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Sida Decentralised Evaluation

NIRAS Sweden AB

Evaluation of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR)

Final Report

Evaluation of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR)

**Final Report
November 2024**

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AICHR	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
APHR	Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
CCHR	Climate Change & Business and Human Rights
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFF	Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms
EQ	Evaluation Question
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FoRB	Freedom of Religion or Belief
GRES	Gender Results Effectiveness Scale
HQ	Headquarter
HR	Human Resources
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
IPAM	International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar
IPI	International Parliamentary Inquiry
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union (for democracy)
IPPFoRB	International Panel of Parliamentarians for Freedom of Religion or Belief
KI/KII	Key Informant/ Key Informant Interview
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
MC	Myanmar Crisis
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
MEL Fk	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Framework
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MP	Member(s) of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSF	Open Society Foundations
PDR	People's Democratic Republic
PM	Project Manager
PRADHEA	Parliamentarians regional actions to promote and protect democracy, human rights and the environment in ASEAN
QA	Quality Assurance

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

R&M	Refugees and Migrants' Rights
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEA	Southeast Asia
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SO	Strategic Objective
tbc	To be confirmed
ToC	Theory of Change
ToR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Preface

This evaluation of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) was commissioned by the Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok, through Sida's Framework Agreement for Evaluations Services with NIRAS Sweden AB. The evaluation was undertaken between May and November 2024.

The evaluation team comprised:

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- Philipp Annawitt (technical and regional expert)
- Czarina Medina-Guce (regional and technical expert)
- Matilda Svedberg (project manager)

Quality Assurance was carried out by Graham Haylor.

The evaluation team would like to thank all stakeholders who participated in the evaluation. A special thank you to APHR and the Embassy of Sweden for the collaboration and assistance during the evaluation process.

Executive Summary

Commissioned by the Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok, who is a core donor, this evaluation assesses the ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) initiative from 2019-2024. APHR operates as a non-political, non-partisan membership network of current, former, and exiled parliamentarians from Southeast Asia. It focuses on promoting democracy, human rights, and equitable, sustainable development in the region. The evaluation examines the relevance, effectiveness, high-level effects, and sustainability of APHR's work, and provides some strategic recommendations for the future. The results are intended to inform APHR's future strategic decisions and donor support, particularly from Sweden.

APHR was created to respond to the region's growing authoritarianism, human rights violations, environmental crises, and shrinking civic and democratic spaces. It operates by supporting parliamentarians to advocate for human rights and democratic principles within their respective countries, often acting where national governments, and sometimes regional organisations, are unable or unwilling to respond adequately. This evaluation examines APHR's relevance in the context of these challenges, the effectiveness of its activities, its high-level effects on regional democracy and human rights, and the sustainability of its organisational structure.

The purpose of the evaluation is to review APHR's current strategic framework, measure its effectiveness in achieving stated objectives, assess its relevance in the region, and determine its sustainability. The evaluation relies on mixed methods, including document and data review, web trawl, interviews with key stakeholders, direct observation during a country visit, a case study on Myanmar, and a survey. The findings contribute to APHR's future strategic direction and provide guidance for Sweden's continued support.

Key Findings

Relevance

1. **Unique Regional Role:** APHR occupies a crucial space in Southeast Asia, where national responses to human rights challenges are often constrained. As a regional network of parliamentarians, APHR provides a platform for collective advocacy and action across national borders. Its role is particularly important in the face of regional challenges like climate change, migration, and authoritarianism.
2. **Myanmar Crisis:** APHR's work in advocating for a stronger ASEAN and international response to the Myanmar crisis has been one of its most visible and

important contributions. APHR supported parliamentarians in the region to maintain pressure on the Myanmar military regime and promote democratic restoration.

3. **Alignment with Donor Priorities:** APHR's work aligns well with the Swedish government's regional development cooperation strategy, particularly in the areas of democracy and human rights. However, APHR's activities have been less focused on gender equality, which is a core element of Sweden's strategy.
4. **Support for Parliamentarians:** APHR provides parliamentarians, particularly those from smaller or less influential parties, with access to regional and international forums, and opportunities to build knowledge. This is crucial for lawmakers who may otherwise be isolated or unable to advocate effectively within their national contexts.

Effectiveness

1. **Advocacy and Positioning:** APHR has consistently taken bold, high-quality, and credible positions on key regional issues, producing over 500 statements, reports, and advocacy tools. These efforts have enhanced APHR's profile as a leading voice in regional human rights and democracy debates. However, the lack of systematic tracking of the outcomes of these advocacy efforts limits the ability to measure their full impact.
2. **Fostering Collaboration:** APHR has effectively fostered regional solidarity, enabling parliamentarians across borders to collectively advocate for human rights and democracy. APHR's "MPs at Risk Report", International Parliamentary Inquiries, and its solidarity missions have been instrumental in creating these collaborative spaces.
3. **Global Engagement:** APHR has successfully extended its influence beyond Southeast Asia, engaging with global platforms such as the European Union Parliament and the US Congress on regional human rights issues. This outreach has helped elevate Southeast Asian issues on the international stage.
4. **Civil Society Engagement:** APHR has acted as a bridge between parliamentarians and civil society organisations through facilitating dialogues that strengthen advocacy efforts across a range of issues, including climate change and freedom of religion. This engagement has been crucial for raising awareness and building consensus on key issues.
5. **Thought Leadership:** APHR has provided parliamentarians with tools and platforms to enhance their knowledge and advocacy skills. However, feedback from members suggests that these efforts could be more structured and focused on actionable outcomes. For example, APHR's climate change toolkit and other advocacy resources are valuable but have not always been fully utilised.

Impact

1. **Sustaining Human Rights and Democracy:** APHR has made good contributions to keeping human rights and democracy issues at the forefront of regional discourse even as authoritarianism has risen in several ASEAN countries. Through public

statements, parliamentary inquiries, and fact-finding missions, APHR continues to advocate for greater accountability and legislative change on a range of issues.

2. **Thought Leadership:** APHR has positioned itself as a regional thought leader, creating platforms for ideation and strategic dialogue. However, there is room for improvement in structuring these sessions to ensure more actionable outputs and policy influence.
3. **Influence on National and Regional Levels:** APHR has contributed to high-level discussions on human rights and democracy, influencing national policies and ASEAN's stance on issues like Myanmar. However, its ability to measure and demonstrate the full extent of its influence is limited by the absence of a robust monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) system.

Sustainability

1. **Internal Organisational Challenges:** APHR faces several organisational challenges that threaten its sustainability. High staff turnover, and funding constraints, have created instability within the Secretariat, and hampered its ability to deliver on operations and strategic planning.
2. **Governance Issues:** The roles and responsibilities between APHR's Board and Secretariat are not clearly enough defined, leading to operational inefficiencies. There is a need for clearer governance structures and strategic alignment between the Board's directives and the Secretariat's capacity to execute them.
3. **Funding Constraints:** APHR's core budget is (too) small and relies on a small pool of core donors. It has diversified its funding sources through project financing, but this provides limited financial sustainability.
4. **Gender Analysis:** APHR's Secretariat and Board are majority female. Its membership has a good gender balance, and events include a good balance within speakers and audience. However, despite some good instances focused specifically on women's needs, the evaluation identified serious concerns regarding the lack of the systematic use of gender analysis and integration of gender dimensions within APHR's thematic work and activities.

Conclusions

APHR remains highly relevant in the Southeast Asian context, providing a crucial platform for regional collaboration on democracy and human rights. Its ability to mobilise parliamentarians and civil society across borders has strengthened regional advocacy, influence and knowledge building efforts, particularly in response to crises like the Myanmar coup. However, APHR's sustainability is at risk due to internal governance issues and resource constraints, and limited gender-focused initiatives.

Recommendations

Whilst the following recommendations are all important, some are more urgent than others. These short renditions are available in full in the main body of the report.

For APHR

Critical Recommendations

1. **Review Strategy and Realign Objectives:** Redraft strategic objectives to reflect APHR's advocacy scope and operational realities as a network with limited direct control over national legislative outcomes. This realignment should highlight APHR's role as a thought leader and facilitator of regional change, and its strong potential to provide ideation platforms.
2. **Ensure Programmatic Flexibility and Verify Core “Raison d’Être”:** Balance long-term strategies with the agility to respond to immediate political opportunities and challenges, and maintain flexibility in APHRs other core work to be able adapt to evolving contexts.
3. **Solidify Funding Sources:** To reduce financial instability, APHR should increase its overall core budget ask, and continue to diversify its funding base beyond its core donors, while ensuring capacity to deliver effectively.
4. **Address Operational Challenges, Strengthen Internal Governance and Organisational Resilience:** APHR must stabilise its leadership and reduce staff turnover to ensure long-term organisational health. This could involve: professionalising the human resources practices towards improved people management, and a more supportive work environment with a better match between resources and delivery expectations; Clarifying the roles and responsibilities between its Board and Secretariat to improve operational efficiency; reviewing governance roles, defining operational objectives, and establish HR practices to improve staff retention and organisational stability and resilience.
5. **Enhance Monitoring and Evaluation and Knowledge Management:** Build a MEL capacity to track progress, support data-driven decisions, and integrate gender dimensions into evaluations, helping APHR to set programmatic focus and improve impact. Enhance knowledge management and results-uptake of knowledge products.

Short Term Recommendations

6. **Bolster Gender Mainstreaming Capacity:** APHR should implement its gender mainstreaming strategy and ensure that gender equality is integrated into all aspects of its advocacy and programming, in line with Sweden's regional development strategy. This will require gender training of staff, board, and members, and a dedicated gender-point person with gender-knowledge and experience within, or working with, the Secretariat.
7. **Invest in Technology for Better Virtual Connectivity:** APHR should upgrade IT infrastructure to improve virtual connectivity, efficiency, and security across the network.

Medium Term Recommendations

- 8. Continue Operational Streamlining Efforts:** Regularly assess and refine operational processes to ensure efficient use of resources aligned with APHR’s mission and objectives. Assess governance and leadership aspects and review staff morale and needs to ensure long-term organisational health. This could involve professionalising the human resources practices towards improved people management, and a more supportive work environment with better match between resources and delivery expectations. Continue streamlining efforts to assess and refine operational processes.
- 9. Leverage Global Partnerships:** APHR should continue to strengthen its global outreach and advocacy efforts, particularly with international bodies and regional networks. These partnerships will amplify its impact and help sustain attention on Southeast Asian issues at the global level.
- 10. Enhance Media and Advocacy Efforts:** Increase resources for the media and advocacy unit to reinforce its reach and depth, its ability to follow-up on statements, track knowledge use, and enhance coordination with programme officers.
- 11. Establish a Physical Office:** Set up a central office to foster collaboration, strengthen corporate culture, and improve team productivity. Particularly important when staff and Board are scattered across the Region.
- 12. Improve Practical Support for Members:** Provide members with actionable resources like “talking points” and “example legislation texts” to facilitate effective parliamentary work and regional alignment.

For Core Donors*Critical Recommendations*

- 1. Increase Operational Stability and Predictability:** Consider providing longer-term, flexible funding commitments to enhance APHR’s operational stability, supporting key staff, infrastructure, and core initiatives.
- 2. Define Network Support for Influence and Advocacy:** Devise a coherent approach to differentiate support for influence and advocacy from project-specific programme funding, with tailored monitoring and evaluation (M&E) requirements to better reflect APHR’s advocacy outcomes.

Medium Term Recommendation

- 3. Offer Continued Dialogue and Progress Reviews:** Maintain dialogue with APHR for collaborative progress reviews, allowing for necessary adjustments and shared learning. Review closely gender mainstreaming, the enhancement of organisational development, and the bolstering of the M&E system.

1 Introduction

1.1 EVALUATION BACKGROUND

1.1.1 Geo-political context

Despite many positive evolutions, the Asia-Pacific region continues to experience challenges related to human rights, democratisation processes, gender equality, migration, climate change and the environment, despite or perhaps because of rapid economic growth. The region has seen a clear increase in: laws restricting freedom of the press and expression, association and assembly; inequalities; religious intolerance and xenophobia; populist and authoritarian leadership; societal and political divisions; discrimination. Threats, conflicts, instability, lack of hope and environmentally unsustainable development are increasing flows of political, economic, and climate migrants within countries and across borders. These migrants are particularly vulnerable where rights are unclear.

Importantly parliamentarians, civil society, and the media are increasingly facing structural challenges when promoting legislative changes and when trying to hold governments to account. The rights of parliamentarians and lawmakers across the region are increasingly restricted, and legislators are ever more at risk and under threat in a general atmosphere of weakening human rights safeguards and shrinking democratic and civic space. In some instances, elected Members of Parliament (MPs) have had to flee to exile, and activists – including MPs – are at threat, harassed and detained. Parliamentarians are increasingly targeted for carrying out their oversight duties, for speaking truth to power, and for representing the priorities of the people they represent. Under these circumstances, it is more important than ever to support parliamentarians and advocates, and reinforce capacities, tools and mechanisms that may help them to use their positions to effect positive transformation and change, and bring legislation more in line with international human rights laws and standards. When national civic and democratic spaces shrink, it may be more important than ever to reinforce regional voices and political activism as a strategic, and perhaps more effective, tool of influence than may be possible at the national level. The ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) was created against this backdrop.

1.1.2 Evaluation context

Sweden and other core donors agreed to finance a grant proposal for APHR for the period 2019-2021. A Strategic Assessment of APHR programmes and strategies (2019-

2021)¹ (also referred to as the “mid-term review”) identified APHR added value and contributions and provided suggestions for improvements, used by APHR to restructure and to refocus. Sweden and other donors then agreed to a cost extension covering the period 2022-2024. Within this backdrop, and at the urgency of the APHR Board, the Development Cooperation Section, Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok has commissioned NIRAS to deliver an external end-of-programme evaluation of APHR (in partnership with key traditional partners, namely Government of Norway and the Open Society Foundation).

This evaluation will provide some elements of reflection to APHR as it considers its future strategy and approach, and as it is guided by its new Executive Director, due to commence fully in December 2024. The evaluation is also expected to help Sweden in its deliberations concerning further support, beyond the current Grant Extension (2022-2024) and within the current “Strategy² for Sweden’s Regional Development Cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region – 2022-2026”. The evaluation is limited to 60 pages, and some points are, by necessity, brief.

1.2 EVALUATION PURPOSE

The evaluation **object** is APHR (Sida contribution no. 12004, core support APHR 2019-2024). The **scope** of the evaluation is the current Strategic Framework of APHR (2022-2024), with reference (as needed) to the previous Strategic Framework (2019-2022). The evaluation’s main **purpose** is to identify results, collect lessons learnt and provide APHR and its core donors with recommendations for future strategic programme design and implementation. The evaluation process aimed to provide learning opportunities and facilitate stock-taking. The **intended users** of the evaluation are APHR (namely the Secretariat and Board), as well as Sweden and other core donors. (A more detailed description is available in Annex 9 - Inception Report.)

¹ Carried out by an independent expert.

² Strategy for Sweden’s Regional Development Cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region – 2022-2026 <https://www.government.se/contentassets/be4452ea86fc4b6c98bdbce3701c2474/strategy-for-swedens-regional-development-cooperation-with-asia-and-the-pacific-region-in-20222026.pdf>

1.3 EVALUATION DESIGN

The Inception Report (Annex 9) provides a complete overview of the approach, methods, data collection tools, and evaluation matrix. Below we briefly explain these.

1.3.1 Approach, Methods and Limitations

The evaluation was designed to be useful and actionable for its various **intended users**, and employed a **strong utilisation focus** and an **open, participatory, and inclusive** approach, and **engaged regularly** with APHR and the Swedish Embassy to share **critical reflections and learning**. The evaluation used a gender-analytical approach by using the **Gender Results Effectiveness Scale (GRES)** tool to review documents and data and during direct observation. This allowed a review of the explicit focus on gender equality issues, and the extent to which initiatives promoted a gender transformative approach.

The process of influencing policy or legislative change and translating these into practice is ordinarily very long and iterative. **Policy and legislative change are highly complex processes** shaped by a multitude of interacting forces and actors. The nature of the advocacy work carried out by APHR works in partnership with others, to create more sustainable change. However, a main challenge in evaluating advocacy interventions is that we cannot know with absolute certainty³ that actions caused a change. The evaluation discovered that APHR does not systematically track correlations between its activities and changes in influence on the decisions taken by its members; media metrics are not tracked nationally nor over time, so that knowing how far to attribute any perceived changes to APHR activities was too complex due to the difficulty of constructing robust counterfactuals. Therefore, the evaluation team tried to identify how APHR ‘contributed’ i.e., to what extent its advocacy and other initiatives helped to influence its members, or helped advocate for democracy and human rights at a regional or international level. The evaluation therefore used

³ Drawn from « Monitoring and evaluating advocacy », Save the Children.

contribution analysis⁴ primarily through interviews, and survey results, as well as direct observation of an event, and a case study on APHR in relation to Myanmar. This built evidence that allowed the team to plausibly understand to what extent the network had helped to shape the agenda, reframed topics or kept them in the forefront; and understand the extent to which APHR had contributed to its vision, mission, goal, and strategic objectives (namely progressing towards more empowered and more capable parliamentarians able to promote and protect democracy, human rights and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region (mission). The goal was to generate a plausible, evidence-based explanation of the contribution that a rational person would likely concur with, rather than to establish definitive proof.

In applying the above approaches, a set of mixed methods and data collection tools⁵ was employed to gather secondary source information (data and documentation) and triangulate this with multiple primary source information points (interviews and observation). A sample approach was employed: 1) a general sample across portfolios of APHR data along with interviews of members, staff, board, and partners across the region; and a survey; 2) a country-specific focus (Myanmar), involving respondent interviews (primary source) to help triangulate secondary source data; and 3) direct observation of a thematic portfolio event (primary source) and interviews with its participants, as well as review of related documentation and data (secondary source). Whilst in some cases respondents were also producers of the secondary source information, a large number of other respondents (including journalists, CSOs, international entities, Embassies, government officials not part of APHR) provided sufficient information as to provide multiple sources of information, and this allowed a certain degree of triangulation and strengthened the evaluation team's insights and findings. A rapid internet scan of various media sources and social media provided a check on APHR's visibility in this domain, to verify its media-related data.

⁴ Contribution Analysis is a theory-based evaluative approach that is useful in complex environments in which direct attribution and contribution can be difficult to identify. It considers the interventions being evaluated as complex objects in complex environments and recognises that successful results depend on a diversity of drivers, contexts and factors. It is not a counterfactual approach that aims at identifying what worked in isolation from the context.

⁵ Document review; MEL data review; Direct Observation; Semi-Structured Interviews with Key Informants (based on a stakeholder mapping); Gender-analysis; a Survey.

Although the evaluation team had also intended to conduct a “media gauge” to better understand the extent to which APHR media output “landed” in its member countries, APHR data metrics did not allow the team to do this, though it did permit to see media output per year and per theme (available in Annex 3). The evaluation matrix can be found in Annex 9 (Inception report).

Other challenges that affected the evaluation included: (a) There was a paucity of output and outcome data availability, including any tracing of legislative or other changes that could be correlated with network activities or actions, and very little data related to addressing substantive gender dimensions. (b) Members, Secretariat, and Board were spread across a large geography, though this was mitigated in part by the direct-observation of an event, giving access to many of these, albeit very briefly. (c) Turnover within the Swedish Embassy during the evaluation period. (d) Absence of key positions with whom to regularly interact, including: executive director, director for media and advocacy, and two programme coordinator heads. Compounded by the resignation of the media programme officer, and the director of programmes during the evaluation. (During the evaluation period an executive director was hired, to begin full time in December 2024.) (e) Lack of permanent MEL staff or unit (though a MEL consultant was hired for June - December 2024 to help with the external evaluation; and APHR strategic reflections and planning. Whilst this was very helpful indeed it also demonstrated that programme staff were, on the whole, not focused on MEL – had little understanding of MEL and gender dimensions and tended to view output and outcome as one and the same; and balance between genders in events and personnel as application of a gendered approach. This complicated the evaluative task.) (f) Not all key informants were easily or readily available, though many were very willing to speak with the evaluation team, sometimes several times. This was compounded by the lack of a single, overall data base of APHR contacts (and apparent difficulties in institutional memory as staff members tended to leave without handing over their contacts), compounded by the lack of a corporate IT server. (h) Expected issues that always surround the “attribution and contribution” dilemmas. The reliance on interview data and possible positive or negative bias was a potential limitation – but many interviewees had very balanced reflections on positive and negative elements, and sufficient interviews (over 40) allowed the team to triangulate impressions to a sufficient degree as to provide plausibility.

1.4 EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The evaluation team used the inception period to review documents and data, and hold initial interviews with the Swedish Embassy, other core donors, some members of Board and Secretariat, and a few partners. This resulted in a modification of the approach and evaluation questions, agreed during the inception process (Annex 9). The agreed evaluation questions are presented below.

EQ1 *Relevance – How relevant is APHR?*

EQ1.1 In relation to democracy and human rights evolutions and challenges that APHR members and parliamentarians in the region face, how important is it to have a regional network such as APHR? Does APHR occupy a unique niche and how relevant is this in the Southeast Asia/ASEAN context? What gaps might it be filling? How relevant is APHR to its members and to its stakeholders?

EQ1.2 To what extent are the objectives of APHR's programme, as set out in the most recent Strategic Framework and Theory of Change (November 2021), still relevant and valid? (linked to sub-question EQ4.1)

EQ2 *Effectiveness - Is APHR achieving its objectives*

EQ2.1 How effective has APHR been in addressing challenges in the region, and moving the needle therein?

- To what extent has APHR taken bold, high-quality, and credible positions on issues affecting the region and individual countries?
- To what extent has APHR fostered increased collaboration amongst its members across borders within the Southeast Asian region (to consolidate solidarity and actions for human rights, democratisation and sustainable development)?
- To what extent has APHR cooperated with and reached out beyond the Asian region?
- To what extent has APHR helped foster stronger engagement with civil society and other actors and provided a bridge between parliamentarians, advocates, members, and civil society and other organisations to consolidate advocacy positions and intentions?
- To what extent does APHR act as a regional thought leader, or create an ideation and thought leadership incubation space? To what extent does it help members to enhance and strengthen their knowledge, skills, connections and ideas to help them advance human rights, democracy and sustainable development?
- To what extent has APHR consolidated an inclusive, broad-based regional community of democracy and human rights advocates?

EQ2.2 To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of gender equality? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?

EQ2.3 To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of environment and climate change? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?

EQ3 *Impact - What high-level effects has APHR had?*

EQ3.1 What high-level effects has APHR had in enabling and supporting continued attention to democracy and human rights in the South East Asia region, and beyond, what high-level effects has APHR had?

EQ4 *Sustainability - How sustainable is APHR as a network in the future?*

EQ4.1 Are the ToC and Strategic Framework accurate reflections of APHR as it moves forward? (linked to sub-question EQ1.2)

EQ4.2 Have the M&E Framework and system delivered robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? To what extent does APHR have the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions as lessons emerge on what is more or less relevant, what works more or less well? How are gender equality dimensions integrated within monitoring, learning and evaluation exercises, and used to enhance APHR actions? Suggestions for improvements where appropriate.

EQ4.3 How sustainable is APHR as a regional network in the future? What is the health of the Network, and are its established structures and the way it, and its work, are governed, managed, staffed and resourced, fit for purpose? Are they sustainable moving forward?

2 Evaluated Intervention

2.1 APHR IN BRIEF

Purpose: ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) is a non-political, non-partisan membership organisation, with no links or affiliations to any political parties or to ASEAN.⁶ It was established in 2015, by 7 founding members. APHR seeks to help create a region in which people can express themselves without fear, live free from all forms of discrimination and violence, and where sustainable development takes place with human rights at the forefront. At the same time, it takes political positions on key issues that affect democracy and human rights in the region of Southeast Asia. It encourages sustainable solutions that increase pressure on governments, regional bodies, and multilateral entities to enhance accountability and uphold and enforce international human rights laws. APHR, its members and the Secretariat conduct fact-finding missions, hold international parliamentary reviews, report to Parliaments, publish statements, toolkits, reports, recommendations, and opinion-pieces on important issues affecting the region. They work closely with civil society.

Member composition: APHR is a regional network of current, exiled, and former parliamentarians who use its unique positions to advance and defend human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia. APHR members come from 8 countries across Southeast Asia - Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Timor-Leste. APHR has about 140 members (about 40% of whom are female), including approximately ten associate members. APHR is a membership driven organisation and much of its policy, advocacy, and programmatic work ultimately

⁶ APHR is also not officially linked to ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) <https://asean.org/about-asean/asean-name/> and APHR also has members that are not members of ASEAN. Some respondents suggested APHR may consider a name change without changing the well-known acronym (APHR) in order to avoid confusion (e.g., Asian Parliamentarians, or Southeast Asian). Also, the use of ASEAN in its name has been a bone of contention with ASEAN, according to some respondents. The evaluation team is neutral on this point.

relies heavily on active members (who also tend to be progressive members of their own parliaments or societies).

Legal structure: APHR is a non-profit organisation registered in Indonesia, and its headquarters are formally there. APHR is governed through a Board of Directors composed of current and former members of parliament from the region. **The Board** fulfils Executive Committee functions, oversees the Executive Director, and works closely with the Secretariat. It identifies “*in-real-time*” key opportunities for action and reaction, which it might then request the Secretariat to address. Whilst the Board is the ultimate decision-making body, and aims to lead APHR strategically and with “vision”, it also aims to represent and speak on behalf of the wider APHR membership.

Members are systematically invited to participate in key APHR conferences/events/activities. They are also able to access support or resources through requests to the Secretariat or the Board. Members are usually called together at an Annual Members Forum where, amongst other things, they ideate on proposed forward movement, exchange knowledge and experiences, make suggestions for the future, and review the Annual Report. Much of the members costs related to gathering and participating in APHR events is funded by APHR.

The **Secretariat:** APHR is supported by a small Secretariat of full-time staff scattered across Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta and Manila, and part-time national focal points⁷ (NFPs). APHR has no physical “bureau” or “office” and is run entirely virtually. The Secretariat employs many expert-consultants (Annex 4), as required, to support it through technical expertise, production of reports and toolkits, provision of MEL and strategic vision functions, preparation of annual and other progress reports.

The **Executive Director** runs the Secretariat and works closely with the Programme Director. Underneath the **Programme Director** there are **4 Programme Coordinators** in charge of thematic portfolios: Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms; Climate Change and Human Rights; Myanmar and Crisis Response; Freedom of Religion or Belief. At the same hierarchical level as the Programme Director, there is a **Media and**

⁷ NFPs for Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand (and sometimes Myanmar) work 1 day per month to produce very succinct “news briefs” for the Board/Secretariat and to help in a liaison/facilitation function when APHR organises events in their country.

Advocacy Director. A Media and Communications Manager reports to the Media Director, assisted by a Social Media Coordinator. An **Operations Manager** and a **Finance Manager** assist in delivering the corporate functions of APHR, along with a Finance Officer and an Administrative Officer. APHR also employs three National Focal Points for about 1 day per month, to act as country liaisons for Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, and the Philippines. There is no IT “staff” position, nor a Human Resources post.

The APHR Secretariat **works virtually**, with staff spread across Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand. There is no “APHR” physical office. Equally, the APHR Secretariat has no dedicated “company” IT server or system. The Board is also scattered across Southeast Asia, and has no “physical” office.

Support: APHR is supported primarily by core funders and complemented by project funding for project work. Whilst core donors have traditionally been Sweden, Norway and the Open Society Foundations (OSF), for the period 2022-2024, the core funders are Sweden (Sida) and OSF. According to the evaluation terms of reference, the total budget for implementing the Strategic Framework is US\$ 3,282,201. Sweden provides 56% of this total budget. Funds budgeted are US\$ 1,841,734 and spent US\$ 776,975. OSF provides just under 30%. Project donors provide the remaining 15% (for succinct, focused activities). APHR’s project donors included Article 19⁸ (Internet Freedom); the Norwegian Helsinki Committee (collaboration project with IPPFoRB⁹) in the APHR thematic area of Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB); the Hanns-Seidel Stiftung/Foundation¹⁰ (various joint activities in the APHR thematic area Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF) including the “Parliaments at Risk Reports”); and the Norwegian Embassy in Jakarta (as part of the project of PRADHEA¹¹).

⁸ <https://www.article19.org/>

⁹ <https://www.ippforb.com/>

¹⁰ <https://southeastasia.hss.de/publications/parliamentarians-at-risk-pub2516/>

¹¹ PRADHEA is Parliamentarians Regional Action for Democracy and Human Rights. This is the alternative name for APHR used by donors such as Norway who shifted from core funder to project funder via this project.

2.2 APHR STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

APHR's Strategic Objectives, Theory of Change (ToC); and Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Framework (MEL Fk) help to organise APHR programmes/thematic portfolio choices and actions. The full presentation of these is in Annex 7, including figures that visualise the Theory of Change, and MEL Framework.

2.2.1 Strategic Objectives

A quick overview of the strategy transformation process over the years¹² follows:

In 2019, the APHR charted its 5-year strategic directions and produced a strategy with five strategic objectives (SO). Four were technical in nature, and one related to institutional development, as follows.

- **SO1:** Parliamentarians actively collaborate with civil society and other stakeholders to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development.
- **SO2:** Parliamentarians consistently use their positions for advocacy purposes to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development.
- **SO3:** Parliamentarians increasingly collaborate across borders within the ASEAN region and act in solidarity to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development.
- **SO4:** Parliamentarians consistently exercise their legislative, oversight, and representative mandates to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development.
- **SO5:** APHR maintains institutional capacities that will ensure the sustainability of the organization and its mission.

In 2021, APHR conducted a strategic review and decided to reduce the number of objectives from 5 to 3, and the number of success indicators from 52 to 8. The original SOs were consolidated, partly due to dialogue with core donors, to present more concise outcome statements. Monitoring, Learning and Evaluation Lines of inquiry

¹² This sub-section is based largely on work carried out by the MEL consultant.

were established to guide APHR in assessing its progress and impact. APHR seeks to bring about positive change in the ASEAN region and support and facilitate members.¹³

The current **overriding objective** is that APHR parliamentarians are an active community for the promotion of Human Rights, Democracy, and Sustainable Development

The current **Strategic Objectives** (SOs) are as follows:

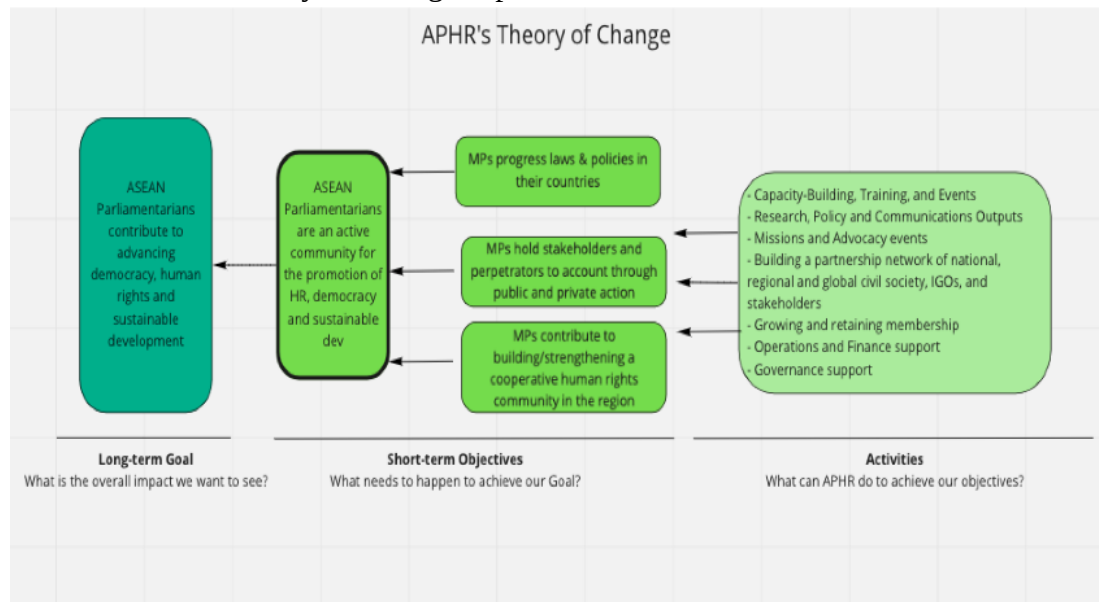
- **SO1:** MPs progress laws and policies in their countries.
- **SO2:** MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private oversight.
- **SO3:** MPs strengthen human rights and democracy footprint in the region.

These SOs are anchored in the unique positions of MPs as duty bearers and policymakers; and the SOs assume that when MPs exercise their legislative functions, this contributes to better accountability and human rights situations in the ASEAN region. The culmination of the strategic objectives is slotted for December 2024.

¹³ See APHR Theory of Change & MEL Framework, September 2021.

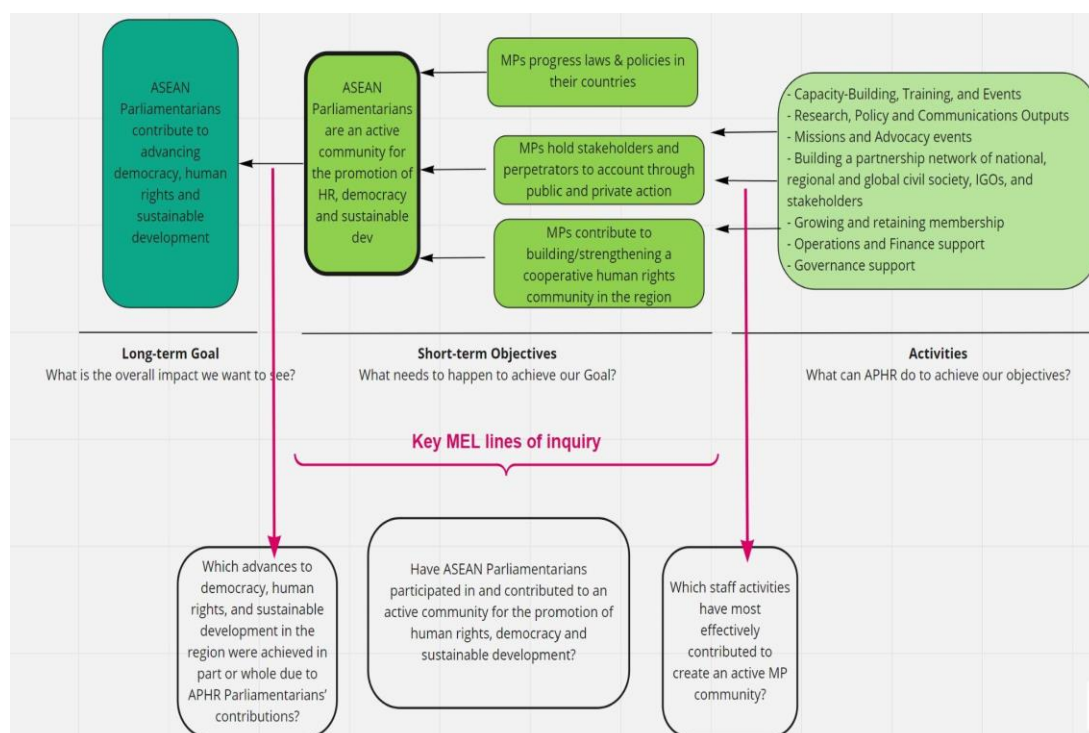
2.2.2 Theory of Change

APHR's current Theory of Change is presented in Annex 7.



2.2.3 MEL Framework

The MEL Framework includes lines of inquiry and aims to track the ToC:



2.3 APHR THEMATIC PORTFOLIOS

In order to fulfil its strategic objectives and to carry out its work, APHR organises its work around a set of thematic portfolios. These are currently: Democracy and Fundamental Freedom; Climate Change and Human Rights; Myanmar and Crisis Response; Freedom of Religion or Belief. APHR has also focused on Refugee and Migrant Rights; Freedom of the Internet; Business and Human Rights; and Covid-19. Detailed information related to these is available at: <https://aseanmp.org/our-work>

2.3.1 Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms

“APHR assists and encourages its members to use their mandate to advocate for ASEAN governments to promote and protect democracy and fundamental freedoms at the national, regional, and international levels. APHR is also conducting a research and advocacy project to ensure that MPs@Risk in Southeast Asia can exercise their mandate free from reprisals.” <https://aseanmp.org/our-work/democracy-fundamental-freedoms>

2.3.2 Climate Change and Human Rights

“As the world heads towards a catastrophic scenario of increased temperatures, APHR is mobilizing its members to call on governments in the region to step up their climate action by increasing their commitments to the Paris Agreement, disinvesting from coal and tackling widespread deforestation. APHR is a member of the Ecocide Alliance, a global network of parliamentarians working for the recognition of the crime of Ecocide.” <https://aseanmp.org/our-work/climate-change>

2.3.3 Myanmar and Crisis Response

“The International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar (IPAM) was established as an international cross-party group of members of parliaments. The MPs committed to joining forces and using their positions inside and outside parliament to support fellow lawmakers from Myanmar, including members of the Committee Representing the Union Parliament (CRPH), to promote democracy and human rights for all in Myanmar, and ensure accountability for international crimes. The Alliance was established in 2021 to connect lawmakers with Myanmar civil society and MPs, to provide a forum for developing joint international and regional strategies, and to serve as a consistent public voice for democracy and human rights for all in Myanmar. APHR also addresses other crises across Southeast Asia “. <https://aseanmp.org/our-work/ipam>

2.3.4 Freedom of Religion or Belief

“APHR works to ensure incidences of religious intolerance become outliers, rather than a harmful new normal. MPs play an important role in protecting people's freedom of religion or belief, and APHR works closely with its members in parliament to prevent the passing of repressive laws or to repeal existing ones, as well as outside of parliament to promote social cohesion among communities. APHR also works with International Panel of Parliamentarians for Freedom of Religion or Belief (IPPFoRB) to monitor FORB-related developments.” <https://aseanmp.org/our-work/freedom-religion-belief>

3 Evaluation Findings

This section presents the main findings of the evaluation. The data for these findings draws from informant interviews, evaluation survey results, data/document reviews, direct observation of an APHR event¹⁴ and the Myanmar case study, and analyses by the evaluation team. Where specifically necessary, we point to a source.

3.1 RELEVANCE

The question EQ1 “How relevant is APHR?” is answered through the sub-questions below.

3.1.1 EQ1.1

EQ1 “How relevant is APHR?” and *Evaluation sub-Question 1.1: In relation to democracy and human rights evolutions and challenges that APHR members and parliamentarians in the region face, how important is it to have a regional network such as APHR? Does APHR occupy a unique niche and how relevant is this in the Southeast Asia/ASEAN context? What gaps might it be filling? How relevant is APHR to its members and to its stakeholders?*

In relation to the democracy and human rights evolutions and challenges that APHR members and parliaments in the region face, and in relation to the imperatives of Sweden’s regional strategy for Asia, the findings underscore that for its members and partners there is a **crucial importance** in having a regional network of parliamentarians, such as APHR, in the Southeast Asian region. This is largely explained by what they perceive to be the **unique niche** that APHR occupies in part

¹⁴ Climate Resilience in Southeast Asia: Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians – Conference. Malaysia. July 2024; <https://www.linkedin.com/posts/asean-parliamentarians-for-human-rights-aphr-kuala-lumpur-parliamentarians-government-activity-7218522563834961920-m6wn/>

explained by the composition of its membership (discussed further in EQ2) and its unique ability to advocate for crucial issues in an informed and timely way from a regional (rather than national) perspective, in a context in which national governments are not always willing or able to speak up, and in which regional bodies are sometimes slow or unable to react. Partners noted that many regional networks and organisations operate in the human rights/democracy arena, but none have the composition and breadth of APHR, and few are able to be as quickly reactive in voicing concerns and investigating situations. The findings underscore that APHR is seen as **highly relevant** within the Southeast Asian context in particular, in part due to perceptions that it provides services and perspectives that other regional bodies do not. The network also serves as a vital bridge between national parliaments, civil society, and international actors, enabling MPs to connect, strategise, and broaden their knowledge. It fosters a **strong sense of solidarity** and **collective learning**, and motivates its members to continue their work, in a context in which the challenges might seem, at times, overwhelming or even dangerous.

Members and partners often cited APHR's **membership value-added**, explaining that it provides current, exiled, former (and future) parliamentarians in the region with a network of like-minded legislators and peers with whom to interact, build mutual support, exchange views, and gain professional skills to enhance their human rights-and-democracy related advocacy and legislative efforts. Additionally, APHR membership, according to members and partners, brings various benefits such as priority access for participation in a range of activities and events related to human rights in the region. For MPs from smaller parties, with limited finances, international and regional exposure - being recognised as connected to a larger, regional "collective" brings important elements that would otherwise be out of reach. As one respondent explained "*democracy in Southeast Asia needs all the help it can get, and its champions are not always in the bigger parties*".

The findings also show that APHR is considered **highly relevant** by its members and partners due to (a) "**insider**" **political perspectives** provided by members who supply a nuanced lens on issues in their countries (partly because they are doing so in a "safe" space) that are then "grounded" from within a regional perspective; (b) **significance of statements** - respondents underscored that when *APHR as an organisation makes statements, it exudes the credibility of the collective*; while when *APHR members speak out about another country's issues, the voice adds weight to the statement because country-level issues are linked to concerns and attention of the region*, and given voice by concerned credible persons (e.g., MPs from other countries) backed up by a relevant regional network; (c) **access to decision-makers, to parliaments, and to parliamentarians** - respondents noted that APHR performs a unique convening function that enables CSOs (as external entities) and other actors (international aid actors, think tanks, journalists) to access MPs (including in relatively informal settings)

from across the region, in a context in which this is quite a challenge to acquire, and sometimes even parliaments.

APHR members underscored the **importance** and value contribution of APHR for **learning about key issues** and growing the knowledge of its members; for **building and facilitating a strong sense of solidarity** with MPs from other countries, not least regarding attacks on MPs; and for creating a **safe space to interact** with various non-parliamentary entities in order to exchange knowledge and perspectives, and build strategies.

Furthermore, findings demonstrate that APHR fills a certain number of critical “**gaps**” important to the continued quest to reinforce democratisation processes across Southeast Asia, and to uphold the rule of law including in the respect for human rights. These include the network’s ability to address gaps related to collective advocacy, voice, low knowledge, lack of motivation and poor momentum. Respondents repeatedly pointed to the network’s ability: to **voice concerns**, to **advocate** for momentum shifts and change, to increase knowledge around an issue of both national and regional concern, to motivate and **encourage cross-regional exchanges**, inspiration and learning, and to continue to **raise awareness** and **apply pressure** in instances where a national government was not able, or willing, to do so directly (for example in relation to parliamentarians at risk).

The vast majority of respondents referred to **Myanmar** as a significant qualifier for APHR relevance. Indeed, the findings show that APHR lobbied ASEAN and international governments for a more forceful response to the coup and the ongoing crisis in Myanmar, provided extensive public communications about the Myanmar crisis, engaged and supported (to some extent) the Myanmar elected MPs and the NUG as the legitimate government of Myanmar, and mobilised ASEAN and global MPs to elevate the pressure on the Myanmar military regime and ASEAN for actions to restore democracy and human rights. For a full discussion of findings and conclusions in relation to the Myanmar crisis and APHR, please go to the detailed case study presentation in Annex 1.

At the same time, findings also demonstrated a certain level of expectation that APHR, a small though expanding network, should be able, in the future, to significantly broaden and deepen its reach and impact, coupled with some levels of frustration that APHR does not have more means (financial and people), to help it to do so rapidly. Some members worried about the lack of youth representation, in relation to the continued relevance of APHR in the future, whilst others worried about lack of follow-through on public statements.

3.1.2 EQ1.2

Evaluation sub-Question 1.2: To what extent are the objectives of APHR’s programme, as set out in the most recent Strategic Framework and Theory of Change (November 2021), still relevant and valid? (linked to sub-question EQ4.1)

The findings related to this sub-question EQ1.2 have been consolidated with the findings related to question EQ 4. since the relevance (looking backwards) has been addressed in the response to EQ1.1, and EQ4 addresses the future sustainability of the network.

3.2 EFFECTIVENESS

The evaluation reviewed APHR in relation to its effectiveness and answered **EQ2 “Is APHR achieving its objectives”** by answering a set of key sub-questions. The main findings are provided below.

3.2.1 EQ2.1

Evaluation sub-Question 2.1: How effective has APHR been in addressing challenges in the region, and moving the needle therein?

Findings related to the sub-questions used to answer this question are presented below.

To what extent has APHR taken **bold, high-quality, and credible positions** on issues affecting the region and individual countries?

The findings (based on numerous interviews, observation, and data) show that APHR is recognised by its members and partners as having consistently adopted **bold, credible, and high-quality positions** on a broad number of critical regional and national issues significant to the region and its members. Through over 500 statements, position papers, and other actions (see Annex 3) it effectively amplified major issues through a plethora of different channels, positioning its members as leaders in advocacy and solidifying their collective stances. The effectiveness of these efforts is underscored, i.e., by positive reactions to country-specific statements about Cambodia, the Philippines, and Thailand. Together with regional fact-finding missions and international parliamentary inquiries, responses demonstrate APHR's ability to enhance awareness and collaboratively address issues. Particularly, APHR's campaign against the Myanmar military dictatorship highlights its significant role in advocating for ASEAN and international intervention, marking a critical part of Southeast Asia’s human rights dialogue, and support for democracy.

Findings demonstrate that APHR has leveraged unique viewpoints of MP and politician members by articulating and using its advocacy tools to elevate its members' roles and strengthen their collective voice. It plays an important role in influencing broader conversations and enabling targeted outreach to decision-makers and organisations within influential spheres. This boosts APHR's regional influence and cements its leadership in promoting democracy and human rights.

Despite this, evidence also suggests variability in the follow-through and strategic application of these efforts, and there is a strongly acknowledged need for a more refined and targeted approach to measuring the effectiveness of these efforts. The current methods, primarily based on media-related metrics, may not adequately capture the true impact and momentum of APHR's advocacy, or identify gaps in follow-through and follow-up, suggesting an area for potential enhancement in how APHR measures and follows through on its advocacy initiatives.

To what extent has the APHR network fostered increased **collaboration** amongst its members across borders within the Southeast Asian region (to consolidate solidarity and actions for human rights, democratisation and sustainable development)?

Findings show that the APHR network has significantly enhanced collaboration amongst its members across Southeast Asia, and consolidated actions and generated solidarity for human rights, democratisation, and sustainable development. This collaboration is evidenced by the network's comprehensive activities and outputs, including reports, parliamentary inquiries, and strategic meetings, as well as respondent data.

