50/50 split of men and women members, and setting a limit of the size of the NA to 390.

ii. Current Situation in the National Assembly

The composition of the NA after the 2015 election now stands at 384 members where 264 are constituent members, 113 women special seats (NEC, 2016).² Among these, 252 MPs are from the majority CCM party (68.8%) and the balance 31.1% from Opposition parties. Within the Opposition the main opposition party CHADEMA has 61.4% of the Opposition MPs and CUF (36.8%) while NCCR and ACT-Maendeleo being 0.87% respectively.

In 2015, prior to the election and following the Constituent Assembly, the Opposition in the NA formed a Coalition known as Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi (UKAWA).³ The Opposition Shadow Government was re-constituted to include MPs from CUF and NCCR, in addition to CHADEMA. The UKAWA coalition was maintained in the parliamentary elections and subsequently formed as a joint shadow Government in the House.

Overall, the size of the Opposition in the NA has increased in both absolute number (from 90 in 2010 to 114 in 2015) and proportionally (25.8% in 2010 to 31.1 % in 2015). This indicates a more competitive political system in which the opposition is able to not only contest elections more effectively, but are able to have a larger voice within the NA and its committees.

There is a reported high turnover of Parliamentarians from the previous term of the NA with an estimated 60% being new MPs overall. With the new MPs the profile of the House is changing to younger, higher educated, and IT savvy Members, creating implications in the nature of debates and the effective representation of constituents.

Women MPs in the House have remained active and often multi-partisan under the women's caucus group TWPG when it comes to gender issues. The women's caucus is likely to remain an active voice on women's issues in the Parliament in the foreseeable future as the number of women MPs in the House has increased from 102 in 2010 to 110 in 2015. It can also be observed that the percentage of women MPs is more than 30% of the total number of MPs and is close to achieving a "critical mass" that, in conjunction with the TWPG, should allow for an increase in the debate and deliberation of gender issues.

In general, many observers agree the NA has been incrementally developing in all its core functions (legislative, oversight and representation) over the last decade and a half. Commentators agree that the NA during its last term (2010-15) reached the height of its

² The figure reported in the analysis are from political groups which excludes nominated, ZHoR representative MPs and AG. The source is derived from NEC website which is considered as most authoritative although the number slightly differs from other sources.

³ Translated as Coalition for Citizen's Constitution

oversight functioning but remains uncertain how that will be sustained and constrained by relationships with the new Executive.

iii. Current Situation in the Zanzibar House of Representatives

The ZHoR has had a strong presence of Opposition MPs from the main opposition party CUF since the first multiparty elections in 1995. The Opposition MPs have traditionally come from a single party, CUF (save for three Representatives from Opposition parties of AFP, TADEA and ADC who are nominated by the Executive and serving as Ministers in 2010). In 2005 CCM formed the majority in the House with 31 directly elected Representatives (60.8%) and CUF forming the official Opposition with 20 Representatives (39.2). This composition of the House only slightly shifted between 2005 and 2010 with the Majority having 28 Seats from 31 in 2005 (a decrease of 0.10%) and a marginal increase by Opposition from 20 to 21 Seat (0.05%).

The structure of the House in Zanzibar (2010-2015) was determined by a political Accord (Mwafaka) that called for the establishment of a Government of National Unity (GNU) pursuant to the 2010 elections. This had meant both sides of the House formed Government (and served as the front-bench in the House) and remaining Representatives formed the back-bench. Observers of the ZHoR agree that there was increased bi-partisan collaborative work between the MPs and an all time high-level in the performance of the legislative oversight function of the ZHoR was witnessed.

The history of ZHoR has always mirrored and been adversely affected by post-election cycles arising from small margin and often disputed (except for 2010) Zanzibar Presidential elections. These post-election events have affected the composition of the House in 2016 when CUF boycotted a re-run of the election in 2016 after the October 2015 elections were nullified. This led to CCM either winning unopposed or with little opposition leaving CCM winning all 54 constituencies in Zanzibar. Subsequently the President appointed 3 nominated members from opposition parties to form a GNU.

Observers have different views on the implication of this in the business of the House. Some argue MPs will remain focused on their objective work of performing their core parliamentary functions of legislating, oversight and representation. That development is non-partisan so the House can achieve promotion of public goods for human development. Others are skeptical on the extent to which the present House is representative of Zanzibar's polity and therefore legitimacy and long-term sustainability of its legislature. However, both sides of this debate concur that House business will not be the same when one of the main Zanzibar political party (CUF) is not represented.

iv. Challenges

Pluralistic democracy in both Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar has now reached 23 years after multiple parties were legally allowed to operate. Notable progress has been achieved up to the period under review, which are the legislatures of the periods covering 2010-2015. The development of parliamentary democracy in Tanzania can still be viewed as “a work-in-progress.”

A key challenge on the part of the NA is for the Majority and opposition to find a balance where both parties in the House feel they have sufficient space to effectively perform their legislative functions on the one hand; and where the Assembly functions in unison to perform their mandated functions as stipulated in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania on the other hand. There is much room for bi-partisan functioning, even synergy with the Executive to move the national development agenda forward. However there are cultural differences in terms of approach and presentation amongst different demographic groups and amongst MPs from different diverse backgrounds such as civil society, the private sector, the civil service. In addition, to focus too much on developing a parliament that reflects international standards can result in less focus on the context of the Tanzanian NA and the need for consultation and consensus.⁴

There are tangible achievements that the NA made in the period under review. These include establishment of the budget department, strengthened committee system and strengthened capacities to Parliamentary staff and members on performing key legislative functions including legislating and constituent representation. 2016/17 is the first financial year when the budget law comes into operation but coinciding with a transition to a new Executive.

In Zanzibar a key challenge lies with the representativeness of the current House of Zanzibar’s political landscape. The House has also experienced major constituent changes including new leadership (Speaker, Clerk, absence of opposition MPs, 60% turnover of MPs), which can seriously affect the functioning of the House.

c. Methodology of Evaluation

Criteria

The review was based on the criteria laid out in the Terms of Reference for the evaluation (which are provided in Annex 3 of this report). Those criteria are closely aligned with the norms developed by OECD with regard to the five key criteria that are the basis of the evaluation of development assistance: Relevance, Efficiency, Effectiveness, Impact and Sustainability⁵. In the case of this review the terms of reference do not require a review based on the impact of the project, leaving the other four criteria as the basis for the review.

Tools

⁴ Some observers have alluded to the need to stereotype a diverse house can create a demand for attention to be paid to technicalities of House rules which can leave the Minority to feel excluded

⁵ <http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/daccriteriaforevaluatingdevelopmentassistance.htm>

In order to answer the questions raised in the criteria above, the evaluators (Team Leader & national Consultant) relied primarily on two tools to gather data and evidence to answer the questions and to validate any findings:

Desk review: Key operational documents were identified including the RRF, the project document, quarterly and annual reports, annual work plans, implementing partner reports and proposals and other relevant documents.⁶

Semi-structured Interviews: Key respondents (partners, donors, beneficiaries) were included in an interview process. Each interview was 30-60 minutes in length and included a series of questions with, where possible, follow up based on the need for further information.⁷

The evaluation team conducted the collection of data and evidence for the report during a two-week mission in Tanzania from April 25 – May 6 2016. Interviews were conducted in Dar-es-Salaam, Dodoma and Zanzibar.⁸

d. Limitations of the Review

Every effort was made by the evaluators to engage as many key actors – donors, beneficiaries, implementers, trainers – as was possible. Documents received by the project team were reviewed fully. However, the limited time in country (10 working days) did not allow for a full and complete interaction with a significant sample of MPs or staff. It also prevented the evaluators from being able to interview all trainers and other experts contracted to implement the project.