A notable and pivotal example is the "MPs at Risk Report¹⁵". Covering countries including Cambodia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Thailand, it details the threats and challenges faced by parliamentarians, some of whom have been arrested, forced into exile, or killed. Launch events for these reports provided vital platforms for MPs and other APHR members - from various nations - to come together, discuss and devise strategies to address the democratic and human rights challenges highlighted. These gatherings fostered understanding of the political landscape and facilitated the formation of collaborative advocacy strategies, focusing on both national civic issues

¹⁵ <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/parliamentarians-at-risk-2023-report-launch>

and the protection of parliamentarians. For example, as one Board member publicly stated, *“Parliamentarians’ ability to safely conduct their mandate and to speak and act on behalf of their constituents, are important ways for power to be checked and democracy to be strengthened. Today, our collective voice will send a clear message that an attack against one parliamentarian is an attack against the democratic institution of parliament itself. We stand in solidarity with them, ensuring that the voices of those who are silenced are not forgotten, and calling for an end to the violations of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.”*

APHR further enhanced regional collaboration through its organisation of international parliamentary inquiries and solidarity and fact-finding missions, such as those concerning climate change, alongside its conferences and public statements. These initiatives have proven effective in strengthening regional solidarity, raising awareness, and improving oversight. As another member stated *“Parliaments – and by extension parliamentarians – play a crucial role in providing oversight. Lawmakers must be able to conduct their mandates without fear of reprisals from their government, so through our reports, and through our inquiries, APHR continues to call on all stakeholders and international partners to support parliamentary investigations and attempts to create accountability.”*

However, the findings also point to gaps in the Secretariat’s capacity to fully trace the outcomes of these collaborative efforts, particularly in measuring their direct impact on legislative or policy changes at the national level. While some respondents viewed this as a limitation, others argued that the role of APHR is primarily to equip members with resources to advance their causes independently within their respective contexts. They pointed to the complex and long-term nature of achieving tangible parliamentary results, suggesting that directly linking APHR’s activities to national outcomes is challenging and perhaps not the most relevant metric for assessing impact, and that its ability to speak and be heard *is* the outcome.

To what extent has APHR cooperated with and reached out beyond the Asian region?

APHR has significantly extended its reach beyond the Asian region, engaging with international stakeholders to address pressing regional issues and foster global solidarity. A prime example of this outreach is APHR’s pivotal role in initiating the

international parliamentary inquiry into the global response to the crisis in Myanmar¹⁶. This initiative saw APHR actively engaging with influential bodies such as the European Union Parliament and the United States Congress, illustrating its capacity to influence international policy discussions.

In addition to legislative outreach, APHR has conducted diplomatic briefings to disseminate findings from its fact-finding missions, notably including one at the Thai Myanmar border in 2023. These briefings have involved international actors from various regions, including the European Union, Sweden, and Australia, thereby enhancing global awareness and action concerning Southeast Asian issues.

Further exemplifying its global perspective, APHR inspired and advised on the establishment of a sister organisation, the African Parliamentarians Association for Human Rights¹⁷ (AfriPAHR). This extension into Africa mirrors APHR's commitment to promoting human rights and democratic values on a global scale.

Moreover, APHR actively collaborates with the International Panel of Parliamentarians for Freedom of Religion or Belief¹⁸ (IPPFoRB), contributing to its processes and participating in its efforts to combat religious persecution and advance freedom of religion globally. These collaborations are not only testament to APHR's commitment to human rights and democracy but also highlight its role in fostering international partnerships that transcend regional boundaries and address global challenges.

To what extent has APHR helped foster **stronger engagement with civil society** and other actors and provided a **bridge** between parliamentarians, advocates, members, and civil society and other organisations to consolidate advocacy positions and intentions?

¹⁶ The IPI on the global response to the crisis in Myanmar was formed by a Committee of Parliamentarians from Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe. <https://aseanmp.org/ipi-myanmar/the-committee>

¹⁷ AfriPAHR is an independent, non-partisan network of parliamentarians from Africa. It works to advance democracy, freedom of religion or belief (FoRB) and human rights to build a fairer and inclusive Africa, through diplomacy and fostering strategic alliances between nations. <https://afripahr.com/>

¹⁸ IPPFoRB is a network of parliamentarians and legislators from around the world committed to combatting religious persecution and advancing freedom of religion. <https://www.ippforb.com> . It cooperates with APHR on the same issues.

Findings show that APHR has significantly contributed to fostering stronger engagement with civil society and other actors (activists, advocates, think tanks, media etc), serving as a vital bridge between parliamentarians, advocates, members, and various organisations (CSOs, NGOs, international entities, think tanks, business people etc). This engagement is essential for consolidating advocacy positions and intentions across a spectrum of issues, and has helped members to do so, according to respondents.

Through the organisation of events and missions, APHR has been instrumental in strategically providing platforms where diverse¹⁹ actors can converge and strategise collectively. These gatherings seem to be particularly crucial, according to respondents, in regions where opportunities for meaningful interaction between civil society and policymakers are limited. By enabling these connections, APHR enhanced the ability of these actors to engage in informed advocacy and policy-making processes, as well as, crucially, peer-learning and collective understanding of critical issues such as freedom of religion or belief. CSOs and media emphasised in particular APHR's relatively strong ability to provide opportunities that help to foster stronger engagement with them, and that this engagement is an essential element to fostering human rights focus across the region and to helping to promote democratisation generally.

The findings underscore that APHR's efforts have been pivotal in bridging gaps between different advocacy groups and in strengthening the capacity of civil society to engage effectively with legislative processes, not least by providing them with access to MPs. Through its various initiatives and platforms, APHR has demonstrated how it has enhanced the cohesion and effectiveness of advocacy efforts across the region and its prioritisation on collaboration with civil society organisations.

To what extent does APHR act as a **regional thought leader**, or create an ideation and thought leadership incubation space? To what extent does APHR help members to enhance and strengthen their knowledge, skills, connections, ideas and policies to help them advance human rights, democracy and sustainable development?

¹⁹ The use of the word « diverse » in this context refers to the bringing together of parliamentarians with other actors – from journalists, to government, to CSOs, to international actors, to think tanks, private sector actors etc. While the evaluation points to the need to enhance APHR's capacity to integrate gender dimensions into its work with more depth, the ration of participation of women and men, and women's organisations is balanced.

The findings show that APHR has established itself as a significant thought leader and is relied on create pressure and awareness, by producing public statements and by creating events and discussions around key issues. It also sometimes equips members and CSOs with resources such as the “Toolkit on Promoting Positive Narratives Against Hate Speech Towards Migrants and Refugees.” Alongside related workshops and events, this toolkit was designed to provide MPs and other stakeholders with crucial elements for shaping public discourse and fostering inclusivity. It is not clear the extent to which this toolkit was actually used however, as there is a paucity in the data. Platforms on key topics (such as this) do demonstrate a certain ability by APHR to created ‘ideation platforms’ for its members – who repeatedly mentioned this dimension in discussions around APHR’s value added. They concurred in stating that APHR creates platforms for MPs and various actors to exchange ideas and strategies within a supportive environment, promoting a collective approach to (or at least a common understanding of) regional challenges.

Members have voiced frustrations regarding the perceived under-utilisation of these ideation opportunities. At the Climate Conference in July 2024, participants expressed a desire for more structured ideation sessions that could culminate in a clear vision statement or actionable common talking points. This feedback suggests a gap between the potential of APHR’s initiatives and their execution, with a call for more strategic and backward ideation—starting with desired outcomes and working backward to develop strategies based on collective insights.

Members discussed the influence, thought leadership and knowledge-enhancing function that APHR has had on a few other topics, discussed below:

Oversight Performance

According to respondents, APHR has been instrumental in supporting MPs in their oversight roles by releasing public statements on crucial issues that help to maintain focus and pressure; and by providing insights and examples from other countries, including through fact-finding missions, and international parliamentary inquiries. However, the effectiveness of such oversight efforts depended on strategic follow-up and the ability to leverage statements or findings for broader policy influence. While various instances were cited of informal recognition that APHR had helped shift the needle or their positions on certain points, these intangible ‘soft-power’ influence opportunities were difficult to capture and to verify, though they seemed plausible to the evaluation team after many interviews discussing the issue.

Accountability and Transparency

A significant portion of APHR’s focus has been on international parliamentary inquiries and fact-finding missions whose basic purpose has been to create momentum

towards better accountability and transparency. APHR has influenced transparency and accountability in parliamentary processes through such initiatives, according to respondents – both members and partners. In addition, a very large portion of APHR’s activities (40.28%) has been directed toward public accountability initiatives through statements, op-eds, and media campaigns, with over 500 “products” produced between 2021-2024.

Capacity Building

APHR’s capacity-building efforts, including workshops, annual forums, conferences, inquiries, missions, and knowledge products have been effective in enhancing MPs’ skills and knowledge, and provided valuable insights and peer-learning, according to respondents. However, the majority also underscored the need to move beyond toolkits to more practical, hands-on approaches that ensure the application of this knowledge into legislative and policy work. Respondents emphasised the need to understand specific requirements across the region in relation to skills and knowledge to carry out legislative duties or to be effective opposition or exiled MPs. At the same time, members also pointed out that APHR is premised on the assumption that MPs will take the knowledge and products produced by APHR at the regional level, and adapt/utilise these, as relevant, in their national environments. Respondents suggested that APHR might focus on producing much shorter, more action-oriented briefs – perhaps outlining a short number of key common points or “example” draft laws – that all MPs across the region should try to introduce into their parliamentary deliberations.

To what extent has APHR **consolidated an inclusive, broad-based** regional community of democracy and human rights advocates?

APHR has significantly contributed to the formation of an inclusive, broad-based regional community of democracy and human rights advocates, mainly by having continuously brought together a diverse group of stakeholders including dedicated and committed (and sometimes isolated) MPs, advocates, CSOs, experts, diplomats, and government committees, journalists, activists, think tanks, international actors/donors from across Southeast Asia, to address a broad range of topics in an inclusive way.

These events were designed not only to gather diverse²⁰ participants but also to foster inclusive processes that are foundational to democratisation. This approach was deemed particularly crucial in a region where cross-entity interaction is often fraught with challenges. The format of these gatherings ensured that all voices, especially those from civil society, were heard and integrated into the larger discourse on human rights and democracy.

By focusing on these critical areas, APHR's actions have not only maintained but also intensified the focus on essential democratic and human rights issues and the processes needed to support them. This has notably deepened APHR's footprint in promoting democracy and protecting human rights across the region and helped to consolidate a small but comprehensive and inclusive community of advocates. At the same time, while pointing out that APHR impact is relatively large – given its size – respondents also pointed out that a bigger APHR might have more influence.

How effective has APHR been in **addressing challenges** in the region, and moving the needle therein? (EQ 2.1)

In responding to this question on the overall effectiveness of APHR, respondents agreed that it has been effective at raising awareness on the challenges in the region, and in helping to move the needle therein. The choice of portfolios, according to stakeholders, encapsulates well the main regional challenges. At the same time, some respondents were positive about APHR's ability to emphasise or de-emphasise certain focus area (for example, less focus on migration at the time of writing); whilst others expressed frustrations. Importantly though, APHR produced very little data that would allow a systematic and concretely evidence-based finding on the *extent to which* the needle was moved *as a direct result of* APHR but at the same time, the plethora of anecdotal stories of change and achievements shared with the evaluation team (much of this in confidence) was impressive. Even given positive bias dimensions, enough anecdotes triangulated through various respondents gave veracity to the stories). Still, while APHR has facilitated shifts in awareness and policy discussions, and increased national and regional pressure on several issues, there was a noted lack of

²⁰ Again, as previously mentioned, participants at APHR events are diverse in every sense, in terms of the different types of entities represented to the balance of gender representation.

systematically collected and shareable data that could concretely demonstrate the extent of these changes.

There were practical concerns raised by respondents about APHR's capacity to implement a focused and expanded strategy. Insights from respondents familiar with the inner workings of the APHR Secretariat, along with considerations of the network's financial and structural capabilities, suggested that achieving this level of detailed focus and broader regional impact might be beyond APHR's current reach. This perspective, according to some respondents, highlights a potential gap between APHR's aspirations and its operational realities, indicating that strategic adjustments or enhancements might be necessary to fully realise its goals.

3.2.2 Findings Related to APHR Effectiveness Statements

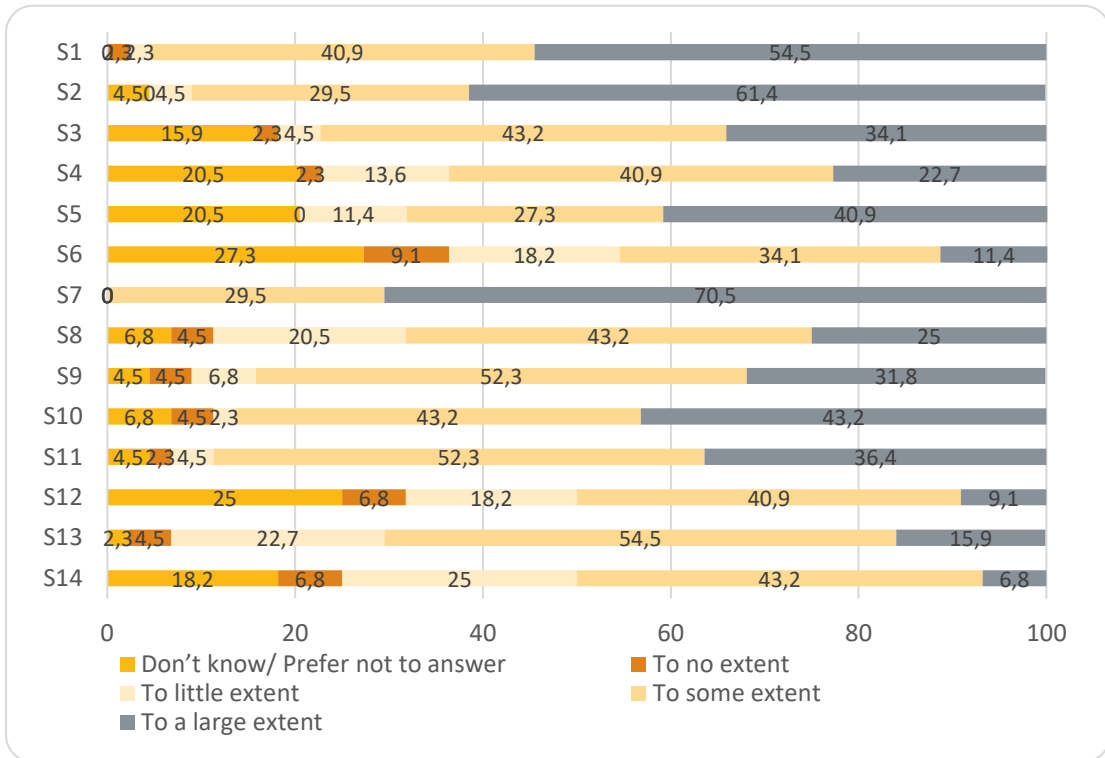
The evaluation carried out a brief survey (available in full in the Annex 2). The bulk of the survey focused on the effectiveness of APHR in relation to its various functionalities and the effectiveness of these for its members and partners. A set of statements was shared and the figure below reveals the results. Overall, most respondents provided positive feedback within the 'to some extent' or 'to a large extent' categories.

Table 1 – Survey statements

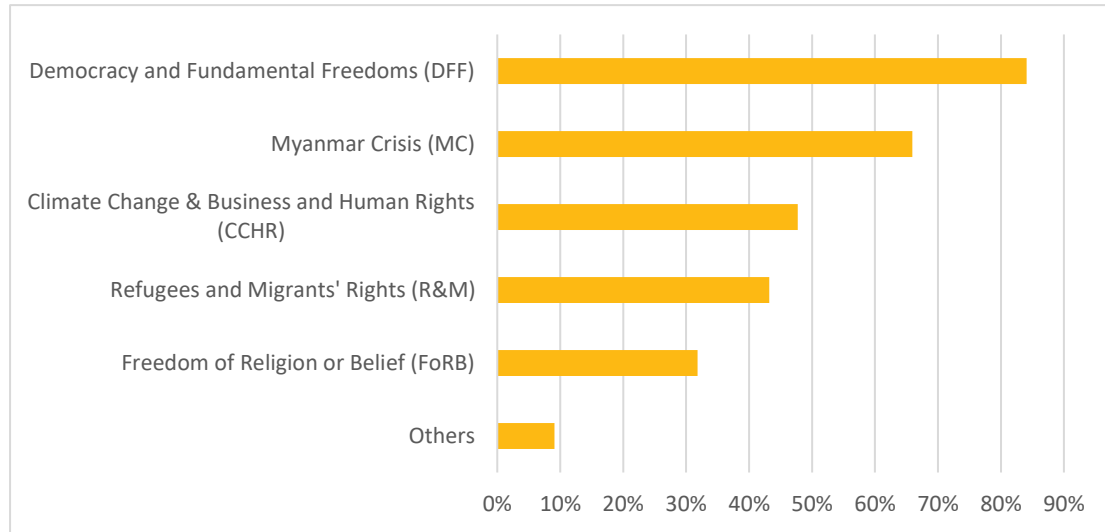
Survey statements
S1: The APHR Network has created a sense of connectivity with peers across the region, a sense of regional solidarity, and a sense of a regional voice of influence.
S2: The APHR Network provides a “safe space” for stimulating thought dialogue, open learning, collective intelligence, strength-in-numbers, and a better grasp on intangible processes required to strengthen democracy, rule of law and human rights.
S3: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to policy processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.
S4: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to legislative processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.
S5: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to oversight processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.
S6: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to budgetary processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.
S7: APHR promotes positive rights and narratives through campaigns, social media, reports, conferences and with regional constituents to influence policy and legislative positions.
S8: APHR is influential across the ASEAN region – and the climate conference is an example of how it helps shed light on climate, stimulate learning, dialogue and brainstorm solutions.
S9: If I use an APHR “product” (report, statement, parliamentary review, etc) it adds weight and gravitas to my own position or to what I do.
S10: The “Parliamentarians at Risk” Report is a key advocacy tool and helps to maintain pressure for reform across South East Asia.

Survey statements
S11: APHR reaches out to and works effectively with key organisations, institutions and people outside of the government, for example, CSOs; NGOs; advocates for Human Rights; media/press; international organisations; or think tanks.
S12: APHR has helped me to advocate for a gender-related focus in my work, and/or the legislation and policies I propose and comment on.
S13: APHR has influence in the region.
S14: APHR has influence with non-Asian parliaments.

Figure 1: Results: Feedback on Statements (Percentages)



In relation to the relative relevance of APHR's *thematic portfolios*, and the *Question/Prompt: APHR is most relevant to my work in advancing [thematic issue]*, most respondents (84.1%) selected Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms as the thematic area most relevant to their work. Given the broad scope of this thematic area, this is entirely within expectations. This was followed by the Myanmar and other Crises, and Climate Change. Respondent responses did not differ much across genders.

Figure 2: APHR is most relevant to (Respondent's) work in advancing...

i. APHR Relevance: Thematic Issue by Stakeholder Group

Both stakeholder groups (members and partners) picked DFF as APHR's most relevant contribution to their work. The second-ranked relevant issue between the groups differ, with members picking Climate Change (CCHR) and partners picking the Myanmar and other Crises (MC).

	No. of Responses		
	Members	Partners	Total
Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF)	13	24	37
Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)	7	7	14
Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR)	12	9	21
Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M)	6	13	19
Myanmar Crisis (MC)	9	20	29

ii. APHR Relevance: Thematic Issue by Respondents' Gender

The first and second-ranked thematic issues for the gender groups are similar: DFF, followed by MC.

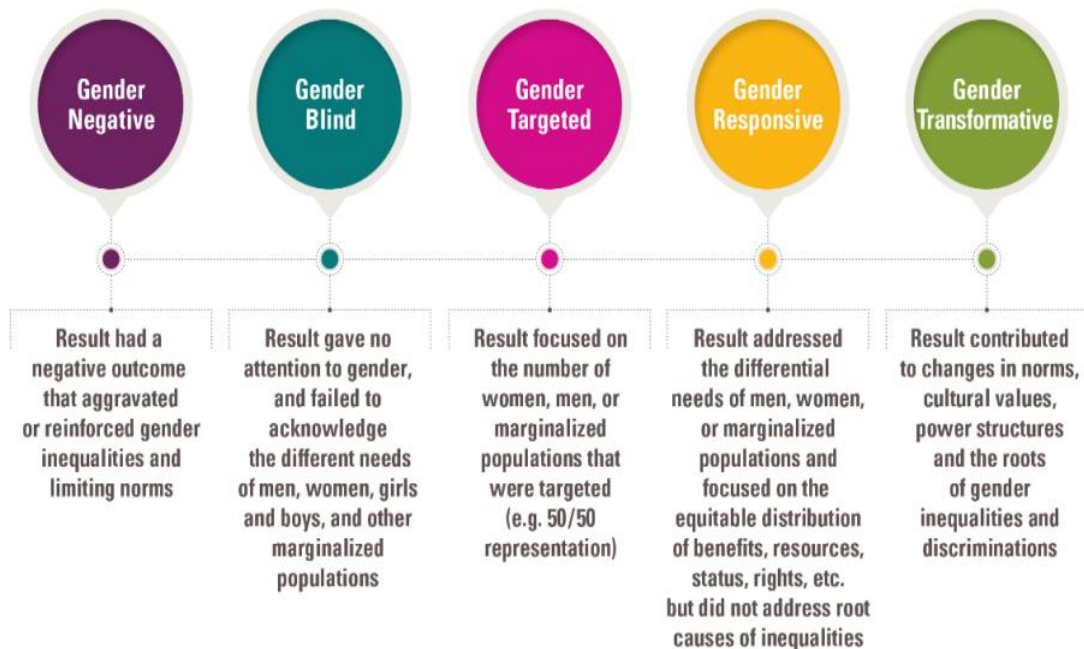
	No. of Responses		
	Female	Male	Total
Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF)	14	23	37
Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)	3	11	14
Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR)	5	16	21
Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M)	7	12	19
Myanmar Crisis (MC)	9	20	29

3.2.3 EQ2.2

Evaluation sub-Question 2.2: To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of gender equality²¹? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these? And, from sub-Question 4.1: How are gender equality dimensions integrated within monitoring, learning and evaluation exercises, and used to enhance APHR actions?

The evaluation included a gender-analytical approach and used the Gender Results Effectiveness Scale (GRES) tool when reviewing documents, available data and during observation. This helped the team to assess the extent to which gender equality is integrated in the substantive and thematic work of APHR.

Figure 3 Gender responsive evaluation



Source: Adapted from the Evaluation of UNDP Contribution to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, IEO, UNDP, 2015

²¹ « gender equality » incorporates all genders / LGBTQ+ dimensions.

The findings reveal that APHR Board and Secretariat have a majority of females; and APHR members demonstrate a good male/female balance (roughly 60/40). APHR events also have good male/female balance, including amongst speakers and chairs; and women's groups are represented.

The findings reveal that in a small number of instances, actions can be assessed as gender targeted, as a few thematic portfolios have occasionally included a specific focus on women's groups: the IPI for Myanmar raised important attention to the needs and challenges faced by women and vulnerable groups; and recent work on Freedom of Religion or Belief included a focus on women's roles in this area.

However, APHR overall cannot be labelled as gender-responsive, nor gender-transformative, and in quite some instances is gender-blind. APHR's use of gender analysis, its integration of gender dimensions and gender perspectives has been weak. The evaluation found that the skills and knowledge needed to apply gender analysis and integrate its results into the topics that APHR addresses are largely lacking across the Secretariat and the Board. The findings also show that the Mid-Term Review did not particularly highlight this "gap"; the core donors do not appear to have encouraged APHR to strengthen their focus in this area; and Members themselves do not appear to have particularly requested a deeper focus on this topic. This is despite the fact that APHR produced a gender mainstreaming strategy and plan, before the Mid-Term Review.

The findings also demonstrate that sufficient financial and human resources were not devoted to ensuring the mainstreaming strategy was supported by necessary mechanisms (staff training in gender analysis, a gender-champion or specialists, collection and use of gender-useful data) and knowledge. Moreover, gender-related dimensions were not integrated into monitoring, learning or evaluation exercises within the Secretariat.

APHR potentially has an important role in promoting these issues within parliamentary processes, within the thematic topics it addresses, within its statements and positions, and also in relation to representation.

3.2.4 EQ2.3

Evaluation sub-Question 2.3: To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of environment and climate change? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?

APHR's focus on climate change, particularly through initiatives such as the APHR conference on "Climate Resilience in Southeast Asia: Strengthening the Role of

Parliamentarians”²² are prime illustrations of APHR’s effectiveness and strategic influence, according to respondents. Coordinated with the Malaysian Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Sustainability and the National Water Board²³, the conference brought together APHR members, climate CSOs, think tanks, academics, diplomats, international and regional institutions. The two-day conference was an intense brainstorm²⁴ on how to integrate climate thinking into legislative approaches and into policy participation. In particular, it paved the way for the Malaysian government to prioritise climate resilience across the region during its forthcoming chairmanship of ASEAN 2025.²⁵

APHR also planned parliamentary inquiries to examine the environmental effects of various industries in Southeast Asia, including the implication for local communities, indigenous peoples, and the need to facilitate a sustainable transition towards climate-friendly practices. The first was conducted in Indonesia²⁶, in July 2024, and focused on nickel mining. Thailand and the Philippines will also conduct IPIs. APHR’s Toolkit for Sustainable Climate Finance further illustrates its commitment to integrating environmental considerations into its advocacy work, though respondents did not, as for other toolkits, find these particularly helpful to their own work. At the same time, some respondents suggested that the *production* of a toolkit raised *implicit* pressure on MPs to address the issues they explore.

These examples illustrate how APHR helps to integrate key issues (such as the environment, business and human rights) into parliamentary discussions and helps to raise awareness and pressure on the Executive and on Business sectors on the need for sustainable practices.

²² https://www.linkedin.com/posts/asean-parliamentarians-for-human-rights-aphr-_today-is-the-day-our-climate-change-conference-activity-7217346024296570880-dRHB/

²³ The National Water Services Commission (SPAN) is the national regulatory body for water and sewerage industry for Peninsular Malaysia and the Federal Territory of Labuan.

²⁴ <https://changethinker.com/2024/07/12/participant-observation-notes-from-aphr-climate-conference-day-1/>

²⁵ <https://asean.org/soca-malaysia-asean-secretariat-prepare-for-2025-asean-chairmanship-of-the-asc/>

²⁶ <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/southeast-asian-mps-launch-international-parliamentary-inquiry-to-investigate-the-impact-of-industries-on-environment>

3.2.5 EQ 2.4

Evaluation sub-Question 2.4: To what extent has APHR addressed other pressing issues?²⁷

APHR has regularly produced its “MPs at Risk Report²⁸”. This plays a crucial role in highlighting the threats and harassment of parliamentarians whilst they carry out their mandates, and the threats to MPs forced to flee to exile. Countries covered recently include Cambodia, Philippines, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand. The launches of the reports act as an opportunity for MPs across the region to convene and to strategically address the pressing democracy and HR issues illustrated, and to network on how best to advocate for change. Members and partners agreed that the Report and launches helped to expose the political threats and reprisals on MPs, and helped them to advocate nationally, regionally, and internationally for an end to these. Equally, they helped them to better understand the current political, democracy, and human rights situations so as to be able to reinforce their own, and APHR’s, advocacy strategy through the identification of short and longer-term action points. These points tended to be collaborative actions focused on the civic and democracy space, and focused on protection of parliamentarians and their endeavours. The Network’s efforts are seen as crucial for sustaining support for vulnerable MPs and maintaining attention on these issues at a regional level. In addition, APHR has managed in several instances to help support and protect MPs in exile, including in finding political asylum refuge.

APHR’s focus on freedom of religion or belief is equally viewed as primordial in the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-belief system present in the Southeast Asian region. For example, a fact-finding mission²⁹ focused on protecting peace and harmony in multicultural Malaysia, following the 2022-2023 election, was seen as timely, and important, relative to events and decisions being made at the time. Parliamentarians

²⁷ This question was added by the evaluation team as a consequence of the many instances in which the importance of these topics, and APHR’s ability to include them consistently, was raised by respondents.

²⁸ <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/parliamentarians-at-risk-2023-report-launch>

²⁹ <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/fact-finding-mission-protecting-peace-and-harmony-in-multicultural-malaysia-following-the-2022-2023-election/>

also gathered, in 2024, at a key Regional Conference³⁰ in Southeast Asia, focused on “Promoting and Protecting Freedom of Religion or Belief”. It led to a strong re-emphasis on this key tenets of human rights and democracy from within a region experiencing increasing levels of intolerance, hate speech, and prevalent discriminatory and draconian laws that threaten the enjoyment of FoRB, particularly for religious and ethnic minorities.

3.3 IMPACT

The evaluation reviewed APHR in relation to its high-level effects, and answered the question **EQ3“What high-level effects has APHR had?”** by answering key sub-questions. The main findings are provided below.

3.3.1 EQ3.1

Evaluation sub-Question 3.1: In enabling and supporting continued attention to democracy and human rights in the South East Asia region, and beyond, what high-level effects has APHR had?

The question reviews the human rights and democracy “footprint” of APHR in the region. The findings point to some instances of “high-level” effect, despite the paucity of concrete “impact” related data from the APHR Secretariat. APHR's initiatives have clearly kept the spotlight on human rights and democracy, even as authoritarianism rises in the region (as mentioned before, this includes through its 500+ media releases). The IPIs on environmental impacts is another example of how APHR brings crucial issues to the forefront and holds governments accountable. Additionally, APHR's advocacy has pushed for stronger regional commitments on climate resilience, and this has helped to consolidate a clear and focused integration of the issues into the Malaysian platform for its 2025 ASEAN Chairmanship³¹. The expectation is that this will have high-level effects. Lastly, through the composition of its membership and

³⁰ <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/southeast-asian-mps-commit-to-protecting-freedom-of-religion-or-belief-in-the-region>

³¹ As stated repeatedly by the Malaysian government officials at the conference ; and also as evidenced in multiple news sources, for example : <https://www.bernama.com/en/news.php?id=2326189>

member countries, its events, its public statements and other products, APHR acts as a tangible reinforcement of the inclusive processes that are essential pillars of democratisation and robust policies and legislation. This is especially important in a region in which interaction across these different entities can be challenging, and in which the “democracy footprint” appears to be fading. In supporting MPs to advocate for human rights and democratic governance, in providing safe space and room for former-MPs to continue to be active and influential, and in providing support to threatened MPs, APHR actions have helped maintain focus on critical issues that broadly reinforce continued and meaningful attention to democracy and human rights in the region.

3.4 SUSTAINABILITY

The section presents the evaluation’s main findings related to evaluation question **EQ 4 “How sustainable is APHR as a network in the future?”** through the below sub-questions. In this instance, and as agreed in the inception phase, the evaluation equates “sustainability” with the organisational health of the network and its future prospects. We group together several questions into one response, as the issue of the appropriateness of the strategic framework and theory of change, moving forward, is tightly bound with the ability to monitor achievements. This is a key dimension for the sustained continuation of the network itself. The relevance of APHR as a network is discussed also in the responses to EQ1. Here the view is forward looking. We discuss these dimensions before answering question 4.3 that directly address the “sustainability” question.³²

Evaluation sub-Question 1.2: To what extent are the objectives of APHR’s programme, as set out in the most recent Strategic Framework and Theory of Change (November 2021), still relevant and valid?

Evaluation sub-Question 4.1: Are the ToC and Strategic Framework accurate reflections of APHR as it moves forward?

³² The crossed-out portion of question 4.2 is discussed in EQ2.3.

Evaluation sub-Question 4.2: Have the M&E Framework and system delivered robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? To what extent does APHR have the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions as lessons emerge on what is more or less relevant, what works more or less well?

The findings related to these questions have been consolidated, as much of the material overlaps. The objectives of APHR’s programme and Theory of Change are contained in section 2 and further elaborated in the inception report for this evaluation.

Respondents confirmed the general validity of the “Vision: An inclusive ASEAN regional community that is genuinely committed to democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development” while pointing out that APHR is not an official body of ASEAN, and contains members who are not members of ASEAN (Timor Leste) and does not include all ASEAN members.

Respondents also confirmed the general validity of the “Mission: To empower parliamentarians to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region” although the exact interpretation of the word “empower” was less clear, but appeared to mean “provide help to”. Respondents were not sure how this particular mission could be tracked or assessed.

Respondents responded mostly positively to “Goal: Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region in the next five years (2019-2023)” while also pointing out that the membership of APHR goes beyond ASEAN, and that there is not much difference between the goal and the mission, and that whether or not parliamentarians are successful within parliament at their mission is not under the control of APHR, and that its members are not only MPs.

The majority of respondents underscored the *general* relevance of the objectives of the APHR programme as set out in the current Strategic Framework and Theory of Change while pointing out that these were related to creating relevance or impact *through the MPs* but underscored that the earlier set of objectives (contained in the former Strategic Framework and Theory of Change) was more obviously relevant or related to what APHR *actually* does and *how* it functions. Respondents went on to suggest that the current objectives, and their MEL indicators, were too focused on MPs and not sufficiently focused on APHR as a *network* of advocacy and influence (made up of not just current, but former and exiled MPs). It was repeatedly pointed out that the MP-members within the network are not necessarily from the most influential parties within their parliaments, so that the extent to which an MP, or group of MPs, might successfully push a piece of legislation or policy position would vary a great deal, while not being within the direct remit of APHR. They felt, therefore, for this and other

reasons, that the objectives (and in particular the MEL indicators related to these objectives) do not quite capture key elements that are within the sphere of control of APHR as a network, and do not quite represent what APHR as a network aims to do and does. They focus entirely on the behaviour and results by MPs and not on APHR as a network. And as mentioned, APHR members are not all MPs, and indeed, a unique feature of APHR is the unique membership base and “bridging” function – but that these are not well captured in the strategic framework.

Respondents also underscored that APHR is – above all – a network aimed at advocacy and influence at various levels so that whilst it does aim to increase knowledge and capacity of its members as a side-effect of some of its activities (say a fact-finding mission) it is not a capacity-development organisation, and in fact some main success areas for APHR reside in its ability to *create access* for its members and partners (i.e., through IPIs, FMM, conferences); in its ability to *raise issues* (i.e., IPIs, FMMs, public statements) that then open the door for its members to “run with the ball”; its ability to *promote collective learning*, to *incubate ideas* about how and what MPs and their partners can do, or what APHR can do, to *champion* the protection of parliamentarians at risk, to *act as a bridge* between civil society actors and sitting MPs, and to *collectively address* key issues of concern related to human rights and democracy in the region in a way that increases the visibility of “*MPs-as-a-collective*” within key national/regional conversations in and beyond Parliaments.

In illustration, here are the two sets of objectives (previous and current):

APHR parliamentarians are an active community for the promotion of Human Rights, Democracy, and Sustainable Development.	
Strategic Objectives (2022-2024)	Strategic Objectives (2019-2021)
(1) MPs progress laws and policies in their countries.	(i) MPs increasingly collaborate across borders within the ASEAN region and act in solidarity in the interests of human rights, democracy, and equitable and sustainable development.
(2) MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private oversight.	(ii) MPs consistently exercise their legislative, oversight, and representative mandates in the interest of human rights, democracy, and equitable and sustainable development.
(3) MPs strengthen the human rights and democracy footprint in the region. These objectives are accompanied by a set of outcome indicators.	(iii) MPs consistently use their positions for advocacy purposes to advance human rights, democracy, and equitable and sustainable development.
	(iv) MPs consistently collaborate with civil society and other stakeholders to advance

	human rights, democracy, and equitable and sustainable development.
	(v) APHR maintains institutional capacities and a robust membership of actively engaged MPs that will ensure the sustainability of the organisation and its mission.

The findings underscore that the objectives of APHR’s programme, as set out in the most recent Strategic Framework and Theory of Change are **not sufficiently relevant or valid enough in relation to what APHR actually does**, what it achieves as a network, and **the sort of influence it has**; and that these objectives are not closely enough related to the actual sphere of control and remit of APHR, or its membership; whilst the previous objectives were, in fact, a bit more representative. The findings underscore also that the current ToC and Strategic Framework are not really accurate reflections of APHR as it moves forward. In this light, respondents suggested that future iterations of APHR’s strategic objectives could be more relevant if they were better or more closely attuned to promoting APHR as a network of influence and advocacy and more focused on capturing and measuring what APHR actually *does* rather than focused on what MPs (only) might achieve *as a result* of contact with APHR.

In relation to the sub-questions 4.2 “Have the M&E Framework and system delivered robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? To what extent does APHR have the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions as lessons emerge on what is more or less relevant, what works more or less well?” the findings reveal the following.

The objectives are accompanied by a MEL Framework (which includes a set of indicators per objective, intended to help APHR Secretariat and Board “track” APHR progress and successes). The MEL indicators themselves are relevant and appropriate to the objectives. However, as for any MEL framework, it is necessary to ensure a system is in place to ensure its functionality. In order to ensure that a MEL Framework delivers robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning, a few key elements are required. These include, for example, a data collection system that traces and tracks the information needed to follow the progress of each indicator; a basic level of “MEL knowledge” within the Secretariat. This basic knowledge tends to entail a MEL unit charged with championing a MEL approach, and a basic familiarity across programme staff with MEL concepts, tools, and rationale; along with an incentive scheme to encourage a MEL approach and activities. It also requires that the data required to track the indicators is, in fact, reasonably accessible or “findable”. Very few of these elements are actually in place, however, despite the very well-constructed MEL Framework on paper. This is mostly

due to lack of financial resources to fully fund all positions, and the consequent lack of a dedicated and full-time staff position and IT resources for MEL, as well as lack of training for staff. The paucity of MEL-related evidence and data available to the evaluation team strongly reinforced these points. Indeed, the team leader decided to observe a major APHR-run conference as a key way of gathering data, and accessing insights from a plethora of members and partners through spontaneous interviews and inter-actions.

Paradoxically, evidence suggests that APHR does have the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions, in order to seize opportunities and connections as they appear, and in order to be quickly reactive to crucial democracy and human rights issues as they emerge – either within a member country or within the region. In fact, in many ways this flexibility and adaptability is a key positive feature of APHR - and is largely driven by the vision, dedication and reactive foresight of its Board members and other key members. However, though decisions to drop a particular thematic area (for example, refugees and migrants) is in part based on informal impressions related to what works and is relevant, and what is not, there is not a “lesson learning” approach formally integrated into APHR. So that whilst the Board emphasises and de-emphasises certain topics or areas in an adaptive and flexible manner that appears to be effective, it is not necessarily “justified” through any institutionally captured process. This leads to some confusion and tension across the Secretariat and amongst the Board, the Director of Programmes, and the staff, because whilst staff are trying to advance on a set of pre-agreed actions related to their thematic portfolio, that was also discussed by members at the “annual forum” the Board is identifying key actions and entry points, and seizing unforeseeable opportunities, that require relatively rapid and concentrated reactions and actions by the Secretariat. Here the point is relevant in relation to APHR as a “learning” institution and whether or not it has had the chance to look at its successes and learn from these in relation to what APHR does, how it does it, and how it is structured and staffed. These points are further discussed and mostly relevant to question 4.3. but mentioned here in relation to “learning”.

Evaluation sub-Question 4.3: How sustainable is APHR as a regional network in the future? What is the health of the Network, and are its established structures and the way it, and its work, are governed, managed, staffed and resourced, fit for purpose? Are they sustainable moving forward?

APHR's sustainability is reinforced by its ability to engage a broad base of stakeholders, including international donors, civil society, and parliamentarians, and to continue to actively engage its members. Events like the Climate Resilience Conference and collaborations with entities such as the Parliament of Malaysia indicate that APHR has built strong foundations for its future work, across the region and beyond, which reinforces its future sustainability. Its media presence equally clearly underscores its presence as a meaningful “actor” in the region, a key sustainability factor.

However, APHR faces serious challenges that threaten its future stability, for instance, frequent changes in the Executive Director position and vacancies in other critical roles highlight a turbulent organisational structure. Key issues include high staff turnover, and a large number of vacancies, which compound the difficulties of APHR being generally under staffed, with staff members often asked to take over tasks or areas that they are not fully comfortable with, partly because some staff members may not have the temperament and experience needed to make them fully able to work with politicians in a very political organisation. National Focal Points³³ have the potential to fulfil strategic roles as the “local eyes and ears” on current events and imperatives in the country they represent. However, respondents systematically underscored lack of clarity as to the exact function and role of the NFPs; low strategic use of the potential information these positions could deliver; and insufficient resource allocation to the positions to make them meaningful. These problems are compounded by a lack of a robust system for maintaining institutional memory, which crucially affects continuity and effectiveness, particularly in light of high staff turnover.

Furthermore, there are also governance ambiguities. The APHR governance structure on paper appears robust, but the lived experience demonstrates that it is confusing, with strong perception of unclear roles and responsibilities between the Board and the Secretariat, leading to operational inefficiencies and stress amongst staff. There's a pressing need for clearly defined roles, a conduct code for the Board, and strategic alignment between board directives and staff capabilities, with strong Director of Programmes and Executive Director able to fulfil their pivotal managerial and strategic roles, and work in cooperation with the Board. Moreover, funding constraints (insufficient core funding compared with ambitions and basic positions required for an organisation to function effectively) severely limit APHR's ability to expand its operations or secure a permanent physical presence, which is vital for enhancing its impact, and consolidating corporate culture. Many staff pointed to the difficulties in maintaining corporate culture in the absence of any physical dedicated space. These constraints also curtail ability to establish a secure, unified and dedicated corporate APHR IT (cloud-based) system able to provide the necessary interface across various platforms and for staff, including in relation to financial management. This also

³³ NFPs for Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand (and sometimes Myanmar) work 1 day per month to produce very succinct “news briefs” for the Board/Secretariat and to help in a liaison/facilitation function when APHR organises events in their country

impacts institutional memory and capacity to easily track outcomes and output, and better use and management of the knowledge generated by APHR, and its successes, and challenges.

Addressing these structural and operational challenges is crucial for APHR's sustainability. Strengthening governance frameworks, stabilising leadership, securing reliable funding, and invigorating member engagement, especially among youth, are imperative steps. Without these reforms, APHR risks its ability to function effectively as a regional advocacy network in the long term.

In addition, populated with highly dedicated, and visionary members (according to respondents) there is also a risk that newer and possibly younger APHR members are not stepping up or stepping into the Board – so that Board legacy itself appears to possibly be a challenge to consider. This may partly be due to the need for a membership engagement and leadership strategy that specifically integrates a perspective on “youth” or younger MPs and how to grow or consolidate their leadership and voice (including on “youth” issues but not only).

Importantly, there are key challenges related to the size of APHR's budget, the depth and reliability of its funding envelope, and the prospects for future fund availability. These combined elements appear to be undermining its long-term sustainability.

4 Evaluative Conclusions

4.1 RELEVANCE

4.1.1 How Relevant is APHR?

APHR's relevance in the Southeast Asian context, particularly in light of democracy and human rights challenges, is considerable. In an environment marked by increasing authoritarian tendencies and human rights abuses, the importance of a regional network like APHR is accentuated. APHR stands out due to its unique composition of current and former parliamentarians who actively engage in human rights advocacy, providing a critical platform for voicing concerns that individual national governments may be unwilling or unable to express. This capability to operate from a regional perspective allows APHR – and therefore its members - to address or consider key transnational and regional issues, such as climate change, migration, freedom of expression, and impunity, which are particularly prevalent in Southeast Asia.

APHR's relevance extends beyond its advocacy role; it significantly helps its members and stakeholders by fostering a network of solidarity, enhancing knowledge, and building advocacy skills among parliamentarians. This network is not just a professional resource but also a support system that offers safety and encouragement in regions where promoting democracy and human rights can be perilous. The access to international and regional forums and events that APHR provides is especially valuable for members from smaller or financially constrained parties and countries, enhancing their ability to participate in broader regional dialogues and actions. This aspect of APHR's work underscores its role in strengthening democratic processes and supporting its members against regional challenges, and its role in enhancing knowledge, skills, and contacts amongst and for its members, and stakeholders.

Furthermore, APHR's efforts in crisis situations, such as the response to the Myanmar coup, highlight its ability to fill critical gaps in the ASEAN response to crises. By lobbying for stronger actions and supporting legitimate governmental structures in crisis-affected areas, APHR not only advocates for immediate responses but also works towards long-term democratic resilience in the region. The network's ability to mobilise a wide range of stakeholders—from civil society to international bodies—demonstrates its significant role as a facilitator of dialogue and action that supports both the rule of law and the advancement of human rights in Southeast Asia.

APHR would be even more relevant with stronger ability to apply gender analysis and integrate the results into the transformative actions it produces.

4.1.2 How relevant is APHR in relation to the Regional Strategy?

APHR aligns well with the "Strategy for Sweden's Regional Development Cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region (2022–2026)" in its shared focus on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. APHR's core mission of fostering democratic processes and human rights in Southeast Asia directly supports the Swedish strategy's first objective: improving conditions for democracy, increasing respect for human rights, and strengthening the rule of law. APHR's initiatives, such as parliamentary inquiries, fact-finding missions, and advocacy related to the Myanmar crisis, are in line with Sweden's emphasis on promoting accountability, transparency, and citizen participation in political processes. Both frameworks also stress the importance of supporting non-state actors, including civil society, to advance these goals.

While the Swedish strategy prioritises gender equality, APHR has not placed a strong focus on this area in its practice, though it did intend to do so, and gender equality has not been a central theme in its activities, despite the presence of a gender mainstreaming strategy. This contrasts with Sweden's regional strategy, which aims for substantial improvements in gender equality, including reducing gender-based violence and increasing women's political and economic empowerment. Thus, while APHR and Sweden share common ground on many human rights and democracy goals, there is a divergence in the emphasis placed on gender equality in substantive areas. The evaluation concludes that this gap has been largely driven by lack of resources, lack of demand, and lack of knowledge, but that this is rectifiable in the future, if increased resources and emphasis are devoted here.

APHR's work on climate change, business, and human rights aligns well with Sweden's strategic objective to promote environmentally sustainable development and resilience to climate change. APHR's initiatives, such as organising international parliamentary inquiries on climate resilience, contribute to Sweden's goal of enhancing the sustainable management of natural resources and addressing cross-border environmental challenges. Both APHR and the Swedish strategy recognise the critical intersection of human rights, migration, business and environmental sustainability, particularly in regions vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change, with fewer resources to apply to building climate resilience, and with few regionally agreed regulatory frameworks to apply uniform pressure on corporate and government behaviours.

4.2 EFFECTIVENESS

4.2.1 How effective has APHR been in addressing challenges in the region, and moving the needle therein?

These conclusions reflect both the strengths and areas for improvement in APHR's approach to human rights and democracy advocacy, emphasising the need for strategic follow-through and enhanced measurement of its initiatives to optimise its regional impact.

Advocacy: APHR's advocacy efforts in Southeast Asia have been significant, focusing on pivotal issues such as the Myanmar crisis and climate change. With multiple actions reflected in over 500 bold, credible statements and position papers, APHR has cemented its role as a leading voice in regional human rights and democratisation dialogues. However, there is a noted need for better tracking and leveraging outcomes of these initiatives, particularly in strategic applications like the Parliamentarians at Risk Report, but also most other endeavours.

Collaboration and Regional Influence: APHR has notably strengthened inter-member collaboration across Southeast Asia, bolstering collective actions toward human rights and democratic governance. Through platforms like the "MPs at Risk Report" and various solidarity missions, APHR has not only highlighted adversities faced by parliamentarians but also fostered a strategic collective response. Despite these efforts, measuring the direct impact on legislative outcomes remains a challenge, underscoring the need for improved tracking mechanisms within APHR's operations.

International Outreach: APHR has extended its influence beyond Asia, engaging with global platforms like the European Union Parliament and the US Congress, particularly over issues like the Myanmar crisis. This international engagement has not only enhanced global awareness of regional concerns but also established APHR as a key player in global human rights advocacy, including its role in founding AfriPAHR and partnering with international entities like IPPFoRB. At the same time, APHR has begun to consolidate its relationship with ASEAN in order to strategically influence it.

Civil Society Engagement: APHR has effectively acted as a bridge between parliamentarians and civil society, including with women's groups, and has facilitated crucial advocacy alignments across a range of issues from climate change to freedom of religion. Its conferences and fact-finding missions have been pivotal in fostering peer-learning and enhancing policy influence, demonstrating its crucial role in mobilising collective human rights-focused actions across the region. This bridge has included reaching out to women's groups. At the same time, a gendered approach to CSO engagement was low and this area could be greatly enhanced.

Thought Leadership and Knowledge Enhancement: As a regional thought leader, APHR has actively promoted ideation and leadership, equipping members with

essential tools and platforms to influence public discourse. While it provides resources for enhancing legislative oversight and public accountability, there is a demand for more structured ideation sessions and actionable outputs to better harness APHR's potential in shaping effective governance and policy-making, and in including gendered perspectives therein, where appropriate and feasible.

Community Building: APHR has successfully built an inclusive, broad-based regional community advocating for democracy and human rights, uniting a broad range of many different types of stakeholders including MPs, civil society (including women's groups), and government bodies. This regional community not only addresses critical democratic and human rights issues but also fosters extensive regional engagement, significantly impacting the landscape of advocacy in Southeast Asia. At the same time, APHR is very small, its members are not necessarily the most influential in government. It has successfully expanded from just a few members (7) to over 100 members – and it continues to focus on keeping and expanding its membership – and therefore expanding its reach within the parliaments of its members. At the same time, this area presents some key challenges, and it has recently been difficult to move beyond the current size.

Gender Equality Gaps: APHR has not been able, thus far, to fully apply a gendered lens onto the various thematic portfolios it addresses, so that it is not able to adopt a gender-transformative approach to what it does. The evaluation team concludes that this is, as the evaluation revealed, mostly due to lack of knowledge across APHR, lack of demand from its members, and lack of resources. APHR is fully interested and willing to integrate better these dimensions into the thematic work it manages, assuming it has the means to do so, including trained and knowledgeable staff.

4.3 IMPACT

4.3.1 In enabling and supporting continued attention to democracy and human rights in the Southeast Asia region, and beyond, what high-level effects has APHR had?

Increased footprint: APHR has enabled and supported continued attention to democracy and human rights in the Southeast Asia region, and beyond, despite challenges in measuring concrete impacts. APHR's numerous media releases and initiatives such as the International Parliamentary Inquiries (IPIs) on environmental impacts highlight its role in keeping crucial issues like human rights and democracy in the public discourse amid rising authoritarianism. Additionally, APHR's advocacy has notably pushed for stronger regional commitments on climate resilience. This advocacy is poised to integrate substantially into Malaysia's platform for the 2025 ASEAN presidency, suggesting potential high-level effects on regional policies. These efforts

by APHR not only spotlight critical issues but also hold governments accountable, reinforcing the APHR's effect on the regional human rights and democracy landscape.

Pivotal Issues Remain on the Agenda: Moreover, through its diverse membership APHR fosters inclusive processes that support democratisation and robust policy-making in a region where cross-entity interactions are often fraught with difficulties. Its commitment to providing a safe space for active and former MPs to remain influential underscores its crucial role in maintaining a focus on democracy and human rights. By enabling these parliamentarians to advocate effectively, APHR helps ensure that attention remains fixed on these pivotal issues, thus supporting the continuity and deepening of democratic and human rights observance across Southeast Asia. This sustained focus is essential in countering the regional trend of diminishing democracy, thereby affirming APHR's significant high-level effects, and its democratic footprint?

Role Model: APHR's role in creating a robust community of advocates serves as a powerful model for other regions, including Africa, where similar democratic challenges persist. Its ability to provide a safe and influential platform for both active and threatened parliamentarians reinforces essential pillars of democratisation—engagement, accountability, and robust legislative practices. This has maintained and intensified meaningful attention to democracy and human rights. This dual effect positions APHR as a burgeoning force in the global dialogue on democracy, setting an example for similar networks worldwide, notwithstanding its need to enhance its focus on and integration of gender equality dimensions.

4.4 SUSTAINABILITY

4.4.1 What are the key considerations related to APHR's Sustainability?

Misalignment between role and objectives: APHR's stated goals do not capture well its practical operations and core functions. Initially focused on practical and operational targets that were more aligned with its daily activities, the revised objectives have pivoted to emphasise the roles and achievements of individual MPs, potentially sidelining the broader network activities that encompass advocacy and influence by a diverse membership. This shift suggests a misalignment where the new objectives do not fully represent the multifaceted operations of APHR as a network, nor do they cater to the control or influence APHR directly wields over its advocacy outcomes, and the low control it wields on the success or failure of member MPs to legislate effectively.

Indeed, the redefinition of APHR's goals appears to overemphasise the capacity and influence of its members within their legislative domains, potentially overstating their ability to enact change and underestimating the network's role in facilitating these changes, and its influence more broadly on governments (executives). This focus on

MPs, particularly those who may not hold influential positions within their parliaments, raises concerns about the network's actual reach and impact. The 2021 strategic realignment may not adequately capture the essence of what APHR fundamentally does—acting as a bridge for advocacy across the Southeast Asian region, encompassing a broader scope of human rights and democratic endeavours beyond mere legislative successes, towards influence at other levels of Government, in civil society, and beyond the region.

Inadequate MEL approach: Moreover, the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) framework does not reflect the realities of APHR's operations, and the lack of a dedicated M&E unit and systematic data collection further complicates the ability to measure APHR's activities, thereby questioning the effectiveness of the strategic shift. This disconnect suggests a need for a strategic recalibration that realigns APHR's objectives with its core capabilities and actual influence, ensuring that future objectives and M&E practices accurately reflect and support the network's broader mission of promoting human rights and democracy across ASEAN and beyond. The data collected also does not integrate data on use and application of gender analysis.

Blurred Definitions of Roles, Functions and Responsibilities: There is confusion around the respective roles of the Board and Secretariat, and perhaps more importantly what the core functions and activities of the network are, and should be, and the what the ideal balance should be between (on the one hand) the network's ability to be reactive and proactive as events in the region unfold, and opportunities are identified (largely by the Board and other members) and (on the other) the longer-term programmatic/advocacy work scaffolded within the thematic portfolios. Whilst the two can be, and often are, complementary, the differing perceptions on what this should be is hindering organisational effectiveness, maximised use of human and other resources, and alignment with strategic objectives. Key positions are not present, which may explain some organisational gaps and challenges – for example - Human Resources management or related to Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E).

Staff Retention Issues: Furthermore, APHR faces significant challenges with staff retention, partly linked to these confusions (around the roles of various actors, including the Board and the Executive Director, and the overall “core” work of APHR) and compounded by the lack of a robust system for addressing the underlying issues contributing to staff turnover. There is a fundamental core tension, at the corporate level, between having the capacity and interest in being a quickly reactive outfit, able to seize political and other opportune moments to step in and be heard, and being an outfit with a “core programme” it should deliver, and the extent to which this includes capacity development of members.

Sustainability: As a consequence, APHR faces a curious dichotomy – on the one hand it has had an oversized ability to advocate and to influence compared with its relatively

small size and minimal budget – and it continues to be regarded as influential, relevant and important in the region in which civic space is shrinking and authoritarian tendencies are skewering rule of law. So, in this light it is “sustainable”. On the other hand, its organisational and budgetary constraints pose serious dangers to its future.

Institutional weakness regarding Myanmar: APHR has no staff currently dedicated to this important and foundational topic. To remain effective, and for future sustainability, the evaluation team concludes that APHR will need to address its institutional weaknesses of its Myanmar programme, and scaffold its approach in a new programmatic framework for Myanmar (largely missing now) while retaining flexibility as a political advocacy entity. APHR may choose to include Myanmar into a broader thematic portfolio focused on “Response to Crisis” – and this seems appropriate and logical – but this would be greatly enhanced by a thorough and determined review on the lessons learnt by APHR in its Myanmar-based experience.

Insufficient financial support base: Lastly, APHR is highly dependent on a small set of core donors, and faces a fundamental resource-based dilemma – by trying to keep its ambitions within the framework of its funding envelope, APHR has created a lean and minimal structure, relying heavily on ad hoc consultants to fill in needed gaps. At the same time, this is clearly hindering it from fully realising its potential and from being able to hire a full set of necessary staff/position, IT systems and (potentially) office spaces. In many ways, what APHR has managed to accomplish is extraordinary, given the staffing and resources, and this is thanks (in no small part) to highly dedicated and active Board Members, Secretariat staff, and consultants.

5 Lessons Learnt

The evaluation highlighted some lessons that may be useful to consider as APHR moves forward, to enhance its relevance, effectiveness, impact, and sustainability. These are briefly outlined below.

5.1.1 Regional Networks Amplify Local Voices

APHR's success in creating a regional platform demonstrates that local issues often benefit from regional attention. This amplifies the voices of individuals and groups that may be suppressed or marginalised within their own countries. Regional networks like APHR can bring international attention and support to these local challenges, providing both a protective and an empowering effect for human rights defenders.

5.1.2 Solidarity and Support Systems are Critical

The role of APHR in fostering a sense of solidarity among parliamentarians across borders shows the importance of support systems for those working in challenging political environments. This network not only enhances personal security and motivation but also enriches members' advocacy strategies through shared experiences and knowledge.

5.1.3 Adaptability to Crises is Essential

The effectiveness of APHR in addressing the Myanmar crisis underscores the need for regional organisations to be adaptable and responsive to sudden political and human rights crises. Quick and coordinated responses can be crucial in mitigating the impacts of such crises, both locally and regionally.

5.1.4 Access to International Platforms Enhances Influence

APHR's ability to provide its members with access to international forums and bodies highlights the importance of global connectivity in human rights work. This access not only elevates the issues at hand but also provides members with additional resources and support, enhancing their influence and capabilities.

5.1.5 Comprehensive Advocacy Needs Diverse Voices

APHR's impact is partly due to its diverse membership, which includes a range of political backgrounds and experiences. This diversity enables the organisation to

address a wide array of issues more comprehensively and with greater sensitivity, reflecting a broader spectrum of perspectives and solutions in their advocacy efforts.

5.1.6 Strategic Objectives Must Reflect Operational Realities

APHR's experience underscores that strategic objectives must align closely with the actual operations and capacities of the organisation. Objectives focused narrowly on MPs' legislative roles without considering APHR's broader influence and advocacy work may not capture the full scope of the network impact.

5.1.7 Importance of Inclusive Objectives

The effectiveness of a network like APHR hinges on the inclusivity of its objectives. Incorporating the diverse roles of exiled, former, and current MPs, and not just focusing on active legislators, can provide a more accurate reflection of the network's advocacy reach and influence. But also, focusing on the network itself as a key actor and ensuring objectives are focused on what the network – as a network – can deliver is crucial. Objectives focused on MP successes or failures are very removed from APHR sphere of control.

5.1.8 M&E Systems Must Be Practical and Supported

For Monitoring and Evaluation frameworks to be effective, they must be backed by sufficient resources and expertise. APHR's challenges with its M&E system highlight the necessity of having a dedicated, knowledgeable unit and trained staff to manage and execute M&E activities.

5.1.9 Flexibility Is Key to Responsiveness

An advocacy organisation's ability to adapt its focus and actions swiftly in response to emerging issues and political imperatives is a critical strength. However, this adaptability also needs to be supported by a clear and formalised learning strategy to ensure that changes are based, at least in part, on solid evidence and contribute to an organisation's long-term goals.

5.1.10 Lack of Gender Integration Reduces Effectiveness

Applying gender analysis and integrating gender equality dimensions into programming and MEL strengthens the relevance and impact of advocacy efforts. Doing so ensures that gender considerations are systematically addressed, enhancing the overall effectiveness of the initiatives. Organisations need to invest in ensuring their programme staff have the necessary gender-related skills to deliver meaningfully, or they badly jeopardise this objective and overall effectiveness. Donors need to double

down early and encourage this aspect be addressed properly, and ensure necessary resources are dedicated therein.

5.1.11 Clear Role Definitions Enhance Organisational Health

Ambiguities in role definitions, especially concerning the relationships between the board, the executive director, and the secretariat, can lead to operational inefficiencies and increased staff turnover. Clearly defined roles and responsibilities are essential for maintaining a healthy organisational structures.

5.1.12 Youth Engagement Is Crucial for Longevity

Ensuring the engagement of younger members, on the Board and amongst the members in particular, and fostering a pathway for them to contribute meaningfully to leadership and advocacy efforts is vital for the sustainability and vibrancy of networks and organisations focused on influence.

5.1.13 Budget Realities Dictate Operational Capabilities

The sustainability of advocacy networks is deeply influenced by their financial health. Adequate funding ensures that necessary staff and operational capacities are maintained to support the network's ambitions and strategic actions.

6 Recommendations

These recommendations draw on the findings, lessons, and conclusions.

6.1 FOR APHR

Critical

6.1.1 Recommendation 1 - Review the Strategy and Strategically Align Objectives to accurately reflect APHR mandate and strengths

Redraft strategic objectives to ensure they accurately reflect the broad scope of APHR advocacy, influence, and knowledge activities, and its operational realities as a network of advocacy and influence. This realignment could also recognise APHR's role as a thought and opinion leader and facilitator of change across the region, with little direct control over the national legislative and oversight successes of its member MPs. It's essential that the new objectives encapsulate APHR's core functions and reactive / proactive operational endeavours. Bolster APHR ability to create meaningful ideation platforms.

Justification: APHR's broad advocacy scope and operational reality require strategic objectives that are aligned with its core functions and fluid political environment. This would help ensure that APHR remains relevant and effective in its advocacy, influence and knowledge transmission efforts, especially given its limited direct control over legislative outcomes in individual countries.

Advantages:

- Enhances alignment between strategic objectives and practical advocacy work, and increases organisational coherence.
- Facilitates effective resource allocation by focusing on realistic goals with good potential impact.
- Reinforces APHR's position as a regional facilitator of change, and sets clear expectations for partners and stakeholders.

6.1.2 Recommendation 2 - Ensure Programmatic Flexibility and Verify Core “Raison d’Être”

Balance long-term strategies with the agility to respond to immediate political challenges and opportunities, ensuring APHR can adapt to rapidly changing (political) environments. Consider how to integrate “reactive flexibility” into APHR's “core

work” – that should retain the flexibility to react quickly to political opportunities and crises. Balancing long-term programming with the ability to respond to immediate needs will require adaptive management practices and expanding the Secretariat to better manage these dual focus tactics.

Justification: Balancing APHR’s ability to respond to / take advantage of immediate political challenges with its longer-term programming is essential for maintaining its agility and relevance in a rapidly evolving landscape.

Advantages:

- Consolidates APHR adaptability and legitimacy in relation to emerging political crises and opportunities
- Supports dynamic programme management, and improves the ability to achieve short and longer-term objectives.
- Strengthens APHR’s organisational resilience by allowing for quick shifts in programme focus, when necessary.

6.1.3 Recommendation 3 – Invest in Fund-raising, Request Increased Core Funding, and Diversify Funding Sources

APHR should request continued and increased funding from a set of core donors and also expand its current funding base in order to enhance financial stability, stabilise operations and allow APHR to invest in the basic necessary infrastructure and staff it requires. APHR may need to invest in its fund-raising strategy and capacity. In this line, it could establish a budget that is in keeping with its ambitions and needs, and agree on longer time frames and results-indicators that are realistic and adapted to APHR’s core functions. Consider diversifying core funding sources (while carefully considering project funding opportunities and the additional time these may demand from staff).

Justification: Expanding the funding base and securing increased core funding would help stabilise APHR’s operations, and support growth in infrastructure and staffing, and their knowledge training, essential for achieving its ambitious goals.

Advantages:

- Enhances financial stability, and therefore (potentially) allows for sustained operational effectiveness.
- Reduces dependence on project-based funding, which often has restrictive conditions.
- Provides the flexibility to pursue strategic initiatives and to adapt to changing circumstances and risks.

6.1.4 Recommendation 4 - Create a Dedicated MEL Unit

Build an in-house Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning capacity to create a MEL framework and MEL system able to deliver robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to the learning that can help APHR set their programmatic focus and actions. The system should integrate gender equality dimensions into monitoring, learning and evaluation exercises. APHR should work to ensure it has the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions as lessons emerge. It is imperative to provide basic MEL training to staff; to help ensure data-driven decision-making and effective tracking of strategic objectives and programmes; create learning opportunities, and drive systematic data collection and analysis; and ensure this includes substantive integration of gender dimensions.

Develop and implement an improved M&E framework that is aligned with APHR's revised strategic objectives, its operational realities, and is capable of capturing the effectiveness of its broad-based advocacy efforts. This would help in assessing the impact of APHR's activities more accurately, and guide strategic decisions. Consider changes in how APHR collects meaningful evidence and stick to the monitoring framework over time. For example – APHR could collect testimonials from key partners, civil society, MPs, members – and create a data base of testimonials over time. APHR should also start surveying Members on a regular basis to track MP priorities and challenges and the way they engage with APHR over time.

Justification: A MEL framework is crucial for tracking progress learning from experience, and guiding decision making but it requires a dedicated person or unit to manage it and to help implement – along with programme staff. Integrating gender dimensions helps ensure a comprehensive evaluation approach and will help drive better integration of gender perspectives in APHR work.

Advantages:

- Enables data systems to be established, maintained and fed. Enables data-driven decision making, to improve programme outcomes and learning.
- Facilitates evidence-based adjustments to strategies and activities, and this potentially enhances impact.
- Promotes continuous organisational and institutional learning and adaptation, and this contributes to the long-term sustainability and viability of the network.

6.1.5 Recommendation 5 - Improve Internal Governance and Organisational Resilience

Address internal governance challenges: by clarifying the roles and powers of the APHR Secretariat and the Board, and the core operational objectives of APHR as a network. Consider a clear “code of conduct” for the Board, and clear staff position

descriptions that are in line with day-to-day operational realities. Review how to ensure that staff are adequately supported, reducing turnover and increasing long-term organisational resilience.

Enhance Board and Secretariat functioning: perhaps through a specific learning and remedial action initiative to unpack and resolve differing perceptions of roles, functions and organisational purpose; accompanied by a review of roles and responsibilities; and potentially the creation of key positions (such as a MEL expert; and a Gender specialist). This task is perhaps an urgent core mission for the new Executive Director. However (discussed further down) some of this may be challenging within the current budgetary constraints.

Hire Experienced and Qualified Staff – able to work with politicians – and **Strengthen Human Resources Management:** A key to focus will be on hiring experienced and qualified personnel into the Secretariat and ensuring they have a clear understanding of their roles and corporate expectations and have the ability to work with politicians and fluid environments. This would be helped by establishing a comprehensive human resource framework and if possible hiring a dedicated Human Resources person to develop clear job descriptions and professionalise the hiring process, and help ensure equitable and competitive compensation packages, and manage career development opportunities, performance evaluation systems, and help to create a supportive work environment, with a focus on how to improve staff retention.

Justifications: Clarifying roles and improving support structures helps to address governance challenges and fosters a resilient institution that is capable of withstanding change and challenges.

Advantages:

- Enhance role clarity, reduced conflicts and improves operational efficiency.
- Strengthens APHR's ability to retain staff (addressed turnover) through supportive management and HR practices.
- Builds a more resilient organisation with more robust internal processes and clearer governance structures, roles and responsibilities, and better decision-making processes.

Short Term

6.1.6 Recommendation 6: Bolster Capacity to Integrate Gender Equality

Bolster capacity to integrate the use and results of gender analysis across all the thematic portfolios in order to enhance and ensure effectiveness, impact and

sustainability. Consider why the gender mainstreaming plan was not fully employed, and how to help staff and members to acquire gender knowledge and gender skills.

Justification: Ensuring gender equality is a central component of advocacy activities increases effectiveness, impact, and sustainability and – above all – enhances the relevance of proposals for better democracy, more inclusive rule of law, and respect for human rights.

Advantages:

- Promotes deeper inclusiveness, and diversity, and aligns more closely with international human rights standards.
- Enhances programme relevance and effectiveness by identifying gender-specific issues and by suggesting ways to address them.
- Contributes to comprehensive advocacy strategies that may appeal to a broader range of stakeholders – or at least includes a broader set of perspectives.

6.1.7 Recommendation 7 - Invest in Technology for Better Virtual Connectivity

Invest in technology for better virtual connectivity to enhance the network's efficiency and its IT security. Establish a unified, corporate IT platform and other basic corporate-function related corporate systems, including in relation to financial and accounts management.

Justification: Upgrading IT dimensions and seamless connectivity and security is vital for an institution/network operating across multiple countries, with staff and Board members scattered across multiple countries.

Advantages:

- Increased organisational efficiency by streamlining, consolidating and securing IT systems/platforms.
- Improved communication and collaboration capabilities amongst dispersed teams.
- Enhanced data security, and support to modern, cloud-based operations.

6.1.8 Recommendation 8 - Strengthen Myanmar Programme Framework

The Board should work with the future programme director to develop a strategic framework that includes high-level operational objectives for Myanmar advocacy based on the lessons learnt from the past three years. This would start with an updated stakeholder mapping to identify partners for future programmatic priorities such as reconstruction. Several ASEAN members, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and ASEAN candidate Timor Leste have more progressive positions on the Myanmar crisis than the current common denominator in the region. Countries like

Timor Leste have the experience of a successful transition from conflict with international involvement, and may be able to share valuable experience.

The resulting new programmatic framework for the Myanmar engagement could ideally retain the flexibility that APHR needs as a political advocacy organisation while providing more structure for the staff working day-to-day on the programme.

Myanmar Reconstruction and Continued Advocacy: The next phase of APHR advocacy could continue successful engagements with the plethora of groups in the Myanmar democratic camp on the one hand and with the more progressive ASEAN members on the other, particularly since the NUG has issued a progressive Rohingya policy³⁴ and appointed a Rohingya deputy minister, and APHR may more easily build relationships with democratic MPs in- and outside CRPH.

The situation in Myanmar has evolved militarily to a degree where the junta keeps losing control of ever wider parts of the country, including now major cities and its first regional military command.³⁵ This implies a consolidation of the position of the opposition to the junta, and has increased the odds that the conflict may end sooner. The emerging priority for the APHR, in alignment with its CSO partners, therefore, could be to turn its attention to advocating for the reconstruction of Myanmar.³⁶ This could commence flexibly in those areas free of junta control. In October 2024, Malaysia will assume the ASEAN chairmanship, and Malaysia's leadership of ASEAN on the Myanmar crisis will be a priority for APHR's advocacy.

Justification: A revised strategic framework with high-level operational objectives is necessary to guide APHR's advocacy on Myanmar, particularly with evolving military

³⁴ NUG, *Policy Position on the Rohingya in Rakhine State*, 3 June 2021, <https://x.com/NUGMyanmar/status/1400471485697781768?s=20>

³⁵ See Anthony Davis, 'Surging Rebel Advances Press for Myanmar Regime Collapse,' *The Asia Times*, 08 August 2024. <https://asiatimes.com/2024/08/surging-rebel-advances-press-for-myanmar-regime-collapse/>

³⁶ Interview with person A.

and political conditions. This will also assist APHR legitimacy when addressing other similar crises.

Advantages:

- Provides structured guidance for staff whilst maintaining flexibility for adaptive advocacy.
- Enhances strategic partnerships with regional stakeholders who have more progressive stances on the crisis in Myanmar.
- Helps to position APHR to play a crucial role in influencing decisions concerning future reconstruction efforts (as political conditions evolve) and this will have important ripple effects across the region.

Medium Term

6.1.9 Recommendation 9 - Continue efforts to assess and streamline operations

Continue efforts to assess and streamline operations so that organisational resources are used efficiently to support APHR's core mission and its operationally strategic needs, as defined by the Board and the Secretariat.

Justification: By regularly assessing and refining operational processes, APHR can ensure that its resources are being used in alignment with its core mission and strategic goals. This is crucial for maintaining focus on high-impact activities and avoiding resources being wasted on redundant or low-priority tasks, or tasks that have lost priority (for whatever reason).

Advantages:

- Increases efficiency and effectiveness in resource utilisation. This helps ensure that APHR's efforts are directed towards areas with highest importance/relevance (or potentially, highest impact, though this is hard to predict).
- Enables identification and elimination of bottlenecks or unnecessary procedures, and this improves focus and work flows.
- Supports better decision-making because it aligns operations with strategic priorities set by Board/Members and Secretariat.

6.1.10 Recommendation 10: Establish a physical office

Establish a physical office to improve collaboration, corporate culture and general efficiency across dispersed teams and staff. This would allow Secretariat, and Board, to have some dedicated working and meeting spaces.

Justification: A dedicated physical office can provide a central hub for team members who may currently be dispersed, fostering a stronger sense of corporate culture and collaboration. This can be particularly important for building cohesion and allowing for more spontaneous and efficient in-person interactions.

Advantages:

- Strengthens organisational identity and culture, which can be harder to cultivate in a purely remote setting.
- Enhances team collaboration and communication by providing a dedicated space for meetings, discussions, and project work.
- Facilitates access to essential office resources and infrastructure, potentially boosting productivity and enabling staff to work more effectively.

6.1.11 Recommendation 11 - Enhance (even further) Media and Advocacy Efforts

Enhance (even further) media and advocacy efforts by reinforcing the unit with resources and ensuring programme officers work closely and in a timely fashion with the media unit, in particular to strengthen follow-up and follow-through required by – for example – a public statement, a report, or the results of a mission.

Justification: Effective media and advocacy efforts are vital for raising awareness and influencing policy, which are key objectives of APHR. By investing more resources in these areas and improving coordination, APHR can amplify its impact.

Advantages:

- A reinforced media unit can improve the already good quality and reach of APHR output/statements, without overloading staff; and help to maintain effective and sophisticated systems for tracking how products land.
- Strengthened follow-up processes can help ensure that the outcomes of public statements, reports and missions are maximised, and this potentially can lead to more significant policy influence.
- Better coordination with programme officers/managers can lead to/help maintain more consistent and strategic messaging, a critical factor for success in advocacy and influence efforts.

6.1.12 Recommendation 12 - Improve Practical Support to Members

When engaging in issues, provide members with practical but brief “talking points”, “ten-point sheets”, “example legislation text”, to help translate technical thematic information into actionable strategies, sets of talking points, or agreed requests in their parliamentary work. Ensure well-structured and strategically designed survey systems to help gauge how products land, and how useful APHR is to members.

Justification: APHR members have expressed the need for concrete, actionable resources to engage effectively in parliamentary work, and to (try to) ensure a certain degree of “similarity of message and approach” across the region. Providing practical tools, such as brief talking points or examples of legislative texts can make it easier for members to translate key messages into their local contexts, and to advocate for APHR’s priorities.

Advantages:

- Helps to bridge the gap between technical information and practical parliamentary actions, making it easier for members to apply APHR’s guidance. This is perhaps especially true for members from smaller and less well-resourced political parties with fewer personnel and other resources available.
- Improves the likelihood of successful advocacy outcomes by equipping members with readily useable resources tailored more closely to their needs as MPs.
- Supports members in staying aligned with APHR’s positions, and promotes a regionally unified approach in policy engagements.

This set of recommendations for APHR collectively aims to enhance strategic focus, organisational sustainability and efficiency, improve team dynamics, strengthen advocacy efforts and provide more targeted support to members. These efforts should help to maximise APHR’s continued impact.

6.2 FOR CORE DONORS

Critical

6.2.1 Recommendation 13 - Increase Operational Stability and Predictability – Consider Continuing Support and Increasing Funding

Recognise the pivotal role APHR plays in regional human rights advocacy and consider providing longer-term funding commitments to enhance the network's operational stability, whilst also encouraging stronger organisational management, focus on MEL, and producing a relevant and adapted Theory of Change. The area APHR influences requires long-term investments and scaffolding that are contained within 3 year “windows” with difficulty. Increased and longer funding would support its essential ability to be more effective organisationally and to fill and maintain key staff positions, enhance virtual or other infrastructure, and potentially expand the reach and efficacy of its network initiatives. Whilst project funding does fill in financial gaps, and is usually complementary to APHR main focus areas, it also requires a great deal of resources from the Secretariat to manage and to fulfil. Larger and more flexible core funding, which allows also for basic operational and management related overheads

would allow APHR to efficiently deliver. Consider whether dedicated funding for gender mainstreaming and a gender manager might be effective.

Justification: Longer-term funding commitments would help ensure the continuity of APHR’s advocacy efforts, which require consistent and sufficient support over extended periods of time to achieve meaningful change.

Advantages:

- Reduces operational disruptions caused by funding uncertainties and taking on project work that may distract from “core focus” of APHR.
- Supports strategic planning and longer-term programme development or scope.
- Encourages stronger organisational management by allowing necessary investment in key staff and infrastructure.

6.2.2 Recommendation 14 - Devise a coherent approach to distinguish between support required by a network of influence and advocacy

Devise a coherent approach to distinguish between support required by a network of influence and advocacy and support required by programmes and projects and how donor requirements around “outputs, outcomes, impact” may be defined quite differently in these two instances. For influence and advocacy outfits, the creation of an event, the coming together of a group of people to ideate, the release of a statement may well appear to be “outputs” but are – as it happens – outcomes in and of themselves. Therefore, *what* “monitoring data” needs to be – and how to capture meaningful evidence when supporting a network – could perhaps be carefully calibrated so that this reflects what it actually *does* and can accomplish and control; and consider the extent to which support to *processes* is – in and of itself – an outcome. This will help ensure that the M&E framework³⁷, as it tries to fit in with donor requirements, does not inadvertently set the network up for apparent failures.

Justification: Whilst partners are expected to establish their own monitoring and evaluation frameworks, and identify meaning KPIs and other criteria, partners are often

³⁷ Whilst the MEL Framework is determined by APHR, not Sweden, this can be done in dialogue with Sweden so that when the inevitable mid-term and final evaluations are commissioned, the necessary data is available.

influenced by what they know will be reporting requirements from core donors and expectations related to MEL aspects. Being clear that core donors view APHR as a network -working in relatively intangible and evolving domains of influence is key to ensuring that donor-recipient dialogue is thoughtful and constructive.

Advantages:

- Helps ensure, through concerted dialogue, that indicators and other criteria used to track and assess outcomes and results are appropriate and tailor-made.
- Enables better grasp of influence, relevance, effectiveness and impact, as this relates to the realities of APHR.

Medium-Term

6.2.3 Recommendation 15 - Offer dialogue, Review progress with APHR and consider necessary calibrations, where necessary

Justification: Given the large number of organisation-related challenges APHR faces, continued dialogue with core donors, and collaborative and constructive review of progress will help APHR to make any necessary calibrations as it moves forward.

Advantages:

- Reduces risks that approaches/indicators/actions taken are not relevant organisationally
- Helps ensure efficiency, and collaborative learning between core donors and APHR.

Annex 1 Myanmar Case Study

APHR's Response to the Myanmar military coup and the following crisis

A Case Study

Introduction - why this case study?

This case study reviews the APHR's programmatic response to the 2021 military coup in Myanmar and the following crisis. In that coup, the military ousted and arrested the civilian Myanmar government and disbursed the MPs who were gathering for the constitutive session of parliament following the parliamentary elections of November 2020. The military formed a junta-style government, the State Administration Council (the junta). Mass popular protests erupted across the country in response to the coup. The elected MPs convened an interim Parliament, the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, led by the Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), and the National Unity Government (NUG) which is composed of elected MPs and representatives of ethnic nationality political parties. The NUG partly operates from areas free of military control and from outside the country. The military suppressed peaceful protest with deadly violence, and in response a coalition of the NUG and ethnic armed organisations took up armed resistance. The military continues to target civilians in its operations. By September 2024, 5612 civilians had been killed by the military, 27,328 had been arrested³⁸, over 3 million people are internally displaced³⁹, and 18,6 million people

³⁸ Assistance Association for Political Prisoners, *Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup*, 6 September 2024, <https://aappb.org/?p=29221>

³⁹ UNHCR, *Myanmar Emergency Overview Map*, 2 September 2024, <https://reliefweb.int/map/myanmar/myanmar-emergency-overview-map-number-people-displaced-feb-2021-and-remain-displaced-02-sep-2024>

need humanitarian assistance.⁴⁰ ASEAN's response to the military coup and the ensuing crisis has been ineffective. It agreed a five-point consensus (5PC) in April 2021 which included the end of violence, a dialogue among all parties, and the provision of humanitarian assistance. The Myanmar military accepted the consensus at the time but never implemented it.

APHR has had a programmatic focus on strengthening democracy and human rights in Myanmar, including the rights of persecuted ethnic nationality communities like the Rohingya since the organisation's foundation. As an organisation of elected parliamentarians, APHR seeks to support in particular the elected MPs of Myanmar in freely exercising their mandates, and resisting junta persecution. APHR seeks to bring about positive change in the ASEAN region through three main types of activity it supports and facilitates: (1) Members strengthening democracy and human rights in the ASEAN region through parliamentary action in their own country, (2) Members using their position for advocacy on democracy and human rights, (3) joint public advocacy with ASEAN human rights and democracy defenders from civil society.⁴¹

By 2022, the APHR Board's and Members' actions on the crisis of Myanmar were supported by a specific Myanmar crisis response programme, administered by a dedicated programme coordinator.

Guiding questions for the case study:

What was the value added of APHR's intervention on Myanmar?

How did APHR's intervention support the organization's overall objectives?

To what extent has APHR's engagement the right actors on the ground in supporting democracy and human rights in Myanmar?

To what extent has APHR's advocacy been effective in engaging ASEAN and the wider international community in focusing attention on Myanmar?

To what extent has APHR's advocacy been effective in garnering support for democracy and human rights in Myanmar?

To what extent has APHR's advocacy benefitted APHR Myanmar members specifically?

What impact has APHR's advocacy had in terms of supporting a return to democracy and human rights in Myanmar?

To what extent has APHR's intervention focused on protecting the most vulnerable, in particular women, children and persecuted minorities such as the Rohingya?

This case study reviews the APHR's Myanmar crisis response with the objective of drawing lessons about the performance of APHR more broadly. The intervention is selected for study because it covers the most significant democratic governance and human rights issue in South-East Asia in the period of observation, and the Myanmar programme is one of the most long-standing interventions of APHR. The case study is expected to yield lessons learned which are valid for APHR's engagement across its portfolio of activities. The study reviews the performance of APHR's Myanmar response across the evaluation criteria agreed for SIDA's core funding support of APHR under the Parliamentarians Regional Action for Democracy and Human Rights initiative, for relevance, effectiveness, impact, and sustainability, seeking to answer the guiding questions set out in the text box above.

How did APHR respond to the Myanmar crisis?

The Myanmar crisis is the most important issue facing ASEAN at the moment. It is dividing its membership and hampering the organisation's effectiveness.⁴² From the beginning, APHR aligned its engagement on Myanmar with its overall strategy and values. On the day of the coup, APHR joined a group of 114 mostly ASEAN-based civil society organisations in condemning the coup and call on the military to release all those arrested during the coup and allow parliament to convene.⁴³ APHR supported the democratic forces in Myanmar, reacted publicly to human rights violations and crimes against humanity perpetrated by the junta regime, and advocated the junta's political and economic isolation, and the support for Myanmar's affected communities. Importantly, throughout the period, APHR continued to focus on the major human rights issues in the country, including the fate of the Myanmar Rohingya population in

⁴⁰ UNOCHA, *Myanmar Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2024. Addendum*, June 2024, <https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-needs-and-response-plan-2024-addendum-enmy>

⁴¹ See *APHR Theory of Change & MEL Framework*, September 2021.

⁴² See for instance USIP, *Myanmar's Crisis Looms Over the ASEAN Summit*, 7 September 2023, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/09/myanmars-crisis-looms-over-asean-summit>.

⁴³ APHR, *Myanmar military should end its use of violence and respect democracy*, 1 February 2021 <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/myanmar-military-should-end-its-use-of-violence-and-respect-democracy/>

the ongoing Myanmar crisis, repeatedly highlighting Rohingya issues, and protecting the rights of Rohingya refugees in third countries, including in Malaysia.

In its response to the Myanmar crisis, the APHR employed several strategies to good effect, in ways that illustrate the value of these strategies to the democratic actors in Myanmar:

APHR mobilised ASEAN and global MPs to elevate the pressure on the Myanmar military regime and ASEAN for action restoring democracy and human rights.

Only weeks after the coup, the APHR formed the International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar (IPAM), a group of MPs from 12 countries coming together to support their fellow Myanmar MPs, including the CRPH, in promoting democracy and human rights in Myanmar.⁴⁴ IPAM organised a global call by almost 300 MPs on their governments and the international community to take action on Myanmar and put pressure on the junta regime to reinstate democracy in Myanmar. APHR also worked with regional MPs ahead of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), notably in 2021, to highlight the situation of Myanmar MPs during AIPA. In 2022, APHR initiated the International Parliamentary Inquiry (IPI) on Myanmar, in which a group of ASEAN and global MPs reviewed the global response to the Myanmar crisis and made recommendations for action, chiefly for international support to the NUG, further sanctions on the junta regime, delivery of humanitarian assistance, and ASEAN's departure from the ineffectual ASEAN 5PC.⁴⁵ IPI launch events were held virtually at the EU Parliament, in person in Bangkok, and in person in New York. The APHR also supported Thai opposition MPs in developing their Myanmar policy and provided testimony to a UK House of Commons inquiry into the UK response to the Myanmar crisis. In 2023, on the side-lines of its annual meeting, APHR organised a roundtable event with APHR MPs at the House of Representatives of Indonesia.

APHR engaged and supported the Myanmar elected MPs and the NUG as the legitimate government of Myanmar but has not engaged Myanmar MPs

⁴⁴ APHR, *Global MPs form International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar*, 25 March 2021, <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/global-mps-form-international-parliamentarians-alliance-for-myanmar/>.

⁴⁵ APHR, *Time is not on our side. The failed international response to the Myanmar Group. Final report by the International Parliamentary Inquiry into the global response to the crisis in Myanmar (IPI)*, 2022.

comprehensively. APHR has tried to engage the elected representatives of Myanmar and the democratic forces in the states and regions: APHR has engaged the elected representatives both at the “federal level” – the CRPH and the NUG – and representatives in the border regions where APHR consulted ethnic resistance organisations and the representatives of the democratic Karenni state government. As soon as the NUG was formed, APHR acknowledged the NUG as the legitimate government of Myanmar and issued a call on ASEAN to include the NUG in its first special summit on the Myanmar crisis in April 2021.⁴⁶ APHR introduced the NUG’s ASEAN envoy at a news conference ahead of the ASEAN leaders meeting in October 2021. APHR continued to highlight the plight and persecution of Myanmar MPs in its annual MPs at Risk reports and invited Myanmar MPs to speak at the report launch events. APHR Board Members also regularly attended the (virtually held) Pyidaungsu Hluttaw plenary sessions to signal their support. Over time though, that engagement has waned. The Chair of CRPH’s International Relations Committee notes that the current APHR Chair is less involved, and more recently APHR’s work has shifted to working more with CSOs and less with the elected Members. She also indicated that her interaction with the APHR had varied, depending on which staff member was managing the Myanmar portfolio.⁴⁷ APHR has also closely coordinated its engagement initiatives with major Myanmar human rights and democracy NGOs that operate out of Thailand, including Progressive Voice Myanmar and ALTSEAN Burma.

APHR has only two Myanmar MP members, and both are active in the democratic resistance, one serving as minister in NUG, and the other as CRPH committee chair. APHR has not been able to engage them systematically and has not worked with Myanmar parliamentarians beyond the CRPH leadership or those elected MPs who support democracy but do not serve on the CRPH, such as the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) MPs.

APHR lobbied ASEAN and international governments for a more forceful response to the coup and ongoing crisis in Myanmar. Throughout the crisis, APHR has organised bilateral meetings of board members with ASEAN politicians and held

⁴⁶ ASEAN, *Chairman’s Statement on the ASEAN Leaders’ Meeting*, 24 April 2021
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210424135206/http://asean2021.bn/Theme/news/news-24.04.21-csalm.aspx>.

⁴⁷ Interview with person B.

regular diplomatic briefings with Embassies of ASEAN Member states in Bangkok, Jakarta, and Kuala Lumpur and ASEAN dialogue partners. The APCR focused its advocacy on the more progressive ASEAN countries, in particular Malaysia, and Indonesia, the ASEAN Chair in 2023. APCR secured the participation of Malaysia's foreign minister Saifuddin Abdullah alongside NUG representatives in the launch event of the IPI in New York, followed by meetings in Congress. APCR focused its ASEAN advocacy on Malaysia and on Indonesia, in particular during the latter's chairmanship of 2023. APCR held a roundtable on Myanmar at the Indonesian parliament and engaged influential Indonesian MPs to influence the Indonesian government. Throughout its chairmanship Indonesia engaged the democratic forces, but followed an approach of silent diplomacy, engaging both sides to the conflict in parallel conversations, which ultimately yielded limited results. APCR has come out criticising that approach and called for more overt support of the democratic forces of Myanmar.⁴⁸

APCR cooperated with civil society to raise awareness and maximise the impact of advocacy regarding the Myanmar crisis. APCR also initiated regular exchanges with the most active internationally based democracy and human rights civil society organisations active on Myanmar, in particular Progressive Voice, Forum-Asia, and ALTSEAN Burma, and ASEAN-based think tanks to plan and coordinate engagement and advocacy with ASEAN and its member States. In 2023, the APCR organised meetings with civil society organisations and women's groups in Northern Thailand and a follow-up roundtable where they learned about gendered perspectives of Myanmar federalism. In late 2023, APCR organised a fact-finding mission to Northern Thailand's border with Myanmar's Karenni State to visit border-based groups about the humanitarian and human rights situation on and across the border in Karenni State and learn about the needs for cross-border humanitarian assistance, and border-based emergency services in healthcare and education in Myanmar's border states.

APCR conducted extensive public communications about the Myanmar crisis, including in social media. APCR's public communications output has focused heavily

⁴⁸ APCR, *Indonesia must use the last months of its ASEAN chairmanship to cement a lasting positive legacy for Myanmar, Southeast Asian MPs say*, 17 August 2023, <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/indonesia-must-use-the-last-months-of-its-asean-chairmanship-to-cement-a-lasting-positive-legacy-for-myanmar-southeast-asian-mps-say/>

on the Myanmar crisis response, with most of the output covering this portfolio.⁴⁹ The Myanmar programme has had a variety of outputs including social media posts, press releases, press conferences, and op-eds by APHR Board members in reputable newspapers in the ASEAN region. The Myanmar programme’s outputs have had impressive reach as measured in terms of social media views. APHR’s press conference on human rights in Myanmar with the Malaysian Foreign Minister Saifuddin Abdullah had almost 100,000 impression and was shared 800 times.⁵⁰

How effective were APHR’s interventions and what difference did they make?

APHR’s engagement in the Myanmar crisis added unique value in several different ways. As ASEAN MPs, APHR members were the first “ASEAN state officials” to engage with the Myanmar’s elected representatives, CRPH and the NUG after the coup. APHR has supported the CRPH and NUG with advocacy and inclusion of CRPH and NUG representatives in their events. APHR brought to bear its unique status as an organisation of elected MPs from the ASEAN region on the crisis in Myanmar. APHR is a different beast to other civil society organisations. As a group of elected MPs APHR members are ASEAN state officials and do represent political views prevalent in ASEAN. They are perceived by outside governments and global news media in particular to be an ASEAN body, and this “constructive confusion” is a major asset.⁵¹

APHR’s engagement contributed to the opportunities for elected officials and government representatives from ASEAN and other countries to engage with the democratic representatives in Myanmar, as was the case with Malaysian Foreign Minister Saifuddin Abdullah. APHR also created opportunities for NUG and CRPH engagement with international officials, including when they introduced NUG’s ASEAN envoy.

⁴⁹ APHR Annual Report 2022.

⁵⁰ APHR Annual Reports 2022 & 2023.

⁵¹ Interview with person C.

APHR's ability to find facts on the ground in ASEAN countries by virtue of the status of its members allows the APHR to effectively communicate messages and amplify voices from the ground. This was true of APHR's fact-finding missions to the Thai border, and the IPI, which provided an opportunity for affected stakeholders on the ground, including community-based organisations that are not usually heard, to voice issues and to through the APHR channel them into the ASEAN response to the crisis in Myanmar.

APHR has been effective in engaging ASEAN and international MPs on Myanmar. IPAM was a useful instrument early on in the coup to focus global attention on the coup and ensure it as put on national foreign policy agendas but has fizzled out as other foreign policy issues including the Russian war on Ukraine and the Gaza crisis emerged.⁵² The IPI has been a particularly successful instrument. It has put support for Myanmar on the agenda for the European Parliament, which ultimately has benefited the democratic forces through contributing to their efforts in eliciting increased support from the EU institutions.⁵³ APHR has also supported the accreditation of the NUG's New York Office with the US government.⁵⁴

While it is difficult to attribute concrete behavioural changes in ASEAN members' Myanmar policy to APHR's activities, APHR's focused advocacy with the Malaysian and the Indonesian Governments in particular has certainly been a contributing factor. APHR's focus is to work with influential MPs in ASEAN countries that have an ability to shape foreign policy.⁵⁵ APHR has influenced the incentives for these governments to take principled stances on Myanmar, and not allow the ASEAN "appeasers" such as Cambodia, Vietnam and Lao PDR, to normalise ASEAN relations with the junta regime. It also has facilitated NUG contacts with ASEAN government officials, and thereby provided opportunities for the democratic forces to engage ASEAN governments directly.