⁶ For a complete list of documents consulted please see Annex 2

⁷ The full list of those interviewed can be found in Annex 1

⁸ All conclusions and findings in this report are based on the evidence gathered. Where specific documents or records are the basis for the finding, a footnote will reference such document(s). Otherwise, the findings are based on the information from interviews.

II. Findings & Analysis

a. National Assembly

The project had a strong relationship, overall, with the National Assembly. The specific aspects of the work are outlined below in accordance with the four criteria identified in the Terms of Reference for this evaluation – relevance, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability. However, it is fair to say that the project was well-integrated into the work of National Assembly. More than one senior staff person in the NA referred to the LSP as a “think tank” for the NA, allowing it to have access to expertise and knowledge on a demand-driven basis.

The planning process, both on an annual basis and for each activity, was well-coordinated with the NA having significant ownership of the processes. This included the need for a multi-step process to develop each knowledge product. Annual work plans were developed in a consultative process with the lead being the Technical Advisor, Project Director and Project Coordinator with active involvement of the NA management group..

With motivated beneficiaries, the project was able to play less of an “out front” role and one more focused on facilitation and the provision of timely advice and information that would be picked up by the NA. In most cases this led to the adoption of institutional reforms and new products and processes that have made the NA more effective.

i. Relevance

Relevance is often defined as addressing three key issues – alignment with priorities; understanding of the context in which the project will operate; and the design of the project.

Alignment with Priorities

Tanzania was the first country to sign a United Nations Development Assistance Plan (UNDAP) – a broader document than the usual UNDAF, as it covers all UN agencies working in Tanzania. The original UNDAP was for 2011-15, aligning very well with the life of the LSP.

Cluster Three of the UNDAP has a focus on governance and includes specific commitments to enhancing the ability of the parliaments of Tanzania to conduct effective oversight of the Government of Tanzania and to engage the public in its work. Both of these priorities are reflected in the work conducted with the NA.

The Government of Tanzania, through the adoption of MKUKUTA⁹ and MKUZA¹⁰ (both 2010-15) noted the need for stronger parliaments, at least indirectly. The MKUKUTA noted the need for

⁹ MKUKUTA II: http://www.tzdp.org.tz/fileadmin/migrated/content/uploads/MKUKUTA_II_01.pdf

¹⁰ MKUZA II: http://www.tzdp.org.tz/fileadmin/migrated/content/uploads/MKUZA_II_FINAL_November_02.pdf

more accountable, transparent, effective, predictable, transparent and inclusive systems and structures of governance (Goal 3.1).

In response to the MKUKUTA, the NA adopted both a Corporate Plan and Strategic Plan for 2011-15, coinciding with the term of the NA. These plans noted the need to build the capacity of the institution to meet its constitutional obligations with regard to law making, oversight and representation. The LSP was designed to be aligned with the priorities as identified in these NA plans.

Context Analysis

In order to design a project that will be effective and results-oriented, there is a need for a comprehensive analysis of the context, both political and institutional, within which the NA operates. Presumably there was some analysis conducted from which the LSP was formulated. The only documentation received would be the situation analysis provided in the original project document from 2011.

The context analysis as described in the project document is accurate and provides insight into the situation as it existed in 2011.¹¹ However, one would have expected a more detailed analysis of the key aspects of a parliament. Specific information with regard to the current status of the sectoral, and oversight committees (number & capacity of staff; public hearings conducted; reports produced), the structure of the secretariat and any challenges noted, and the formal and informal power structures in the NA. These and other details were not included in the analysis and this may have affected the delivery of outputs during the life of the project.

Design

Though perhaps not the original intent, the project, as designed, resulted, *de facto*, in two parallel projects – one with the NA and the other with the ZHoR with separate project boards, project directors, project coordinators and long-term technical advisers. This limited the opportunity for interaction between the NA and the ZHoR, but also allowed for projects that were specifically tailored for the needs of each House.

The project was focused on institutional development. This means it was focused on technical reforms and changes that reflect accepted regional and international standards and best practices for a democratic parliament. Attention is given to institutional capacity and to changes in the legal framework and policies of the parliament so as to create a lasting structure within the parliament. However, the project is not primarily concerned the political nuances and compromises that are often a key aspect of the work of a parliament. Engagement with party groups and the political leadership of the parliament are limited.

¹¹ LSP Project Document pp 11-13

Even though a project is primarily one addressing institutional development, this does not mean that political factors can or should be ignored. Such projects must recognize that politics is inherent in the work of a parliament and dialogue with party groups and leaders will allow for the effective implementation of the project and will more likely achieve lasting results. Maintaining contact with political actors in the parliament and being constantly up-to-date on the political scenario will allow a project to build ownership of its proposed institutional changes.

A primary focus of the project was the capacity building of staff and MPs in the NA. It was designed with a focus on trainings and workshops. We will explore the effectiveness of this approach in later parts, but suffice to say at this stage that once designed in this manner, there was limited flexibility by project staff to move towards the use of other tools for capacity development, such as peer-to-peer coaching, piloting and long-term attachments.

A further consideration in the design of the project was the role of UN Women. The LSP was designed as a UNDP project. As with many UNDP projects engaged with parliaments there were outputs related to women's political empowerment and gender equality. However, the project was not designed to maximize the synergy between UNDP and UN Women. At times it was a challenge to attribute results to the work of the LSP versus the work of UN Women. This can be avoided with a clearer division of labour during the design phase of the next project.

Finally, an issue with almost all UNDP parliamentary development projects. There is an attempt at the design stage to attempt to support all aspects of the work of a parliament – law making, oversight, representation, staff development. This can result in a broad level of support but with little depth to provide the deeper knowledge that may be requested or required to achieve results.

Overall, the project design foretold some challenges that would limit, to some degree, the ability of project staff to deliver fully on the LSP outputs.

ii. Efficiency

Efficiency is the measure of the cost-effectiveness of the inputs provided by a project. Cost-effectiveness is a measure of the cost of the inputs provided (i.e. – staffing; activities) and the results achieved from those inputs.

In the case of LSPs work with the NA there is a clear correlation between the inputs provided and the results achieved. Starting with technical expertise, there was a good use of such expertise, both short-term and long-term and both national and international. The contracting and retention of a Chief Technical Adviser (CTA) in Dar-es-Salaam was critical to the project's work with the NA. The CTA built a trusted relationship with the leadership of NA and senior staff. This enabled the CTA to provide timely technical advice on the drafting of the Budget Law that was well-received by the NA. The CTA also developed several knowledge products that were adopted and published by the NA in support of the work of the MPs and staff.