⁵² Interview with person D.

⁵³ Interview with person E.

⁵⁴ Interview with person A.

⁵⁵ Interview with person A.

APHR has worked effectively with the Thai political opposition MPs and helped them, including through the joint field mission, in developing their progressive Myanmar policy which focuses on improved humanitarian access, economic disentanglement from the junta, flexible engagement of the Myanmar democratic forces and the welfare and economic integration of Myanmar refugees and migrants.⁵⁶ The MPs have pursued this policy aggressively in the Thai parliament, holding roundtables with Myanmar democratic representatives, and using the committee system to investigate Thai economic entanglement in the junta military effort.

The APHR's *IPi* and its field mission reports make a plethora of recommendations to all parties and there is an opportunity to streamline these and follow up on these in formal or informal review exercises. This would be possible with improved programme support.

APHR has made efforts to focus in its response to the Myanmar crisis on the most vulnerable, women, children and persecuted minorities, including the Rohingya.

It has held events drawing attention to the Rohingya and lobbied governments, in particular Malaysia to not refool Rohingya refugees. APHR has sought to engage with women CSOs and CBOs, through events and in the framework of its field missions, has included gendered findings and recommendations in its knowledge products including its field mission report.

The APHR Myanmar programme has had management deficits. Like the organisation more generally, the Myanmar programme suffers from high turnover of staff, and the lack of an express programmatic framework. Myanmar programme staff have reported not receiving handovers or clear guidance and not having a programme framework to operate within.⁵⁷ The most recent programme coordinator has changed direction from engaging primarily the elected Members and NUG to engaging ethnic nationality groups and community-based organisations on the Thai border she has had relations and experience working with. While this change was not necessarily detrimental, it was not strategic and not managed by the APHR senior management or

⁵⁶ See Pita Limjaroenrat, 'Thai policy toward Myanmar must move forward', in: *Nikkei Asia*, 3 May 2024, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Opinion/Thai-policy-toward-Myanmar-must-move-forward>.

⁵⁷ Interview with person F.

Board. The Programme lost its Myanmar national focal point (who now is a senior ethnic nationality politician in her own right) half-way through the programme and has had understandable difficulty connecting with a new national focal point based inside Myanmar. It may be more beneficial for APHR to recruit a border-based national focal point that can move inside Myanmar when necessary but otherwise operate more freely than a person based inside the country would be able to.

Conclusion – what is the prospect for APHR advocacy going forward?

Over the course of the crisis, the APHR’s advocacy has kept up with the changes on the ground. Focusing primarily on the CRPH and NUG, the “federal” institutions early in the crisis, the APHR has engaged with new actors over the last two years, primarily the Karenni State political institutions, and is now considering how to best support them. The APHR has been successful in raising awareness, mobilising support for and influencing policy positions of ASEAN members and international partners towards a more progressive position on the Myanmar crisis.

The next phase of APHR advocacy should build on the successes, invest in strengthening the successful engagements with the plethora of groups in the Myanmar democratic camp on the one hand and with the more progressive ASEAN members on the other. With Myanmar MPs, APHR has had a difficult standing as the elected NLD MPs did not approve of APHR’s principled Rohingya rights support.⁵⁸ This has changed now. The NUG has issued a progressive Rohingya policy⁵⁹ and appointed a Rohingya deputy minister. Rohingya representatives have a seat at the table. Most recently, they attended a meeting of the forces in the democratic and federal camp in Jakarta.

The APHR may now more easily build relationships with democratic MPs in- and outside CRPH, including the MPs of the Shan Nationalities League For Democracy (SNLD), Myanmar’s second-biggest political party.

⁵⁸ Interview with person A.

⁵⁹ NUG, *Policy Position on the Rohingya in Rakhine State*, 3 June 2021, <https://x.com/NUGMyanmar/status/1400471485697781768?s=20>.

The situation in Myanmar has evolved militarily to a degree where the junta keeps losing control of ever wider parts of the country, including now major cities and its first regional military command.⁶⁰ Mandalay, Myanmar's second city is threatened by the military progress made by the democratic and federal camp.⁶¹ This implies a consolidation of the position of the opposition to the junta, and has increased the odds that the conflict may end sooner based on increasing military pressure on the junta. Politically, the coalition of groups opposing the junta has grown with more ethnic political groups joining the existing NUG-K3C coalition, declaring their commitment to building bottom-up federalism.⁶² The emerging priority for the APCR, in alignment with its CSO partners, is to turn its attention to advocating for the reconstruction of Myanmar through the promotion of trade and modest investment commencing in border areas free of junta control and to dissuade the ASEAN member states from falling in line with the China-sponsored junta election plans.⁶³ In October 2024, Malaysia will assume the ASEAN chairmanship, and Malaysia's leadership of ASEAN on the Myanmar crisis will be a priority for APCR's advocacy.

While Thai politics is currently hanging in the balance, with a new prime minister having assumed office recently, the APCR will do well to continue to focus its advocacy on Thailand. APCR will work with both the Thai opposition but also the ruling Pea Thai party MPs on helping Thailand develop a Myanmar policy that will create stability on the border by working with the democratic opposition, including the border-based EROs, stem the flow of refugees but also allow Myanmar migrants the

⁶⁰ See Anthony Davis, 'Surging Rebel Advances Press for Myanmar Regime Collapse,' *The Asia Times*, 08 August 2024. <https://asiatimes.com/2024/08/surging-rebel-advances-press-for-myanmar-regime-collapse/>.

⁶¹ See, Morgan Michaels, 'Is the Brotherhood Headed to Mandalay?', *IISS Myanmar Conflict Update*, October 2024, <https://myanmar.iiss.org/updates/2024-09>

⁶² See 'Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations and Nine State/Ethnic Representative Councils Unite to Strengthen Future Federal Democratic Union', *Burma News International*, 20 September 2024, <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/ethnic-revolutionary-organizations-and-nine-stateethnic-representative-councils-unite>. The declaration was followed by a meeting of groups in the democratic and federal camp in Jakarta which featured participation of further groups and political parties.

⁶³ Interview with person A.

economic opportunities that stabilise their livelihoods and allow them to contribute to the Thai economy.

In 2025, the junta will try and go ahead with its election plan, with support from the Chinese and Indian governments. The junta's ability to organise any kind of election in most of the country's townships is questionable.⁶⁴ Myanmar's most successful political parties which across That sham "election" will be a focus for violence as the democratic and federal forces will not only boycott it but see themselves forced to disrupt it.⁶⁵ It will not solve Myanmar's crisis. APHR can work with progressive ASEAN members to try and dissuade this group of countries from falling in line with an initiative that is championed by China and undermines ASEAN centrality and its 5PC.

To remain effective, the APHR will need to address the institutional weaknesses of its Myanmar programme. The Board could work with the programme director to develop a strategic framework that includes high-level operational objectives for Myanmar advocacy based on the lessons learned from the past three years. This would start with an updated stakeholder mapping that identifies partners for programmatic priorities such as reconstruction. Among the ASEAN group of countries, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore remain committed to the 5PC and opposed to the Chinese-supported sham election plan. ASEAN candidate Timor Leste is a progressive government in the region,⁶⁶ and has experience with managing a successful transition with international involvement, spearheading a reconstruction initiative so there may be useful lessons to be drawn here.

⁶⁴ The junta's recent "census" exercise showed the limits of its control with an election a much more difficult organisational feat. See 'Myanmar Junta Wraps Up Failed Population Census,' 15 October 2024, *The Irrawaddy*, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-wraps-up-failed-population-census.html>

⁶⁵ See 'Myanmar junta announces census for promised 2025 election' *Reuters*, 2 September 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/myanmar-junta-announces-census-promised-2025-election-2024-09-02/>.

⁶⁶ See for example, Li Li Chen, 'Why Timor-Leste Decided to Take a Stand on Myanmar', *The Diplomat*, 5 September 2023, <https://thediplomat.com/2023/09/why-timor-leste-decided-to-take-a-stand-on-myanmar/>.

The resulting new programmatic framework for the Myanmar engagement would ideally retain the flexibility that APHR needs as a political advocacy organisation while providing more structure for the staff working day-to-day on the programme.

Lessons Learned– what are the lessons from this case study?

There are several lessons to be learned from this case study for the evaluation more broadly and for APHR’s operations:

- 1) APHR’s status as a “quasi-ASEAN body” based on membership of ASEAN Member States’ elected officials is the core of its public brand value and makes APHR’s input relevant on the Myanmar crisis, but also on virtually any other topic related to democracy, human rights, and sustainable development, which makes APHR a body that can flexibly engage in a number of different portfolios. This is unique and is worth investing in for development partners such as SIDA.
- 2) APHR’s approach is working. The mix of instruments APHR uses is effective. The mobilisation of MPs in ASEAN and the engagement with international MPs to raise awareness and build broad-based issue coalitions, the softer peer-to-peer lobbying of powerful national MPs, and the use of procedural instruments like hearings, field missions, and most importantly, formal inquiries yield results that no other human rights and democracy organisation in ASEAN can hope to achieve. The IPI in particular was successful in- and outside ASEAN in terms of advocacy but also for its publicity value. APHR could further improve its inquiry methodology to make it more rigid and meet the standards of a parliamentary inquiry. An effective inquiry will be beneficial in all of the APHR’s portfolios.
- 3) APHR’s engagement in Myanmar is highly visible, which benefits the organisation in terms of its prestige and the desirability to be a member of it. The Myanmar democratic forces have benefited from APHR support, APHR has benefited from its contributions to the Myanmar crisis. The APHR media monitoring data indicates that APHR’s public reach benefits from its Myanmar engagement. This would likely be the case for similarly important political issues the organisation engages.
- 4) The Myanmar portfolio’s management issues are likely to be rooted in APHR’s management framework and culture. The APHR is a political advocacy organisation and needs to remain nimble and agile to react quickly to events and contribute in a crisis situation. Improving the strategic and management frameworks of the organisation is therefore a balancing act. APHR should not become a trans-action cost heavy development NGO, but its programme frameworks require more structure. The consistent high turnover in the Myanmar programme but also across portfolios also suggests that people (and workload) management need attention.

Recommendations– what should APHR do?

There are a number of things that the APHR should do going forward:

4. Map the stakeholders for the Myanmar portfolio and engage with democratic actors, the NUG, CRPH, the emerging “federal unit” institutions – like the Karenni state institutions - and democratic political parties like the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) more broadly. In particular, reach out to democratic elected MPs in CRPH and beyond CRPH, such as the MPs from the smaller ethnic nationality parties.
5. Continue supporting a Thai progressive political response to the Myanmar crisis as an important contributor to progressive democratic change in Myanmar. Engage with both the opposition MPs and the ruling Pea Thai party.
6. Focus advocacy on the incoming Malaysian ASEAN chairmanship building on the excellent relations APHR has with senior MPs in Malaysia. Work towards a pivot from “the political solution” to the crisis to assistance in good local governance and reconstruction and on preventing ASEAN endorsement of the junta’s planned sham elections.
7. Improve the management framework of the Myanmar programme. Develop a strategic engagement framework with high-level outputs to guide the work of the programme coordinator and national focal point. Recruit a national focal point based in the Thai border region who is able to travel to Myanmar.
8. Support pilot reconstruction efforts in Myanmar alongside like-minded actors. Several progressive ASEAN member and candidate countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Timor Leste could be potential partners in this work and Myanmar could benefit from the experience of transitions such as those of Timor Leste in designing a framework that will balance international institutional support with national sovereignty. Reconstruction work can commence in areas free from junta control.
9. Invest in honing APHR’s most successful instruments and make them more “parliamentary.” Develop a standard inquiry approach including a reporting template that is more stringent and parliamentary and apply a similar approach to field mission reporting. Streamline in particular recommendations. Follow up on the IPI recommendations in advocacy in 2025 and going forward.

Annex 2 Survey Results

1 Data Collection Overview

This survey is one of the data-gathering components of the NIRAS’ evaluation of the APHR. It was intended to collect feedback and recommendations from a broad set of APHR stakeholders through non-probability sampling, leaning on the willingness of its members and partners to participate in an online survey. As such, the results provide exploratory ‘sensing’ insights to the evaluation.

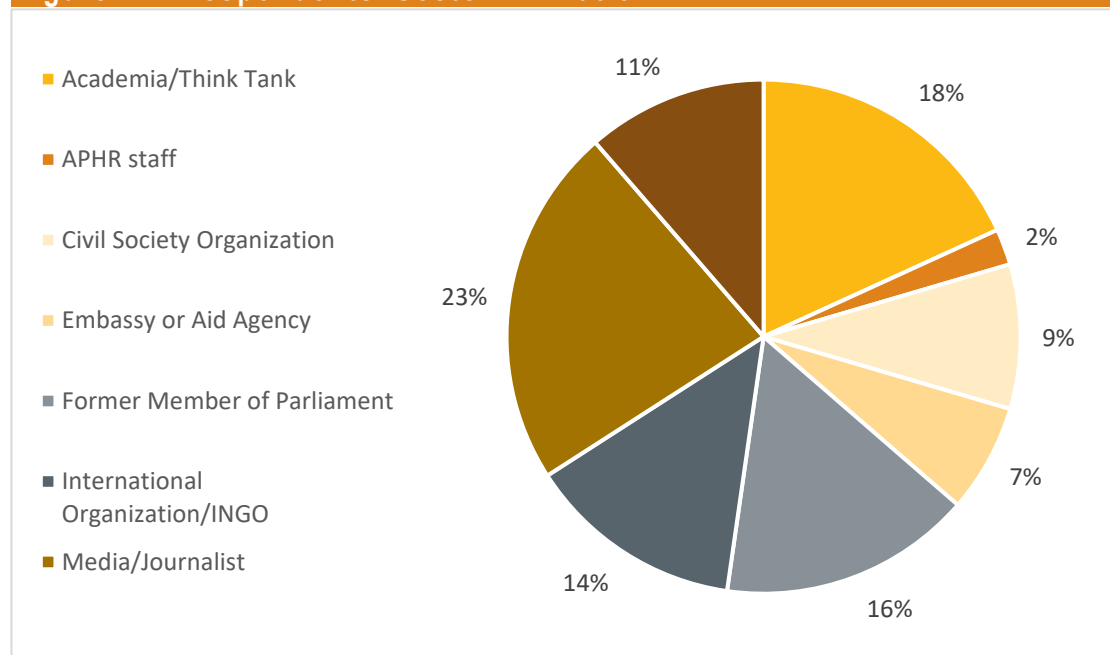
Responses were collected from July 30 to August 22, 2024. NIRAS initially distributed the survey to APHR members through an online platform (Survey Monkey) but received a low respondent turnout (9 responses). APHR then distributed the survey link to its distribution list of broader stakeholders (including journalists, CSOs, and other partners), which added 35 respondents. The final number of respondents is 44.

2 Respondent Profile

This section provides an overview of profile of the survey respondents.

2.1 Sectoral Affiliation

Categories	Number of respondents	Percent
Academia/Think Tank	8	18.2
APHR staff	1	2.3
Civil Society Organization	4	9.1
Embassy or Aid Agency	3	6.8
Former Member of Parliament	7	15.9
International Organization/INGO	6	13.6
Media/Journalist	10	22.7
Member of Parliament	5	11.4
Total	44	100

Figure A1: Respondents' Sector Affiliation

2.1.1 Recoded: Stakeholder Group (Member and Partner)

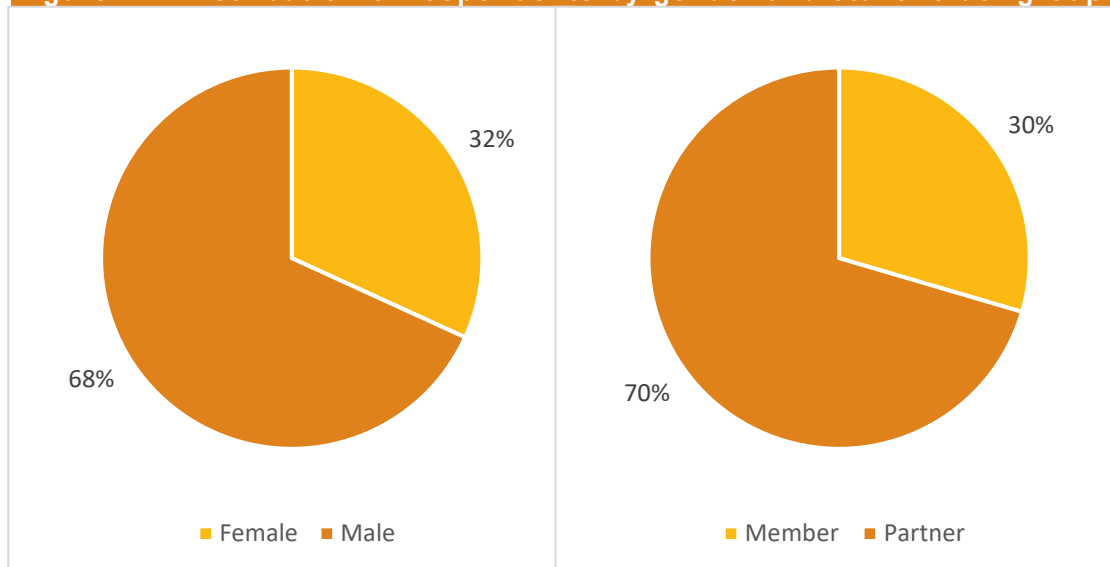
To frame the findings, the sectoral profile of respondents was re-coded into *members* and *partners*:

- *Members* constitute the categories of MPs, former MPs, and APHR staff. These are categories *internal* to the APHR membership and organisational structure.
- *Partners* constitute all other categories representing respondents *external* to APHR's membership and organisational structure.

Survey respondent stakeholder group	Number of respondents	Percent
Member	13	29.5
Partner	31	70.5
Total	44	100

2.2 Gender (Self-Identified)

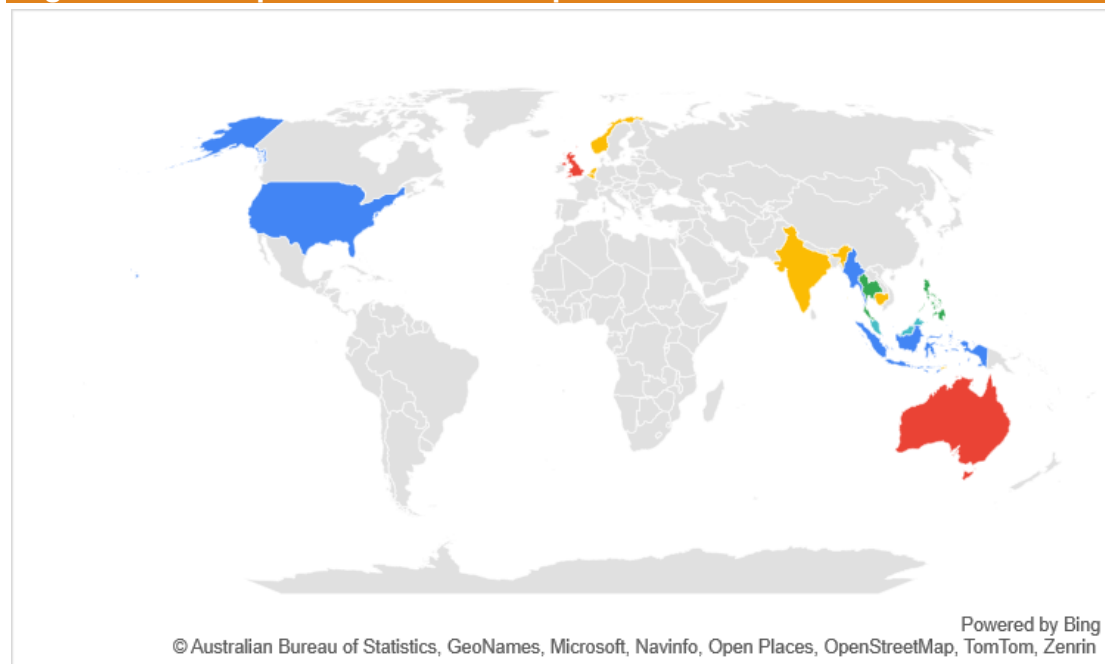
Survey respondent gender	Number of respondents	Percent
Female	14	31.8
Male	30	68.2
Total	44	100

Figure A2: Distribution of respondents by gender and stakeholder group

2.3 Nationality

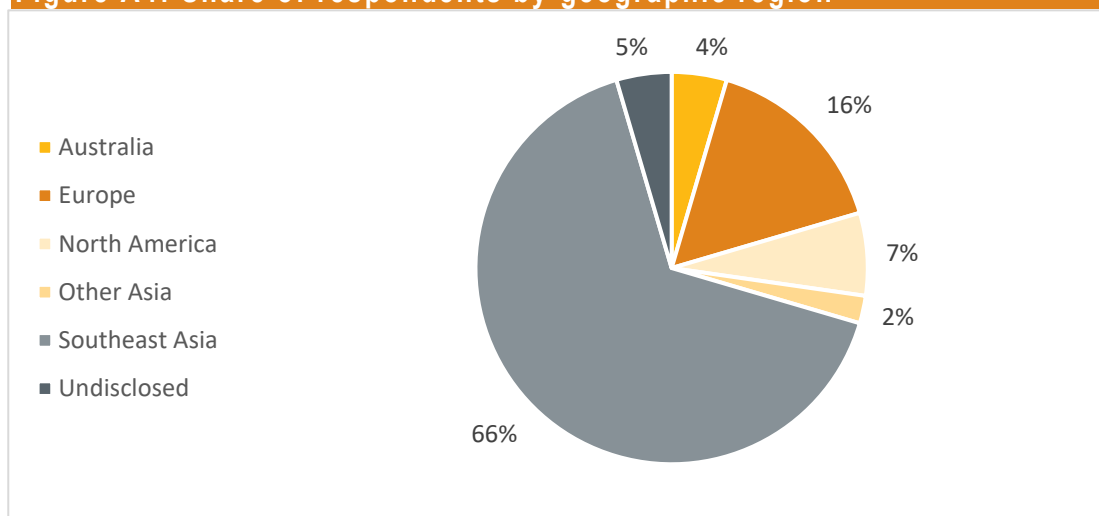
2.3.1 Specific Countries

Survey respondent nationality	Number of respondents	Percent
Australia	2	4.5
Belgium	1	2.3
Cambodia	1	2.3
Germany	2	4.5
India	1	2.3
Indonesia	3	6.8
Malaysia	5	11.4
Myanmar	3	6.8
Netherlands	1	2.3
Norway	1	2.3
Philippines	6	13.6
Prefer not to answer	2	4.5
Singapore	4	9.1
Thailand	6	13.6
Timor Leste	1	2.3
UK	2	4.5
USA	3	6.8
Total	44	100

Figure A3: Map of countries represented

2.3.2 By Region

Region	Number of respondents	Percent
Australia	2	4.5
Europe	7	15.9
North America	3	6.8
Other Asia	1	2.3
Southeast Asia	29	65.9
Undisclosed	2	4.5
Total	44	100

Figure A4: Share of respondents by geographic region

3 Survey Results

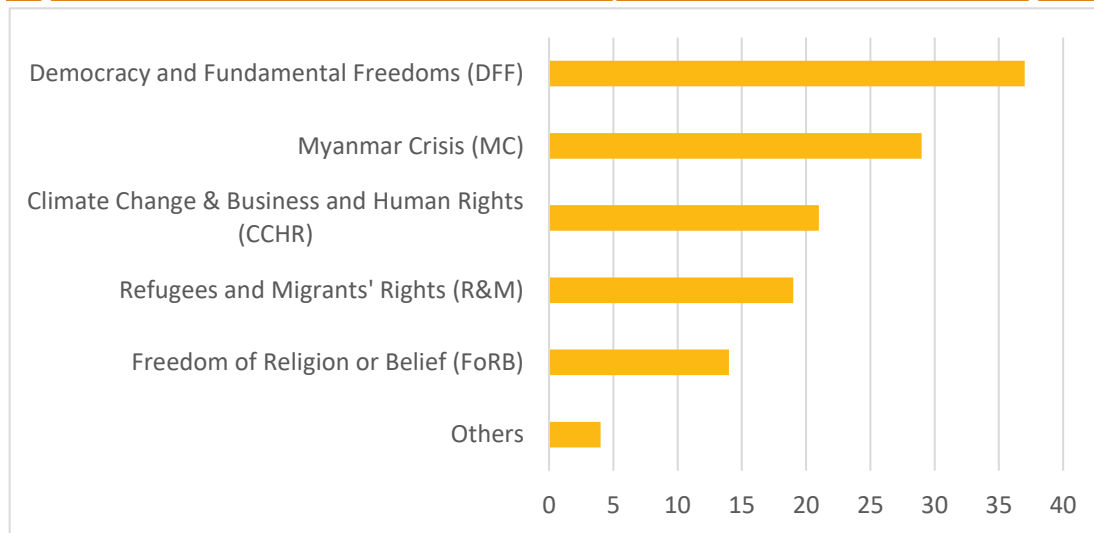
3.1 APHR Relevance (Thematic Issue)

Question/Prompt: APHR is most relevant to my work in advancing [thematic issue]

Most respondents (84.1%) picked Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms as the issue area most relevant to their work.

	Number	Percent
Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF)	37	84.1
Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)	14	31.8
Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR)	21	47.7
Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M)	19	43.2
Myanmar Crisis (MC)	29	65.9
Others	4	9.1

Figure A5: APHR is most relevant to respondents' work in advancing:



3.1.1 APHR Relevance: Thematic Issue by Stakeholder Group

Both stakeholder groups (members and partners) picked DFF as APHR's most relevant contribution to their work. The second-ranked relevant issue between the groups differ, with members picking Climate Change (CCHR) and partners picking the Myanmar Crisis (MC).

	No. of Responses		
	Members	Partners	Total
Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF)	13	24	37
Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)	7	7	14
Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR)	12	9	21
Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M)	6	13	19

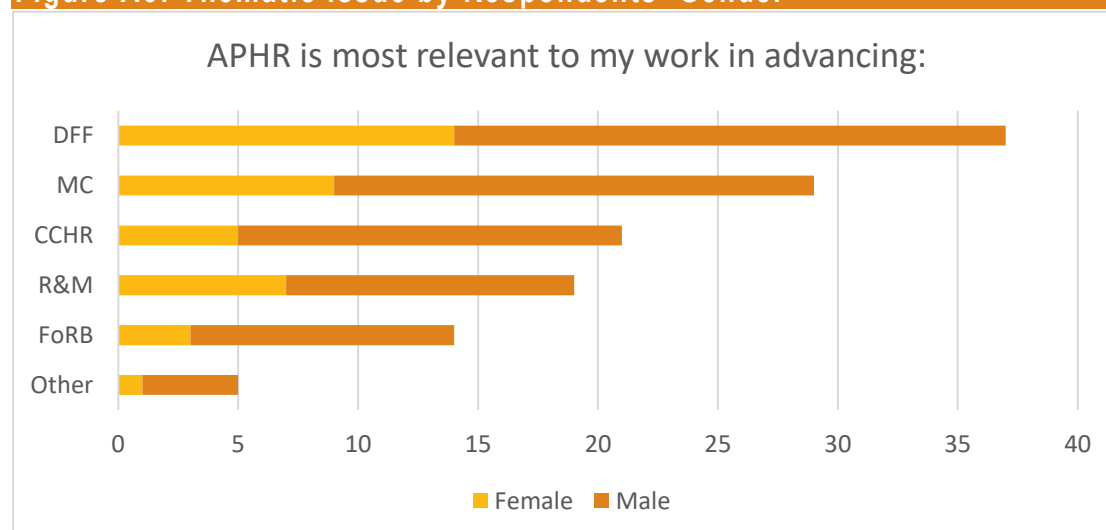
Myanmar Crisis (MC)	9	20	29
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3.1.2 APHR Relevance: Thematic Issue by Respondents' Gender

The first and second-ranked thematic issues for the gender groups are similar: DFF, followed by MC.

	No. of Responses		
	Female	Male	Total
Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF)	14	23	37
Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)	3	11	14
Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR)	5	16	21
Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M)	7	12	19
Myanmar Crisis (MC)	9	20	29

Figure A6: Thematic Issue by Respondents' Gender



3.2 Statements feedback

The table below provides the respondents' feedback on the 14 statements in the survey and highlights the category with the highest number of responses. Overall, most respondents provided positive feedback (under 'to some extent' or 'to a large extent' categories).

Table A1: Survey question 5 statements and responses

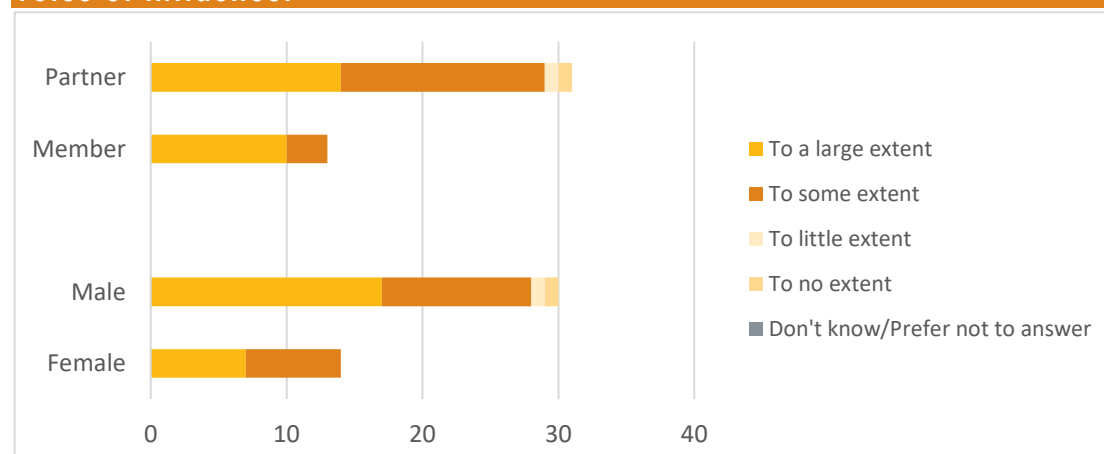
Statements	Don't know/ Prefer not to answer		To no extent		To little extent		To some extent		To a large extent	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
S1: The APHR Network has created a sense of connectivity with peers across the region, a sense of regional solidarity, and a sense of a regional voice of influence.			1	2.3	1	2.3	18	40.9	24	54.5
S2: The APHR Network provides a “safe space” for stimulating thought dialogue, open learning, collective intelligence, strength-in-numbers, and a better grasp on intangible processes required to strengthen democracy, rule of law and human rights.	2	4.5			2	4.5	13	29.5	27	61.4
S3: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to policy processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.	7	15.9	1	2.3	2	4.5	19	43.2	15	34.1
S4: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to legislative processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.	9	20.5	1	2.3	6	13.6	18	40.9	10	22.7
S5: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to oversight processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.	9	20.5			5	11.4	12	27.3	18	40.9
S6: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to budgetary processes related to promoting democracy and human rights.	12	27.3	4	9.1	8	18.2	15	34.1	5	11.4
S7: APHR promotes positive rights and narratives through campaigns, social media, reports, conferences and with regional constituents to influence policy and legislative positions.							13	29.5	31	70.5
S8: APHR is influential across the ASEAN region – and the climate conference is an example of how it helps shed light on climate, stimulate learning, dialogue and brainstorm solutions.	3	6.8	2	4.5	9	20.5	19	43.2	11	25.0
S9: If I use an APHR “product” (report, statement, parliamentary review etc) it adds weight and gravitas to my own position or to what I do.	2	4.5	2	4.5	3	6.8	23	52.3	14	31.8

Statements	Don't know/ Prefer not to answer		To no extent		To little extent		To some extent		To a large extent	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
S10: The “Parliamentarians at Risk” Report is a key advocacy tool and helps to maintain pressure for reform across South East Asia.	3	6.8	2	4.5	1	2.3	19	43.2	19	43.2
S11: APHR reaches out to and works effectively with key organisations, institutions and people outside of the government, for example, CSOs; NGOs; advocates for Human Rights; media/press; international organisations; or think tanks.	2	4.5	1	2.3	2	4.5	23	52.3	16	36.4
S12: APHR has helped me to advocate for a gender-related focus in my work, and/or the legislation and policies I propose and comment on.	11	25.0	3	6.8	8	18.2	18	40.9	4	9.1
S13: APHR has influence in the region.	1	2.3	2	4.5	10	22.7	24	54.5	7	15.9
S14: APHR has influence with non-Asian parliaments.	8	18.2	3	6.8	11	25.0	19	43.2	3	6.8

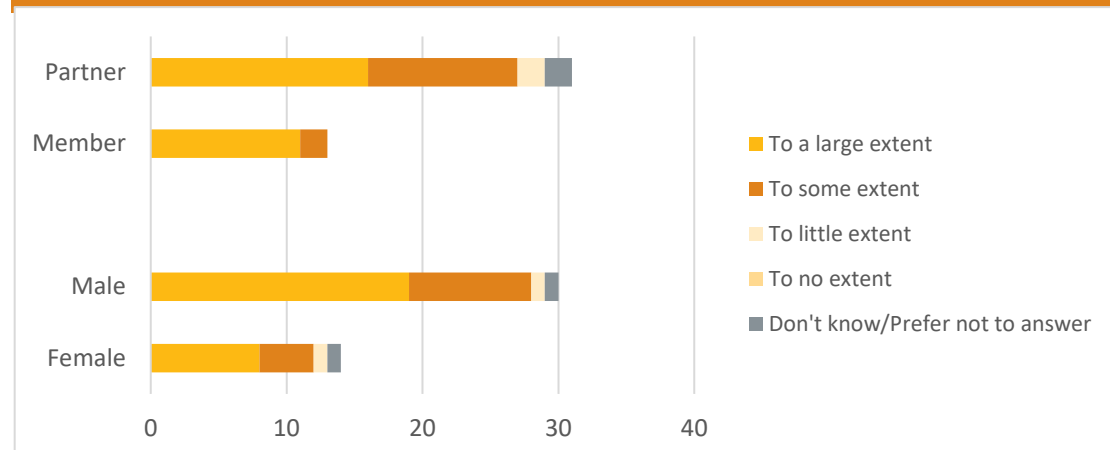
3.2.1 Statements Feedback by Stakeholder Group and Gender

The graphs below provide disaggregated results of the 14 statements per stakeholder group (member and partner) and by gender (female and male) to provide a sense of internal and external perceptions.

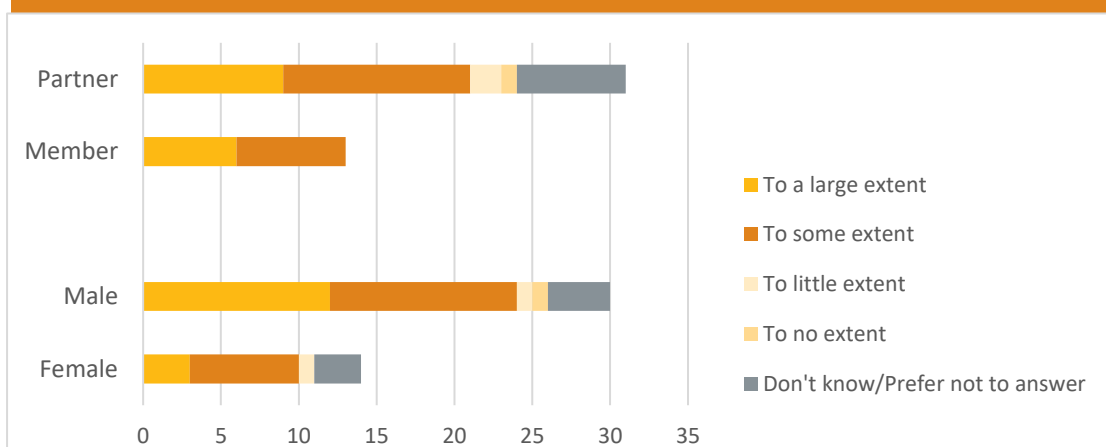
S1: The APHR Network has created a sense of connectivity with peers across the region, a sense of regional solidarity, and a sense of a regional voice of influence.



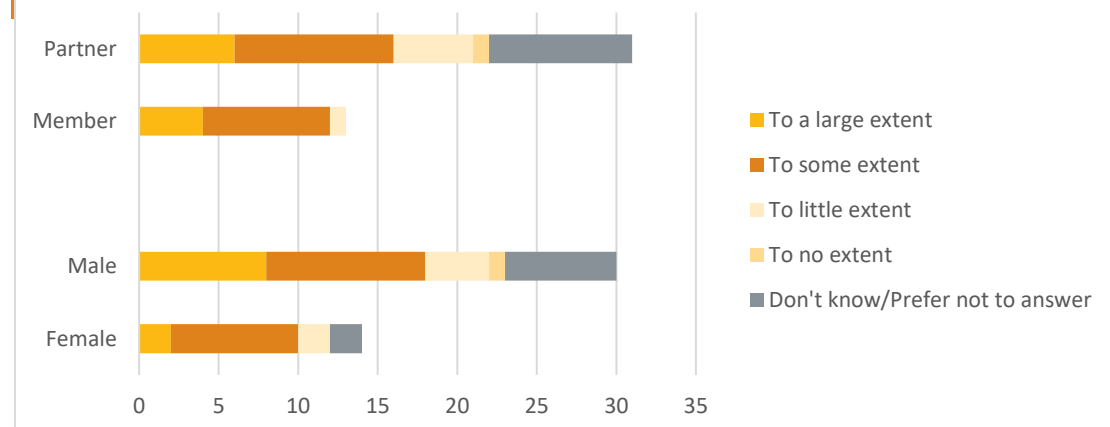
S2: The APHR Network provides a “safe space” for stimulating thought dialogue, open learning, collective intelligence, strength-in-numbers, and a better grasp on intangible processes required to strengthen democracy, rule of law and human rights.



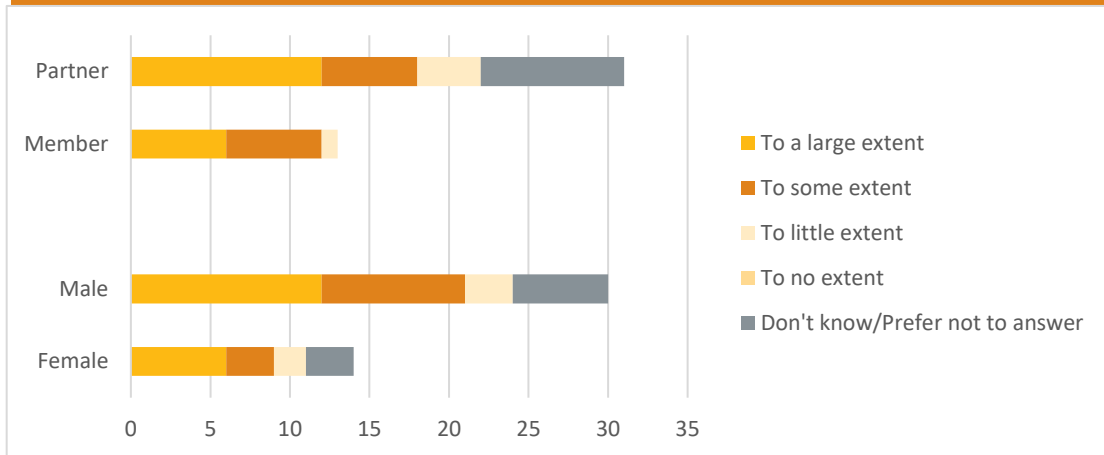
S3: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to policy processes related to promoting democracy and human rights



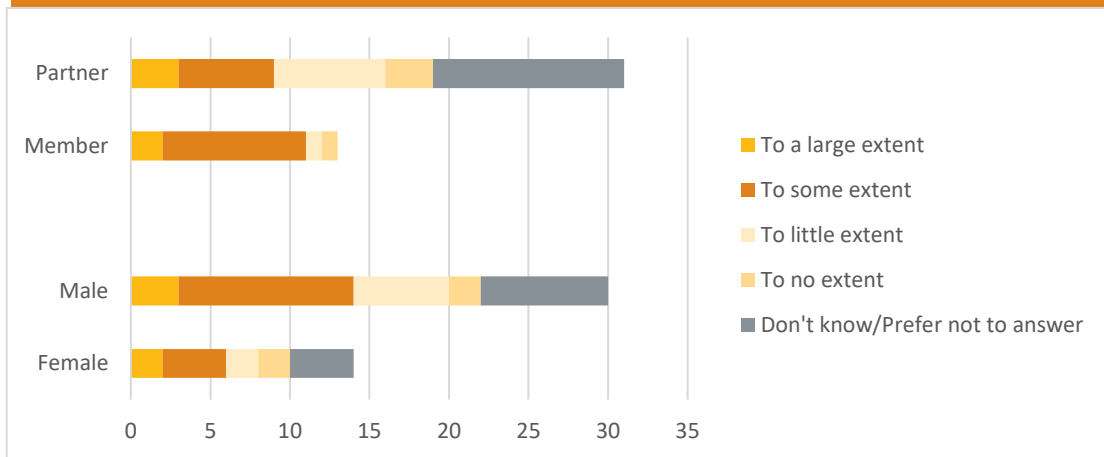
S4: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to legislative processes related to promoting democracy and human rights



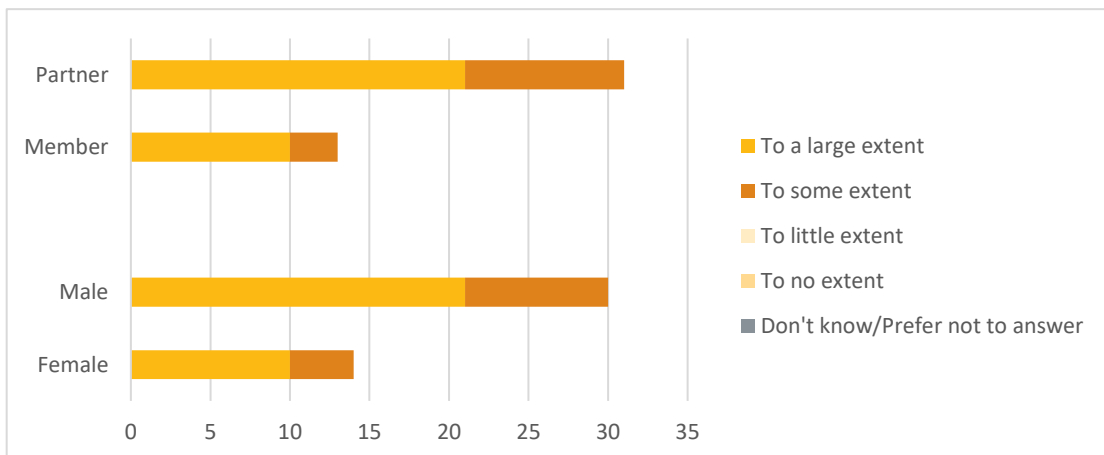
S5: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to oversight processes related to promoting democracy and human rights



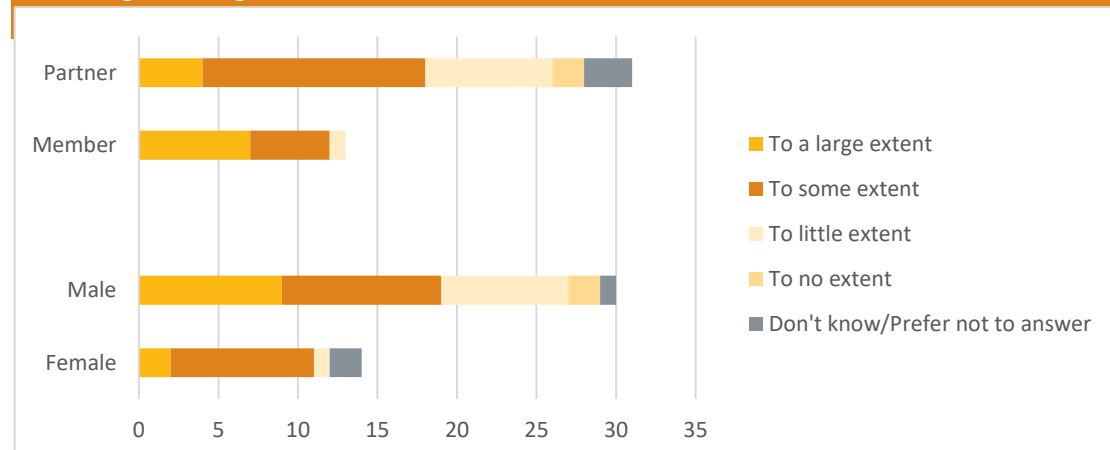
S6: The APHR Network helps MPs (me) contribute with better quality to budgetary processes related to promoting democracy and human rights



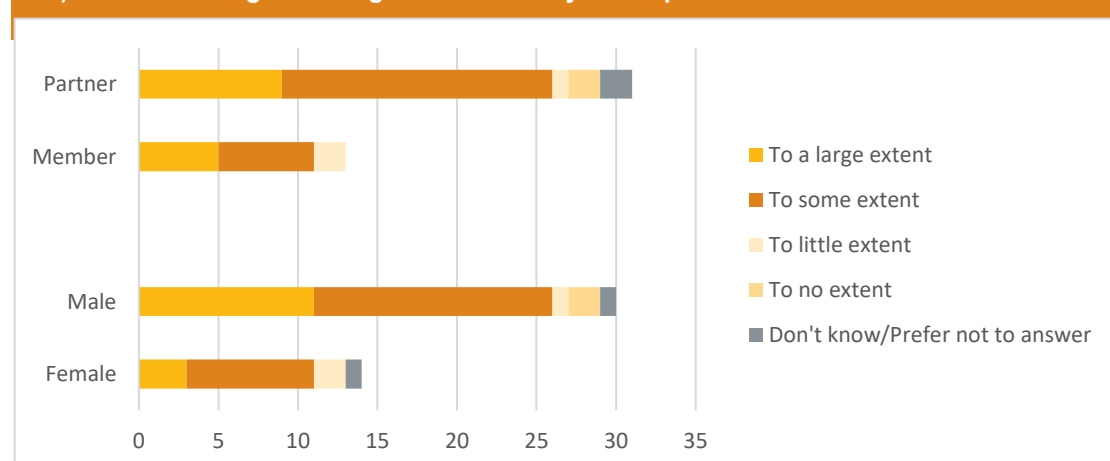
S7: APHR promotes positive rights and narratives through campaigns, social media, reports, conferences and with regional constituents to influence policy and legislative positions



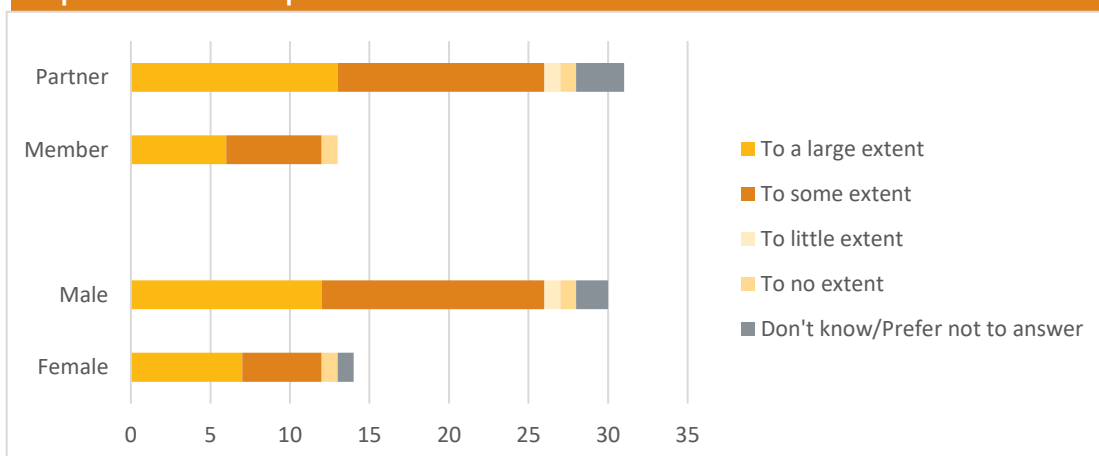
S8: APHR is influential across the ASEAN region – and the climate conference is an example of how it helps shed light on climate, stimulate learning, dialogue and brainstorm solutions



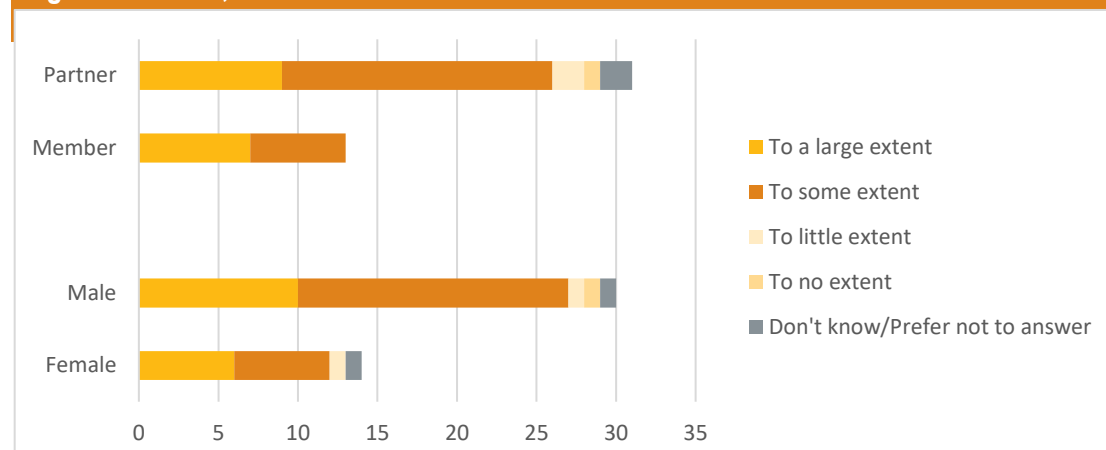
S9: If I use an APHR “product” (report, statement, parliamentary review etc) it adds weight and gravitas to my own position or to what I do



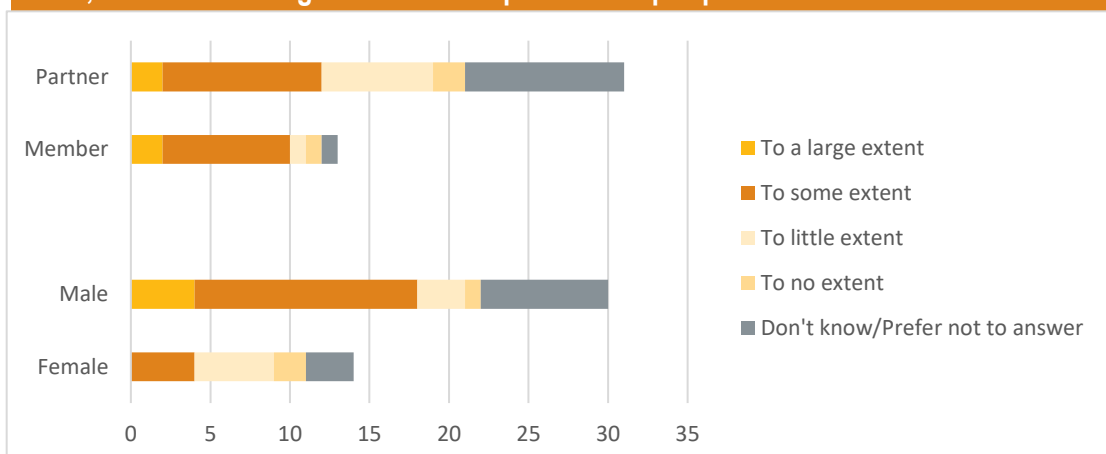
S10: The “Parliamentarians at Risk” Report is a key advocacy tool and helps to maintain pressure for reform across South East Asia



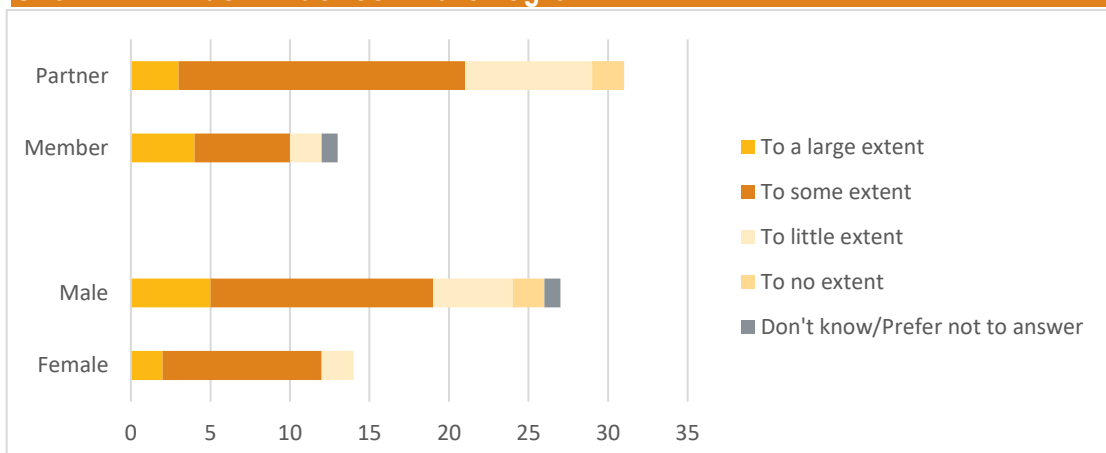
S11: APHR reaches out to and works effectively with key organisations, institutions and people outside of the government, for example, CSOs; NGOs; advocates for Human Rights; media/press; international organisations; or think tanks

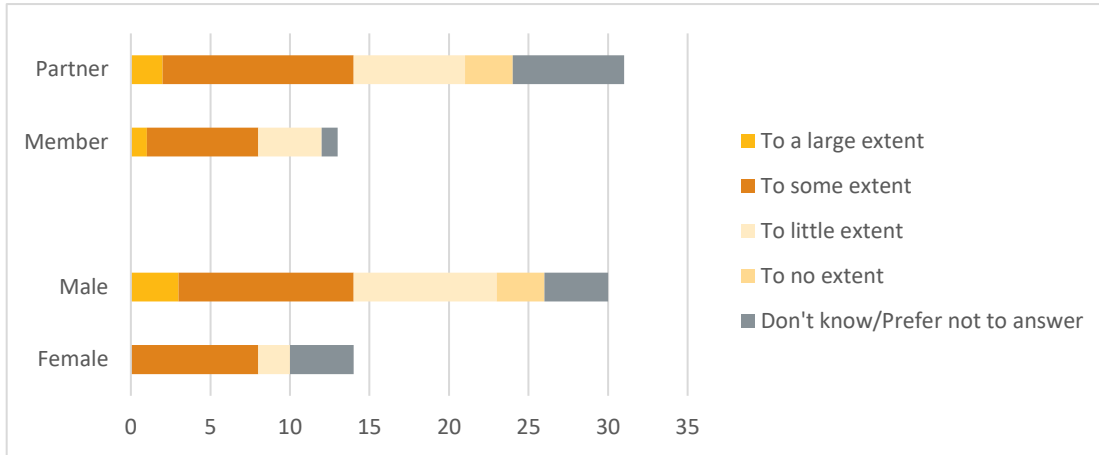


S12: APHR has helped me to advocate for a gender-related focus in my work, and/or the legislation and policies I propose and comment on



S13: APHR has influence in the region



S14: APHR has influence with non-Asian parliaments

3.3 Recommendations

3.3.1 “I would like to see MORE” and Other Suggestions

Twenty-four (24) responses were collected for the optional qualitative question “I would like to see MORE”. The responses are presented in categories in the table below.

Categories	Responses (abridged, clustered)	Number and percent
Suggested activities	• More in-person gatherings of MPs • Conferences and meetings • Increase presence in media (traditional, social) • Develop newsletters and reports	7 (29.2%)
Membership support and learning	• Assistance in recruiting more members in country • Champion MPs • Continued engagement and education for MPs, e.g., peacebuilding, local democracy, freedom of expression • Recruit younger MPs and possible parliamentarians through learning and convening on common action lines • Membership for ASEAN leaders, business/private sector, UN agencies	9 (37.5%)
Regional and thematic engagements	• Increase work with ASEAN • Non-traditional HR issues (e.g., mental health) • Continued/increased Myanmar engagement, climate change, DFF and freedom of religion, migrant and refugees	8 (33.3%)

The survey provided another space for additional suggestions. Responses are *thematically* similar to the “I would like to see MORE” question. A unique response involved a respondent following up on the status of its membership application.

3.3.2 “I would like to see LESS”

Only four (4) responses are gathered for this optional qualitative question. The responses are documented here, verbatim:

- of declining democracy
- Of the usual statements, though important...it needs follow through and action lines
- reluctant Indonesian MPs speaking about human rights
- The same groups that we advocate for but more of other communities that have come forward for support like the Krom-Khmer group.

Annex 3 APHR Output (media)

APHR Media Output List (2021 - 2023)

Year 2021			
	Title	Type	Date
	On Climate Change & the Environment		
1	Explainer on Coal and Human Rights	Toolkit for MPs	13 Jan
2	Calls for clean and healthy environment to Human Rights Council (Sent to Press)	Media Quotes	23 Feb
3	Let's talk about the state of Filipino women amid a climate emergency	Oped in <i>The Inquirer</i>	8 March
4	Explainer on Deforestation and Human Rights	Toolkit for MPs	8 April
5	MPs welcome United States' and fellow countries' new climate change targets, but more efforts needed	Press Statement	22 April
6	United States Climate Targets (Sent to Press)	Media Quotes	23 April
7	Transition to a Green Economy after Covid-19 Toolkit	Toolkit for MPs	30 Sept
8	"Building Back Better": Southeast Asia's transition to a green economy after COVID-19	Research Report	30 Sept
6.3	6.4 SOUTHEAST ASIAN GOVERNMENTS MUST SEIZE MOMENT, ENACT MEASURES FOR GREEN RECOVERY FROM COVID-19, NEW REPORT SAYS	Press Statement	30 Sept
6.5	6.6 INDONESIA'S GREEN ECONOMY EFFORTS DESERVE SCRUTINY, BUT ALSO SUPPORT	Op-Ed in <i>The Jakarta Post</i>	15 November

	Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms		
6.7	6.8 <u>STORMING OF US CAPITOL BUILDING</u> (SENT TO PRESS)	Media Interview	6 Jan
6.9	6.10 <u>LAOS: AFTER EIGHT YEARS, CIVIL SOCIETY WORLDWIDE DEMANDS THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISH AND REVEAL SOMBATH'S FATE AND WHEREABOUTS</u>	Joint Statement	13 Jan
13	<u>Amid emergency declaration, ASEAN MPs urge Malaysia to maintain parliamentary sittings</u>	Press Statement	13 Jan
14	<u>Philippines: Duterte administration must end 'red-tagging' campaign against opposition MPs</u>	Press Statement	13 Jan
15	<u>Cambodia: Drop charges against opposition members and supporters, allow those in exile to safely return, say regional MPs</u>	Press Statement	13 Jan
6.11	6.12 <u>MU SOCHUA'S ATTEMPTED RETURN TO CAMBODIA</u> (SENT TO PRESS)	Media Quotes	18 Jan
6.13	6.14 <u>THAILAND: THANATHORN CHARGED WITH DEFAMATION</u> (SENT TO PRESS)	Media Quotes	20 Jan
6.15	6.16 <u>SOUTHEAST ASIAN LAWMAKERS EXPRESS GRAVE CONCERNS OVER MALAYSIA'S EXCESSIVELY BROAD EMERGENCY POWERS</u>	Open Letter	2 Feb
19	<u>Global parliamentarians stand in solidarity with Myanmar colleagues</u>	Joint Statement - APHR and PGA	10 Feb
20	<u>Malaysia's parliament must be allowed to sit during state of emergency, Southeast Asian lawmakers say</u>	Sign-on Statement	16 Feb
21	Charges dropped against Leila De Lima (Sent to Press)	Media Quotes	17 Feb

22	Laos' Pointless Election	Q&A in The Diplomat	19 Feb
23	A glimmer of hope for human rights in ASEAN	Media Interview	22 Feb
24	On 4th anniversary of detention, regional lawmakers renew call for release of Philippine Senator de Lima	Press Statement	24 Feb
25	Activists killed in Philippines (Sent to Press)	Media Quotes	7 March
26	Malaysia: Repeal “fake news” emergency ordinance	Joint Statement	15 March
6.17	6.18 PHILIPPINES: DUTERTE'S ADMINISTRATION SHOULD BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE KILLINGS OF ACTIVISTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS	Joint Statement	18 March
28	International lawmakers call for the immediate and unconditional release of their Myanmar colleagues, and for democracy to be upheld	Sign-On Statement	22 March
29	Thailand's year-long emergency is unnecessary and disproportionate, regional MPs say	Press Statement	25 March
6.19	6.20 THAILAND: NGO LAW WOULD STRIKE ‘SEVERE BLOW’ TO HUMAN RIGHTS	Joint Statement	2 April
31	Cambodia must drastically change its COVID-19 approach	Press Statement	3 May
32	Thai Activist Released (Sent to Press)	Media Quotes	6 May
33	Vietnam's National Assembly Vote: A Futile Gesture	Q&A in The Diplomat	19 May
34	Cambodia: Stop silencing critical commentary on Covid-19	Joint Statement	25 May
35	Malaysia: End harassment against opposition lawmakers and critical voices, MPs say	Press Statement	25 May
36	Cambodia: No justice at 5-year anniversary of Kem Ley's death	Joint Statement	9 July
37	Thailand: Joint Letter on Prison Conditions	Joint Statement	19 July

38	Police brutality in Malaysia	Media Interview	21 July
39	Thailand: Immediately repeal emergency regulation that threatens online freedoms	Joint Statement	3 August
40	Regional MPs denounce new suspension of parliament in Malaysia	Press Statement	4 August
41	Concerns Regarding Peaceful Assembly in Thailand	Joint Open Letter	1 Sept
42	Singapore: stop execution of Malaysian with intellectual disabilities	Statement	9 Nov
43	Regional MPs call for immediate release of Cambodian refugees deported from Thailand	Statement	12 Nov
44	Reform is becoming treason in Thailand	Media Interview	15 Nov
45	Parliamentarians at Risk: Reprisals against opposition MPs in Southeast Asia in 2021	Report	2 Dec
46	Dramatic spike in threats to Southeast Asian MPs in past year, report says	Statement	2 Dec
47	Thailand: Joint letter on restrictions on prison visits and correspondence	Joint Statement	1 Dec
48	Cambodia Monk defrocked in Thailand (Sent to Press)	Media Quotes	2 Dec
49	Parliamentarians are under attack in Myanmar	Op-Ed in Thomson Reuters	2 Dec
50	Laos: Nine years on civil society worldwide still demands answers on Sombath's enforced disappearance	Joint Statement	15 Dec
On Myanmar coup			
6.21	6.22 MILITARY COUP IN MYANMAR	Media Quotes	1 Feb
6.23	6.24 MYANMAR MILITARY SHOULD END ITS USE OF VIOLENCE AND RESPECT DEMOCRACY	Joint Statement	1 Feb

		Media Quotes	3 Feb
	BBC Interview - Military coup in Myanmar	Media Interview	5 Feb
		Media Quotes	6 Feb
	CGTN - Thailand and Myanmar relations after coup	Media Interview	7 Feb
	Southeast Asian lawmakers urge Myanmar authorities to respect right to peaceful protest, not resort to violence	Press Statement	8 Feb
	Open Letter from Civil Society Organizations calling on the Council's immediate action to ensure the protection of demonstrators	Joint Open Letter	9 Feb
	Open Letter: ASEAN's response to the military coup in Myanmar	Joint Open Letter	19 Feb
	Joint calls for a global arms embargo on Myanmar	Joint Statement	24 Feb
	ASEAN: Supporting new Myanmar elections is not the solution	Op-Ed in <i>The Jakarta Post</i>	25 Feb
		Media Quotes	28 Feb
	Myanmar: Regional lawmakers alarmed at the scale of arbitrary arrests and surge in violence	Press Statement	2 March

	BBC Interview - Military coup in Myanmar	Media Interview	3 March
	ASEAN Foreign Minister meeting on Myanmar	Media Quotes	3 March
	Regional parliamentarians appalled by Myanmar violence, urge immediate action	Press Statement	4 March
34.1	34.2 AS VIOLENCE ESCALATES, REGIONAL MPS CALL FOR ASEAN TO MEET UN SPECIAL ENVOY FOR MYANMAR	Press Statement	22 March
34.3	34.4 THAILAND MUST BE A FRIEND TO MYANMAR PEOPLE	Oped in <i>The Bangkok Post</i>	24 March
	Global MPs form International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar	Press Statement	25 March
	The international community must work to stifle Myanmar military's barbaric regime, MPs say	Press Statement	29 March
	PH gov't can be part of solution in Myanmar	Oped in <i>The Daily Inquirer</i>	8 April
	Myanmar's National Unity Government must be invited to this week's ASEAN Special Summit, MPs say	Press Statement	20 April
42.1	42.2 INTERNATIONAL MPS CALL FOR ECONOMIC DISENGAGEMENT FROM MYANMAR MILITARY	Press Statement	21 April

42.3	42.4 ASEAN LEADERS' MEETING ON MYANMAR (SENT TO PRESS)	Media Quotes	24 April
42.5	42.6 <u>HUNDREDS OF GLOBAL MPS CALL FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF MYANMAR COLLEAGUES. DEMOCRACY TO BE RESTORED</u>	Press Statement	27 April
42.7	42.8 <u>OPEN LETTER ON ASEAN'S CONSENSUS ON MYANMAR</u>	Joint Open Letter	4 May
42.9	42.10 <u>GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY STATEMENT ON MYANMAR</u>	Joint Statement	6 May
42.11	42.12 <u>ASEAN MUST ACT WITH URGENCY ON MYANMAR</u>	Press Statement	21 May
42.13	42.14 <u>SUBMISSION ON THE MYANMAR CRISIS TO THE UK FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE</u>	Written Private Submission	26 May
42.15	42.16 ASEAN MEMBERS WEAKEN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ON MYANMAR ARMS EMBARGO (SENT TO PRESS)	Media Quotes	29 May
42.17	42.18 <u>AHEAD OF EXPECTED VISIT, ASEAN MUST HOLD MYANMAR MILITARY ACCOUNTABLE</u>	Press Statement	2 June
42.19	42.20 <u>MIN AUNG HLAING AT BIMTEC</u>	Media Interview	10 June
42.21	42.22 <u>APPOINTMENT OF ASEAN ENVOY TO MYANMAR MUST</u>	Press Statement	4 August

	<u>PROMPT IMMEDIATE ACTIONS, MP SAYS</u>		
42.2	42.24 <u>APHR URGES AIPA TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF MYANMAR'S MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT</u>	Resolution	18 August
42.2	42.26 <u>AUSTRALIA MUST NOT FOLLOW ASEAN'S LEAD IN MYANMAR RESPONSE, MPS SAY</u>	Press Statement	9 Sept
42.2	42.28 <u>OPEN LETTER TO AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER SCOTT MORISSON</u>	Sign-On Open Letter	9 Sept
42.2	42.30 <u>UN MUST RETAIN MYANMAR AMBASSADOR U KYAW MOE TUN'S ACCREDITATION</u>	Joint Statement	13 Sept
42.3	42.32 <u>MYANMAR MILITARY'S EFFORTS TO BUILD A SURVEILLANCE STATE MUST BE REJECTED AT EVERY TURN</u>	Opinion Article	22 Sept
89	<u>ASEAN Envoy unlikely to be allowed to meet with Aung San Suu Kyi</u>	Media Quotes	4 Oct
90	<u>Aung San Suu Kyi sentenced</u>	Media Quotes	6 Dec
91	<u>Hun Sen announces plans to visit Myanmar</u>	Media Quotes	6 December
92	China reportedly lobbies on Myanmar inclusion at ASEAN Summits (Sent to Press)	Media Quotes	19 Nov
93	<u>Myanmar: Anatomy of a Coup - The Coup-Makers - Episode 1</u>	Podcast Episode	8 April
94	<u>Myanmar: Anatomy of a Coup - The Coup-Makers - Episode 2</u>	Podcast Episode	8 April

95	Myanmar: Anatomy of a Coup - Resisting the Coup - Episode 3	Podcast Episode	30 April
96	Myanmar: Anatomy of a Coup - International Relations - Episode 4	Podcast Episode	14 May
97	Myanmar: Anatomy of a Coup - Looking Ahead - Episode 5	Podcast Episode	30 May
98	Parliamentarians call on ASEAN to take concrete step at ASEAN Summit, engage with NUG	Statement	26 Oct
99	Southeast Asia Parliamentarians mark anniversary of Myanmar elections with call for release of colleagues	Statement	8 Nov
100	Call on INTERPOL to ban the illegal junta from representing Myanmar at its General Assembly	Joint Statement	23 Nov
101	Civil society welcomes UN General Assembly's decision to reject military junta	Joint Statement	7 Dec
102	Myanmar military coup's implications on human rights and democracy	Press Conference	2 Feb
103	Myanmar Coup: A Week Later	Press Conference	7 Feb
104	ASEAN Myanmar Summit	Press Conference	22 April
105	Myanmar: Escalating Violence	Press Conference	4 June
106	Myanmar's COVID-19 Crisis	Press Conference	22 July
107	ASEAN and Myanmar: Next Steps	Press Conference	28 Oct
Freedom of Religion or Belief			
108	Sentul Declaration for Peace Building and Freedom of Religion or Belief	Declaration	7 June
109	MPs pledge to protect freedom of religion or belief and combat rise in hateful narratives	Press Statement	7 June
110	Religious freedom and human rights advocates call for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Nguyễn Bắc Truyển	Joint Open Letter	16 Aug

111	Myanmar: UN Secretary-General must act regarding oppression of religious minorities	Joint Statement	20 Oct
112	ASEAN Summit should draw attention to Brunei's appalling human rights record	Op-Ed in The Diplomat	29 Oct
On Refugees and Migrants Rights			
42.3	42.34 AS FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET, ASEAN URGED TO STEP UP ITS RAKHINE RESPONSE	Press Statement	21 January
42.3	42.36 MALAYSIA: REGIONAL MPS CALL FOR SUSPENSION OF REPATRIATION PLANS TO MYANMAR	Press Statement	18 Feb
42.3	42.38 MALAYSIA DEFIES COURT ORDER, PUTTING LIVES IN IMMINENT DANGER	Joint Statement	26 Feb
42.3	42.40 THAILAND ARRESTS MYANMAR JOURNALISTS (SENT TO PRESS)	Media quotes	1 June
42.4	42.42 END ANTI-MIGRANT RHETORIC AND ACTIONS, AND PROTECT EVERYONE	Opinion Piece	7 July
42.4	42.44 THAILAND PLACES RESTRICTIONS ON MIGRANTS DUE TO COVID-19 (SENT TO PRESS)	Media Quotes	14 July
42.4	42.46 TO TACKLE COVID-19 OUTBREAKS, ASEAN MPS CALL FOR MORE INCLUSIVE POLICIES FOR MIGRANT WORKERS	Press Statement	19 July

42.4	42.48 BRIEF ON THE GLOBAL COMPACT FOR SAFE, ORDERLY AND REGULAR MIGRATION	Toolkit for MPs	10 August
On Business and Human Rights			
121	Supporting the Cambodian Land Grabbing case	Open Letter	18 March
122	Regional MPs express alarm over Thailand factory fire, call for immediate efforts to protect right to health	Press Statement	6 July
On Internet Freedoms			
123	Joint NGO letter urging EU targeted sanctions against NSO Group	Joint Statement	6 Dec
124	Letter to Frances Haugen - Engaging with civil society after Facebook revelations	Joint Statement	9 Dec
125	Net users, you are being watched	Op-Ed in Bangkok Post	24 Nov

Year 2022			
#	Title	Type	Date
On Climate Change & the Environment			
126	Accountability and Climate Change	Podcast Episode	10 March
127	US must assist with climate finance	Op-Ed	11 May
128	Joint Statement on environmental crimes in Ukraine	Joint Statement	30 May
129	Southeast Asian MPs urge ASEAN economic ministers to immediately tackle food crisis	Statement	27 June
130	Parliamentarians and civil society demand political unity to tackle the impact of the climate emergency in Malaysia	Statement	4 August
131	Rights of indigenous peoples and local communities must be the focus of climate change solutions	Statement	1 November
132	Asean should take climate change seriously, starting in M'sia	Op-ed	18 November
	On Freedom of Religion or Belief		
133	Indonesia: ASEAN MPs congratulate Nahdlatul Ulama's first women leaders	Statement	18 January
134	NU's next challenge: Substantive policies on freedom of religion	Op-Ed	15 February
135	Blasphemy article in draft Criminal Code of Indonesia needs to be reviewed	Statement	8 April
136	Toolkit – Universal Periodic Review (UPR) in Indonesia	Toolkit	21 June
137	Southeast Asian MPs call for combating the politicization of religion and protecting minorities	Statement	16 October
138	New report shows that national laws threaten religious diversity and freedoms in Southeast Asia	Statement	17 November
139	Restricting Diversity: Mapping Legislation on Freedom of Religion or Belief in Southeast Asia	Report	17 November
140	Joint Statement on Immigration Detention Policies & Practices in Malaysia	Joint Statement	2 May
141	Civil Society calls for urgent measures to protect	Joint Statement	20 June

	Uyghurs at risk of refoulement		
142	Indonesia: ASEAN MPs welcome decision by Supreme Court to uphold Decree on Sexual Violence	Statement	22 April
143	Indonesia should give voice to the true concerns of the Global South at the G20	Op-Ed	2 June
144	Presidency G20 dan Kepentingan Negara Berkembang	Op-Ed	31 May
	Internet and Other Freedoms, MPs at Risk		
145	Southeast Asian MPs urge Cambodia to drop charges against Kem Sokha	Statement	21 January
146	*On Hun Sen's comments towards Malaysia FM	Quotes	23 January
147	Malaysia: End harassment of opposition MPs and activists	Statement	31 January
148	On 5th anniversary of detention, MPs call for Senator De Lima's arrest	Statement	24 February
149	Toolkit Promoting Internet Freedoms in Southeast Asia	Toolkit	2 March
150	Philippines: Immediately repeal SIM Card Registration Act	Joint Statement	9 March
151	Sentencing of political opposition in Cambodia (Sent to Press)	Quotes	17 March
152	Southeast Asian MPs alarmed by the use of disinformation ahead of Philippine elections	Statement	6 April
153	Celebrating Progress - Decriminalizing Abortion	Podcast Episode	10 March
154	Southeast Asian MPs call candidates in Philippine Election to pledge to release unjustly jailed Senator De Lima	Statement	27 April
155	Social Media Campaign #PledgeToFreeLeila	Social Media Campaign	27 April
156	Disinformation Poses a Grave Threat to Democracy in the Philippines	Op-Ed	4 May
157	ADVOCATE SPECIAL: Elections in the Philippines 2022	Podcast Episode	6 May

158	Southeast Asian MPs express concerns over the future of human rights in the Philippines after the elections	Statement	10 May
159	Cambodia should scrap rights-abusing National Internet Gateway	Joint Statement	16 May
160	Cambodia needs democracy, not another electoral charade	Op-Ed	1 June
161	Southeast Asian MPs condemn intimidation of Cambodian opposition ahead of Communal Elections	Statement	3 June
162	Baseless sentences against Cambodian opposition and activists should raise alarm within ASEAN	Statement	16 June
163	Indonesia Criminal Code Update Risks Backsliding on Freedoms	Op-Ed	27 June
164	Southeast Asian MPs call on President Marcos to prioritize human rights and strengthen democracy in the Philippines	Statement	30 June
165	Pembaruan KUHP Berpotensi Memperburuk Kebebasan	Op-Ed	2 July
166	Open letter to Thailand's Senate on the Draft Anti-Torture Act	Joint Statement	4 July
167	Quotes by APCR Board Member Tom Villarin on the response by the Cambodian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to APCR's latest statement on Myanmar (Sent to Press)	Quotes	21 July
168	Proposed changes to Constitution 'death sentence' for democracy in Cambodia, Southeast Asian MPs warn	Statement	27 July
169	Parliamentarians from Southeast Asia call for urgent action against the scourge of disinformation	Statement	31 August
170	A 10-point plan to address our information crisis	Joint statement	5 September
171	Quotes: APCR Chair Charles Santiago on hostage situation suffered by former Senator Leila de Lima in detention center	Quotes	9 October
172	Hun Sen Knows What is Going on Under His Watch	Op-ed	26 October
173	Quotes: APCR Chair Charles Santiago on the firing and conviction of two Indonesian soldiers for same-sex relations	Quotes	2 December

174	Southeast Asia MPs urge new Malaysian government to realize the people's aspirations for genuine reforms	Statement	2 December
175	Southeast Asian MPs denounce the inclusion of articles curtailing freedoms in Indonesia's new Criminal Code	Statement	7 December
176	APHR กระตุ้นสมาชิกรัฐสภาไทยใส่ใจกับสถานการณ์ในเมียนมา ก่อนวิกฤตในเมียนมาบานปลายข้ามพรมแดน	Statement	30 November
177	Joint letter to ambassadors Re: Thai officials must drop all the ongoing prosecutions under the Emergency Decree	Joint letter	9 November
	Myanmar		
178	UN: Include human rights safeguards in proposed UN Security Treaty	Joint Statement	17 January
179	On Hun Sen visit, and joint statement with Min Aung Hlaing (Sent to press)	Quotes	8 January
180	Hun Sen's rogue diplomacy is a threat to ASEAN and Myanmar	Joint Statement	9 January
181	On sentence handed to Aung San Suu Kyi re walkie talkies (Sent to press)	Quotes	10 January
182	Aung San Suu Kyi sentenced in second case	Media Interview (TV)	11 January
183	APHR responds to Cambodia statement, urges focus on Myanmar crisis	Statement	25 January
184	Joint statement on Myanmar UN Security Council briefing	Joint Statement	25 January
185	On reports Aung San Suu Kyi has been too ill to attend her trial (Sent to press)	Quotes	4 February
186	Joint Open Letter: To Australia's Future Fund	Joint Statement	15 February
187	Myanmar issue hardens divisions in ASEAN	Media Interview	16 February
188	On Hun Sen's comments on Myanmar (Sent to press)	Quotes	18 February
189	Myanmar crisis: Is this the beginning of the end of ASEAN?	Op-Ed	2 March
190	Aid, the ASEAN Way?	Press Conference	3 March
191	Myanmar: MPs demand ASEAN action in response to damning UN report	Statement	16 March

192	On ASEAN Envoy to Myanmar's planned visit to the country (Sent to press)	Quotes	18 March
193	ASEAN Special Envoy's representative comments on Myanmar (Sent to press)	Quotes	22 April
194	Open Letter on the anniversary of the Five Point Consensus on Myanmar to ASEAN and Dialogue Partners	Open letter	24 April
195	Quotes by APHR chairperson Charles Santiago on the sentence of five years in prison handed to Aung San Suu Kyi (Sent to Press)	Quotes	27 April
196	Quotes by APHR Chair Charles Santiago on statement by Myanmar's Junta condemning Malaysia's proposal to engage with the NUG	Quotes	4 May
197	Quotes by APHR Chair Charles Santiago on the Consultative Meeting on ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance to Myanmar	Quotes	7 May
198	Statement to the US and ASEAN on Myanmar ahead of summit in Washington	Statement	9 May
199	Quotes by APHR Chair Charles Santiago on the response by the Cambodian government's to APHR's latest statement on Myanmar	Quotes	12 May
200	A strong US-ASEAN partnership starts with Myanmar	Op-Ed	13 May
201	Southeast Asian MPs alarmed by planned executions of four Myanmar political prisoners	Statement	6 June
202	Position Paper on Indonesia G20 Presidency: Recommendations from ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights	Position Paper	9 June
203	International coalition of Parliamentarians launches Inquiry into global response to Myanmar coup	Statement	15 June
204	Open letter to ASEAN Defence Ministers	Joint Open Letter	15 June
205	Southeast Asian MPs urge ASEAN Special Envoy to Myanmar to meet National Unity Government	Statement	18 July
206	MPs denounce lack of humanitarian assistance in Myanmar ahead of International Parliamentary Inquiry's fourth hearing	Statement	20 July
207	Southeast Asian MPs condemn barbaric executions of four political prisoners in Myanmar	Statement	25 July

208	ASEAN Can No Longer Remain Neutral on Myanmar	Op-Ed	1 August
209	Southeast Asian MPs urge ASEAN to put strong pressure on the Myanmar Junta at Foreign Ministers meeting	Statement	2 August
210	Quotes by APCR Chair Charles Santiago on the arrest for cyber libel of Philippine former Congressman and APCR Board Member Walden Bello	Quotes	9 August
211	Five years since genocide, the world must act to ensure justice for Rohingya	Joint statement	25 August
212	Quotes by APCR Board Member and Indonesian MP Mercy Barends on “Rohingya Genocide Remembrance Day”	Quotes	25 August
213	Malaysian Foreign Minister and international parliamentarians demand stronger action on Myanmar	Statement	19 September
214	Letter to the UN Secretary-General on UN agencies engagement with the Myanmar junta	Joint letter	23 September
215	Parliamentarians from Southeast Asia and Europe urge the UN and the US to take sides in the struggle for democracy in Myanmar	Statement	25 September
216	The international community must get real about Myanmar	Op-ed	6 October
217	Joint open Letter to the Japanese government on the Crisis in Myanmar	Joint Open Letter	12 October
218	Joint open letter concerning ASEAN’s approach to Myanmar	Joint Open Letter	25 October
219	The International Parliamentary Inquiry publishes its report urging the global community to support democracy in Myanmar	Statement	2 November
220	“Time is not on our side”: The failed international response to the Myanmar coup	Report	2 November
221	Quotes: APCR Chair Charles Santiago on ASEAN leaders’ failure to address the crisis in Myanmar	Quotes	12 November
222	Myanmar junta releases four foreigners and 6,000 others in a mass amnesty, but thousands of political prisoners remain in jail	Statement	17 November
223	Open letter to UK Foreign Secretary: Sanction all companies involved in supplying aviation fuel to	Open letter	9 December

	Myanmar		
224	Southeast Asian MPs call on ASEAN member states and other countries in the region to rescue boat with up to 200 Rohingya refugees	Statement	20 December

Year 2023			
#	Title	Type	Date
On Climate Change & the Environment			
225	Quote from #BaliNotForGas Solidarity Meeting	Media Quotes	18 September
226	Joint Statement with Greenpeace Southeast Asia: Renewed calls for ASEAN to prioritize and protect citizens' rights to clean air from transboundary haze	Joint Statement	14 November
227	Vietnam committed to net zero emissions by 2050. So why is it arresting climate change activists?	Op-Ed in SF Chronicle	14 November
228	APHR urges Indonesia as ASEAN Chair to lead in improving human rights, democracy, climate protection in the region	Resolution	18 July
	Freedom of Religion or Belief		
229	Indonesia should lead by example on freedom of religion and belief in ASEAN	Op-ed	28 January
230	Quote from APHR MPs at the IPPFoRB Conference in Nairobi	Social Media Post	3 May
231	Restricting Diversity Episode 1: The state of religious minority rights in Myanmar and Vietnam	Podcast Episode	21 May
232	Restricting Diversity Episode 2: The State of Women's Rights in Malaysia and the Philippines	Podcast Episode	28 May
233	Restricting Diversity Episode 3: How Blasphemy Laws Are Used To Suppress Dissent in Myanmar and Indonesia	Podcast Episode	4 June
234	Indonesia must set example for ASEAN as 'epicentrum of harmony', starting with interfaith marriage, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	9 August
235	Quotes: APHR Board Member Arlene Brosas on Malaysian govt ban of Swatch 'LGBTQ+' watches	Quotes	14 August

236	Malaysia's diversity should be celebrated, not used as a political weapon, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	10 October
237	Southeast Asian MPs denounce threats made by Hun Sen against the opposition in Cambodia ahead of general elections	Statement	12 January
238	ASEAN governments must stop using 'lawfare' against critics, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	27 January
239	Southeast Asian MPs urge the Thai government to listen to hunger strikers, amend the lèse-majesté Law	Statement	10 February
240	Southeast Asian MPs condemn shutting down of independent media outlet in Cambodia ahead of general elections	Statement	14 February
241	Southeast Asian MPs call Malaysian government to repeal repressive laws, protect parliamentarians and human rights defenders	Statement	26 February
242	APHR Chair Mercy Barends on the draconian sentence imposed on Cambodian opposition leader Kem Sokha	Quotes	3 March
243	Parliamentarians At Risk: Reprisals against opposition MPs in Southeast Asia in 2022	Report	4 March
244	New report denounces the worsening situation of Parliamentarians at risk in Southeast Asia	Statement	4 March
245	International Women's Day Message from APCR Member Arlene Brosas	Social Media Post	8 March
246	Video clip of APCR Member Arlene Brosas reading open letter from Leila De Lima	Social Media Post	15 March
247	Video clip of APCR Board Member Mu Sochua talking about the risks Cambodian MPs face	Social Media Post	17 March
248	Video clip of APCR Member Kunthida Rungruengkiat talking about the judicial harassment faced by Thai MPs and the general public.	Social Media Post	27 March
249	APHR Chairperson Mercy Barends, responding to the recent acquittal of Senator Leila De Lima by the Muntinlupa City Regional Trial Court in	Quotes	15 May

250	Keynote speech at Gwangju Democracy Forum	Public Discussion	16 May
251	Southeast Asian lawmakers call for the will of the Thai people to be upheld in the formation of a new government	Statement	16 May
252	Southeast Asian MPs condemn Cambodian government's use of bureaucratic stonewalling, violence to block fair election participation	Statement	17 May
253	Video clip for #ReclaimOurRights campaign with Nobel Peace Center	Social Media Post	23 May
254	Quote for #ReclaimOurRights campaign with Nobel Peace Center	Social Media Post	24 May
255	Condemnation of decision to ban Candlelight Party from Cambodia election	Social Media Post	25 May
256	Indonesia should set example on safeguarding digital rights ahead of elections, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	30 May
257	APHR launches toolkit, urges fellow legislators in Malaysia to counter hate speech towards migrants	Statement	8 June
258	Condemnation of denial of bail for Leila de Lima	Social Media Post	8 June
259	Quotes: APHR Board Member Teddy B. Baguilat on the arrest of Malaysian opposition parliamentarian Muhammad Sanusi	Quotes	19 July
260	The people of Thailand deserve, and voted for, a real democracy, Southeast Asian parliamentarians say	Statement	19 July
261	Open letter to parliaments on the need to denounce the sham elections in Cambodia	Open Letter	20 July
262	Joint Statement on the Legitimacy of 2023 Cambodian General Election	Joint Statement	22 July
263	Quotes: APHR Co-Chair Charles Santiago on ASEAN Secretary-General's comments on Cambodia elections	Quotes	25 July
264	Elections in Name Only: World Must Denounce Cambodian Electoral Farce	Press Conference	25 July
265	Southeast Asian MPs and international CSOs denounce undemocratic elections in Cambodia, urge international community not to lend legitimacy to Hun Sen's regime	Statement	25 July

266	Quotes: APCR Board Member Kasit Piromya On Detention Of Migrant Children In Malaysia	Quotes	8 August
267	Solidarity message in response to red-tagging of Gabriela Partylist	Social Media Post	8 August
268	Joint Open Letter: Halt the arbitrary execution of Viet Nam death row prisoner Nguyễn Văn Chương	Joint Open Letter	10 August
269	Southeast Asian lawmakers urges Thailand's new government to fulfill promise of change, pave the way for genuine democracy that respects rights of all	Statement	25 August
270	Quotes: APCR Chairperson Mercy Barends on Malaysia's decision on SOSMA, and continuing threats to freedom of expression	Quotes	28 August
271	Quotes: APCR Co-Chair Charles Santiago on Myanmar junta's expulsion of Timor-Leste diplomat	Quotes	30 August
272	ASEAN People's plenary session panel	Public Discussion	2 September
273	QUOTES: APCR Member Kelvin Yii on the permanent ban on Pannika Wanich from holding political office	Quotes	22 September
274	Preliminary findings of fact-finding mission on internet freedoms in Timor-Leste	Press Conference	3 October
275	Timor-Leste must stay true to democratic, human rights underpinnings when expanding digital rights framework, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	3 October
276	Quotes: APCR Member Syerleena Abdul Rashid on Rodrigo Duterte's death threats against Philippines Rep. France Castro	Quotes	16 October
277	Statement of support for UN GA Draft Resolution on Palestine	Social Media Post	27 October
278	Prison sentences for opposition members demonstrate that Hun Manet is following in his father's footsteps, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	27 October
279	QUOTES: APCR Co-Chair Charles Santiago responding to the release of Leila De Lima on bail	Quotes	13 November
280	Joint Statement: UN should appoint rapporteur on democracy	Joint Statement	20 November
281	Indonesia should set example for region during election season, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	29 November

282	A Toolkit on Advancing Human Rights through the Malaysian Legislative Process	Toolkit	1 December
283	Open Letter raising grave concerns over the human rights situation in Cambodia and serious democratic threats in the upcoming 2024 Cambodia Senate Election	Joint Open Letter	13 December
284	QUOTES: APCR Board Member Arlene Brosas on conviction of Thai MP Rukchanok Srinork	Quotes	13 December
On Myanmar coup			
285	Quotes: APCR Chair Charles Santiago on the alleged ties of Min Aung Hlaing and family with criminal activities	Quotes	11 January
286	MPs from Southeast Asia condemn the Myanmar junta's parties registration law as an assault on democracy	Statement	31 January
287	Two years after Myanmar's military coup, human rights violations continue to escalate	Joint statement	2 February
288	Indonesia should lead the way in helping Myanmar's pro-democratic movement	Op-ed	3 February
289	Southeast Asian MPs call on ASEAN to step up and help the Myanmar people in their struggle against the military junta	Statement	3 March
290	Video clip of APCR Member Nay Myo Htet talking about former MP Phyo Zeya Thaw, who was executed by the junta in 2022	Social Media Post	20 March
291	Southeast Asian lawmakers condemn deportation of three members of Myanmar opposition forces by Thai authorities	Statement	12 April
292	APCR Co-Chairperson Charles Santiago, responding to the recent airstrikes by the Myanmar junta in Sagaing region and ASEAN's and the UN Security Council's response:	Quotes	14 April
293	Open Letter: The United Nations Security Council's meeting on Myanmar must lead to firm measures against the junta	Joint Open Letter	18 April
294	Commemoration of #BlueShirt4Burma Day	Social Media Post	21 April

295	Applauding Singapore's decision not to participate in military exercises hosted by the Myanmar junta & Russia	Social Media Post	15 August
296	Indonesia must use the last months of its ASEAN chairmanship to cement a lasting positive legacy for Myanmar, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	17 August
297	Civil society statement on the visit of Head of OCHA to Myanmar	Joint Statement	22 August
298	Quotes: APCR Chairperson Mercy Barends, on the Six-Year Commemoration of the Rohingya Genocide	Quotes	25 August
299	Open Letter: The UN General Assembly must take decisive action to hold the military junta accountable for atrocities in Myanmar	Joint Open Letter	25 August
300	Joint Open Letter urging ASEAN and Dialogue Partner defence ministers to cancel 'counter-terrorism' training to be hosted by Myanmar military junta and Russia	Joint Open Letter	29 August
301	Myanmar Day panel about ASEAN's Approach and Responses to Multi-Dimensional Crisis in Myanmar	Public Discussion	30 August
302	Quotes: APCR Co-Chair Charles Santiago, following the ASEAN Civil Society Conference/ASEAN People's Forum and ahead of the ASEAN Summit	Quotes	3 September
303	QUOTES: APCR Board Member Wong Chen on ASEAN's continued inclusion of Myanmar junta in regional military events	Quotes	5 September
304	ASEAN's 'review and decision' on Five Point Consensus falls short of what is needed to resolve Myanmar crisis, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	6 September
305	Applauding UN decision to retain Ambassador U Kyaw Moe Toen as Myanmar's representative to the UN	Social Media Post	22 September
306	Quotes: APCR Co-Chair on the Invitation of the Junta to the EU-ASEAN Civil Society Forum	Quotes	3 October
307	Interview with Insight Myanmar Podcast	Media Interview	4 October
308	QUOTES: APCR Board Member Wong Chen responding to the Myanmar junta's celebration of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement	Quotes	17 October