All of this work by the CTA was critical to the successful implementation of the project. The CTA was actively engaged in almost all aspects of the project's implementation, with key areas including:

- Establishing an inclusive budget process
- Development of key knowledge products for more effective committees
- Organisation of the induction programme for new MPs
- Establishment of legislative-executive interaction regulations
- Institutionalisation of research and analysis by NA staff

The CTA was also key to the extension of the project by one year (from 2015 to 2016) to ensure the finalization of key activities and the continued support to the NA into the new term of the parliament. The CTA also was key in resource mobilization, including extra funding from the Irish Government.

As noted earlier, because of the strong relationship between the LSP and the NA, the project was able to work more in the background to facilitate action. A good example of this is the role it played in the promotion of the rights of people with disabilities.¹² The LSP supported workshops that brought MPs together with people with disabilities and their related CSOs. According to a leading civil society advocate, the space created for this dialogue resulted in seats being designated for people with disabilities on the Constituent Assembly that was considering the revisions to the constitution. In turn, the draft constitution developed in 2015 recognized the rights of people with disabilities in a more significant fashion than ever before.

The use of knowledge products to supplement the trainings and other forms of capacity support and having these developed primarily in-house by the project resulted in a relatively low cost, yet highly appreciated set of reference materials by MPs and staff. For example, the development and publication of the *Guidelines for Norms and Procedures for Public Hearings* was timely, given it was produced at the same time as the NA was starting to conduct more public hearings.¹³

The use of national short-term technical experts (STTEs) made sense in the context of the NA. In many cases the experts were from academia or civil society, providing a perspective that was not just that of the executive branch. Later in the life of the project senior staff of the NA acted as technical experts and facilitators for trainings, building their credibility in the eyes of the MPs, to whom they must have a strong relationship if the NA is to work effectively.

The major challenge with regard to the inputs of the project was its heavy reliance on trainings. It is difficult to link a static event, such as a training seminar, and the later actions of beneficiaries, especially if those actions are well into the future. Some staff were interested in pursuing more advanced opportunities to gain knowledge, but the project was not able to pivot to other tools for development and continued to rely on trainings as the main means of capacity building.

¹² LSP Progress Reports: 2013; 2014

¹³ *Guidelines for Norms and Procedures for Public Hearings*

A further challenge was the slow initialization of the project in 2011-12. Primary amongst this was the delay in contracting the CTA for the work with the NA, which was created a “domino affect” with regard to delays in implementing activities and outputs. Given the rate of delivery, one can only assume more would have been accomplished if the first year of the project had been managed to ensure the earlier contracting of the CTA.

iii. Effectiveness

The chart below provides a summary of the outputs achieved and those only partially achieved by LSP and its support to the NA. It is fair to say that the project achieved some significant results by delivering on key outputs. These results include:

- **Establishment of a New Budget Review Process** – With the creation of the Budget Committee (2013) and the Budget Department (2015) and the adoption of the Budget Law (2015), the project provided key support to the NA as it identified and pursued the creation of a more active and capacitated approach to the review of the annual state budget.
- **National Assembly Planning** – Based on the planning skills developed through the implementation of the LSP and with the facilitation of LSP staff, the NA has now adopted key sectoral strategies within the institution, such as a hearing process, IT, gender and communications. These are now being implemented and will ensure the institutionalization of, in many cases, best practices and procedures.
- **Committees Have More Capacity** –
 - Both MPs and staff acknowledged that many committee clerks have shown more capacity in supporting their committees. This includes the increased use of written briefings before a committee considers a Bill and the quality of the reports being produced.
 - The development and adoption of key knowledge products on conducting field visits and conducting public hearings provided access to best practices for MPs and staff of committees.
 - The use of a research fund in the early years of the project allowed for committees to access external expertise to support their work
- **Cross-Party Women’s Group is Effective** – The Tanzanian Women’s Parliamentary Group (TWPG) has existed since before the project was initiated, but it has now received support that has allowed it to be effective in advocating for issues that women MPs from all parties have agreed are important. This included interventions on the Health Budget (2015) and the funding for grants for micro-credit businesses (2014) that resulted in adjustments to those budget lines to reflect the demands of the TWPG. The number of women MPs actively engaged in debates and their level of confidence, as expressed by those interviewed for this report, was increased due to the workshops and trainings received by them from LSP.

- **Bill Analysis** – There is evidence of an increase in interventions and amendments to Bills by the NA.¹⁴ The efforts of the project to training staff on Bill analysis has resulted in key staff using these skills with their committees. MPs have picked up what they have learned from the project and have started to engage more effectively with regard to Bill scrutiny.
- **All-Party Caucuses** – The LSP worked extensively with all-party groups, such as TWPG, APNAC and Climate Parliament. This work was critical to the success of the project and to the development of cross-party dialogue that continues to flourish¹⁵.
- **NA Outreach** – The project provided support to the NA as it enhanced its capacity to engage citizens with communication with regard to its activities. This included the development and adoption of a communication strategy by the NA and the retooling of the website of the parliament to allow for more transparency about the work of the NA¹⁶.
- **Databases** – LSP provided support to the NA as it established and maintained databases to support its more effective work. These included the social economic database to support access to expertise a knowledge by committees. It also included a roster of experts that the committees could draw upon for support.

However, there were some key outputs that were not fully achieved by the LSP with the NA:

- **Limited Public Engagement** – The use of public hearings by committees of the NA has increased somewhat, but the processes used have not been institutionalized and are not always meeting best practices. This includes the fact that relatively small groups of CSOs (the “usual suspects”) attend and provide input to the committee review of a Bill or an inquiry. There have been almost no efforts to seek the input of the broader public through hearings held regionally, field visits and the use of online and analog tools to encourage feedback from all citizens.
- **Limited Gender Mainstreaming** – Where the support to the TWPG has been effective, the challenge rests with the education of all MPs on the need to consider gender equity in all aspects of their work. Anecdotally, some MPs interviewed spoke of male MPs being more aware of such issues, but the ability to link this to the LSP is challenging.

Table of Project Achievements National Assembly

¹⁴ LSP Progress Reports 2013; 2014; 2015

¹⁵ For example, but most accounts, the idea of a Budget Committee, Budget Department and Budget Law came from a workshop organised by the LSP with the APNAC Caucus

¹⁶ See: National Assembly Communication Strategy

OUTCOME & OUTPUTS	FULLY ACHIEVED	PARTIALLY ACHIEVED	NOT ACHIEVED	EVIDENCE/ EXAMPLES
Outcome 1: Legislators effectively deal with Government Bills and are skilled to initiate new Bills		X		
Output 1.1 Members have skills and in-house support to initiate, analyze, debate and mark-up new Bills		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of amendments to Bills has increased • Clerk Briefings • Insufficient number of staff in legal service • More PMBs • More Motions
Outcome 2: Legislature effectively and responsibly oversee Government and Budget activities of the Executive	X			
Output 2.1: Members and committees have knowledge about opportunities, right and privileges as given in the Rules to conduct oversight over the Executive on the sectoral development plans, anti-corruption and other areas of national importance.	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity of APNAC increased • Independent research in support of committees • Confidence of MPs • NDP engagement by parliaments was limited
Output 2.2: Improved in-house systems provide a lane for popular inputs into high-level policy debate, law-making and in the allocation of public funds		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field visit manual developed • Constituency office protocols developed • All-party caucuses have enhanced capacity to engage public • No routine public input • Some stakeholders submit feedback via Public Hearings • Field visits are rare
Output 2.3: Members and staff have essential knowledge on the budget cycle and skills in budget analysis against key objectives and interpreting and understanding audit recommendations.	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget Comm. & Dept. established • Budget Law adopted • TWPG Budget amendments • Agriculture Comm. Budget amendments
Output 2.4: Members have knowledge on MKUKUTA/MKUZA and MDGs in order to enable them to conduct oversight of activities.		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDP approved by NA • Ltd. Role in drafting NDP
Outcome 3: Effective representation of citizens and constituents		X		
Output 3.1: Public communications of legislature improved resulting in greater opportunities for citizens to interact with their representatives		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited increase in citizen interaction with MPs • Journalist training • Public input limited

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth parliaments established Websites improved
Output 3.2: Communication and presentation skills of Members improved	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skills on public speaking and debating used by MPs Quality of debate acknowledged as improved by stakeholders
Outcome 4: Gender Mainstreamed in all Parliamentary functions	X			
Output 4.1: Improved knowledge and awareness among all Members and secretariat staff in gender concepts equality and discrimination		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some trainings sessions for all MPs Gender policy to be adopted by NA Disaggregate data adopted by NA Gender desk office reestablished at NA
Output 4.2: Leadership training and other parliamentary skills training for women Members, especially special seats members, to strengthen their parliamentary performance. Women's Parliamentary Caucus, office and secretariat institutionalized	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skills transferred (ICT; Debates; Bill Analysis; Budget Analysis) TWPG supported and resulted in budget amendments Increased participation of women MPs in Bill and Budget debates
Outcome 5: Capacity built for effective Parliamentary Administration and Management	X			
Output 5.1: Secretariats function professionally and in an independent manner	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved report writing Bill Briefings more common Respect for committee staff increased
Output 5.2: Efforts for a comprehensive public Communication plan supported for both legislatures	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communications Plan ready for adoption
Output 5.3: In-house capacity building efforts supported to improve legislative skills/support to Members		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ltd. Transfer of training to NA LSP supports training needs as identified by NA Secretariat Presenters and facilitators are sometimes NA staff
Output 5.4: Relevant staff capacitated to provide research support to Members & Committees	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Budget Analysis training provided Budget Department established & capacitated Bill analysis training provided Some evidence of support to MPs Support to committees has improved

iv. Sustainability

Of the work accomplished by the project, are there indications that the work will have lasting results beyond the life of the project? Without a doubt there are some key results achieved by the NA with support of UNDP through the LSP that will be long-lasting:

- **Establishment of a New Budget Review Process** – In relation to the creation of the Budget Committee (2013) and the Budget Department (2015) and the adoption of the Budget Law (2015), the project provided key support to the NA as it identified and pursued the creation of a more active and capacitated approach to the review of the annual state budget.
- **Effect of the Project on NA Processes** – The LSP required NA staff, particularly at senior levels, to work differently. The use of work plans and ToRs and the reporting requirements were a “hands-on” education on modern institutional development. These skills are now being replicated in other aspects of the work of the NA. The adoption of sectoral strategies and actions plans for communications, IT and gender, all developed with support from the LSP, will have a lasting affect on the institution.
- **Active and Empowered Women MPs** - Despite periodic setbacks¹⁷ which are common in a multi-party democracy, the project’s support to the TWPG (along with support from UN Women) will have a lasting affect. The recent issue of Uterine Fibroids¹⁸ shows that the women MPs in the NA have obtained the skills and have the critical mass within the institution to ensure their advocacy will be sustainable.

However, there were challenges as well. For the entire life of the project trainings were conducted and organized by the project with the NA, but there was little effort to structurally integrate the training processes into the institution. There was, at best, only cursory discussions about the establishment of a training centre or long-term training strategy and no concrete action was taken on these points. There was also only limited movement away from training to other tools for capacity development.

v. Conclusion

The LSP was able to partially or fully achieve all aspects of its work with the NA. In particular, the efforts with regard to budget oversight, MPs and staff development and women MPs political empowerment were significant and sustainable. Challenges arose with the engagement of the public and, to some extent, in the analysis of Bills. All of this was achieved through a trusted relationship between the project and the NA that resulted in an integrated approach to implementation and the use of the project expertise on a timely and demand-driven basis.

¹⁷ <http://allafrica.com/stories/201605091068.html>

¹⁸ <http://allafrica.com/stories/201605060985.html>

Overall, the LSP was able to establish a strong and trusted relationship with the leadership of the National Assembly. This is often a critical step in not only achieving results as defined in a project, but also to allow for an impactful project. The project was able to see some of these broader, institutional and political changes as a result of its efforts. At a time in which the size of the opposition grew, which can result in a government that becomes more entrenched, the NA continued to progress towards a full functioning parliament in which the voices of all MPs are heard.

From the establishment of an institutional budget oversight process to the strengthening of the committee process, the LSP used its relationship with the NA to leverage and support key changes that will make the National Assembly more active in the political system of Tanzania. However, the progression achieved by the end of the LSP must be maintained. As the 11th NA starts its work, UNDP must continue to promote progress towards a fully functional parliament so as to avoid the possibility of reversion back to less open and accountable behavior by MPs and the institution.

b. House of Representatives

The project had a strong relationship, overall, with the Zanzibar House of Representatives. The specific aspects of the work are outlined below in accordance with the four criteria identified in the Terms of Reference for this evaluation – relevance, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability. The project was well integrated into the work of the ZHoR, with the project staff, including a long-term technical expert (LTTE), being based in an office in the House. The ZHoR assigned full-time staff, paid by the ZHoR, to work on the implementation of the project.

The planning process is indicative of the closeness of the relationship between the project and the House. The project’s technical expert would develop a list of possible activities to meet the expected outputs for the coming year. This would result in a series of consultations with staff and representatives to finalize the annual work plan. Once adopted by the project board, the technical expert would work with the dedicated staff of the ZHoR to implement the project activities, including the work planning involved in the various steps required to deliver the activity (i.e. – concept note, budgeting, work plan, organizing, reporting).

More than one beneficiary in the ZHoR noted that the technical expert from the project had developed a trusted relationship with the senior staff and leaders of the ZHoR. This resulted in the LTTE having the ability to promote new approaches the work of the ZHoR that reflected international and regional best practices. For example, the promotion of the concept of a parliamentary budget office (PBO) and its acceptance by the ZHoR was based on the “nudging” done by the LTTE. A similar approach was taken in the adoption of Gender Mainstreaming Toolkit that was adopted in 2016.

i. Relevance

Alignment with Priorities

Tanzania was the first country to sign a United Nations Development Assistance Plan (UNDAP) – a broader document than the usual UNDAF, as it covers all UN agencies working in Tanzania. The original UNDAP was for 2011-15, aligning very well with the life of the LSP.

Cluster Three of the UNDAP has a focus on governance and includes specific commitments to enhancing the ability of the parliaments of Tanzania, including the ZHoR, to conduct effective oversight of the Government of Tanzania and to engage the public in its work. Both of these priorities are reflect in the work conducted with the NA.