309	Open Letter: The UN General Assembly must take decisive action to hold the military junta accountable for atrocities in Myanmar	Joint Letter	Open	18 October
310	Open Letter to the Government of Thailand on Refugees Fleeing Myanmar	Joint Letter	Open	2 November
311	Open Letter to Minister Wong: Enhancing Australian Sanctions for Myanmar	Joint Letter	Open	3 November
312	Statement calling on the Japanese government to stop ODA and publicly-funded projects benefiting the Myanmar military	Joint Statement		1 December
313	International community must act to prevent further gender-based violence in Myanmar, Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement		8 December
314	Condemnation of Thailand holding informal talks with Myanmar junta leaders	Social Post	Media	17 July
315	Commemoration of World Refugee Day	Social Post	Media	20 July
316	Southeast Asian MPs call for international community to embrace localized approaches at Thai-Myanmar border to ensure humanitarian aid reaches the most vulnerable	Statement		17 November
317	Quotes: APCR Co-Chair Charles Santiago on eviction of Rohingya refugees in Aceh	Quotes		29 December

Year 2024 (January to August)			
	Title	Type	Date
On Climate Change & the Environment			
318	Op-Ed Mercy Barends "Vietnam Committed to Net Zero Emission by 2050"	Social Media Post	Jan 19
319	International Day of Forests	Social Media Post	Mar 21
320	Paris Agreement	Social Media Post	Apr 24
321	World Environment Day	Social Media Post	Jun 5
322	Climate Change Conference - Poster 1	Social Media Post	Jun 19
323	Climate Change Conference - Poster 2	Social Media Post	Jul 3
324	CC Conference Panel 1	Social Media Post	Jul 8
325	CC Conference Panel 2	Social Media Post	Jul 9
326	CC Conference Panel 3	Social Media Post	Jul 10
327	CC Conference Panel 4	Social Media Post	Jul 11
328	CC Conference - Press Conference	Press Conference	Jul 12
329	Climate Change Conference	Events	Jul 12
330	CC Conference Day 1 - 1st Post	Social Media Post	Jul 12
331	CC Conference Day 1 - 2nd Post	Social Media Post	Jul 12

332	CC Conference Day 2 - 1st Post	Social Media Post	Jul 13
333	CC Conference Day 2 - 2nd Post	Social Media Post	Jul 13
334	CC Conference Day 2 - 3rd Post	Social Media Post	Jul 13
335	CC Conference - Post Event Statement	Social Media Post	Jul 15
336	CC Conference - Post Event Statement	Statement	Jul 15
337	CC Conference - Day 1 Panel 1 Recap Video	Social Media Post	Jul 16
338	IPI Introduction	Social Media Post	Jul 17
339	CC Conference - Day 2 Panel 2 Recap Video	Social Media Post	Jul 17
340	IPI Indonesia Poster	Social Media Post	Jul 18
341	CC Conference - Day 2 Panel 3 Recap Video	Social Media Post	Jul 18
342	CC Conference - Day 2 Panel 4 Recap Video	Social Media Post	Jul 19
343	IPI Indonesia Event	Events	Jul 22
344	IPI Indonesia Event	Social Media Post	Jul 22
345	CC Conference - Albert Salamanca Quotes	Social Media Post	Jul 23
346	IPI Large Scale Deforestation	Social Media Post	Jul 24
347	CC Conference - Charles Santiago Quotes	Social Media Post	Jul 25
348	CC Conference - Pita Limjaroenrat Quotes	Social Media Post	Jul 26
349	SEA Climate Finance Toolkit	Social Media Post	Jul 29

350	SEA Climate Finance Toolkit	Toolkit	Jul 29
351	CC Conference - Gerry Arances Quotes	Social Media Post	Jul 30
352	SEA IPI Marine & Coastal Resources	Social Media Post	Jul 31
353	IPI Indonesia Call for Evidence	Social Media Post	Aug 1
354	CC Conference - Sharina Abdul Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 2
355	CC Conference - Denise Fontanilla Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 5
356	CC Conference - Mercy Barends Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 7
357	SEA IPI Pollution of Water	Social Media Post	Aug 7
358	Consultancy Notice: IPI the Philippines	Social Media Post	Aug 8
359	CC Conference - Ang Peng Hwa Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 9
360	CC Conference - Dhrubajyoti Samanta Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 12
361	Consultancy Notice: IPI the Philippines	Social Media Post	Aug 13
362	CC Conference - Teodoro Baguilat Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 14
363	CC Conference - Raoul Manuel Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 20
364	Consultancy Notice: IPI the Philippines	Social Media Post	Aug 22
365	CC Conference - Roslinda Ulang Quotes	Social Media Post	Aug 22
Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms			
366	Toolkit "Promoting Positive Narratives Against Hate Speech Towards Migrants and Refugees in Malaysia"	Social Media Post	Jan 5

367	APHR Member Yuneswaran Ramaraj on the acquittal of Indonesian HRDs Fatia Maulidiyanti and Haris Azhar	Quotes	Jan 8
368	APHR Member Yuneswaran Ramaraj on the acquittal of Indonesian HRDs Fatia Maulidiyanti and Haris Azhar	Social Media Post	Jan 8
369	Parliament Facts of Malaysia	Social Media Post	Jan 10
370	Ngeh Koo Ham case	Social Media Post	Jan 10
371	Statement on South Africa VS Israel on ICJ	Social Media Post	Jan 11
372	Parliament Facts of Indonesia	Social Media Post	Jan 16
373	Open Letter on Cambodia Senate Election	Social Media Post	Jan 18
374	Toolkit "On Advancing Human Rightst through the Malaysian Legislative Process"	Social Media Post	Jan 23
375	APHR Board Member Arlene Brosas on Thai's Pita verdict	Social Media Post	Jan 24
376	APHR Board Member Arlene Brosas on Thai's Pita verdict	Quotes	Jan 24
377	Malaysia's Judicial Harassment Situation Overview	Social Media Post	Feb 5
378	Parliament Facts of the Philippines	Social Media Post	Feb 7
379	Indonesia Election Facts	Social Media Post	Feb 8
380	Election Study MIssion Teaser	Social Media Post	Feb 9
381	Election Study MIssion Abel da Silva Statement	Social Media Post	Feb 13
382	Election Study MIssion MPs Quotes	Social Media Post	Feb 14
383	Indonesia's elections raise grave concerns for human rights in the country and the region Southeast Asian MPs say	Statement	Feb 21

384	Indonesia's elections raise grave concerns for human rights in the country and the region Southeast Asian MPs say	Social Media Post	Feb 21
385	Southeast Asian MPs condemn Myanmar's newly enforced national conscription law	Statement	Feb 22
386	Southeast Asian MPs condemn Myanmar's newly enforced national conscription law	Social Media Post	Feb 22
387	Brunei National Day	Social Media Post	Feb 23
388	QUOTES: APHR Board Member Arlene Brosas on the Cambodia Senate Election	Quotes	Feb 26
389	QUOTES: APHR Board Member Arlene Brosas on the Cambodia Senate Election	Social Media Post	Feb 26
390	Indonesia New Criminal Code	Social Media Post	Feb 27
391	Parliament Facts of Thailand	Social Media Post	Feb 28
392	Toolkit Internet Freedom	Social Media Post	Feb 29
393	FACT-FINDING MISSION: Humanitarian Aid to the Thai-Myanmar Border	Report	Mar 4
394	International Women's Day	Social Media Post	Mar 8
395	IWD Syerleena Abdul Rashid	Social Media Post	Mar 14
396	QUOTES: APHR Member Kelvin Yii responding to the Thai election commission's petition asking the Constitutional Court to disband the Move Forward Party.	Social Media Post	Mar 20
397	QUOTES: APHR Member Kelvin Yii responding to the Thai election commission's petition asking the Constitutional Court to disband the Move Forward Party.	Quotes	Mar 20
398	IWD Laisa Masuhud	Social Media Post	Mar 22
399	World Water Day	Social Media Post	Mar 22

400	IWD Cristina Costa	Social Media Post	Mar 26
401	QUOTES from APHR Co-Chair and former Malaysian member of parliament Charles Santiago responding to the news that Myanmar junta officials have been invited by New Zealand	Social Media Post	Mar 26
402	QUOTES from APHR Co-Chair and former Malaysian member of parliament Charles Santiago responding to the news that Myanmar junta officials have been invited by New Zealand	Quotes	Mar 26
403	IWD Chonticha Jangrew	Social Media Post	Mar 27
404	FFM the Philippines "Impact of Online Disinformation in Elections and Democracy in the Philippines"	Report	Mar 28
405	FFM Timor-Leste "Assessing The State of Internet Freedom to Ensure More Inclusive Democracy"	Report	Mar 28
406	FFM Indonesia "Assessing Online Fundamental Freedoms during the General Elections in Indonesia"	Report	Mar 28
407	FFM the Philippines "Impact of Online Disinformation in Elections and Democracy in the Philippines"	Social Media Post	Mar 29
408	Judicial harassment against lawmakers in Cambodia	Social Media Post	Apr 1
409	APHR is dismayed that the Thai Constitutional Court has agreed to hear ECT Thailand's patently absurd case.	Social Media Post	Apr 3
410	FFM Indonesia "Assessing Fundamental Freedoms Online during the General Elections in Indonesia"	Social Media Post	Apr 3
411	Parliament Facts of Vietnam	Social Media Post	Apr 4
412	FFM Timor Leste "Assessing The State Of Internet Freedom To Ensure More Inclusive Democracy"	Social Media Post	Apr 5

413	ADVOCATE: Inside the Malaysian Parliament with Wong Chen (1st Quotes)	Social Media Post	Apr 8
414	ADVOCATE: Inside the Malaysian Parliament with Wong Chen	Podcast	Apr 8
415	Eid Mubarak	Social Media Post	Apr 10
416	ADVOCATE: Inside the Malaysian Parliament with Wong Chen (2nd Quotes)	Social Media Post	Apr 11
417	Brunei Parliament Facts	Social Media Post	Apr 18
418	Thailand's Situation Overview from MPs at Risk 2022 Report	Social Media Post	Apr 19
419	Parliamentarians at Risk 2023 Poster	Social Media Post	Apr 22
420	ADVOCATE: The Future of Democracy in Thailand with Kasit Piromya	Podcast	Apr 22
421	ADVOCATE: The Future of Democracy in Thailand with Kasit Piromya - 1st Quotes	Social Media Post	Apr 23
422	Parliamentarians at Risk 2023 Poster	Social Media Post	Apr 24
423	Wong Chen visit to the Philippines House of Representatives	Social Media Post	Apr 24
424	ADVOCATE: The Future of Democracy in Thailand with Kasit Piromya - 2nd Quotes	Social Media Post	Apr 25
425	Southeast Asian Parliamentarians Remain at Risk Despite Democratic Trappings	Events	Apr 25
426	Southeast Asian Parliamentarians Remain at Risk Despite Democratic Trappings	Report	Apr 25

427	Southeast Asian Parliamentarians Remain at Risk Despite Democratic Trappings	Press Conference	Apr 25
428	Southeast Asian Parliamentarians Remain at Risk Despite Democratic Trappings	Statement	Apr 25
429	Southeast Asian Parliamentarians Remain at Risk Despite Democratic Trappings	Social Media Post	Apr 25
430	Mercy Barends on MPs at Risk 2023 Report Launch	Social Media Post	Apr 26
431	SEA Parliamentarians at Risk 2023	Social Media Post	Apr 29
432	Leila de Lima on MPs at Risk 2023 Report Launch	Social Media Post	Apr 30
433	May Day	Social Media Post	May 1
434	Long-awaited domestic workers bill deserves support not obstruction	Op-ed	May 1
435	Eva Sundari Op-Ed RUU PPRT	Social Media Post	May 2
436	France Castro on MPs at Risk 2023 Report Launch	Social Media Post	May 2
437	Mu Sochua on MPs at Risk 2023 Report Launch	Social Media Post	May 3
438	World Press Freedom Day	Social Media Post	May 3
439	Charles Santiago statement on Indonesia Spyware Purchase	Statement	May 6

440	Charles Santiago statement on Indonesia Spyware Purchase	Social Media Post	May 6
441	Myat Thida on MPs at Risk 2023 Report Launch	Social Media Post	May 7
442	ADVOCATE: Democractic Backsliding in Indonesia with Mercy Barends	Podcast	May 13
443	ADVOCATE: Democractic Backsliding in Indonesia 1st quotes	Social Media Post	May 14
444	Thailand Parliamentarians at Risk 2023	Social Media Post	May 15
445	ADVOCATE: Democractic Backsliding in Indonesia 2nd quotes	Social Media Post	May 16
446	ADVOCATE: Thailand's current political situation with Kunthida Rungruengkiat	Podcast	May 20
447	ADVOCATE: Thailand's current political situation 1st quotes	Social Media Post	May 20
448	Malaysia Parliamentary Services Act	Social Media Post	May 21
449	Syerleena Abdul Rashid on MPs at Risk 2023 Report Launch	Social Media Post	May 23
450	Vesak Day	Social Media Post	May 23
451	ADVOCATE: Thailand's current political situation 2nd quotes	Social Media Post	May 24
452	Myanmar MPs at Risk 2023	Social Media Post	May 24

453	ADVOCATE: Red Tagging in the Philippines with Arlene Brosas	Podcast	May 27
454	ADVOCATE: Red Tagging in the Philippines 1st quotes	Social Media Post	May 27
455	QUOTES: APHR Board Member Wong Chen responding to the hearing of Leila de Lima's case at the Muntinlupa Regional Trial Court	Quotes	May 27
456	QUOTES: APHR Board Member Wong Chen responding to the hearing of Leila de Lima's case at the Muntinlupa Regional Trial Court	Social Media Post	May 27
457	ADVOCATE: Red Tagging in the Philippines 2nd quotes	Social Media Post	May 28
458	QUOTES: APHR Member and Malaysian Member of Parliament Syerleena Abdul Rashid responding to the sentencing of Thai MP Chonthicha “Lookkate” Jangrew to two years imprisonment for allegedly defaming the monarchy during a rally in 2021	Quotes	May 29
459	QUOTES: APHR Member and Malaysian Member of Parliament Syerleena Abdul Rashid responding to the sentencing of Thai MP Chonthicha “Lookkate” Jangrew to two years imprisonment for allegedly defaming the monarchy during a rally in 2021	Social Media Post	May 29
460	Wong Chen on MPs at Risk 2023 Report Launch	Social Media Post	May 29
461	Indonesia's Wiretap Bill	Social Media Post	May 30
462	Cambodia MPs at Risk 2023	Social Media Post	May 31
463	ADVOCATE: The State of Cambodia's Democracy with Mu Sochua	Podcast	Jun 3

464	ADVOCATE: The State of Cambodia's Democracy 1st quotes	Social Media Post	Jun 3
465	Malaysia MPs at Risk 2023	Social Media Post	Jun 4
466	Lese Majeste Law	Social Media Post	Jun 6
467	ADVOCATE: The State of Cambodia's Democracy 2nd Quotes	Social Media Post	Jun 7
468	The Philippines MPs at Risk 2023	Social Media Post	Jun 10
469	QUOTES: APHR Member Kelvin Yui on MFP Dissolution	Quotes	Jun 12
470	QUOTES: APHR Member Kelvin Yui on MFP Dissolution	Social Media Post	Jun 12
471	THE PHILIPPINES Independence Day	Social Media Post	Jun 12
472	Statement on possible dissolution of Move Forward Party	Statement	Jun 13
473	Statement on possible dissolution of Move Forward Party	Social Media Post	Jun 13
474	Khmer Movement for Democracy	Social Media Post	Jun 14
475	SEA Paris Peace Agreement 1991	Social Media Post	Jun 21
476	QUOTES: APHR Board Member Wong Chen responding to the hearing of Leila de Lima's case at the Muntinlupa Regional Trial Court	Social Media Post	Jun 24

477	QUOTES: APHR Board Member Wong Chen on Leila de Lima being cleared on drug charges	Quotes	Jun 24
478	QUOTES: APHR Board Member Wong Chen on Leila de Lima being cleared on drug charges	Social Media Post	Jun 24
479	Khmer Rogue and Cambodia Revolution	Social Media Post	Jun 27
480	Red Tagging in the Philippines	Social Media Post	Jul 1
481	Mercy Barends Interview with ThaiPBS	Social Media Post	Jul 1
482	The Philippines Anti Terrorism Act	Social Media Post	Jul 4
483	Statement on The Philippines's Talaingod 18	Statement	Jul 11
484	Statement on The Philippines's Talaingod 18	Social Media Post	Jul 11
485	The Philippines Talaingod 18 Conviction Quotes	Social Media Post	Jul 15
486	The Philippines Talaingod 18 Conviction Quotes	Quotes	Jul 15
487	Online Briefing Session: The Role of IPU Committee on Human Rights of Parliamentarians in the Promotion and Protection of MP's Human Rights	Events	Jul 18
488	The ASEAN Charter	Social Media Post	Jul 19
489	Statement on potential MFP dissolution	Social Media Post	Aug 3

490	Statement on potential MFP dissolution	Statement	Aug 3
491	Statement on Myanmar's State of Emergency	Social Media Post	Aug 5
492	Statement on Myanmar's State of Emergency	Statement	Aug 5
493	Kasit Piromya on FCC Thai Event	Social Media Post	Aug 6
494	Statement on MFP Dissolution	Social Media Post	Aug 7
495	Statement on MFP Dissolution	Statement	Aug 7
496	ASEAN Day	Social Media Post	Aug 8
497	Singapore Independence Day a brief history	Social Media Post	Aug 9
498	Indonesia Independence Day	Social Media Post	Aug 17
499	Statement on Indonesia's Police Brutality	Statement	Aug 24
500	Statement on Indonesia's Police Brutality	Social Media Post	Aug 24
501	Int Day of the Victims of Enforced Disappearances	Statement	Aug 30
502	Int Day of the Victims of Enforced Disappearances	Social Media Post	Aug 30

503	Cambodia's Activist Criminalization	Statement	Aug 30
504	Cambodia's Activist Criminalization	Social Media Post	Aug 30
505	Malaysia Independence Day	Social Media Post	Aug 31
506	Vietnam Independence Day	Social Media Post	Sep 2
507	Dissolution of parties	Social Media Post	Sep 5
Freedom of Religion or Belief			
508	Malaysia Toolkit and FFM Report Launch	Social Media Post	Mar 15
509	Malaysia Toolkit and FFM Report Launch	Events	Mar 15
510	Malaysia Toolkit and FFM Report Launch	Press Conference	Mar 15
511	Malaysia UPR Toolkit	Toolkit	Mar 15
512	Malaysia Toolkit and FFM Report Launch	Social Media Post	Mar 19
513	FACT-FINDING MISSION: Protecting Peace and Harmony in Multicultural Malaysia Following the 2022-2023 Election	Report	Mar 20
514	FFM Malaysia	Social Media Post	Mar 25

515	Malaysia Toolkit Follow-Up Event with Lee Chean Chung and Syed Ibrahim bin Syed Noh	Social Media Post	Mar 26
516	Malaysia UPR Toolkit	Social Media Post	Apr 12
517	Malaysia FFM & Maria Chin Quotes	Social Media Post	Apr 17
518	Indonesia UPR Toolkit 2022	Social Media Post	Jul 5
519	FoRB Conference Poster	Social Media Post	Jul 26
520	FoRB Indonesia Problematic Laws	Social Media Post	Aug 13
521	FoRB Malaysia Problematic Laws	Social Media Post	Aug 15
522	FoRB Myanmar Problematic Laws	Social Media Post	Aug 19
523	FoRB Vietnam Problematic Laws	Social Media Post	Aug 21
524	FoRB Conference Poster	Social Media Post	Aug 23
525	Intl Day for Victims of Act of Violence based on FoRB	Statement	Aug 24
526	Intl Day for Victims of Act of Violence based on FoRB	Social Media Post	Aug 24
527	Jakarta Declaration on FoRB	Statement	Aug 25

528	Jakarta Declaration on FoRB	Social Media Post	Aug 25
529	FoRB Conference Video Recap	Social Media Post	Aug 26
530	FoRB Conference post event statement	Statement	Aug 28
531	FoRB Conference post event statement	Social Media Post	Aug 28
532	FoRB Conference Yuyun Fernanda Mercy Quotes	Social Media Post	Sep 3
533	FoRB Conference Zainal Abidin Quotes	Social Media Post	Sep 4
534	FoRB Eva Sundari Quotes	Social Media Post	Sep 6
On Myanmar coup			
535	Independence Day of Myanmar	Social Media Post	Jan 4
536	5 Point Consensus Situation Overview	Social Media Post	Jan 12
537	Myanmar's 2021 coup d'etat	Social Media Post	Feb 1
538	Joint Open Letter to UNSC	Joint Open Letter	Feb 6
539	A Wrong Approach on Myanmar	Op-ed	Feb 9
540	Op-Ed Kasit Piromya "A Wrong Approach on	Social Media	Feb 19

	Myanmar"	Post	
541	UNSC Joint Letter on Myanmar	Social Media Post	Mar 2
542	FFM Thai-Myanmar Border	Social Media Post	Mar 4
543	ASEAN's continued engagement with Myanmar junta risks legitimizing illegal regime	Statement	Mar 19
544	ASEAN's continued engagement with Myanmar junta risks legitimizing illegal regime	Social Media Post	Mar 19
545	QUOTES from Eva Sundari on MWPN Discussion	Social Media Post	Apr 2
546	QUOTES from APHR Co-Chair Charles Santiago on Rohingya conscription	Social Media Post	Apr 18
547	QUOTES from APHR Co-Chair Charles Santiago on Rohingya conscription	Quotes	Apr 18
548	QUOTES from Mercy Barends on Junta's airstrike	Social Media Post	May 13
549	QUOTES from Mercy Barends on Junta's airstrike	Quotes	May 13
550	UN & ASEAN MUST act to save Rohingya from further genocide	Statement	May 18
551	UN & ASEAN MUST act to save Rohingya from further genocide	Social Media Post	May 18
552	QUOTES: APHR Member Raoul Manuel responding to Justice for Myanmar's report on a regional criminal network linked to the Myanmar junta-affiliated Karen Border Guard	Quotes	May 22

	Force		
553	QUOTES: APhR Member Raoul Manuel responding to Justice for Myanmar's report on a regional criminal network linked to the Myanmar junta-affiliated Karen Border Guard Force	Social Media Post	May 22
554	Quotes on Rohingya caught in crossfire in Maungdaw	Quotes	Jun 18
555	Quotes on Rohingya caught in crossfire in Maungdaw	Social Media Post	Jun 18
556	ADVOCATE: Myanmar Rohingya and What ASEAN can do with U Shwe Maung	Podcast	Jun 26
557	ADVOCATE: U Shwe Maung quotes on Five Point Consensus	Social Media Post	Jun 26
558	Quotes on UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar report	Quotes	Jun 27
559	Quotes on UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar report	Social Media Post	Jun 27
560	Joint Open Letter to the UN Security Council on the escalating crisis in Rakhine State	Joint Open Letter	Jun 28
561	Joint Open Letter to the UN Security Council on the escalating crisis in Rakhine State	Social Media Post	Jun 28
562	ADVOCATE: U Shwe Maung quotes on ASEAN Charter	Social Media Post	Jun 28
On Refugees and Migrants Rights			
563	QUOTES: APhR Member Raoul Manuel responding to Human Rights Watch report on conditions of detained migrants and refugees in Malaysia	Quotes	Mar 6

564	QUOTES: APHR Member Raoul Manuel responding to Human Rights Watch report on conditions of detained migrants and refugees in Malaysia	Social Media Post	Mar 6
565	SEA World Refugee Day	Social Media Post	Jun 20
566	Statement on Rohingya Genocide Remembrance Day	Statement	Aug 29
567	Statement on Rohingya Genocide Remembrance Day	Social Media Post	Aug 29

Annex 4 APHR Consultants List

List of APHR Consultants Hired (2023 and 2024)

2023:

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
Cambodia Advocacy and Media Consultant	2 January - 31 March 2023	To identify and implement advocacy opportunities and strategies to empower parliamentarians, in the region and globally, to leverage ASEAN and its partners to create positive change in Cambodia
Local Coordinator for MP Solidarity Mission to the Philippines	20 January - 3 February 2023	To provide logistical support to the mission in Manila, the Philippines
Designer of Report for Publication "Parliamentarians at Risk: Threats and Reprisals against Opposition MPs in 2022"	21 February - 3 March 2023	To undertake the design and layout and social media infographics of the report for publication
Local Coordinator on Malaysian national events	10 February - 15 June 2023	(1) To provide logistical support on the Solidarity Mission of APHR Members in Malaysia; and (2) To provide logistical support on the Launch of Counter Narratives

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
		Toolkit
Local Fixer for the Exposure visit the Sinking Area in Jakarta	23 February - 7 March 2023	To facilitate a space for APHR Members for direct observation with local stakeholders in Marunda, North Jakarta during the exposure visit
2022 parliamentarians at Risk Briefer Consultant	2 January - 15 February 2023	To review developments or regressions related to the human rights situation of MPs and democracy in Southeast Asia within period November 2021 to September 2022
Translator of the Press Conference Statement of the 2022 Parliamentarians at RiskReport Launch	8-10 March 2023	Translation of Press Conference Statement from English to Khmer
Translator of the Press Conference Statement of the 2022 Parliamentarians at RiskReport Launch	8-10 March 2023	Translation of Press Conference Statement from English to Burmese
Local Coordinator for Myanmar Strategy Meeting with Key Stakeholders	20 March - 15 April 2023	To provide logistical support to the mission in Chiang Mai, Thailand
Administration Support Consultant for APHR's 2023 Members Forum	20 February - 31 March 2023	To assist in the organising project activities and workshops administrative documents and support to

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
		logistical arrangement of the 2023 Members' Forum
Local Coordinator for Consultative Trip to Malaysia on FoRB	1 - 25 April 2023	To provide logistical support to the Consultative Trip to Malaysia on FoRB in Kuala Lumpur
Consultant for the termination of the Foundation for Sustainability and working visa arrangements for Thai based staff	2 January - 31 October 2023	To provide advice on different legal issues on the termination of Foundation for Sustainability
Local Coordinator for Fact-Finding Mission in Indonesia on Internet Freedoms	4 May - 15 June 2023	Provide logistical support to the fact finding mission in Jakarta, Indonesia
Report Writer and Documenter for Fact-Finding Mission in Indonesia on Internet Freedom	22 May - 26 June 2023	Take note of the key highlights and summary discussion during the mission as well as prepare the Fact-Finding Mission Report
Roundtable Discussion Moderator for Fact-Finding Mission on Internet Freedoms	28 May 2023	To act as moderator for the Two Roundtable Discussions on the Internet Freedoms in Indonesia
Zoom Technician for Chiang Mai Roundtable Discussion	29 June 2023	To operate Zoom platform and connect it smoothly with the online

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
		participants during the event
Malaysia Toolkits on Universal Periodic Review (UPR) and Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB) Development Consultant	26 July - 31 August 2023	To develop a comprehensive toolkit for Malaysia's Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process and FoRB
Malaysia Legislative Advocacy Toolkit Consultant	15 August - 29 September 2023	To draft a short, pedagogical, and engaging toolkit explaining the steps in the legislative procedures in Malaysia.
Local Coordinator - Fact Finding Mission on FoRB in Malaysia	11 September - 15 October 2023	Provide logistical support to the fact finding mission in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Local Coordinator FFM Timor on Internet Freedom	15 September - 13 October 2023	Provide logistical support to the fact finding mission in Dili, Timor Leste
Documenter and Report Writer - Fact Finding Mission on FoRB in Malaysia	5 October - 7 November 2023	Take note of the key highlights and summary discussion during the mission as well as Prepare the Fact-Finding Mission Report
Report Writer for FFM Timor Leste on Internet Freedom	30 September - 15 October 2023	Take note of the key highlights and summary discussion during the mission as well as Prepare

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
		the Fact-Finding Mission Report
Local Coordinator for Thailand National Events	25 September - 15 November 2023	(1) To provide logistical support on the Strategy Meetings for Thailand and Cambodia in Bangkok; and (2) To provide logistical support on the Humanitarian Aid Fact-Finding Mission in Mae Sariang and Chiang Mai (Thai-Myanmar border)
M&E Learning Consultant	1 December 2023 - 31 March 2024	(1) Conduct interviews to APCR members on FoRB; (2) Develop 2023 annual narrative report; and (3) Support 2024 annual work planning
Layout Artist for Malaysia Legislative Advocacy Toolkit	23 - 28 November 2023	To undertake the design and layout of the report for publication
External Auditor of Financial Statement period January to December 2023	22 December 2023 - 23 February 2024	Annual audit exercise for APCR based on ISA 700
External Auditor of Financial Statement for PRADHEA project period November 2022 to December 2023	22 December 2023 - 23 February 2024	Annual audit exercise for PRADHEA Project based on ISA 805

2024:

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
Consultant for Climate Finance Toolkit for ASEAN Parliamentarians	11 January - 11 April 2024	To develop an introductory toolkit for parliamentarians to introduce Climate Finance
Researcher for the 2023 Parliamentarians At Risk Annual Briefer	16 January - 10 March 2024	To draft the 2023 annual briefer on Parliamentarians at risk
Facilitator for APHR Strategic Thinking and Team Building towards “Building a Strong Team”	25 January - 8 February 2024	To provide a platform for APHR staff to learn and practice strategic thinking techniques, explore different perspectives, and develop strategic approaches to address complex challenges and issues being faced by the organization
Translator for the Study Visit of the 2024 Indonesia General Election	12 - 14 February 2024	To provide accurate and clear language interpretation from English to Bahasa Indonesia vv. during the Study Mission
Layout Consultant for APHR Fact Finding Mission (FFM) on Freedom of Religion and Belief in Malaysia Report and Toolkit for Parliamentarians on the UPR Process	28 February - 12 March 2024	To undertake the design and layout of : (1) FoRB FFM in Malaysia report; and (2) Toolkit for Parliamentarians on the UPR Process

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
		(English and Bahasa Melayu version)
Translator for Toolkit for Parliamentarians: Promoting an inclusive Malaysian society through the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) Process	1-11 March 2024	To accurately translating English content to Malay, tailoring language for easy understanding by parliamentarians, and demonstrating cultural sensitivity in conveying for the UPR toolkit in Malaysia
Moderator for Launch of the Final Fact-finding Mission Report and Toolkit on the UPR Process for Malaysian MPs	20 March 2024	To act as emcee and moderator for the discussions
Local Coordinator for the Launch of FoRB Toolkit and FFM Report in Malaysia	1-30 March 2024	To provide logistical support to the Launch of FoRB Toolkit and FFM Report in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Multimedia Consultant (Hybrid Services) for the launch of FoRB Toolkit and FFM report in Malaysia	18-21 March 2024	To set-up technical equipment and requirements needed for the audio-visual presentations and online participation of speakers and participants

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
Local Coordinator for the 2023 Parliamentarians at Risk Report Launch & APHR Philippine Members' Meeting	4 - 26 April 2024	To provide logistical support to: (1) The 2023 Parliamentarians at Risk Report Launch; and (2) APHR Philippine Members' Meeting
Researcher for the International Parliamentary Inquiry - Southeast Asia: Inquiry on the Adverse Impacts of Industry Activities on the Environment in Indonesia	18 April - 12 July 2024	To support the Inquiry through research, gathering of crucial information, and identifying key stakeholders for the parliamentary inquiry in Indonesia
Website Consultant for APHR Website Enhancement Project	1 April - 30 June 2024	To improve user experience and engagement as well as enhance APHR's website's functionality and performance
APHR Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) Consultant	15 June - 31 December 2024	(1) Midterm assessment report on the achievement of the strategic objectives; (2) Support the Board Strategic Assessment and Planning exercise; (3) Support the development of the APHR Strategic Framework, Theory of Change, and Monitoring and Evaluation Learning Framework 2025 - 2030;

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
		(4) Support APHR's Grant Proposal, Work Plan and MEL indicators for 2025-2027; and (5) Support the drafting of the APHR Terminal/Completion Report 2019-2024 Core Program and the 2024 Annual Report
Project Consultant for Freedom of Religion and Belief (FoRB)	15 June - 30 September 2024	To assist the organization's completion of its FoRB project with IPPFoRB
Local Coordinator for Indonesia Climate Change International Parliamentary Inquiry - Southeast Asia: Inquiry on the Adverse Impacts of Industry Activities on the Environment	20 June - 31 July 2024	To provide logistical support to the Indonesia Climate Change International Parliamentary Inquiry in Jakarta, Indonesia
Local Coordinator for Climate Resilience in Southeast Asia: Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians Conference	15 June - 15 July 2024	To provide logistical support to the Climate Resilience Conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Emcee for Climate Resilience in Southeast Asia: Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians Conference	4-13 July 2024	To act as emcee as well as curate a script for the conference and welcome dinner

Position	Duration	Reason for hiring
Report Writer for International Parliamentary Inquiry - Southeast Asia: Inquiry on the Adverse Impacts of Industry Activities on the Environment.	3 July - 30 October 2024	To support the Inquiry through documenting, synthesising and highlighting the key findings of the inquiry in all three countries (Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines)
Translator (Bahasa Indonesia - English, vice versa) for the International Parliamentary Inquiry - Southeast Asia: Inquiry on Nickel Mining and Deforestation in Indonesia	22 July 2024	To provide the live audio language of the proceedings of the inquiry from Bahasa Indonesia to English vv.
Translator (Bahasa Indonesia - English, vice versa) for the International Parliamentary Inquiry - Southeast Asia: Inquiry on Nickel Mining and Deforestation in Indonesia	22 July 2024	To provide the live audio language of the proceedings of the inquiry from Bahasa Indonesia to English vv.
Local Coordinator for Promoting and Protecting Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB): 2024 Parliamentarians Regional Conference in Southeast Asia	30 July - 31 August 2024	To provide logistical support to the FoRB Conference in Jakarta, Indonesia

Annex 5 Interview Information

The evaluation team interviewed the following categories and numbers of respondents. For confidentiality reasons, we are not including the names in the report. These are available if necessary.

Type of Respondent	Number Interviewed
Members of APHR Board	10
Core Donors	2
Secretariat Staff (and consultants)	14
Partners/CSOs	8
Members	
Cambodia	1
Indonesia	6
Malaysia	6
Myanmar	1
Philippines	6
Thailand	5
Timor Leste	4
Singapore	4
Interviews related to Myanmar	14
Survey respondents	42

Annex 6 Documents Reviewed

GENERAL BACKGROUND AND TECHNICAL INSIGHT

Save the Children, 2020, « Monitoring and evaluating advocacy », Nicolas Fischer chapter 9, Clément Pin chapter 10, of « Policy Evaluation : Methods and Approaches »

<https://scienceetbiencommun.pressbooks.pub/pubpolevaluation/chapter/contribution-analysis/>

Wilson-Grau and Britt, 2012, “Outcome Harvesting

Outcome Mapping Learning Community: <https://www.outcomemapping.ca>

Sida, 2019, Evaluation of Swedish Leadership for Sustainable Development

IDEA International, 201, Toolkit, Effective Human Rights Engagement for Parliamentary Bodies

UNDP, 2019, Primer on Parliamentary Development and HR

OECD, 2019, Better Criteria for Better Evaluation: Revised DAC Evaluation Criteria Definitions Principles for Use

FROM SWEDEN

Strategy for Sweden’s regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022–2026 Sida’s Gender Toolbox; Sida’s toolkits for gender mainstreaming and gender analysis; and good practices on gender-responsive evaluation (GRE) approaches and methods by UN Women (2020).

Sida, 2024, Terms of Reference for the Evaluation of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR)

APHR, 2018, Grant Proposal Narrative January 2019 – December 2021, including annexes:

- Annex 1: Strategic Framework 2019-23 (updated November 2018)
- Annex 2: Strategic Action Plan (updated November 2018)
- Annex 3: Financial Proposal (updated November 2018)
- Annex 4: M&E Output Indicators Table (updated November 2018)
- Annex 5: APHR Charter
- Annex 6: APHR Member List
- Annex 7: Staff Handbook
- Annex 8: Financial accounting procedure
- Annex 9: Anti-Corruption Policy
- Annex 10: External Evaluation
- Annex 11: Current Secretariat Staff

- Annex 12: Indicative Workplan 2019-21 (updated November 2018)
- Annex 13: 2019 Workplan (updated November 2018)
- Annex 14: Logframe (New annex added November 2018)

APHR, 2021, Grant Extension 2022-2024// Parliamentarians Regional Action for Democracy and Human Rights (PRADHA) Sweden Cost Extension, Jan 2022 – Dec 2024, including annexes:

- Annex A: 2022-2024 Annual Indicative Workplan Activities including 2021 DfD Proposed Activities
- Annex B: 2022-2024 Three Year Budget Workplan Estimates and Funding
- Annex C: APHR's Organisational Theory of Change (simplified version)
- Annex D: Executive Summary: APHR Security Risk and Duty of Care Audit
- Annex E: 2021 Driving for Democracy Budget Estimates

FROM APHR

APHR stakeholder list/directory:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1yyY6hfgOpsz-ypK46QLS7EMGM5ZE1nBXQRrV7i2cFtk/edit?gid=1490755183#gid=1490755183>

APHR Charter and APHR Members

APHR Organigram and Staff Directory

APHR Theory of Change and MEL Framework

Strategic Mid Term Assessment of APHR programmes and strategies (2021)

APHR Program Events and Calendar for 2024

APHR Annual Reports and APHR Narrative Reports (2019, 2021, 2022, 2023)

APHR Work Plans, Budgets, Indicative Outputs documents (several years)

Statements by APHR on different dimensions of the portfolios, at

<https://aseanmp.org/publications/>

Much of the documentation and statements available on APHR website under each thematic portfolio: <https://aseanmp.org/publications> (much too many to list here, but a sample includes:)

Report from APHR parliamentary inquiry “Time is not on our side”.

https://aseanmp.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/IPI-APHR-final-report_Time-is-not-on-our-side_-The-failed-international-response-to-the-Myanmar-coup.pdf

APHR Toolkit for Parliamentarians: Promoting Counter-narratives to hate towards migrants and refugees in Malaysia

APHR Toolkit for Parliamentarians: Advancing Sustainable Climate Finance Policies and Action

APHR Inquiry on the Adverse Impacts of Industry Activities on the Environment in Indonesia (briefing materials) forthcoming (background info only)

Pro-democracy protection Myanmar: <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/stop-execution-of-five-pro-democracy-activists-in-myanmar-now-southeast-asian-mps-say/>

Promote democracy in Southeast Asia: <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/asean-must-institutionalize-democracy-promotion-in-the-region-southeast-asian-mps-say/>

Develop a regional refugee protection policy:
<https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/asean-to-develop-a-regional-refugee-protection-policy-and-mechanism-rohingya-community-in-malaysia-say/>

Cambodia spotlight: <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/criminalization-of-activists-shows-hun-manet-echoes-authoritarian-tactics-southeast-asian-mps-say/>

Declaration to Protect Freedom of Religion or Belief:
<https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/jakarta-declaration-to-promote-and-protect-freedom-of-religion-or-belief-forb-in-southeast-asia/>

ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) organised an Interface between Members of Parliament and Civil Society Organisations on Strengthening Climate Action in Malaysia (2022)

Concept Note & Agenda - Climate Resilience in Southeast Asia - Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians Conference (2024)

APHR MPs Pledge to Protect Freedom of Religion or Belief (2021),
<https://aseanmp.org/2021/06/07/mps-pledge-to-protect-freedom-of-religion-or-belief-and-combat-rise-in-hateful-narratives/>

APHR Parliamentarians at Risk Report (2023),
<https://aseanmp.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/APHR-Parliamentarians-at-Risk-2023.pdf>

APHR Fact Finding Mission: Humanitarian Aid to the Thai Myanmar Border (2024),
<https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/fact-finding-mission-humanitarian-aid-to-the-thai-myanmar-border/>

APHR, Time is not on Our Side, Final report by the International Parliamentary Inquiry into the global response to the crisis in Myanmar (IPI), (2022)
<https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/the-international-parliamentary-inquiry-publishes-its-report-urging-the-global-community-to-support-democracy-in-myanmar>

Annex 7 APHR Strategic Framework

[To be added in final report] **APHR Theory of Change & MEL framework**⁶⁷

A Theory of Change (ToC) provides a snapshot of how an organisation understands its overall goals and objectives, and the path it intends to go down to achieve those. While an organisational strategy might chart an organisation's direction and investments for a specific period of time, a ToC is meant to be a foundational strategic vision that sits at the core of the organisation's purpose and vision for change.

A ToC also provides clarity for what the organisation considers as *success*, and the assumptions it makes about its ability to achieve change – creating a framework upon which a Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) framework can be built.

The following document attempts to clarify APHR's ToC, building on its most recent strategic framework and its recent mid-term assessment, and provide some recommendations on a MEL framework that can help measure its success and validity.

APHR's Theory of Change

APHR's current and previous strategic frameworks (2019-2024) articulate a clear overall vision, mission and goal for the organisation.

Vision: An inclusive ASEAN regional community that is genuinely committed to democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development

⁶⁷ This is provided by APHR Secretariat and based on their November 2021 document outlining the ToC and MEL Framework.

Mission: To empower parliamentarians to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region.

Goal: Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region in the next five years (2019-2023)

In the first framework, alongside this overall direction of travel, five objectives were to be achieved by 2023, listed below. These were replaced by the three short term objectives listed further down, that correspond to the current (revised) Theory of Change.

1. MPs using their legislative and oversight mandate (SO 4)
2. MPs using their position and influence to conduct advocacy (SO 2)
3. APHR conducting work in collaboration with CSOs and stakeholders (SO1)
4. APHR creates an inter-regional community of MPs (SO3)
5. APHR is a more sustainable organisation (SO5)

These objectives are a mixture of organisational interventions, internal results, and specific outcomes it wants to achieve in the behaviour and actions of MPs. In short, it puts at the same level what APHR *controls* (the activities it carries out and its operations) and what APHR is trying to *influence* (the behaviour and actions of member MPs). A new ToC for APHR was agreed to help set these different elements apart – so that from a MEL perspective it can make a distinction between when it is tracking activities vs. when it is assessing the impact as a result of them.

The new ToC that spells out this distinction more clearly, and has helped APHR reframe its strategy to centre it around its **members**. As the mid-term assessment pointed out, APHR’s membership is its clear added value and unique selling point in the civil society ecosystem so it should heavily invest in it and in creating plans and programs that can help grow and diversify it. This is by no means an easy task, so it is important that APHR articulates clearly what kind of movement they are building, how they are doing it and what they are achieving as a result.

The overall **long-term Goal** of the organisation is clear: Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development both domestically and regionally. Overall, APHR wants to advance human rights, democracy and sustainable development in the region.

The **short-term Objectives** section of the ToC is a crucial one, as it articulates what APHR thinks needs to happen in order to create a rights-respecting ASEAN region. **In short, APHR believes that a strong community of MPs who are skilled,**

empowered, and willing to stand up for the protection of human rights can make a difference in the ASEAN region. This is the central thesis and ambition of APHR. But what *exactly* does an active community of MPs upholding human rights look like? How can we show that APHR has built such a community? The three short-term objectives are how APHR may lay out its work, based on past successes, and the results of the mid-term review in 2021.

1. MPs progress laws and policies in their countries

This is about MPs fulfilling their representative mandate around legislative and budget adoption, as well as policy makers/influencers. We want to ensure that MPs take concrete steps to initiate or influence legislative processes in their country, as part of their parliamentary mandates, but influence policy-making, including by leveraging their public profile in promoting positive rights narratives. As the mid-term review points out, pushing for legislative change, in particular, is an area that has huge potential considering this is a type of outcome that would be “unique” to an organisation made up of MPs.

2. MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private actions

This is about MPs fulfilling their government oversight mandate. This is an area that APHR is already seeing good results in, as this is essentially about MPs standing up and speaking out against human rights violations both in their own country but also the region. MPs have unique ways of holding perpetrators to account: through official channels (such as submitting parliamentary questions, setting up investigations or inquiries), through private advocacy, but also through leveraging their public profile (such as by signing on to public statements, taking part in high-level missions, writing media outputs or any other public channel available to them). This will include holding governments to account but also other relevant stakeholders (i.e. ASEAN, corporate actors and so on).

3. MPs contribute to building/strengthening a cooperative human rights community in the region

This is an objective that is not directly related to MPs' parliamentary mandate - but it is ensuring they are acting in collaboration with others, and thus strengthening participatory democracy in the region. They can do that through engaging meaningfully with civil society organisations, other MPs in the region, and other relevant stakeholders, to work for the promotion of human rights and democracy. Finally, if APHR wants to grow and diversify its membership, why not also include that as a responsibility for members as well?

As part of its ToC, APHR could establish that a key outcome that MPs can achieve to help fulfil APHR’s mission is to recruit new members, take part in planning activities, and join national caucuses. As part of this objective, one could also include when MPs engage in peer-learning and exchanges across countries. Through APHR membership, MPs can benefit from the expertise of peers in other countries and also share their own experience with others, building a community of mutual support.

Finally, the ToC articulates the **staff activities** it engages in to ensure MPs can become an active and thriving community. This section of the ToC specifically captures the interventions and work of the APHR secretariat. As outlined in the visual above, this reflects the key deliverables and work of APHR staff: Capacity-Building, Training, and Events; Research, Policy and Communications Outputs; Missions and Advocacy events; Building a partnership network of regional and global civil society, IGOs, and stakeholders; Growing and retaining current membership; Operations and Finance support; Governance support.

Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Framework

The ToC lays out the overall vision of the organisation. The MEL framework helps APHR validate that not only it is materially delivering on this vision, but that its central thesis is also correct: that by providing certain support to MPs, they can become an active community in support of HR, and in return that can build a rights-respecting ASEAN region.

From a MEL perspective, the ToC can be split into three dimensions from the perspective of how close APHR is to the impact it is trying to achieve.

- **Sphere of Control:** APHR’s staff activities are completely within the organisation’s control. APHR could aim to understand whether staff activities have taken place or not and to what level of standard. This should be the *easiest* element to evaluate as information should be completely within APHR’s reach - but is it valuable for APHR to spend its resources tracking its staff activities?
- **Sphere of Influence:** what APHR is trying to influence is the behaviour of MPs. From a MEL perspective, establishing and proving that MPs are taking those actions should be at the heart of APHR’s efforts.
- **Sphere of Interest:** This is what’s furthest removed from APHR’s control and also hardest to evaluate. APHR should aim to show causality between human rights progress in a certain country and be able to trace it back to the behaviour of APHR’s MPs. While attribution may not be possible to establish, because of many external factors, contribution analysis should be the aim here.

There are **three key lines of inquiry** that APHR invests in from a MEL perspective, in order to prove its impact and validate its theory of change:

MEL Line of Inquiry 1 - Have ASEAN Parliamentarians participated in and contributed to an active community for the promotion of human rights, democracy and sustainable development?