The Government of Zanzibar, through the adoption of MKUZA¹⁹ (both 2010-15) noted the need for stronger parliaments, at least indirectly. The MKUZA noted the need for greater citizen participation in the democratic process (Goal 3.2) and improving democratic institutions (Goal 3.4).

¹⁹ MKUZA II: http://www.tzdp.org.tz/fileadmin/migrated/content_uploads/MKUZA_II_FINAL_November_02.pdf

In response to the MKUZA, the ZHoR adopted a Strategic Plan for 2011-15, coinciding with the term of the ZHoR. This plan noted the need to build the capacity of the institution to meet its constitutional obligations with regard to law making, oversight and representation. The LSP was designed to be aligned with the priorities as identified in these ZHoR plan.

Context Analysis

As noted elsewhere in this evaluation report, there was limited materials upon which the evaluators could determine the context analysis conducted prior to the formulation and approval of the LSP. The project document did contain some background and situation analysis that was of some use to understand the underlying facts and information that formed the basis of the decisions made in the project as to where and how it would provide support to the ZHoR.

However, that information was not comprehensive. To start, the political situation in Zanzibar has been challenging for some time. The 2010 election was complex and resulted in the establishment of the GNU that would ensure that almost all seats in the ZHoR would be held by the two main political parties – CCM and CUF – that dominate politics in Zanzibar²⁰. Yet there was no reference to the GNU, which was established in 2010, well before the approval of the LSP.

The GNU would create certain challenges to any project intending to support the parliament, given the lack of any real opposition. In addition, given the political challenges in Zanzibar and the unique consensus government established, the project should have ensured ongoing political analysis was provided in a manner that ensured bespoke, detailed updates and analysis on, at least, an annual basis. In the end, the LTTE based in Zanzibar was able to work in this complex political situation with some adept and reports were noted as part of the progress reports. However, the circumstances in Zanzibar require more detailed and timely analysis to ensure the work of the project is not misdirected.

Design

The project was originally intended to be one project with the same outcome and outputs for the two parliaments – the NA and the ZHoR. In retrospect this was likely not a good idea. SZHoRtly after the project was approved it became clear that, *de facto*, the project would be operated as two parallel projects, one for each parliament. But the project aspects focused on the ZHoR still had to meet similar outputs as the component working with the NA, even though the baseline capacity and the political situation was different for each.

This is noted specifically with regard to some of the earlier annual work plans from 2012 and 2013, where the project's work in Zanzibar was attempting to implement similar activities to the work in the NA. The early work plans for the ZHoR note the need to "engage APNAC" even though no such cross-party group existed in the ZHoR. It was not until later in the life of the project that the work plans seem to have been adjusted and became more focused on the needs of the ZHoR,

²⁰ Thus resulting in a parliament with no opposition representatives from 2010-15

its staff and the MPs. This flexibility was based on the relationship developed between the project and the ZHoR, but this was not planned for or designed into the project as it was formulated.

ii. Efficiency

Reflecting on the inputs provided by the project in support of the ZHoR, there is much to note that was positive.

To start, as noted already in this report, the LTTE had a good relationship with the ZHoR. Being based in the institution allowed for daily interactions and the ability to build a trusted relationship with staff, MPs and leadership of the ZHoR. The ability to promote and implement reforms in the work of the ZHoR by the LTTE were key to the success of this part of the project.

However, there were challenges as well. The LTTE was not contracted until well into the first year of the project. This was part of a bigger issue with regard to the initial start up of the project. Recruitment was one major component of the early delays, thus limiting the implementation of outputs by approximately one year. Future projects need to be better planned to avoid such delays. In addition, for the ZHoR, the LTTE decided to not continue beyond the original lifespan of the project (June 2015) and this resulted in a final year of the project in Zanzibar in which the ZHoR did not have access on a daily basis to quality technical expertise.

The use of short-term technical experts (STTEs) was generally positive. Many of the STTEs were identified from a pool of experts maintained by the ZHoR as part of a database developed by the previous UNDP project (DDTP). But the LSP maintained and updated the database throughout the life of the project. Some staff did note that some of the experts contracted to provide technical expertise during a training did not have the skills required to match the content expected by staff. For example, a budget analysis training seminar was facilitated by a staff person from the Ministry of Finance in the Zanzibar Government who knew how budgets were developed, but had limited experience in critical analysis of state budgets.

The project's work in Zanzibar included the use of STTEs beyond the facilitation of trainings. The project provided a medium-term technical expert (six months) to work with the ZHoR on the adoption and implementation of a PBO. Another national expert was contracted to develop a gender mainstreaming toolkit. Some international experts, primarily from Ghana, were contracted to review the Standing Orders of the ZHoR and recommend amendments and to support the establishment of an APNAC chapter.

All of which leads one to conclude that the project's support to the Zanzibar ZHoR was timely, based on high quality technical advice (both sZHoRt and long-term) and was, in many cases, well received by the beneficiaries.

One key challenge with regard to the inputs provided was the reliance on trainings. The staff in particular noted that the trainings were of use, but only to a certain level and that they were eager to engage the project in more detailed learning and the use of other tools, such as master classes and medium to long-term attachments in other parliaments.

iii. Effectiveness

The chart below provides a summary of the outputs achieved and those only partially achieved by LSP and its support to the ZHoR. It is fair to say that the project achieved some significant results by delivering on key outputs. These results include:

- **Public Engagement by Committees** – Prior to the interventions of this project, the ZHoR did not have a process by which committee’s held public hearings and received submissions from civil society and the public. This has now changed and is directly attributed to the work of the project in supporting the ZHoR and encouraging such a reform.
- **Women’s Caucus Worked Effectively** – The UWAWAZA is the ZHoRs women’s caucus and it has existed for more than ten years. However, the women MPs that are a part of the group noted the joint work of the LSP and UN Women in building their capacity to engage in debates and to work cross-party to achieve common goals. One of those goals was the work of the group, along with civil society, to promote the adoption of new legislation related to child abuse in Zanzibar.
- **Bill Analysis Enhanced** – There is evidence that the work of the project did result in greater capacity for the staff to support the committees as they reviewed Bills. This was confirmed by the MPs that received the support. The MPs have started to amend Bills that are reviewed. Though by no means a standard practice, the ZHoR did amend some legislation, including the *Former Leaders Benefits Act* and the *Shipping Corporation Act*.
- **Youth Engagement in Work of House** – The establishment of a Youth parliament by the project had knock-on affects with regard to the engagement of youth in the work of the House, including the successful advocacy for changes to the *national Youth Council Act*.

However, there were some outputs that were not fully achieved:

- **PBO Not Established** – Despite the best efforts of the project a PBO could not be established. The project originally had a positive response from the ZHoR leadership and this resulted in the contracting of a medium-term expert to help support the establishment of the unit. Indeed, staff were hired; however, after a few weeks of initial work, the PBO was quietly stopped.
- **Staff Independence** – During the life of the project and especially in the early months of 2016 there has been a lessening of the independence of the staff of the ZHoR. There is supposed to be a separate ZHoR Public Service Commission, ensuring staff remain in the ZHoR and are not transferred to executive ministries (or visa-versa). However, recent changes in staff, including at the top level, have challenged the concept of an independent secretariat with the ability to maintain its staffing and capacity.
- **Standing Orders Revisions** – The project provided high quality technical expertise to the ZHoR to review the Standing Orders prior to the end of the last term of the ZHoR. The report produced outlined a clear set of amendments that would make the House more

effective. Those revisions were not adopted prior to the end of the last term and, as of now, are waiting approval.

Table of Project Achievements

Zanzibar House of Representatives

OUTCOME & OUTPUTS	FULLY ACHIEVED	PARTIALLY ACHIEVED	NOT ACHIEVED	EVIDENCE
Outcome 1: Legislators effectively deal with Government Bills and are skilled to initiate new Bills		X		
Output 1.1 Members have skills and in-house support to initiate, analyze, debate and mark-up new Bills		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PMB (HR Admin) • PMM prompted Bill • Shipping Corp Act • SO Review (Completed but no amendments made as yet) • Limited independence = limited amendment power
Outcome 2: Legislature effectively and responsibly oversee Government and Budget activities of the Executive	X			
Output 2.1: Members and committees have knowledge about opportunities, rights and privileges provided Standing Orders and legislation for effective oversight over the Executive.	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear and consistent use of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ PMM ○ PMB ○ Special Committees • SO Review and Amendment?
Output 2.2: Members, secretariat and CSOs have essential knowledge on the budget cycle and key objectives and interpretation and understanding audit recommendations.	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student Loans Budget • Capacity of TA • MoH Budget rejected in 2015
Outcome 3: Effective representation of citizens and constituents	X			
Output 3.1: Public communications of legislature improved resulting in greater opportunities for citizens to interact with their representatives	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholder Database • TV & Radio programmes • Quarterly Newsletter • Public Hearings with Stakeholder input is common • CSO Guidebook for Committees?
Output 3.2: Improved ICT, communication and presentation skills among members	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Computer training • Business Centre for MPs • MPs more confident to debate and intervene
Outcome 4: Gender Mainstreamed in all Parliamentary functions	X			

Output 4.1: Improved knowledge and awareness among all Members and secretariat staff in gender concepts equality and discrimination	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender Mainstreaming Toolkit • Training for MPs
Output 4.2: Leadership training and other parliamentary skills training for women Members, especially special seats members, to strengthen their parliamentary performance. Women's Parliamentary Caucus institutionalized	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child Abuse PMM • UNWAWAZA is active and engaged • Increased representation of women overall and in constituency seats
Outcome 5: Capacity built for effective Parliamentary Administration and Management		X		
Output 5.1: Secretariat functions professionally and in an independent manner		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HR lacks independence • Staff are more capable by all accounts
Output 5.2: Efforts for a comprehensive public Communication plan supported	X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan developed • Lack of funds from ZHoR prevented implementation
Output 5.3: Relevant staff capacitated to provide research support to Members & Committees		X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training provided • More in-depth Capacity Building requested • Limited examples of MPs using staff to develop evidence-based reports

iv. Sustainability

There are indications of some aspects of the work of the LSP that should last beyond the life of the project:

- **Effect of Project on ZHoR Processes** – The project insistence on the use of modern work planning techniques has started to be applied to other aspects of the work of the ZHoR. The assignment of full-time, paid staff by the ZHoR to the project, via the Planning Department of the ZHoR, has enabled the staff in that unit to develop the skills required to ensure a more structured and thoughtful approach to future work conducted by the House.
- **In-House Training Capacity** – The ZHoR has started the process of establishing its own in-house training capacity. The project was able to work with the House to develop professional development plans for all departments. Based on the success of the project in providing capacity building training seminars, the House has initiated the process for creating its own capacity to carry on such work in the future.

However, other enhancements, such as the systematic use of public hearings and the engagement of the public in the legislative process, are at risk of not being sustainable. The current political situation is still to be resolved and the current ZHoR is dominated by one political party. It will be seen in the future if this scenario results in the ongoing commitment to a more open and inclusive legislative process. In addition, the recent changes in the ZHoR, with a new

Speaker and Clerk, may signal a shift in the willingness of the ZHoR to proceed with recent changes that have made the House more effective.

v. Conclusion

The LSP made some significant strides towards supporting a more open, inclusive and effective Zanzibar House of Representatives in the past five years. The ZHoR has made early, yet not always systematic, strides towards budget oversight, Bill scrutiny and the engagement of the public in its work. However, these enhancements may not be long-lasting, depending on how the current political situation is resolved.

As with the work with the NA, the work of the LSP with the ZHoR was based on a strong and trusted relationship between the project staff and the House leadership. This allowed for the provision of new knowledge, best practices and innovative ideas, some of which were picked up by the ZHoR and has resulted in a more robust parliament as of the end of the last term (2015).

However, the recent political challenges, including the rerun of the election in 2016, may have a detrimental impact on the work of the project. Given the lack of a technical adviser for this component of the project since mid-2015 and the recent changes to the leadership of the House, it will take some time to determine if the reforms created by the ZHoR will continue to be implemented during the coming term of the parliament.

c. Project Management

Though some aspects of the management of the LSP were noted in sections related to each parliament, it is important to reflect on the management of the project overall.

The LSP had a number of positive aspects with regard to how it was managed that ensured a more effective project:

- **High Quality Long-term Technical Expertise** – It is widely understood among parliamentary development implementers that to be successful a project must build and maintain a trusted relationship with the beneficiaries of the project. This has been achieved by the LSP through the high quality and timely advice provided by the CTA and the LTTE for the NA and the ZHoR respectively.
- **Integrated Project Implementation** – In both houses the project has been able to establish a team of parliamentary staff that have been assigned to implement the project with the project staff. This level of integration is rare to see in a parliamentary development project and is a key reason for the adoption of the reforms and the improvement of the capacity of the secretariats.
- **Monitoring & Evaluation** – The one staff person for the project that was responsible for working with both the NA and the ZHoR was the M&E Specialist. The extensive work done by this staff person has resulted in significant measurements of success and the identification of those areas where improvement is required by both Houses. Additionally, the M&E Specialist

has been able to work with the assigned staff from each House to start to see a structured use of M&E in other aspects of the work of the NA and the ZHoR.

In any project, there is room for improvement on the systems put in place for management. For the LSP these include:

- **Project Boards** – Though they may only meet semi-annually, the Project Board is a critical place for high-level dialogue with regard to the work of the project. In the case of both the NA and the ZHoR Project Boards there should have been space and a clear definition of the role of the Project Directors and the donors, to ensure their voices were heard during these crucial exchanges.
- **Project Coordination** – There are two levels at which project coordination was a challenge. Though the LSP was the major project for both Houses, there were other development partners that engaged the NA and the ZHoR. This should have resulted in better and more formal coordination mechanisms established by the two parliaments to eliminate duplication of services. In addition, the work of the LSP and UN Women with the two women’s caucuses was, at times, challenging. Given that Tanzania is a One UN country, this was not expected and should have resulted in more dialogue between the two agencies involved to ensure better work planning.

III Lessons Learned

As a result of the information gathered through this terminal evaluation, it is possible to identify some key lessons that can be learned from the LSP. These lessons can form the basis of recommendations that will follow, but also are a good opportunity to capture what has worked and what has not, given the political and institutional context of Tanzania and Zanzibar.