Through this line of inquiry, APHR tries to establish whether its short-term objectives have been met and whether APHR MPs have taken action in line with APHR's three key objectives. This is not focused on staff activities, but rather the behaviours and activities of APHR MPs. Through an outcome mapping process, APHR could track MPs behaviour by monitoring the below table of indicators.

How can this be tracked? APHR intended to use this simple outcome framework to monitor regularly and diligently throughout the year - ideally from input from both staff and MPs themselves. Data should also be disaggregated by nationality of MP and in order to track unique engagements (i.e., how many MPs in total have taken action in any given year).

Did this happen? APHR was not able to gather sufficient data to do this.

Short-term Objectives	Outcome Indicators
1. MPs progress laws and policies in their countries	1.1. MPs initiate or contribute to a legislative or budgetary process in line with APHR's objectives (<i>i.e., takes measures to table a piece of legislation, comments on it, votes in favour, proposes amendments to a bill or the budget, engages other MPs on a law, etc.</i>) 1.2. MPs contribute to a policy process in line with APHR's objectives (<i>i.e., Comment on a proposed government policy, promote a policy with the executive/relevant stakeholder (or argues against it), engages other MPs for the same purpose, promote positive rights narratives through campaigns, social media, with constituents to influence policy</i>)
2. MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private	2.1. MPs undertake or contribute to accountability initiatives through formal parliamentary channels (<i>i.e. set up or join a committee, ask formal question in parliament, set up, join or support an inquiry</i>)

oversight	2.2. MPs undertake or contribute to public initiatives of accountability (<i>i.e., joins a public statement, media statement, op-ed, mission, event, social media campaign</i>) 2.3. MPs undertake or contribute to private initiatives of accountability (<i>i.e., holds private meetings, or communications</i>)
3. MPs strengthen the human rights and democracy footprint in the region	a. MPs collaborate with civil society and amplify their work (<i>i.e., MPs consult with CSOs on laws, policies, and accountability initiatives; MPs speak out against attacks on CSOs and HRDs, MPs promote positive narratives about human rights CSOs etc, MPs engage with people directly affected by rights violations both in and outside of parliament etc.)</i> b. MPs contribute to APHR's growth and sustainability (<i>i.e., by recruiting other members to APHR, joining caucuses and governance spaces, contribute to planning etc.</i>) c. MPs support and collaborate with other MPs from the region and key stakeholders (<i>i.e., stand in solidarity with other MPs against attacks and harassment, develop and participate in joint learning activities</i>)

MEL Line of Inquiry 2 - Which staff activities have most effectively contributed to create an active MP community?

Through this line of inquiry, APHR tries to focus on staff activities and their effectiveness. A MEL framework which is overly focused on tracking all outputs and their direct connection to outcomes (*i.e. through a logframe*), has not proven to be adequate to serve the needs and nuance of advocacy organisations. It is for this reason that APHR should commit itself to carrying out qualitative analysis of which activities the organisation believes are leading to positive MP behaviour.

How can this be tracked this? APHR intended to track this through qualitative surveys of members and staff's own self-assessment (*i.e., done quarterly or annually*).

Did this happen? However, this did not take place in reality.

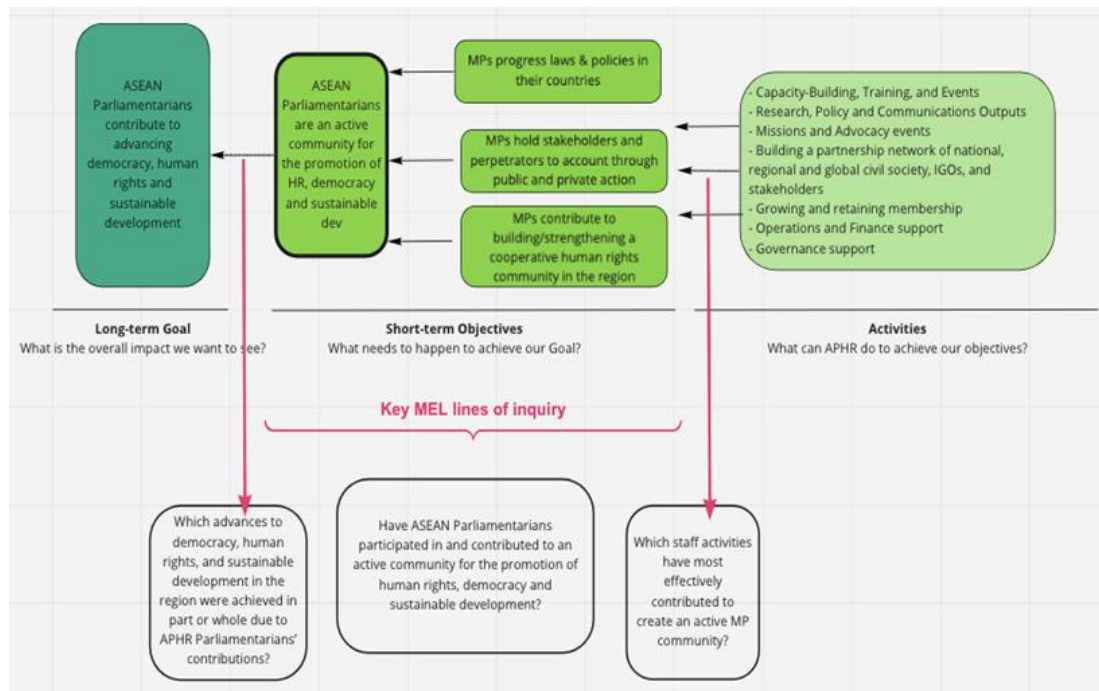
MEL Line of Inquiry 3 - Which advances to democracy, human rights, and sustainable development in the region were achieved in part or whole due to APHR Parliamentarians' contributions?

Through this line of inquiry, APHR tries to be able to connect its work, and the work of its MPs to tangible improvement on the ground. Tracking comprehensive human rights progress in a certain country will not be necessary, but the organisation should focus on identifying select areas of progress (i.e. a change in legislation, situation or specific case) and be able to trace it back to the behaviour and contribution of APHR's MPs. While full attribution may not be possible to establish, because of many external factors, contribution analysis should be the aim here.

How can this be tracked? APHR intended to possibly track this through a qualitative reflection process driven by input from both members and staff (probably annually). Feedback from partners and CSOs would also be able to contribute to this analysis.

Did this happen? This happened in part, on an on-going and ad hoc basis in a more intangible and informal way, and was, in a way, a component of discussions at the Annual Forum, and a driving thread in APHR annual reporting. At the same time, concrete and direct evidence linking these elements was not really gathered.

This visual summarises and connects the three MEL lines of inquiry to the current Theory of Change.



Annex 8 Terms of Reference

Terms of Reference for the Evaluation of Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR). Date: 2024-04-19

1. General information

1.1 Introduction

Regional overview: In Asia-Pacific, Sweden addresses cross-border challenges in human rights, democracy, gender equality, migration and climate and the environment. This is of great importance as many countries in Asia-Pacific have experienced rapid economic growth, but often at the expense of the environment, climate, and human rights. Many countries in Asia-Pacific have introduced laws restricting freedom of the press, expression, association, and assembly. Growing inequality, religious fundamentalism and xenophobia are creating populist leadership, increasing divisions in society, and generating discrimination against people on the basis of ethnicity, gender and sexuality. It makes it more difficult for civil society and the media to hold governments accountable for their actions. Corruption remains high in most of the countries. Judgments against people who express their views online have increased. Asia and the Pacific region is home to more than 60 million international migrants,⁷ most of them born in the region. Threats, conflicts, and effects of environmentally unsustainable development also lead to increased migration. Migrants and their families run a high risk of ending up in vulnerable situations. Women and children are more vulnerable to a range of abuses, such as human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

The challenges and opportunities for parliamentarians: Human rights restrictions and violations against parliamentarians, by using emergency laws and regulations declared during the COVID-19 pandemic, continued despite the pandemic being under control. Lawmakers in the region have been increasingly at risk in recent years, with a deterioration of human rights safeguards and the shrinking of the democratic space in most countries. They are often being targeted, in particular those from the opposition, for carrying out their mandate to speak for the

people and perform oversight of the government.⁶⁸ At the same time, it is more important than ever that parliamentarians use their unique position in parliament to ask their governments about what actions it is taking on human rights violations, including work to repeal or amend all laws that have been identified as restricting the rights to freedom of expression, association, and peaceful assembly with a view to bringing them in line with international human rights law and standards.

The [Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022–2026 - Government.se](#) is handled from the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok, Development Cooperation Section. Sweden is implementing the strategy via a range of different actors⁶⁹ from civil society, academia, intergovernmental organizations, UN-agencies, and private sector. In this specific partnership with Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR), Sweden, together with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Open Societies Foundation (OSF) are the main donors.

1.2 Evaluation object: Intervention to be evaluated

The evaluation object is the Strategic Framework of APHR (Sida contribution no. 12004, core support APHR 2019-2024). The Strategic Framework has been revised since the decision on support was taken in 2019, and the version submitted to the Embassy in July 2022 is currently the one in use.

Information about the partner: APHR was founded in June 2013 with the objective of promoting democracy and human rights across Southeast Asia. Its founding members include many of the region's most progressive Members of Parliament (MPs), with a proven track record of human rights advocacy work. APHR is a regional network of current and former parliamentarians who make use of their unique positions to advance human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia. APHR seeks to help create a region where people can express themselves without fear, live free from all forms of discrimination and violence, and where development takes place with human rights at the forefront. APHRs members use their mandate

⁶⁸ [New report denounces the worsening situation of Parliamentarians at risk in Southeast Asia - ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights \(aseanmp.org\)](#)

⁶⁹ Annex A, portfolio overview

to advocate for human rights inside and outside of parliament, regionally and globally. They work closely with civil society, conduct fact-finding missions, and publish recommendations and opinions on the most important issues affecting the region. APHR was born out of the recognition that human rights issues in Southeast Asia are interconnected, and from the desire of progressive legislators to work together across borders to promote and protect human rights.

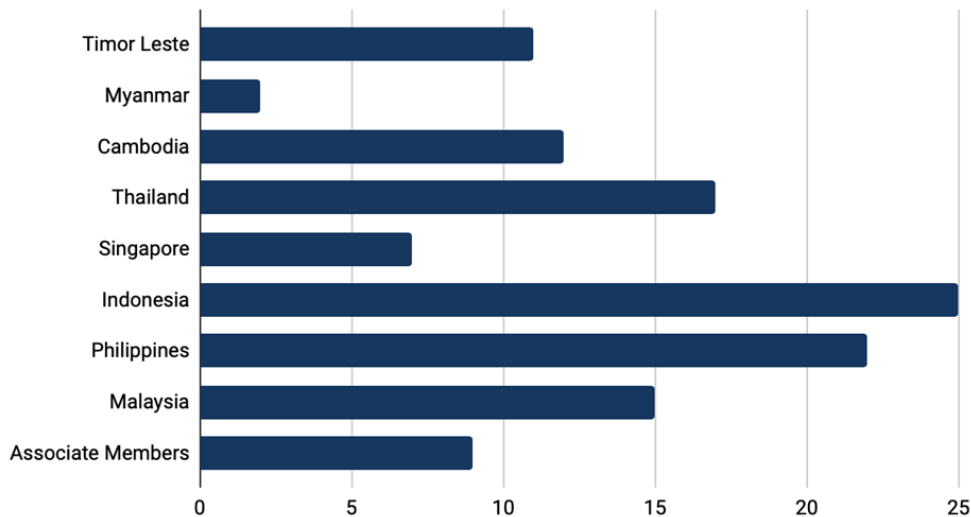
APHR's *vision*, as stated in the Framework, is: "An inclusive ASEAN regional community that is genuinely committed to democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development." The *mission* of APHR is: "To empower parliamentarians to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region". The *goal*: "Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region". APHR has identified three strategic objectives for its work in the ASEAN region:

Short term Objective 1: MPs progress laws and policies in their countries. This objective relates to MPs fulfilling their representative mandate around legislative and budget adoption, as well as policy makers and influencers. APHR will ensure that MPs take concrete steps to initiate or influence legislative processes in their country, as part of their parliamentary mandates, and influence law drafting and policymaking by promoting positive rights narratives and democratic principles in the legislative and executive branches. Pushing for legislative change is an area that has great potential considering this is a type of outcome that would be “unique” to an organization made up of MPs.

Short term Objective 2: MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private actions. This objective relates to MPs fulfilling their government oversight mandate. This is an area that APHR is already seeing positive results in and is essentially focused on MPs standing up and speaking out against human rights violations, both in their own country but also within the region. MPs have unique ways of holding perpetrators to account: through official channels (such as submitting parliamentary questions, setting up investigations or inquiries), through private advocacy, and through leveraging their public profile (such as by signing on to public statements, taking part in high-level missions, writing media outputs or any other public channel available to them). This objective will include holding governments to account as well as other relevant stakeholders (i.e., ASEAN, executive and corporate actors).

Short term Objective 3: MPs contribute to building and strengthening a cooperative human rights community in the region. This is an objective that is not directly related to MPs parliamentary mandate - but it is ensuring APHR is acting in collaboration with others, and thus strengthening participatory democracy in the region. APHR will do this through engaging meaningfully with civil society organizations, other MPs in the region, and other relevant stakeholders, to work for the promotion of human rights and democracy. To achieve this objective, APHR should need to grow and diversify its membership by recruiting new members, take part in planning activities, join national caucuses, engage in peer-learning and exchanges across countries. Through APHR membership, MPs can benefit from the expertise of peers in other countries and share their own experience with others, building a community of mutual support and strengthening solidarity among like-minded MPs. The contribution is

APHR Members



focused on the sub-region Southeast Asia. APHR: s members by country:

The total budget for implementing the Strategic Framework is US\$ 3,282,201. Out of the total budget, Sweden is covering 56 %. Funds budgeted is US\$ 1,841,734 and spent US\$ 776,975.

For further information, the Strategic Framework is attached, see Annex A. The intervention logic or theory of change of the intervention may be further elaborated by the evaluator in the inception report, if deemed necessary.

1.3 Evaluation rationale

The upcoming evaluation is a significant undertaking for the ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR). This evaluation coincides with APHR's efforts to, in parallel, develop a new Strategic Framework and Theory of Change, establish an improved Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Learning framework, re-strategize priorities and strategies, and initiate a

staff restructuring process. This comprehensive approach aims to enhance APHR's effectiveness, strengthen its impact, and align its operations with evolving regional needs.

When developing the ToR, APHR also formulated the rationale for the organization, and why an evaluation would be of benefit to the organization:

Assessment of Key Results and Impacts:

A central objective of the evaluation is to assess the key results and impacts of APHR's advocacy and work from 2019-2024. This evaluation will provide a comprehensive understanding of the outcomes and effects of APHR's initiatives, shedding light on the organisation's contributions to human rights and democracy in the ASEAN region including Timor Leste.

The project evaluation will also look into APHR's relevance in the region and the human rights community and assess whether the intended outcomes have been achieved and whether the projects have contributed to making tangible improvements in human rights and democratic practices within ASEAN member countries. Ensuring relevance in project evaluation for APHR is vital to effectively measure the impact of its initiatives, consider the unique dynamics of the ASEAN region, communicate the significance of its work, and maintain accountability.

Lessons Learned

Evaluating past initiatives provides an opportunity to learn from successes and failures. By understanding what has worked well and what needs improvement, APHR can refine its approaches, strengthen its impact, and maximize its resources. This evaluation will help identify best practices and lessons learned that can be applied to future endeavours.

Development of a New Strategic Framework and Theory of Change

The evaluation will serve as a crucial foundation for APHR's development of a new Strategic Framework and Theory of Change. By evaluating the outcomes and effectiveness of past initiatives, the evaluation will inform the identification of key focus areas, strategic objectives, and desired impact for the future. This process will enable APHR to align its work with emerging human rights and democracy challenges in the ASEAN region, ensuring relevance and maximizing its influence.

Establishment of an Improved M&E Learning Framework

Building on the evaluation, APHR will in parallel establish an enhanced M&E Learning framework. This framework will provide a systematic approach to monitoring and evaluating the organization's activities and impact. By collecting and analysing data on project outcomes,

lessons learned, and best practices, APHR can continuously improve its interventions, adapt strategies, and optimize resource allocation.

Re-Strategizing Priorities and Strategies

The evaluation period presents an opportune moment for APHR to re-strategize its priorities and approaches. Based on the evaluation findings, APHR will be better equipped to prioritize between areas that require greater attention, assess the effectiveness of current strategies, and explore innovative approaches to address emerging challenges. This re-strategizing process will ensure that APHR's advocacy efforts remain responsive, impactful, and aligned with the evolving human rights and democracy landscape in the ASEAN region.

2. The assignment

2.1 Evaluation purpose: Intended use and intended users

The evaluation is intended to provide learning opportunities for both APHR and its Secretariat, Board and members, as well as for Sweden and other donors. It will provide an opportunity to take stock of the progress so far, and to learn from what works well and less well.

The evaluation will be used to:

- Inform decisions on how the new Strategic Framework may be adjusted and improved; and how implementation, including monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) and strategic communication can be strengthened to contribute to, and capture, results beyond output-level.
- Provide APHR, Sweden and other donors with an input to upcoming discussions concerning the preparation of a possible new phase of intervention.
- The findings will also be used for reporting purposes, such as to the Swedish government.

The primary intended users of the evaluation are APHR, its members and board, APHRs donors (including Sweden).

The evaluation is to be designed, conducted, and reported to meet the needs of the intended users and tenderers shall elaborate in the tender how this will be ensured during the evaluation process. Other stakeholders that should be kept informed about the evaluation include strategic partners of APHR, to be identified together with APHR and its donors during the inception phase. During the inception phase, the evaluator and the users will agree on who will be responsible for keeping the various stakeholders informed about the evaluation.

2.2 Evaluation scope

The evaluation shall have a focus on the current Strategic Framework of APHR, but results from the implementation of the previous Strategic Framework shall be included. Target groups are mainly APHR Secretariat, members, Board and core donors. If needed, the scope of the evaluation may be further elaborated by the evaluator in the inception report.

2.3 Evaluation objective: Criteria and questions

The main purpose of the evaluation is to identify results, collect lessons learned and provide APHR and its donors recommendations for future strategic programme design and implementation in order to enhance sustainable, anticipated effects in advancing human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia.

The objectives of this evaluation are to:

- Evaluate the **relevance, effectiveness, impact, and sustainability** of APHRs current Strategic Framework, and formulate recommendations on how its Secretariate, Board and Members can improve and adjust implementation.
- Formulate recommendations as an input to upcoming discussions concerning the preparation of the new Strategic Framework of APHR, and possible continued support from core donors.

The evaluation is expected to focus on the areas below. The evaluators are expected to present detailed evaluation questions in the inception report, for APHR and Sweden to consider and approve. The inception phase will provide an opportunity for the evaluator to further develop the evaluation questions based on initial findings.

Relevance: Is the intervention doing the right thing?

- To what extent has the intervention objectives and design responded to beneficiaries', global, country, and partner/institution needs, policies, and priorities, and have they continued to do so if/when circumstances have changed?

A.

- To what extent have lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust intervention implementation?
- To what extent are objectives of the program set out in the Results Framework and Theory of change still valid?

Effectiveness: Is the intervention achieving its objectives?

- To what extent has the intervention achieved, or is expected to achieve, its objectives, and its results, including any differential results across groups?

- Have the M&E system delivered robust and useful information that could be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? Suggestions in improvements where appropriate.

Impact: What difference does the intervention make?

- To what extent has the project or programme generated, or is expected to generate, significant positive or negative, intended, or unintended, high-level effects?
- To what extent is poverty, in its different dimensions, addressed in the design, implementation and follow-up? What/which dimensions are addressed? How could the programme design be strengthened so that poverty reduction is more explicit addressed?
- Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on gender equality? Could gender mainstreaming have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?
- Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on the environment? Could environment considerations have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?

Sustainability: Will the benefits last?

- To what extent will the net benefits of the intervention continue, or are likely to continue?

Questions are expected to be developed in the tender by the tenderer and further refined during the inception phase of the evaluation.

2.4 Evaluation approach and methods

It is expected that the evaluator describes and justifies an appropriate evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection in the tender. The evaluation design, methodology and methods for data collection and analysis are expected to be fully developed and presented in the inception report. Given the climate crisis, innovative and flexible approaches/methodologies, and methods for remote data collection and/or working via local consultants should be suggested when appropriate and the risk of doing harm managed.

The evaluator is to suggest an approach/methodology that provides credible answers (evidence) to the evaluation questions. Limitations to the chosen approach/methodology and methods shall be made explicit by the evaluator and the consequences of these limitations discussed in the tender. The evaluator shall to the extent possible, present mitigation measures to address them. A clear distinction is to be made between evaluation approach/methodology and methods.

A *gender-responsive* approach/methodology, methods, tools and data analysis techniques should be used⁷⁰.

Sida's approach to evaluation is *utilization-focused*, which means the evaluator should facilitate the *entire evaluation process* with careful consideration of how everything that is done will affect the use of the evaluation. It is therefore expected that the evaluators, in their tender, present i) how intended users are to participate in and contribute to the evaluation process and ii) methodology and methods for data collection that create space for reflection, discussion and learning between the intended users of the evaluation.

In cases where sensitive or confidential issues are to be addressed in the evaluation, evaluators should ensure an evaluation design that do not put informants and stakeholders at risk during the data collection phase or the dissemination phase.

2.5 Organisation of evaluation management

This evaluation is commissioned by the Development Cooperation Section at the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok. The intended users are: APHR Secretariat, its Board and members, donors (and possible other strategic partners to APHR). The intended users of the evaluation form a steering group, which has contributed to and agreed on the ToR for this evaluation. The steering group is a decision-making body. It will approve the inception report and the final report of the evaluation. The steering group will participate in the start-up meeting of the evaluation, as well as in the debriefing/validation workshop where preliminary findings and conclusions are discussed.

2.6 Evaluation quality

All Sida's evaluations shall conform to OECD/DAC's Quality Standards for Development Evaluation⁷¹. The evaluators shall use the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in

⁷⁰ See for example UNEG United Nations Evaluation Group (2014) Integrating Human Rights and Gender Equality in Evaluations <http://uneval.org/document/detail/1616>

⁷¹ OECD/DAC (2010) Quality Standards for Development Evaluation.

Evaluation⁷² and the OECD/DAC Better Criteria for Better Evaluation⁷³. The evaluators shall specify how quality assurance will be handled by them during the evaluation process.

2.7 Time schedule and deliverables

It is expected that a time and work plan is presented in the tender and further detailed in the inception report. The time and work plan must allow flexibility in implementation.

The evaluation shall be carried out during **May-October 2024**. The timing of any field visits, surveys and interviews needs to be settled by the evaluator in dialogue with the main stakeholders during the inception phase **(end of May, APHR and Board are meeting in Jakarta for a strategic discussion on the way forward of the organisation. This could, potentially, be a strategic opportunity for the consultant to participate).**

The table below lists key deliverables for the evaluation process. Alternative deadlines for deliverables may be suggested by the consultant and negotiated during the inception phase:

Deliverables	Participants	Deadlines
1. Start-up meeting/s (virtual)	Evaluators, APHR, Swedish embassy, possible other donors.	Early May 2024
2. Draft inception report		To be delivered three weeks after the upstart meeting
3. Inception meeting (virtual) Comments from intended users to evaluators will be sent to evaluators ahead of the inception meeting	New/interim ED M&E Consultant (tbc) Program staff APHR Board Executive Members	Tentative first week of July 2024

⁷² Sida OECD/DAC (2014) Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management.

⁷³ OECD/DAC (2019) Better Criteria for Better Evaluation: Revised Evaluation Criteria Definitions and Principles for Use.

4. Data collection, analysis, report writing and quality assurance	Consultant/s	Tentative first week of July- first week of September
5. Debriefing/validation workshop (meeting)	New/interim ED M&E Consultant (tbc) Program staff APHR Board Executive Members	Tentative second week of September
6. Draft evaluation report	Consultant/s	Tentative final week of September
7. Comments from intended users to evaluators	APHR Board and Secretariat	Tentative first week of October
8. Final evaluation report	Consultant/s	Tentative final week of October

The inception report will form the basis for the continued evaluation process and shall be approved by Sida before the evaluation proceeds to implementation. The inception report should be written in English and cover evaluability issues and interpretations of evaluation questions, present the evaluation approach/methodology *including how a utilization-focused and gender-responsive approach will be ensured*, methods for data collection and analysis as well as the full evaluation design, including an *evaluation matrix* and a *stakeholder mapping/analysis*. A clear distinction between the evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection shall be made. All limitations to the methodology and methods shall be made explicit and the consequences of these limitations discussed.

A specific time and work plan, including number of hours/working days for each team member, for the remainder of the evaluation should be presented. The time plan shall allow space for reflection and learning between the intended users of the evaluation.

The final report shall be written in English, and be professionally proofread. The final report should have clear structure and follow the layout format of Sida's template for decentralised evaluations (see Annex C). The executive summary should be maximum 3 pages.

The report shall clearly and in detail describe the evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection and analysis and make a clear distinction between the two. The

report shall describe how the utilization-focused approach has been implemented i.e. how intended users have participated in and contributed to the evaluation process and how methodology and methods for data collection have created space for reflection, discussion and learning between the intended users. Furthermore, the gender-responsive approach shall be described and reflected in the findings, conclusions and recommendations along with other identified and relevant cross-cutting issues. Limitations to the methodology and methods and the consequences of these limitations for findings and conclusions shall be described.

Evaluation findings shall flow logically from the data, showing a clear line of evidence to support the conclusions. Conclusions should be substantiated by findings and analysis. Evaluation questions shall be clearly stated and answered in the executive summary and in the conclusions. Recommendations and lessons learned should flow logically from conclusions and be specific, directed to relevant intended users and categorised as a short-term, medium-term and long-term.

The report should be no more than 25 pages excluding annexes. If the methods section is extensive, it could be placed in an annex to the report. Annexes shall always include the Terms of Reference, the Inception Report, the stakeholder mapping/analysis and the Evaluation Matrix. Lists of key informants/interviewees shall only include personal data if deemed relevant (i.e. when it is contributing to the credibility of the evaluation) based on a case based assessment by the evaluator and the commissioning unit/embassy. The inclusion of personal data in the report must always be based on a written consent.

The evaluator shall adhere to the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation⁷⁴.

The evaluator shall, upon approval by Sida/Embassy of the final report, insert the report into Sida's template for decentralised evaluations (see Annex C) and submit it to Nordic Morning (in pdf-format) for publication and release in the Sida publication database. The order is placed by sending the approved report to Nordic Morning (sida@atta45.se), with a copy to the responsible Sida Programme Officer as well as Sida's Evaluation Unit (evaluation@sida.se). Write "Sida decentralised evaluations" in the email subject field. The following information must always be included in the order to Nordic Morning:

⁷⁴ Sida OECD/DAC (2014) Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management.

1. The name of the consulting company.
2. The full evaluation title.
3. The invoice reference “ZZ980601”.
4. Type of allocation: "sakanslag".
5. Type of order: "digital publicering/publikationsdatabas.

2.8 Evaluation team qualification

In addition to the qualifications already stated in the framework agreement for evaluation services, the evaluation team shall include the following competencies:

- documented expertise in the challenges facing legislatures and legislators in transition and developing countries in South East Asia (SEA). It is also preferable that a team member has knowledge of cross-cutting issues, not least gender and environment and climate.
- The personnel proposed shall have knowledge of development cooperation/ international cooperation or equivalent knowledge that relate to tenderer's core activities.
- Documented extensive experience of evaluating programmes of support for democracy, including experience of evaluating methods, and ability to draw forward-looking conclusions and recommendations.

It is desirable that the evaluation team includes the following competencies:

- Knowledge of Sida's and/or other donor's democratic governance programmes in SEA would be an asset.
- Strong background in democracy assistance – a thorough understanding of the political dimensions of legislative support in SEA would be preferable.

A CV for each team member shall be included in the call-off response. It should contain a full description of relevant qualifications and professional work experience.

It is important that the competencies of the individual team members are complimentary. It is highly recommended that local evaluation consultants are included in the team, as they often have contextual knowledge that is of great value to the evaluation. In addition, and in a situation with Covid-19, the inclusion of local evaluators may also enhance the understanding of feasible ways to conduct the evaluation.

The evaluators must be independent from the evaluation object and evaluated activities and have no stake in the outcome of the evaluation.

Please note that in the tender, the tenderers must propose a team leader that takes part in the evaluation by at least 30% of the total evaluation team time including core team members, specialists and all support functions, but excluding time for the quality assurance expert.

2.9 Financial and human resources

The maximum budget amount available for the evaluation is SEK 650 000.

Invoicing and payment shall be managed according to the following: The Consultant may invoice a maximum of 50% of the total amount after approval by the Embassy of the Inception Report, and a maximum of 100% after approval by the Embassy of the final Report and when the assignment is completed.

The contact person at the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok is Erica Villborg Lindstrand, programme manager erica.villborg@gov.se The contact person at APHR is Programs Director Kristina Uy Gadaingan kristina@aseanmp.org The contact persons should be consulted if any problems arise during the evaluation process.

Relevant documentation will be provided by the Embassy programme manager and APHR well in advance and shared with the evaluators before the start-up meeting.

Contact details to intended users (cooperation partners, Swedish Embassies, other donors etc.) will be provided by the programme manager at the Embassy and the APHR contact person.

The evaluator will be required to arrange the logistics, such as booking interviews, preparing visits etc. including any necessary security arrangements.

3. Annexes

Annex A: List of key documentation

- (1) Funding proposal APHR
- (2) Strategic Framework of APHR
- (3) Proposal for cost extension 2022-2024 (2021)
- (4) Strategic Assessment Report 2021
- (5) Updated programme description APHR (2022)
- (6) Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022-2026 available online: [Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022–2026 - Government.se](#)
- (7-11) APHR annual reports 2019-2023
- (12-13) APHRs MPs@risk Report 2023 and 2024 available online: [Publications - ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights \(aseanmp.org\)](#)

- (14) Portfolio overview, Swedish regional development cooperation portfolio Asia Pacific.
- (15) External evaluation APHR 2018

Annex B: Data sheet on the evaluation object

Information on the evaluation object (i.e., intervention)	
Title of the evaluation object	APHR core support 2019-2024
ID no. in PLANIt	12004
Dox no./Archive case no.	UM2018/31480/BANG
Activity period (if applicable)	2018-12-12-2024-12-31
Agreed budget (if applicable)	26 724 000
Main sector	Democracy, Human Rights, Gender Equality
Name and type of implementing organisation	Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights, NGO
Aid type ⁷⁵	Core support
Swedish strategy	Sweden's Regional Development Strategies for Asia and the Pacific:2016-2021, 2022-2026

Information on the evaluation assignment	
Commissioning unit/Swedish Embassy	Development Cooperation Section, Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok
Contact person at unit/Swedish Embassy	Erica Villborg Lindstrand
Timing of evaluation (mid-term, end-of-programme, ex-post, or other)	End of programme evaluation
ID no. in PLANIt (if other than above).	

Annex C: Decentralised evaluation report template (Enclosed as a separate file)

Annex 9 Inception Report



Evaluation of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR)

Inception report

Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok

Date: 19 July 2024

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AICHR	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
APHR	Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
CCHR	Climate Change & Business and Human Rights
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFF	Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms
EQ	Evaluation Question
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FoRB	Freedom of Religion or Belief
GRES	Gender Results Effectiveness Scale
HQ	Headquarter
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
IPAM	International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar
IPi	International Parliamentary Inquiry
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union (for democracy)
IPPFoRB	International Panel of Parliamentarians for Freedom of Religion or Belief
KI/KII	Key Informant/ Key Informant Interview
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MC	Myanmar Crisis
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
MEL Fk	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Framework
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MP	Member(s) of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSF	Open Society Foundations
PDR	People's Democratic Republic
PM	Project Manager
PRADHEA	Parliamentarians regional actions to promote and protect democracy, human rights and the environment in ASEAN
QA	Quality Assurance
R&M	Refugees and Migrants' Rights
RBM	Results based management
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEA	South East Asia
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
tbc	To be confirmed
ToC	Theory of Change
ToR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview of the inception phase

The evaluation team has used the inception phase to:

1. *Conduct a preliminary document review*

We conducted a preliminary review of documents generated by APHR, including its Theory of Change and other background documents. A list of documents is available in the Annex section VI. This review enabled a better overall understanding of APHR, its successes and challenges, and its current approach to monitoring; evaluation and learning.

2. *Hold preliminary interviews with key stakeholders*

Preliminary interviews helped us to consider the scope, utility dimensions, identify key stakeholders, and gain useful background knowledge.

3. *Establish an overview of available data.*

Working with the APHR Secretariat and the newly recruited APHR MEL consultant (3rd week of June) we were able to establish a partial overview of available qualitative and quantitative data. Most data is output focused. There is less data than ideal. The consultant is working with the Secretariat to identify data and collect it. This helped to shape our choice of methods/methodology and the questions laid down in various data collection tools.

4. *Identify and map out stakeholders and establish a stakeholder engagement plan*

Using the results of the above, we were able to identify stakeholders and conduct a stakeholder mapping and sketch out an engagement plan – essential given the busy-ness of most stakeholders, and the relatively short time frame for the evaluation exercise. This is available in Annex section I.

5. *Revisit evaluation (sub)questions to adjust their focus towards enhanced fit for purpose*

Based on discussions with the main intended users of the evaluation and our preliminary reviews of data and documents, we were able to revise the scope of the evaluation and the evaluation questions to ensure they were fit-for-purpose, realistic and achievable within the evaluation time frame and under the current APHR framework.

6. *Refine our evaluation methods and methodologies to ensure fit for purpose*

We reviewed and refined our methods for collecting and analysing data, including selection criteria for more in-depth analyses, evaluation instruments, rationales etc and provided a more detailed presentation of our proposed methodology, based on data and document review, and results of preliminary interviews.

7. *Prepare an evaluation matrix.*

8. *Update the workplan, timeline, milestones and deliverables.*

9. *Hold an inception meeting and update the inception report.*

After discussion of the draft inception report at an inception meeting, and following observation of the APHR conference “Climate Resilience – Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians”¹ and intensive interaction with APHR members, stakeholders, Secretariat and Board members therein, the evaluation questions and approach were further revised to better match key stakeholder expectations. This report includes those modifications.

1.2 Inception report structure

The inception report structure is as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduces the report and an overview of what was done during the inception phase.

Chapter 2: Presents an overview of APHR, including its organisation, funding, and strategic framework.

Chapter 3: Explains the evaluation context and purpose, and presents revised Evaluation Questions.

Chapter 4: Outlines our selected approach and methods for the evaluation. This includes a presentation of the data collection tools and an analysis of potential limitations which may affect the evaluation, and how these will be mitigated.

Chapter 5: Delineates the evaluation plan with the phases of the evaluation; milestones and deliverables; risk management and quality control; and an updated work plan.

At the end of the inception report, the following annexes are found:

1. Stakeholder analysis and engagement plan
2. Evaluation matrix
3. Proposed revised evaluation questions – explained
4. Interview guide for Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)
5. Draft E-survey questions
6. List of documents reviewed
7. List of familiarisation interviews
8. APHR Theory of Change and MEL Framework
9. APHR Organigram
10. Evaluation Terms of Reference

2. APHR

2.1 APHR in brief

Purpose: APHR² is a non-political, non-partisan membership organisation, with no links or affiliations to any political parties. APHR seeks to help create a region where people can express themselves without fear, live free from all forms of discrimination and violence, and where sustainable development takes place with human rights at the forefront. At the same time, it takes political positions on key

¹ Kuala Lumpur, 12-14 July 2024, Malaysia Parliament Hall (SPAN, Parliament of Malaysia, APHR).

² The text in this sub-section is from the Sida-NP APHR Grant Extension 2022-2024 document.

issues that affect democracy and human rights in the region of South East Asia. It is a regional network of individual current and former parliamentarians who use its unique positions to advance and defend human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia. It encourages sustainable solutions that increase pressure on governments, regional bodies, and multilateral entities to enhance accountability and uphold and enforce international human rights laws. APHR members, about 40% of whom are female, and the Secretariat, work closely with civil society, conduct fact-finding missions and parliamentary reviews, report to Parliaments, and publish statements, toolkits, reports, recommendations, and opinion-pieces on important issues affecting the region.

Legal structure: APHR is a non-profit organisation registered in Indonesia, and its headquarters are formally there. APHR is governed through a Board of Directors composed of current and former members of parliament from the region. It is supported by a small Secretariat of full-time staff, scattered across Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta and Manila. It is also supported by part-time national focal points (NFPs), who are resident in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand (and sometimes Myanmar) and chiefly provide regular parliamentary news briefings to the Secretariat.

Whilst the Board is the ultimate decision-making body, it aims to represent and speak on behalf of the wider APHR membership. The Board oversees the Executive Director and also fulfils Executive Committee functions, working closely with the Secretariat. Members³ are able to access and request support or resources, and to join activities, via requests to the Secretariat. Members are usually called together at an annual forum where, amongst other things, they review the Annual Report, and ideate on proposed forward movement, exchange knowledge and experiences. They are invited to participate in key APHR conferences/events.

Members: APHR is a membership driven organisation and much of its policy, advocacy, and programmatic work relies on active and progressive members who are current and former parliamentarians. Members include MPs in exile. Since its establishment in 2015, APHR membership has grown from seven members to approximately 140 members from Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Timor-Leste. APHR also includes approximately ten associate members⁴.

Membership value-added in APHR provides current, former (and future) parliamentarians in the region with a network of like-minded legislators and peers with whom to interact, provide mutual support, exchange views and gain professional support to enhance their human rights-and-democracy related advocacy efforts. Additionally, APHR membership brings various benefits such as priority access for participation in a range of activities and events related to human rights in the region.

Support: APHR is supported primarily by core funders and complemented by project funding. Whilst core donors have traditionally been Sweden, Norway and the Open Society Foundations (OSF), for the

³ APHR institutionally uses « members » and « MPs » inter-changeably, even though some members are (actually) former MPs. Therefore, this report and the final evaluation report is likely to (also) use these two terms inter-changeably. The underlying assumption being that former MPs are likely, at some point, to be (new) MPs, and/or that former MPs who are members are working towards supporting current MPs.

⁴ APHR website lists these as from Australia, Germany, Hong Kong, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, and Taiwan.

period 2022-2024, these are Sweden (Sida) and OSF. According to the evaluation terms of reference, the total budget for implementing the Strategic Framework is US\$ 3,282,201. Out of the total budget, Sweden is covering 56 %. Funds budgeted are US\$ 1,841,734 and spent US\$ 776,975. Just under 30% is provided by OSF; and the remaining 15% by project donors (for succinct, focused activities). APHR's project donors include Article 19 (Internet Freedom); the Norwegian Helsinki Committee (collaboration project with IPPFoRB in the APHR thematic area of FoRB); the Hanns-Seidel Foundation (various joint activities with APHR democracy thematic area); and the Norwegian Embassy in Jakarta (a project of PRADHEA⁵).

2.2 APHR strategic objectives

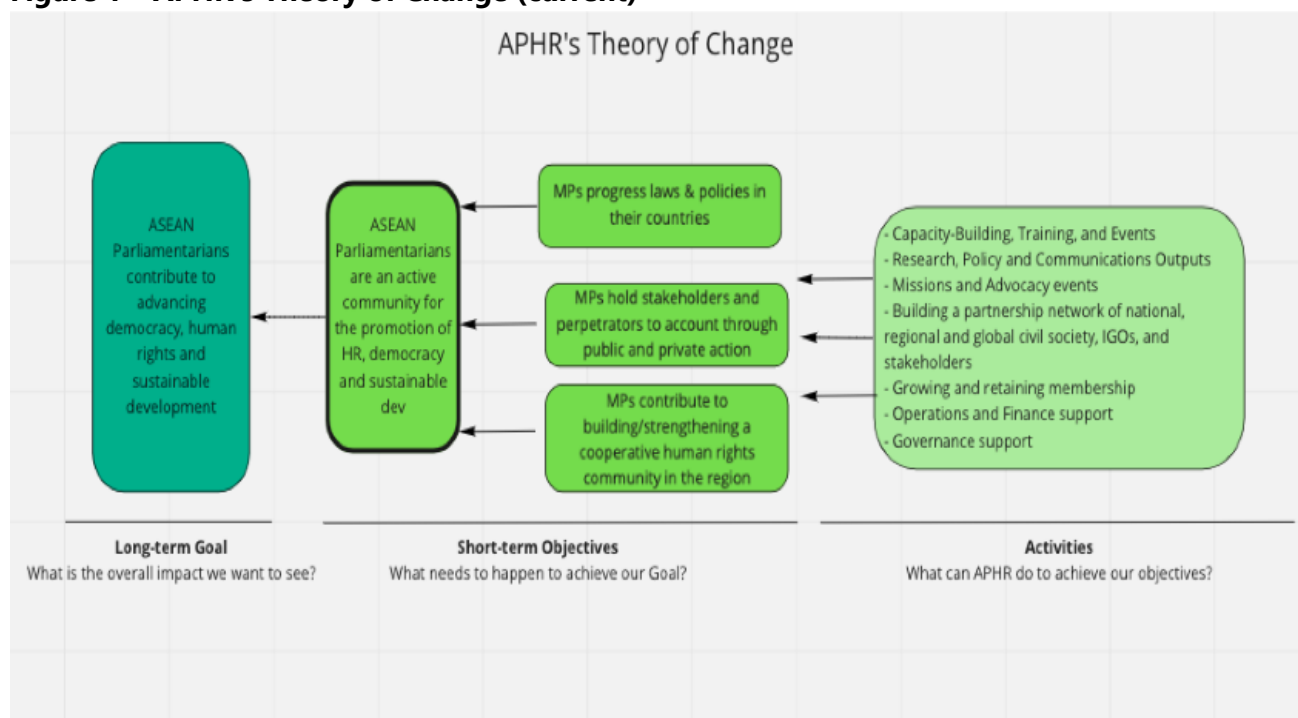
APHR's strategic objectives and Theory of Change (ToC); and the monitoring, evaluation and learning framework (MEL Fk), illustrated in the two diagrams below, were relatively recently updated, in part as a result of a strategic review in 2021⁶. They help guide APHR programmes and actions and constitute key considerations for the current evaluation. The ToC and MEL Fk were initially reviewed during the inception phase in order to help the evaluation team to situate/ground the evaluation, and refine our approach, methods, methodology and our suggested revisions to the evaluation sub-questions. These were further reviewed during interactions at the conference in Kuala Lumpur.

The stated APHR strategic objectives are: (1) MPs progress laws and policies in their countries; (2) MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private oversight; (3) MPs strengthen the human rights and democracy footprint in the region. These objectives are accompanied by a set of outcome indicators.

⁵ PRADHEA is Parliamentarians Regional Action for Democracy and Human Rights. This is the alternative name for APHR used by donors.

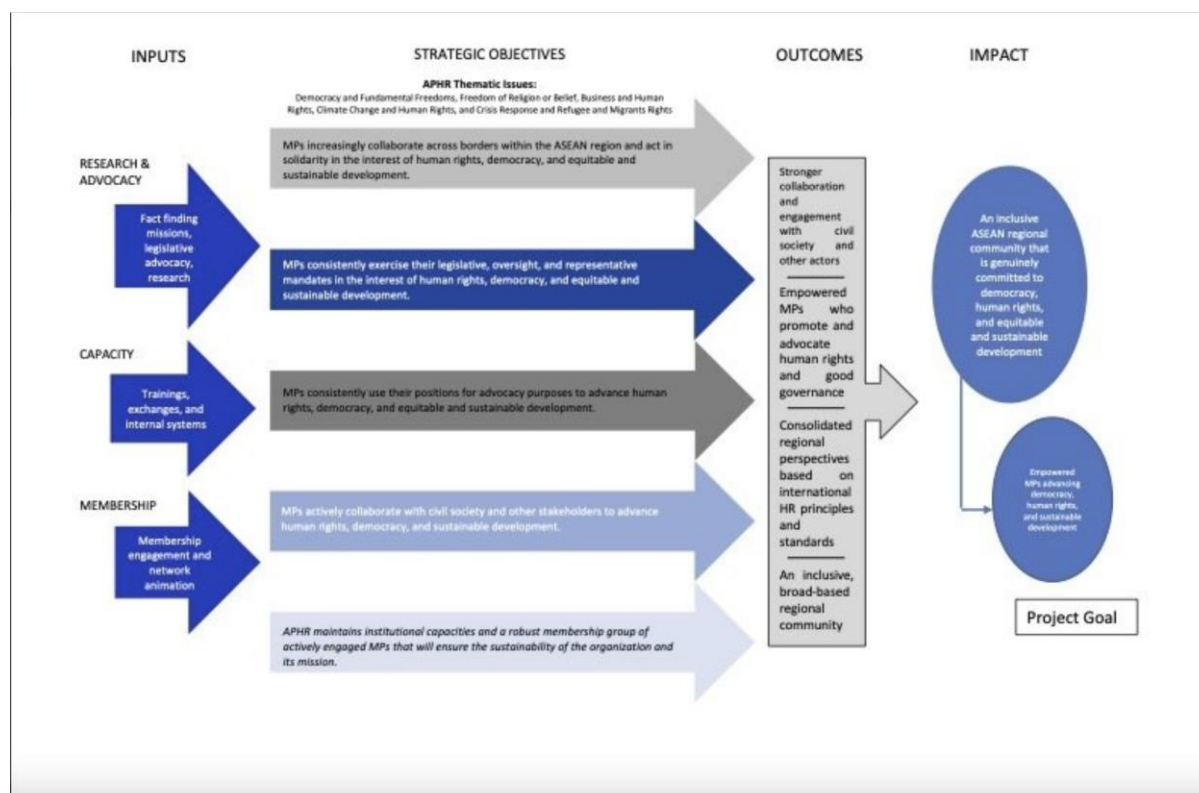
⁶ Strategic Assessment of APHR programmes and strategies (2019-2021) (conducted by an independent expert for APHR).

Figure 1 – APHR's Theory of Change (current)



This ToC was updated in 2022. Prior to that the ToC was as shown below in Figure 2.