The **recruitment and retention of Long-term Technical Advisers** is critical for a successful project. The LSP was most successful when the CTA (NA) and the LTTE (ZHoR) were in place and actively engaging the institutions. The quality of the knowledge they provided was appreciated by the beneficiaries and resulted in a trusted relationship that allowed for introduction of new knowledge and ideas and, in turn, some reforms that should make both parliaments more effective.

The development of a **trusted relationship with the beneficiaries creates space for “nudging” them to consider and adopt new institutional reforms**. This approach does not have to be overt and can be more about the introduction of new ideas and the use of convener status to promote best practices that can be championed by key political actors.

Both parliaments must do a better job of **coordination of assistance**. The current engagement by bilateral and multi-lateral organizations, with the exception of the LSP, is at a limited level, but the number of organizations that are engaged means that there is a need for a venue, managed

by the respective parliaments, to ensure work planning and the organization of activities is coordinated. In addition, there will be more assistance provided in the coming years.

The UN must do more to ensure **effective coordination and collaboration between agencies working with a parliament**. Other agencies than UNDP, such as UN Women and UNFPA, are engaging MPs and that work needs to be integrated or, at least, well coordinated with the work of UNDP.

Staff of both Houses are eager to receive **more in-depth learning**. The trainings conducted were necessary and provided a foundation for the knowledge required by staff, but some staff, particularly those working directly with MPs, require more and different means of knowledge transfer.

Related to the last point, **training seminars have a limited impact on the skills of MPs and staff**. There is a need to ensure the beneficiaries in both parliaments understand this limitation and are willing to explore new and more hands-on methods of learning and skills development.

The challenge for the development of the capacity of parliamentarians is the **high turnover of MPs**. In both the NA and the ZHoR the turnover from the last election was more than 60%. Support to both institutions must include a plan for how to build the capacity of MPs while maintaining some form of institutional memory that will remain after the next election.

A parliamentary development project is inherently political, even if its primary focus is institutional capacity development. Therefore, where the engagement of a parliament is contentious, there is a need for a strong **political context analysis prior to the design of the project**. But a good project will have a process for ensuring the analysis is ongoing, to ensure risks are being mitigated and the project remains responsive to the needs of the beneficiaries.

IV Recommendations

a. Overall

- **Create Separate Projects for Each Parliament:** The NA and the ZHoR are unique institutions with their own political and institutional culture. The LSP was, *de facto*, two separate projects, and this should be made *de jure* in the next phase of any support, allowing bespoke engagement and outputs for each institution.
- **Establish a Project Management Unit in Parliament:** Each parliament should be supported in establishing a project management unit that becomes a permanent fixture in the institution and is responsible for implementation and coordination of all projects.

- **Create Space for All Project Actors in its Management:** The next projects with the parliaments should have a management structure that ensures donors and project directors are active members of the project boards. This will ensure their voices are heard at the highest level of discussion for the project’s implementation.
- **Increase Inclusiveness of Project Formulation:** The project formulation should be an inclusive process, allowing all potential beneficiaries and donors to be engaged throughout the process. This will ensure the various actors have input into the design and structure of the project before it is finalized.
- **Plan for Delays in Recruitment of Project Staff:** Given the key roles the CTA and LTTE had in implementation of the project, UNDP must put some forethought into recruitment of full-time staff for the next project, to allow time for recruitment and to build in contingencies to ensure the project is implementing while the staff are being hired.
- **Project Lifespan Beyond 2020 Elections:** The next projects should have a lifespan that allows for the early induction and support to the next term of the NA and ZHoR. This will allow for early engagement with the new MPs and allow time for the design of any subsequent phases of support.
- **Design Exit Strategy into Project Components:** Support to the NA and ZHoR should reflect the fact that the projects are multi-year and eventually come to an end. The projects for the next phase should have a built-in design to phase-out support in the final year(s) of the project. This could coincide with the establishment and/or increase in co-funding from the parliament to allow for the transfer of the work of the project to the parliament.
- **Maintain Focus on Institutional Development:** UNDP has had success in Tanzania and Zanzibar in establishing projects that support the institutional development of the NA and ZHoR. Future projects should maintain this focus and allow potentially other projects to work more at the political governance level of the parliaments.

b. National Assembly

- **Establish more In-Depth Methods of Staff Training:** Key staff – those that are critical to the delivery of the outputs of the next project – should be provided with learning opportunities beyond the training seminars that were the norm in the LSP. Such opportunities could include:
 - Attachments – Sending staff to other parliaments in the region and beyond where they can work on a daily basis with their counterpart for an extended period of time (i.e. – at least one month).
 - Coaching – The identification of a current or former staff person from another parliament who is works in the NA for an extended period of time on a daily basis with staff to build their skills.

- Master Classes – Providing select staff with the opportunity to study a relevant topic, on a part-time or full-time basis, at a post-graduate level at a university in Tanzania.
- **Establish Public Hearing Protocols:** The NA has been holding public hearings for more than six years, yet the process used differs from committee to committee and is somewhat ad hoc. The LSP supported the development and adoption of public hearing protocols. The next step is to operationalise the established protocols that will be used to initiate and implement public hearings.
- **Support Broad Public Engagement in the Work of the National Assembly:** Currently there is limited public input into the work of the NA. There needs to be a system in place to allow for all citizens, CBOs and CSOs in Tanzania to engage in the work of the Assembly. This should include:
 - Field Visits – Getting the sectoral and oversight committees outside of Dodoma and Dar-es-Salaam and having them conduct consultations and hearings throughout the country.
 - Virtual Engagement – The use of SMS, web-based and social media tools to promote and accept feedback from citizens is now feasible in Tanzania.
 - Constituency-based Engagement – With the establishment of constituency throughout the country there is an opportunity to support local forums and events to seek input from citizens that can be fed into the NA as it deliberates.
- **Work Directly with a Small Number of Committees:** Identify 3-5 committees and provide in-depth support to the Chairperson, members and staff to allow them to develop their skills and systems for the full and active review of Bills, budgets and inquiries. Such support should include the use of national and international technical experts who would work with the committees in the medium and long-term to mentor all beneficiaries to develop best practices for effective committees. This could also include the piloting of a Bill review or inquiry where the technical experts would sit with members and staff as they worked through a process.
- **Promote Law Review Process Reform:** As occurred with the budget review process in the last term, the same should be promoted for law reform. This could include enhanced powers for the committees that review Bills and the establishment of dedicated, professional staff to support Bill analysis.
- **Continue Support to the Budget Committee and Department:** At least for the next few years, as the committee and department establish their systems and create space for themselves to be an effective part of the budget process, support should be provided to ensure what has been established through the *Budget Law* is in fact working in practice.
- **Training for MPs Should Be Done In-House:** With the high turnover of MPs from the last term, there is a need to continue the process of training of MPs. Many of the same

training seminars from the LSP can be re-organised for the new MPs. Eventually, the training capacity should be assumed by the NA and delivered through funding and staff from the NA.

- **Engage Civil Society in the Monitoring of the National Assembly:** The NA has started to develop its own internal M&E processes. This should be complimented with observations and inputs from civil society. However, civil society will first need the capacity to actively and effectively monitor the NA on an ongoing basis.
- **Bridge Gap Between LSP and Next Project:** It may take several months to design and approve the next project with the NA, especially if it is an inclusive as it should be to ensure buy-in from the NA and the donors. In the interim, UNDP should consider Preparatory Assistance that will allow for the provision of project staff and short-term outputs that will ensure continuity in the relationship between the NA and UNDP.

c. House of Representatives

- **Limit Engagement with the ZHoR until Political Situation Improves:** Under the current circumstances support to the ZHoR should be limited to those aspects that are primarily institutional, allowing for the benefits of the external support to continue to be received by key actors while avoiding politically sensitive support. Such support should include:
 - Staff Capacity Development – Much has been achieved by working with the staff and building their capacity. Continuity should be maintained with staff to ensure they continue to build their skills.
 - UAWAZA – Given the women’s caucus’ good work on legislation and promotion of issues common to all women, support for the group should continue.
 - CSO Monitoring of the ZHoR – Given the lack of an opposition in the current House, future work could include support to build the capacity of civil society to monitor the work of the ZHoR and to report regularly on its progress based on regional and international best practices.
- **Establish more In-Depth Methods of Staff Training:** Key staff should be provided with learning opportunities beyond the training seminars that were the norm in the LSP. Such opportunities could include:
 - Attachments – Sending staff to other parliaments in the region and beyond where they can work on a daily basis with their counterpart for an extended period of time (i.e. – at least one month).
 - Coaching – The identification of a current or former staff person from another parliament who is works in the ZHoR for an extended period of time on a daily basis with staff to build their skills.
 - Master Classes – Providing select staff with the opportunity to study a relevant topic, on a part-time or full-time basis, at a post-graduate level at a university in Tanzania.

- **Full Political Economic Analysis Prior to New Project:** If and when the current political situation is resolved, prior to the ramping up of a full engagement with the ZHoR, UNDP should conduct a sectoral political economy analysis to ensure it has a complete understanding of the formal and informal political levers and actors that are impacting the capacity and effectiveness of the ZHoR. The analysis should identify the strategic and functional entry points that can form the basis of support for the ZHoR going forward. Given recent actions within the ZHoR (i.e. – rejection of the PBO; new Clerk and Speaker), the analysis should also consider whether or not the ZHoR has the political independence to effectively fulfill its mandate of law making, oversight and representation.

- **Establish Media Centre in ZHoR:** The project has built a Business Centre for MPs and staff to use. A similar centre can be established for the media so they have a place to work and access the internet while in the ZHoR.

Annex 1: List of People Interviewed

S/n	Name	Institution/ Organization	Email	Phone #
1	Peter Simon Msigwa	MP	aabctz@yahoo.com	
2	Owen Mwandumba	Parliament	omwandumba@ bunge.go.tz	
3	Margaret Sitta	MP	mnsitta@gmail.com	
4	Lolesia J.M. Bukwimba	MP	lolesia2000@ yahoo.com	
5	Andrew .J. Chenge	MP	ajchenge@yahoo.co.uk	
6	Habel Chidawali	media	chidawali@gmail.com	
7	Dr. Donatilla Kaino	ESRF	dkaino@esrf.or.tz	0752 741 339
8	Vivian Kazi	ESRF	vkazi@esrf.or.tz	0716 398 539
9	Mads Hove	UNDP		0758 326 046
10	Godfrey Mulisa	UNDP		
11	Ms Awa Dabo	UNDP		
12	Rita Mchaki	UNDP		0689 131 714
13	Anna Hovhannesyan	LSP		0689 151 705
14	Israel G Laizer	LSP		0685 701 687
15	Elisa Mbise	NA		0784 366 935
16	Angumbwike Ngwavi	NA		0718 666 177
17	Lucy Mwambungulu	NA		
18	Mary Laswai	NA		0715 868 338
19	Rhobi Onesmo	NA		
20	Justina Shauri	ZHoR		0787 333 111
21	Didas Wambura	NA		0784 608 908
22	Hussein Athuman	NA		0714 063 491
23	Ramadhani Abdallah	ZHoR		0773 529 421
24	Michael Kadebe	ZHoR		
25	Michael Chikokoto	ZHoR		
26	Zainab Issa	ZHoR		
27	Herman Berege	ZHoR		
28	Bernard Ngomano	ZHoR		
35	Neema Kiula	NA		
36	Angelina Sanga	NA		
37	Mary Mwanjelwa	MP		
40	Modestus Mulimila	LSP		0715 059 490
41	Brown Mwangoka	NA		0784 252 923
42	Neema .R. Kiula	NA		0713 248 501
43	Amon Mpanju	CSO		0783 010 922
45	Mr. Massawe	UNDP		0754 276 400
46	Harold Sungusia	CSO/ Trainer		0762 742 910

S/n	Name	Institution/ Organization	Email	Phone #
47	Prof. Ngowi	CSO/ Trainer		0754 653 740
49	Grace Mfinanga	Government/Trainer		0784 198 759
50	Dr. Msabila	ZHoR		0767 476 318
52	Abdalla Shauri	ZHoR		0773 157 398
53	Mussa Mtwana	ZHoR		0774 649 317
54	Hamad Hamad	ZHoR		0776 425 100
55	Nasra Awadh	ZHoR		0777 481 611
56	Abas Vuai	ZHoR		0773 554 674
57	Himid Choko	ZHoR		0777 436 016
58	Mariestella Kago	LSP		0754 810 033
59	Dr. Yahya Hamad	ZHoR		
60	Pandu Amer Kificho	Former Speaker		
61	Ussi Jecha Simai	ZHoR		0777 851 292
62	Hamza Hassan Jema	ZHoR		0773 999 788
63	Salma Mussa Bilal	Member	salmabilal@gmail.com	0777 419 075
64	Othman Ali Haji	ZHoR	binalihaji@yahoo.co.uk	0773 209 858
65	Aziza Waziri Kheir	ZHoR	azizawaziri22@gmail.com	0779 839 326
66	Farida Juma Haji	ZYC	fjhaji22@hotmail.com	0776 683 956
67	Salum Mkubwa Abdullah	ZHoR	salum.abdullah@yahoo.com	0777 429 430
68	Latifa Saleh Suleiman	ZHoR	latifasuley@gmail.com	0777 480 889
69	Maryam .H. Rajab	ZHoR	maryamos@yahoo.com	0773 188 371
70	Ahmed O Saluza	ZHoR	ahdomary@gmail.com	0777 412 807
71	Mgeni Hassan Juma	Deputy Speaker, ZHoR/ UWAWAZA	mgeninjweli@hotmail.com	0773 320 783
72	Hamida .A. Muhamn	UWAWAZA		
73	Raya Issa Mselem	ZHoR		
74	Helen Barnes	DfID	h-barnes@dfid.gov.uk	
75	Aran Corrigan	Irish Aid		
76		Norway Embassy		

Annex 2: List of Documents Considered

NA Hearing strategy

NA Communication Strategy

NA IT strategy

Guidelines for NA Oversight visits

LSP Semiannual progress report (January –June 2013)

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Annex 3: Terms of Reference

(See separate pdf)