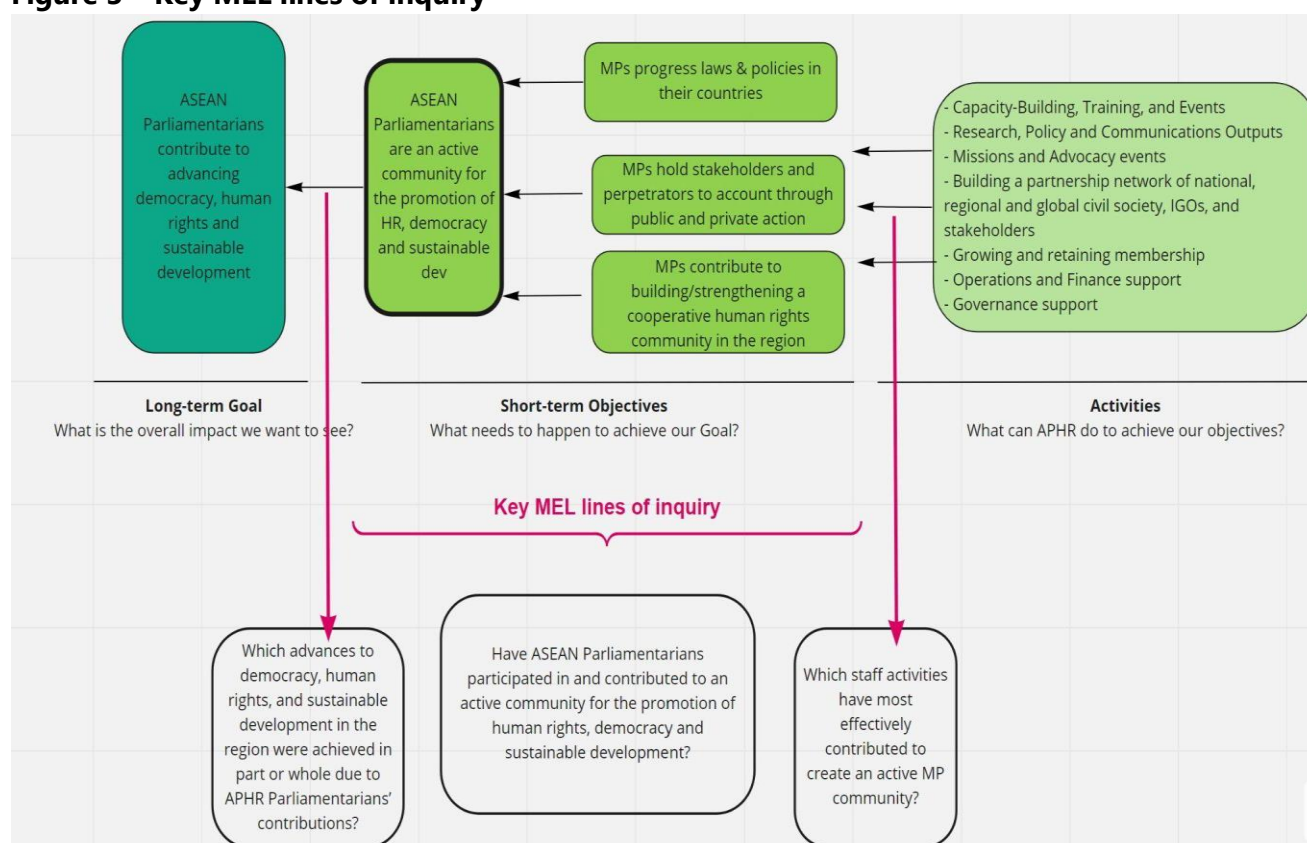
Figure 2 – APHR's Theory of Change (previous)



The current MEL Framework includes three principal axes of inquiry: (1) Have ASEAN Parliamentarians participated in and contributed to an active community for the promotion of human rights, democracy and sustainable development? (2) Which staff activities based on thematic issues have most effectively contributed to create an active member community? (3) Which advances to democracy, human rights, and sustainable development in the region were achieved in part or whole due to APHR members' contributions?

These are illustrated below in relation to the current Theory of Change goal, objectives, and activities. The Theory of Change and MEL framework are available in more detail in Annex VIII.

Figure 3 – Key MEL lines of inquiry



3. The Assignment

3.1 Geo-political context

The Asia-Pacific region continues to experience challenges in human rights, democratisation processes, gender equality, migration, climate, and the environment, despite or perhaps because of rapid economic growth. The region has seen a clear increase in: laws restricting freedom of the press and expression, association and assembly; inequality, religious intolerance and xenophobia; populist leadership; societal and political divisions; discrimination. Importantly parliamentarians, civil society, and the media are increasingly facing structural challenges when promoting legislative changes and when trying to hold governments to account. Threats, conflicts, instability, lack of hope and environmentally unsustainable development are increasing flows of migrants within and across borders. These migrants are particularly vulnerable where rights are unclear.

Moreover, as this evaluation's terms of reference point out, the **rights of parliamentarians** and lawmakers across the region are increasingly **restricted**, and legislators are increasingly at risk and under threat in a general atmosphere of weakening human rights safeguards and shrinking democratic and civic space. In some instances, elected MPs have had to flee to exile⁷, and activists are at threat, detained and harassed. Parliamentarians are increasingly targeted for carrying out their oversight duties, for speaking truth to power, and for representing the priorities of the people they represent. Under these circumstances, it is more important than ever to support parliamentarians and advocates, and reinforce capacities, tools and mechanisms that may help them to use their positions to effect positive transformation and change, and bring legislation more in line with international human rights law and standards. When national civic and democratic space shrinks, it may be more important than ever to reinforce regional voices and political activism as a strategic, and perhaps more effective, tool of influence than may be possible at the national level. This is in part why APHR was created.

APHR's strategic framework and Theory of Change are devised against this backdrop against which the evaluation exercise will also be situated.

3.2 Evaluation context

Sweden and other donors agreed to finance a grant proposal covering 2019-2021. A Strategic Assessment of APHR programmes and strategies (2019-2021), carried out by an independent expert, identified that its added value and unique contributions to the region included:

- APHR's ability to take bold, high-quality, and credible positions on issues affecting both the region and individual countries;
- APHR's ability to be a bridge between national parliaments, their members, and civil society organisations;

⁷ Cambodia ; Myanmar.

- APHR's unique membership-base – made up entirely of current and former members of Parliament who are committed to the promotion of human rights and democracy.

At the same time, the strategic assessment provided suggestions to improve APHR's strategies and work to better achieve its goals and mandate, and these were used by APHR to restructure and to refocus.

Sweden and other donors agreed to a cost extension⁸ covering the period 2022-2024. Within this backdrop, and at the urgency of the APHR Board, the Development Cooperation Section, Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok have commissioned NIRAS to deliver an external end-of-programme evaluation of APHR (in partnership with key traditional partners, namely Government of Norway and the Open Society Foundation).

This evaluation will constitute an important element for APHR in its considerations of its future strategy and approach, and under its (soon to be) new Executive Director⁹. It is also a key element for Sweden in its deliberations concerning further support, beyond the current Grant Extension (2022-2024)¹⁰ and within the current Swedish regional strategy¹¹.

3.3 Evaluation purpose

The main purpose of the evaluation is to identify results, collect lessons learnt and provide APHR and its donors with recommendations for future strategic programme design and implementation to sustainably advance human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia.

The **evaluation object** is APHR (Sida contribution no. 12004, core support APHR 2019-2024).

The **scope of the evaluation** is the current Strategic Framework of APHR (2022-2024), with reference to results implemented through the previous Strategic Framework (2019-2021). (This includes the Theory of Change.)

The **intended use of the evaluation** is to provide learning opportunities for APHR and its Secretariat, Board, and members; as well as for Sweden and other core donors. The evaluation will facilitate a stock taking of progress so far and deepen learning on what works well and less well. The evaluation will be used to:

⁸ APHR_GrantProposal_2019-21_SIDA; and Sida NP_APHR Grant Extension 2022-2024

⁹ Several senior management roles are currently vacant. This includes the Executive Director (ED) position. The selected new ED will start by end December 2024. Though the Director of Programmes was also acting as interim ED, she is due to leave APHR end July 2024. The Director of Programmes, Programme Coordinator for the Thematic Portfolio on Crises/Myanmar, Director for Media and Advocacy, and Programme Coordinator for Freedom of Religion or Belief are vacant as of report writing. The work stream on migrants is suspended.

¹⁰ APHR - Parliamentarians Regional Action for Democracy and Human Rights (PRADHA) Sweden Cost Extension, Jan 2022 - Dec 2024.

¹¹ Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022-2026.

- Inform decisions on how the new Strategic Framework may be **adjusted** and improved.
- Deliver information on how implementation, including monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) and strategic communication can be **strengthened** to contribute to, and capture, results beyond output-level.
- Provide APHR, Sweden and other donors with input to upcoming **discussions** concerning the preparation of a possible new phase of intervention.
- Provide findings to be used for **reporting purposes**, such as to the Swedish government.

The **objectives** of the evaluation are to:

- Evaluate the **relevance, effectiveness, impact, and sustainability** of APHRs current Strategic Framework.
- Formulate **recommendations** on how its Secretariat, Board and members can **improve and adjust implementation**.
- Formulate **recommendations** for input to upcoming discussions concerning the preparation of **APHR's new Strategic Framework**, and possible continued support from core donors.

3.4 Evaluation questions

In order to review and validate the evaluation questions, and methodology choices, the evaluation team (ET) used the inception phase to consider available data, review and analyse documentation, consult with key stakeholders in familiarisation interviews and reflect on the results of preliminary background discussions with Key Informants. The results of this initial analysis enhanced the evaluation team's understanding of the assignment, and this was presented in an initial draft inception report. Following the inception meeting, and suggestions and reactions therein, combined with further discussions and observations during the APHR Conference¹², and better understanding for the paucity of MEL data, the analysis and methodological choices and evaluation questions were further refined. The following sections detail the final proposed approach and evaluation questions.

Democratic change processes are driven by changes in behaviours, practices, knowledge, and relationships by actors and institutions in both government and civil society. As is the case in much of the democracy, human rights, and parliamentary assistance work carried out in transition countries with international support, a key issue is to define outcomes and results in a meaningful and useful way in relation to the task at hand. In terms of relevance and effectiveness, APHR, as a network of legislators (and, some would say, politicians) is seeking to effect positive transitions along the human rights/democratisation trajectory. As such it seeks to create a community of advocates who can shed light on democratic challenges defined by its members, consolidate and build relationships, build solidarity, provide inspiration to advocate in often risky and negative environments, exchange knowledge and practices with an aim to help evolve legislation (and parliamentary practices), change behaviours, bring international attention to pressing issues and thereby help consolidate democratisation processes. Since the region is strongly inter-connected, and trends tend to "spill over" from one country to the

¹² Climate Resilience Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians «Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia Parliament Hall, 12-14 July 2024.

next, peer networks across countries in the region (and beyond) and consolidated positioning are seen as key.

For APHR this entails a learning and adaptive approach to results management. For the evaluation this entails understanding how APHR has helped call attention to crucial issues or events, or create changes to relationships, practices and behaviours, and the extent to which a focus on building solidarity, providing inspiration, energy and moral support, enhancing knowledge and skills, providing a space for learning and exchange, encouraging positive attitudes and focusing on timely advocacy opportunities have contributed to positive transitions towards democratisation and human rights. A key dimension is what “positive transitions” are (or what they mean) in the increasingly complex political environment across Southeast Asia. As a Network, it is important for the evaluation exercise to examine the extent that APHR has consolidated connectivity, deepened solidarity, provided space for exchange of ideas, knowledge building, engaged with and influenced key moments or actors in such a way as to have been perceived by its members as having helped them to be more effective or able parliamentarians (i.e., legislators) or advocates and helped them to “stay in the democracy and human rights endeavour” and if so, how or in relation to what.

In relation to sustainability the evaluation team understands that this is linked to network health (established structures of the network, how work is governed and resourced) and to the prospects that it is likely to continue to receive support moving forward. This is in part related to its overall perceived utility, relevance, and its effectiveness, and the extent to which APHR is perceived as a unique network in the region that provides a useful entry point for supporting democracy and human rights and added value as a responsive facilitator/network, provider of space for reflective exchange, joint learning and action.

In practical terms, the evaluation team also understands that the most realistic sources of quantitative and qualitative data are: (a) APHR annual reports and output documents, data from APHR MEL system (b) interviews (c) observation (d) a short survey (accompanied by heavy promotion) to a broad number of stakeholders, both members of APHR and beyond. Generally, and this is detailed in the methods section, the evaluation team will use a contributions analysis approach and use interviews of Key Informants to gather narratives in order to map outcomes (Outcome Mapping¹³) and understand and shed light on results emerging from APHR. It will look at the MEL Framework as well as the strategic framework and theory of change, and consider the extent to which these have been effective tools and are relevant moving forward.

The ET proposes revisions to the evaluation questions. These aim to narrow the scope to match the resources and time-frame of the exercise, to enhance clarity, and to ensure that the questions the evaluation investigates are as relevant as possible to the APHR as a network of influencers – quite different to a classical “development programme” *per se*. A succinct list of the proposed (revised) evaluation questions is provided below. A more detailed discussion of the evaluation questions, what they entail, and why they were revised, is available in the Annex III. It is useful to note that responses to some sub-

¹³ <https://www.outcomemapping.ca>

questions will overlap, so in the final report it is likely that each main question will respond to all its sub-questions in a harmonised and succinct way to avoid unnecessary repetitive detail.

3.4.1 Proposed Revised Evaluation Questions – List

EQ1 *Relevance – How relevant is APHR?*

EQ1.1 In relation to democracy and human rights evolutions and challenges that APHR members and parliamentarians in the region face, how important is it to have a regional network such as APHR? Does APHR occupy a unique niche and how relevant is this in the Southeast Asia/ASEAN context? What gaps might it be filling? How relevant is APHR to its members and to its stakeholders?

EQ1.2 To what extent are the objectives of APHR's programme, as set out in the most recent Strategic Framework and Theory of Change (November 2021), still relevant and valid? (*linked to sub-question EQ4.1*)

EQ2 *Effectiveness - Is APHR achieving its objectives*

EQ2.1 How effective has APHR been in addressing challenges in the region, and moving the needle therein?

- To what extent has APHR taken bold, high-quality, and credible positions on issues affecting the region and individual countries?
- To what extent has APHR fostered increased collaboration amongst its members across borders within the Southeast Asian region (to consolidate solidarity and actions for human rights, democratisation and sustainable development)?
- To what extent has APHR cooperated with and reached out beyond the Asian region?
- To what extent has APHR helped foster stronger engagement with civil society and other actors and provided a bridge between parliamentarians, advocates, members, and civil society and other organisations to consolidate advocacy positions and intentions?
- To what extent does APHR act as a regional thought leader, or create an ideation and thought leadership incubation space? To what extent does it help members to enhance and strengthen their knowledge, skills, connections and ideas to help them advance human rights, democracy and sustainable development?
- To what extent has APHR consolidated an inclusive, broad-based regional community of democracy and human rights advocates?

EQ2.2 To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of gender equality¹⁴? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?

EQ2.3 To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of environment and climate change? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?

EQ3 Impact - What high-level effects has APHR had?

EQ3.1 in enabling and supporting continued attention to democracy and human rights in the South East Asia region, and beyond, what high-level effects has APHR had?

EQ4 Sustainability - How sustainable is APHR as a network in the future?

EQ4.1 Are the ToC and Strategic Framework accurate reflections of APHR as it moves forward? (linked to sub-question EQ1.2)

EQ4.2 Have the M&E Framework and system delivered robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? To what extent does APHR have the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions as lessons emerge on what is more or less relevant, what works more or less well? How are gender equality dimensions integrated within monitoring, learning and evaluation exercises, and used to enhance APHR actions? Suggestions for improvements where appropriate.

EQ4.3 How sustainable is APHR as a regional network in the future? What is the health of the Network, and are its established structures and the way it, and its work, are governed, managed, staffed and resourced, fit for purpose? Are they sustainable moving forward?

4. Approach and methods

In this section we present our overall approach, the design and conceptual framework of the evaluation, and the data collection strategies we intend to apply.

4.1 Overall approach

Our overall approach aims to ensure that the purpose and intended use of this evaluation are met effectively, with the highest quality possible, and that intended users are involved in the process. It includes a mixed methods approach focused on collecting data through standard evaluation processes: Document and data review, Key Informant Interviews (KIs), and a brief survey. Though a small focus group discussion (FGDs) may be used, scheduling challenges are likely to impede this, or to make more than one difficult. Our stakeholder mapping will allow us to identify key stakeholders for consultation

¹⁴ « gender equality » incorporates all genders / LGBTQ+ dimensions.

and to group appropriate approaches for collecting primary data. We intend to analyse these data and outcome narratives from the perspective of Contribution Analysis, as well as Gender Analysis.

4.2 Evaluation design – approach, methods, data collection tools

4.2.1 Approach

4.2.1.1 *Participation, learning and utility – utilisation focused approach*

The evaluation intends to contribute to and facilitate decision-making in a meaningful way, so that the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the evaluation are concrete, specific, and actionable for the various **intended users** of the evaluation. Our design therefore integrates a **strong utilisation focus** and an **open, participatory, and inclusive** approach to the evaluation process in order to ensure **utility** and enhance **learning**.

The evaluation is accordingly designed, and will be conducted and reported in such a way as to meet the needs of the intended users. To do so effectively requires establishing a constructive working relationship between the evaluation team and key evaluation stakeholders and the inception phase has been used to launch this approach. The evaluation process will continue to **engage regularly** with intended users and other key stakeholders, throughout the evaluation process, in discussions, analysis and assessments to stimulate **critical reflections and learning**.

4.2.1.2 *Contribution Analysis approach*

The process of influencing policy or legislative change and translating these into practice is ordinarily very long and iterative. Policy and legislative change are highly complex processes shaped by a multitude of interacting forces and actors. The nature of the advocacy work carried out by APHR works in partnership with others, to create more sustainable change. However, a main challenge in evaluating advocacy interventions is that we cannot know with absolute certainty that actions caused a change. Even if APHR tracked activities and tracked changes in the decisions taken by legislators, knowing how far to attribute those changes to its activities can be complex due to the difficulty of constructing robust counterfactuals. Hence, the evaluation will try to identify how APHR '**contributed**' i.e., how its advocacy and other initiatives helped to achieve/influence (along with other factors and actors) its members so that they could themselves advocate or promote a policy or legislative change.¹⁵

The process involves understanding how coalition building (new or stronger networks, more effective network activities) has helped to shape the agenda through shifts in oral and written rhetoric, new items that appear in political discussions, a reframing of topics within specific legislative discussions or papers, and how any of this is covered by the media. The ultimate 'tipping point' for understanding effect would be a change in policy or legislation, actual parliamentary or government budgetary commitments, and plans to deliver on those commitments.

¹⁵ Drawn from « Monitoring and evaluating advocacy », Save the Children

Contribution Analysis is a theory-based evaluative approach that is useful in complex environments in which direct attribution and contribution can be difficult to identify. It considers the interventions being evaluated as complex objects in complex environments and recognises that successful results depend on a diversity of drivers, contexts and factors. It is not a counterfactual approach that aims at identifying what worked in isolation from the context. Most importantly, when using a Contribution Analysis approach, we will not aim to establish impact irrefutably in the complex environment in which APHR functions. We aim to reduce uncertainty about APHR's contributions to the changes or outcomes that have occurred, and to draw lessons and recommendations from that.¹⁶

It consists of progressively formulating "contribution claims" in a process involving key stakeholders, and then testing these hypotheses systematically, using a variety of methods (which may be qualitative or mixed). As a theory-based evaluation approach we would aim to 1) develop a set of hypotheses (theories) about the effects of APHR or the changes/outcomes it contributed to (what are they, how they been achieved, in which cases, why...) 2) test these hypotheses through the collection and analysis of information; and 3) update them accordingly.

This approach will help us to understand the extent to which APHR contributed to its vision, mission, goal, and strategic objectives (namely progressing towards more empowered and more capable parliamentarians able to promote and protect democracy, human rights and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region (mission). The goal is to generate a plausible, evidence-based explanation of the contribution that a rational person would likely concur with, rather than to establish definitive proof.

The team defines outcomes in this instance as *"an observable and significant change in an APHR member's behaviour, relationships, activities, actions, policies, laws or practices, connections, learning, networking, solidarity building that has been achieved, or that has been influenced, by APHR as a change agent."*¹⁷ Using collected narratives on how or whether APHR has contributed to these, the evaluation team hopes to be able to connect observed effects with triggering factors or variables, and to make sense of outcomes that the APHR may have influenced, in particular when direct cause-effect are not necessarily clear-cut, known, or completely attributable. The significance attributed to a set of actions is assigned by the consulted stakeholders themselves, making it reflective of diverse viewpoints. This also helps assess the extent to which the APHR's own Theory of Change remains valid. A variety of data collection tools will be used (discussed further down under methods and tools) to acquire data that also allows triangulation.

4.2.1.3 Gender transformative approach and environment focus

The evaluation will integrate a gender-analytical approach by using methodological tools that include explicit focus on gender equality issues, including discussions on the extent to which initiatives promote a **gender transformative approach**. The data analysis, conclusions, and recommendations will include

¹⁶ Drawn from « Policy Evaluation : Methods and Approaches » <https://scienceetbiencommun.pressbooks.pub/pubpolevaluation/chapter/contribution-analysis/>

¹⁷ Drawn from Wilson-Grau and Britt 2012 on Outcome Harvesting.

explicit analysis related to gender equality as well as identify any related gaps.

In relation to the environment and climate change, APHR thematic portfolio “Climate Change and Business and Human Rights” will constitute a sampling arena as the Evaluation Team will use an APHR conference “Climate resilience in Southeast Asia: Strengthening the role of Parliamentarians” and delve into the results of APHR led environmental parliamentary reviews in three countries.

4.2.2 Data collection, methods and tools

In applying the above approaches, the team will use a set of mixed methods and data collection tools. Based on analysis, discussions and initial assessments, that allowed us to determine the realistic feasibility of different methods and tools, we foresee:

- Direct Observation:
APHR conference on “Climate resilience: strengthening the role of Parliamentarians”
- Semi-Structured Interviews with Key Informants and Outcome Harvesting
- Document review
- MEL data review
- Stakeholder mapping and engagement plan
- Survey

4.2.2.1 Direct Observation Method

The direct observation method¹⁸ derives from the practice of ethnographic observation, which is an old tradition in the social sciences, particularly in anthropology. It is part of qualitative evaluation methods and aims to overcome the limitations of quantitative data, or activity focused data which are based solely on statistical analyses, and the overall numerical picture they provide. Direct observation allows a more nuanced approach to grasping the practical situations that constitute legislation-relevant creation (policies, positions, agreements, etc) and network interaction on the ground, or first-hand description or understanding of the material conditions of its success or failure or unexpected results. This evaluation will also combine observation and Outcome Harvesting with semi-structured interviews with Key Informants. Observation makes it possible to reconstruct what these interviews cannot say: first of all, it makes it possible to circumvent the self-censorship that informants often impose on themselves in interviews, particularly when it comes to talking about the quality of their work, or the work of an institution they are affiliated with, and the performance of their missions or the institution’s missions.

4.2.2.2 Semi-Structured Interview Method with Key Informants and Outcome Harvesting Technique

The semi-structured interview method¹⁹ is a standard qualitative research technique. It includes a verbal interaction with Key Informants (either one-on-one or in small groups) solicited by the interviewer from

¹⁸ Drawn from Nicolas Fischer’ s chapter 9, of « Policy Evaluation : Methods and Approaches » <https://scienceetbiencommun.press-books.pub/pubpolevaluation/chapter/contribution-analysis/>

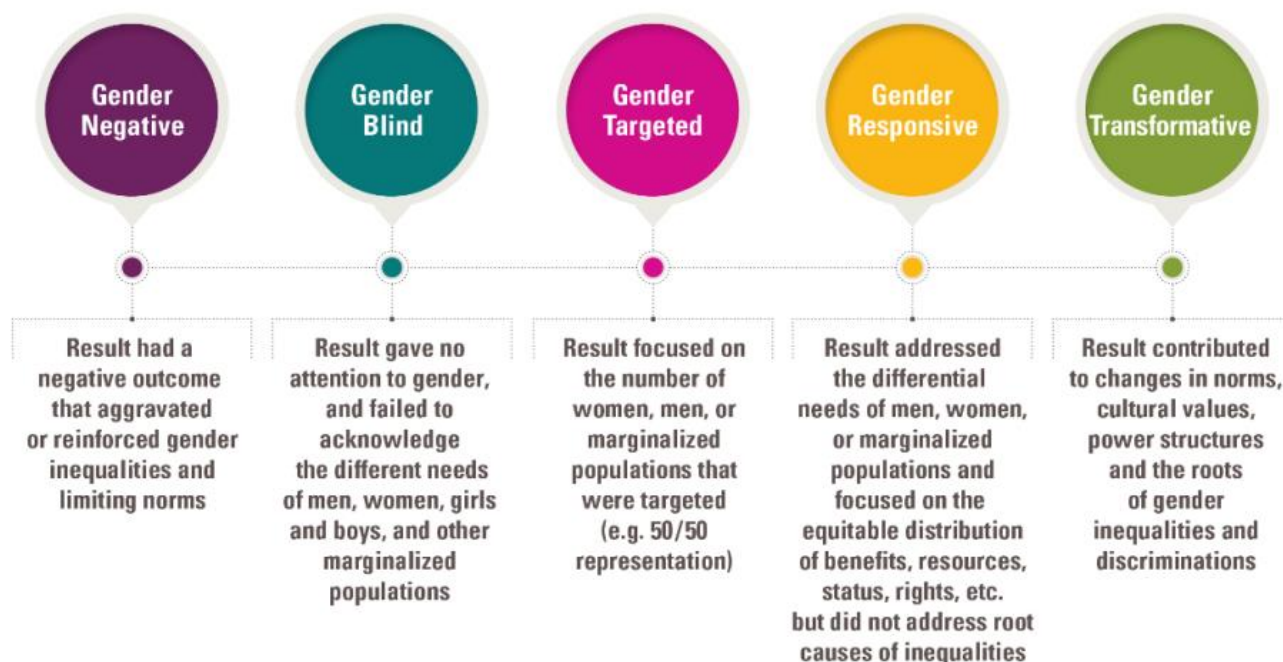
¹⁹ Drawn from Clément Pin’s chapter 10, of « Policy Evaluation : Methods and Approaches »

a respondent, based on a grid of questions used in a very flexible manner. The interview aims both to collect information and to give an account of the person's experience and view of topics at hand (e.g., APHR), from a comprehensive perspective. It will help provide responses to the main evaluation questions, including APHR's implementation and results and how APHR is perceived by key stakeholders. The evaluation team, using the results of a stakeholder mapping, will hold KIIs with a broad range of APHR stakeholders. (Discussed further down.)

An important dimension of the KIIs will be the use of an Outcome Harvesting technique. This is a utilisation-focused, participatory tool. It will enable the evaluation team to identify, formulate, verify, or make sense of outcomes that APHR has helped to effect, or influenced, since it is likely to be relatively difficult to pin-point precise relationships of cause and-effect. Questions related to Outcome Harvesting will help produce a set of plausible 'outcome narratives' that will then shed light on how APHR has contributed to change, and/or its strategic objectives. In relation to this, outcome is generally understood as "An observable and significant change in a social actor's behaviour, relationships, activities, actions, policies or practice that has been achieved and that has been influenced by the change agent".²⁰

4.2.2.3 Gender Results Effectiveness Scale (GRES)

Figure 4 – Gender responsive evaluation.



Source: Adapted from the Evaluation of UNDP Contribution to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, IEO, UNDP, 2015

²⁰ Drawn from Wilson-Grau and Britt, 2012 cited in Ford Foundation, "Outcome Harvesting".

The team will apply the Gender Results Effectiveness Scale (GRES) when reviewing documents and data and during observation. This will help the team determine the level of gender equality effectiveness (from negative/blind to gender transformative) that is integrated across APHR results and output. The team will draw, as needed, on Sida's *Gender Toolbox*; [Sida's toolkits for gender mainstreaming and gender analysis](#); and [good practices on gender-responsive evaluation \(GRE\) approaches and methods by UN Women \(2020\)](#).

4.2.2.4 Document and data review

In-depth review of the available documentation and data will allow the evaluation team to examine the Theory of Change, the strategy and the strategic framework, the portfolio, the organisation, and the available MEL related outputs. The document review will give the team a concentrated understanding of APHR. An initial review has provided important input during the inception phase, including paucity of outcome related data in particular. An initial review has helped refine the approaches proposed in the data collection phase, the choice of Key Informants, and a re-shape of the evaluation sub-questions. The team will also review available information on the APHR context – and attempt to summarise the underlying environments within which APHR operates/operated.

4.2.2.5 Stakeholder mapping and engagement plan

An initial list of stakeholders (and intended users) has been identified during the inception phase through a **stakeholder mapping exercise**. We define 'stakeholders' as individuals or organisations affected in some way by the outcome of the evaluation process or affected by the performance of the project / programme / strategy, or both. The exercise identified key stakeholders, assessed their interests and motivations, and shed some light on power dynamics, capacities and constraints, and relationships. This helped us to identify key entry points for engagement and devise practical and realistic strategies for engagement. It also allowed the team to verify stakeholder needs (in relation to the evaluation) and clarify stakeholder participation. We are still waiting to complete the list with individual names and contact details, though we do have an initial set.

The stakeholder engagement plan matrix is available in the Annex section II. It is a result of this exercise, and clearly outlines how the stakeholders are expected to participate and contribute to the evaluation process. It will guide the data collection process and help to validate which stakeholders will serve as the **main sources** for the evaluation, and the **main receivers/users** of its findings and recommendations. Stakeholders are identified with the help of the APHR Secretariat and represent a sampling across stakeholder categories. The aim is to have a broad base of diverse stakeholders to allow triangulation and verification. A certain degree of snowballing is likely (whereby an interview leads to an unforeseen additional interview). As part of the stakeholder engagement plan, the team plans spaces for **reflection, learning and discussion** amongst the intended users of the evaluation – first in a discussion on the inception report – but also through a learning and feedback sessions(s) towards the end of the data analysis phase and before the final evaluation report is finalised. During the data collection phase, KIIs will be conducted with individuals chosen in a purpose sampling approach that includes an understanding of the stakeholder's level of engagement and influence, and these will balance between categories of stakeholders relevant to the topic.

We have identified the following preliminary **stakeholders/Key Informants** for the evaluation: APHR, its members and board, APHRs donors (including Sweden), APHR staff across departments and portfolios, beneficiaries/ participants of APHR activities (e.g., APHR members) from across the APHR member countries, representatives of the APHR associated members (who have been involved with APHR), relevant NGOs and INGOs, CSOs, think tanks (both within the APHR member countries and beyond, as appropriate), international organisations, ASEAN.

4.2.2.6 Interviews

Familiarisation interviews:

The evaluation team conducted a few familiarisation interviews remotely during the early stages of the inception phase (mainly with Sweden, APHR Secretariat and Board). This helped the team to better understand respective expectations and intentions related to how the evaluation would be used. This helped the evaluation team to ensure a fit-for-purpose approach and methods selection, and to revise the evaluation sub-questions.

Key Informant Interviews:

Key informant Interviews (KIs) are a key source of triangulation and qualitative data, and a primary form of data collection throughout the evaluation. KIs will use a focused conversation method to hold semi-structured interviews with individuals. If scheduling permits, the team will hold small focus group discussions, but consultations with APHR Secretariat underscore the low probability that this is feasible given scheduling and the wide geographic spread of members. The same is true for any workshop. The national consultant, technical expert and the Team Leader will also conduct some face-to-face interviews in Kuala Lumpur. Though the bulk of KIs are expected to be virtual.

Discussions and interviews with Key Informants aim to probe and to follow-up on a deep dive review into available APHR documentation and data, and any relevant documentation from partners/members/associate members, and (as relevant) documentation from relevant external entities/partners, or from ASEAN. The interviews will use interview guides that we developed during the inception phase, and tailored to each category of respondent, as necessary. These guides are available in the Annex section IV. All interviews will be private and confidential unless the interviewee agrees to be cited.

4.2.2.7 Survey

A survey (primarily destined to APHR members but also including external key stakeholders) consisting of a short number of key questions will allow the evaluation team to efficiently capture qualitative data but also a set of statistically legitimate trends. Whilst survey results can provide quantitative data, this is primarily a qualitative tool that allows the evaluation team to efficiently capture the points of view of a large stakeholder cohort regarding the main successes and strengths, the relevance and value added, as well as suggestions for the future. The evaluation team will send an e-survey in order to capture, in particular, the value added of APHR as a network; and how effective it has been in helping members advance the strategic objectives captured in its Theory of Change. Survey responses from respondents

who are external to APHR will allow the evaluation team to capture the perceptions of APHR in a broader context. The survey responses will be anonymous and confidential.

4.2.2.8 *Media Gauge*

As an element of capturing the influence and reach of APHR, which ultimately helps to reinforce APHR's voice and prestige, the evaluation team will try to review the advocacy and media related data gathered by the APHR Secretariat to understand the depth and breadth of APHR "influence" across its member countries as reflected in the media. We are not quite sure what data has been captured yet. Interviews with members will also touch on this aspect. This is, in some ways, also linked to discussions around membership growth, and activating members, but also strongly correlated with legitimacy and the extent to which APHR has influential "voice".

4.2.2.9 *Sampling*

The evaluation will take a sampling approach to key stakeholders in order to ensure that KIs cover a relatively balanced number of respondents from the categories outlined in the engagement matrix. This approach has already been applied to the familiarisation interviews that included respondents from: donor, APHR Secretariat, APHR Board, former APHR staff, international organisation (IDEA), the expert of the 2021 strategic review of APHR, human rights//democracy experts in the region. The team also sampled media presence, very briefly, in the Philippines.

In addition to a (1) **general APHR**-wide sampling, the team will take also take a focused sampling approach to outcomes achieved in relation to (2) **Myanmar / Crisis**; and (3) **Climate**. The "**regional**" lens, including how APHR has interacted with and influenced ASEAN (the institution) will be used as a cross-thread in our endeavours, with a particular focus for this on Myanmar but also Climate.

The sample approach will allow a general overview complemented by a lens on two portfolio areas.

Myanmar and Crisis: Is a flagship activity and a core portfolio focus. It will help the team review how APHR supports MPs at risk, react to unforeseen political occurrences and events, and secures international focus and pressure on human rights and democracy. This will also examine the relation with instruments (IPAM, IPU), the utility of some APHR outputs, and help identify gaps as well as successes.

Climate and Human Rights: This is a new or "growth" portfolio. A focus here will help the team review programme development, a thematic portfolio working group, the role of the Board, interactions with civil society, and peer parliamentarian-led initiatives. In particular the July conference on climate resilience and its resulting report and the three parliamentary climate enquiries will help illustrate APHR outcomes, how members use APHR as a springboard, or inspiration (etc) to move forward towards effecting change.

Sampling "success" relies a great deal on the ET's ability to engage with difficult-to-reach-stakeholders, and APHR's ability to help make these connections happen. The APHR MEL consultant will assist here.

4.2.3 Evaluation matrix

The evaluation matrix can be found in the Annex II. It was elaborated during the inception phase. It includes the evaluation questions organised by OECD-DAC evaluation criteria, indicators for assessment, what data collection methods will be used, and the source of information, including the reliability of the sources/information. The matrix is based on the methods presented in the inception report and addresses each evaluation objective to ensure that the appropriate data is collected during the assignment. The evaluation matrix should enable evaluation stakeholders to understand how data is triangulated and how the evaluation team will implement a mixed-methods and utilisation-focused approach.

4.2.4 Limitations

A number of relatively challenging limitations that may affect the evaluation have been identified as: (a) output and outcome data availability (b) expanse of the Network membership across a large geography and broad number of themes and feasible coverage; (c) availability of Key Informants; and (d) issues that surround the “attribution and contribution” dilemmas; absence of: an executive director, director of programmes, director for media and advocacy, and two programme coordinator heads. Though there is no permanent MEL staff position (a MEL consultant was hired for June - December 2024 to help with the external evaluation; and the strategic reflections and strategic planning planned for the end of the year by APHR Board and leadership.)

There is a paucity of output and **outcome data availability**, including tracing legislative changes that (could be) correlated with network activities or actions. Given the **extent of the evaluation coverage** (and the extent of the thematic portfolios, the Network’s geographic spread) a key source of outcome data will come from Key Informants but these have **limited availability**. For this reason, the evaluation will use interviews (one-on-one) and not focus group discussions. Our approach’s relative reliance of interview data may also present additional limitations – it is our experience from similar evaluations that stakeholders may have an incentive to provide very **positive feedback**. Overall, judging the degree of influence over a policy or legislative decision involves a large element of subjectivity, and different stakeholders may have different perceptions of what constitutes influence and how significant it was.

To mitigate this, the team will take measures to detect and account for the possibility of pleasing or otherwise positively biased feedback of the information collected in these interviews. The principal safeguard for this will be good evaluation practice, the seniority of the team and its substantial interview and evaluation experience, and its ability to apply a politically and culturally sensitive approach to interviews, and information gathered therein (and based on solid understanding of South East Asia) to detect and to account for positively biased feedback. The team will apply **rigour**, its skills as critical and impartial observers to spot and investigate potential bias, positive or negative, for example by asking interviewees to back up statements with documented evidence, ask whether other people can confirm the information provided, confront interviewees with contradictory evidence, and probe for more detail and explanation before accepting feedback as evaluative evidence. Lastly, reflections on **contribution and attribution** are key elements of any evaluation. In this case, it will be difficult to demonstrate a clear causal link between APHR output and approaches, and the extent to which these have influenced

or effected positive change/legislation etc across the region. Interviews and harvesting outcome narratives will help to identify and triangulate evidence.

In terms of challenges, access to data, especially on results, may be difficult given the regional nature of the project, the geographic spread of Key Informants across the ASEAN region, and the complexity of parliamentarian (and others) scheduling, paucity of data collected, rotating or floating membership, and there may be difficulties accessing people and organisations for interviews, meeting, or discussions. We will do our best to meet and learn from enough stakeholders (from different stakeholder categories/geographies). Participation in the APHR climate conference should also help secure a significant number of interactions (for example with most Board members, about a dozen members as well as other partners (CSOs, Embassies etc). The survey (to be sent in July) is likely to generate reliable and useful data (in the context). The final report will include a discussion on limitations encountered, mitigation responses and the any implications on the reliability and representativity of the findings.

5. Evaluation plan

5.1 Phases of the evaluation

The evaluation will have the below phases.

5.1.1 Inception phase

The purpose of the inception phase has been for the evaluation team to develop a fuller understanding of APHR, its strategic framework, Theory of Change, its portfolios, its institutional structure, including its MEL framework/set up. It has allowed some key initial interviews to take place and enabled the team to effectively refine evaluation questions and sub-questions, and to agree on approach and data collection methods with the Sweden and any other relevant stakeholders.

The inception phase included the following activities:

- **Start-up meeting.** A virtual start-up meeting between the evaluation team, the Embassy, and APHR Secretariat (using Teams) clarified the scope of the evaluation and the practicalities of the inception phase, including access to documents, key stakeholders and the contact list of portfolio partners. It also served to identify key individuals that will be the primary intended users and discuss their priorities for the evaluation. During the start-up meeting, we agreed with the Embassy on who will be responsible for keeping the various stakeholders informed about the evaluation. We also deepened our understanding of how the partners were involved in preparing the evaluation and the ToR, and their understanding of the evaluation purpose.
- **Familiarisation interviews** were held virtually, across a broad sample of stakeholders, and allowed the evaluation team to deepen its understanding of the Theory of Change, strategic framework, and APHR, and the intended uses of the evaluation. This allowed to better shape the evaluation approach, methods, tools, stakeholder mapping etc.
- **Initial documents review.** A preliminary document review helped to clarify the team's understanding of APHR focus and activities, the availability of data, and availability and access to key stakeholders who take part in the implementation of the strategy. Further contacts with the Embassy, APHR, and APHR members will continue throughout the evaluation process.

- **Stakeholder mapping** of relevant actors to engage in the evaluation process was conducted with an **engagement plan** for each category of stakeholders. The list of stakeholders and their contacts details is a work in progress between the evaluation team and the APHR MEL consultant. (A key dimension will be obtaining mobile telephone numbers to complement emails which tend to be less effective as a communication means across the region).
- **Drafting of inception report.** This draft inception report has been produced, quality assured and submitted to the Embassy. This report includes a fully developed approach, evaluation questions and evaluation matrix, methods, stakeholder mapping, interview guides and work plan. The purpose of the inception report is to clarify expectations, agree on the final set of evaluation questions and sub-questions, and the implementation of the evaluation.
- **Feedback on the inception report.** The Embassy and APHR will be invited to comment on the inception report.
- **Inception meeting and submission of final inception report.** A virtual inception meeting will be organised with the Embassy and APHR following the receipt of the comments on the draft inception report. The meeting will discuss any refinements to the evaluation design, the stakeholder lists, interview guides, and agree on how to employ the different suggested methods. Based on the comments received and the discussions during the inception meeting, a revised inception report will be produced and shared with the Embassy for final approval.

5.1.2 Data collection phase

The data collection phase includes the bulk of the data collection activities needed to respond to the evaluation questions and produce the evaluation report. This phase includes **document review** and **analysis**, data review and analysis, Key Informant **Interviews**, creation of check-in “moments” for triangulation, feedback and **learning** (with key users of the evaluation). This phase will also include an observation mission through which the evaluation Team Leader will participate in an APHR flagship conference “Climate Resilience: Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians in Southeast Asia” in Malaysia, and an APHR staff meeting. The mission also allows face-to-face interactions (possibly interviews) with Key Informants including APHR members and other stakeholders, and the APHR Board. This allows the evaluation team to neatly capture and understand APHR. Importantly, in addition to strategic interviews with Key Informants and users, including some APHR members and associate members a survey will be sent members and some external stakeholders. Given the relatively sensitive nature of the work APHR does, and the politically sensitive climate in the region, these elements will potentially be hugely rich and valuable sources of insight.

5.1.3 Verification, analysis, reporting and dissemination phase

This phase will include the following activities:

- **Synthesis and analysis:** the team will consolidate, synthesise, and analyse data and validate emerging findings and conclusions.
- **Online debriefing workshop(s) with the users of the evaluation (i.e., Embassy, APHR Secretariat, and others (tbc):** This (or these) will create a participatory learning space for key intended users of the evaluation to validate emerging findings and preliminary answers to the evaluation

questions. The purpose of the workshop(s) will also be to provide input into the recommendations, ensuring all stakeholders are part of the reflection and future-directions-making process.

- **Drafting of evaluation report:** A succinct evaluation report will be produced. The report will follow Sida reporting guidelines and include requests outlined in the ToR. This includes a detailed description of the evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection and analysis, with a clear distinction between the two. It will provide an explanation on how the utilisation-focused approach has been implemented and how, therein, intended users have participated in and contributed to the evaluation process; and how methodology and methods for data collection have created space for reflection, discussion and learning between the intended users. It will also include a description explaining how a gender-responsive approach was used and reflected in the findings, conclusions and recommendations along with other identified and relevant cross-cutting issues such as climate. Lastly, it will include a presentation of the limitations to the methodology and methods and the consequences of these limitations for findings and conclusions.
- NIRAS ensures that the evaluation findings will **flow logically** from the data, showing a clear line of evidence to support the conclusions, that are substantiated by findings and analysis, stemming from clearly state evaluation questions and answers. These will be provided in both the executive summary and the conclusions. Recommendations and lessons will flow logically from conclusions and be specific, directed to relevant intended users.
- **Feedback on the draft report:** The main intended users will be invited to provide comments on the draft report. The report will not, at this stage, include an Executive Summary.
- **Submission of final report:** The draft report will be revised based on the comments received and a final report will be submitted, including a 3-page Executive Summary.
- **Dissemination of main lessons and recommendations:** The evaluation team will explore with the Embassy and APHR how best to disseminate main lessons and recommendations, including the possibility of holding a (virtual) learning session and how to best structure this.

5.2 Milestones and deliverables

The evaluation includes the following milestones.²¹

Table 1 – Milestones and deliverables

What	Who	ToR deadlines 2024	Updated time plan 2024
Start-up meeting (virtual)	<i>Evaluators, APHR, Swedish embassy, other donors.</i>	Early May 2024	May 29 th
Initial interviews, inception report writing and quality assurance	<i>NIRAS</i>		June
Submission of draft inception report	<i>NIRAS</i>	To be delivered three weeks after the upstart meeting	July 3rd
Inception Meeting (virtual)	<i>Evaluators, Swedish Embassy, other donors, APHR: M&E Consultant Program staff; Board Executive Members</i>	Tentative first week of July	July 8 ^t
Participation In APHR conference	<i>NIRAS Team Leader to attend in Kuala Lumpur</i>	(Specific dates not mentioned in ToR)	July 11 th – 14 th
Comments on inception report	<i>Swedish Embassy, APHR (steering group)</i>	Comments from intended users to evaluators will be sent to evaluators ahead of the inception meeting	July 17 th
Submission of final inception report	<i>NIRAS</i>		July 22nd
Inception report approval	<i>Steering group</i>		July 26th
Data collection	<i>NIRAS (stakeholders)</i>	Tentative first week of July- first week of September	August
Debriefing / validation workshop	<i>Evaluators, Swedish Embassy, other donors, APHR: M&E Consultant Program staff; Board Executive Members</i>	Tentative second week of September	Mid to End September
Analysis, report writing and quality assurance	<i>NIRAS</i>		September
Submission of draft evaluation report	<i>NIRAS</i>	Tentative final week of September	September 30th
Comments on draft report	<i>Swedish Embassy, APHR Board and Secretariat</i>	Tentative first week of October	October 14 th
Submission of final evaluation report	<i>NIRAS</i>	Tentative final week of October	November 1st 2024

²¹ The tentative evaluation learning session that was included in the NIRAS proposal, but not in the ToR, has been removed.

5.3 Risk management and quality control

Below is our tentative risk management matrix aligned to this evaluation. This will be updated during the inception phase and will be proactively managed during the lifetime of the evaluation.

Table 2 – Risk management and mitigation

Risk	Risk Impact	Risk mitigation
Independence of the evaluation team vis-à-vis stakeholders, including its policy & operation	Low	Possible conflicts of interest are addressed openly and transparently.
Lack of access to relevant information / data	High	We raised attention to the importance of access of documentation and statistics at an early stage of the evaluation. Access to data and documents has been challenging and the evaluation team still does not have the complete set of needed data. If this data does not exist or will not become available to the evaluation team it may impact the ability to fully respond to some of the evaluation questions.
Team dysfunctions and lack of performance	Low	By applying a proactive project management approach, we are able to closely monitor progress and identify warning signals. We are able to replace team members and NIRAS has in-house competence to step in as needed.
Delays (foreseen and unforeseen)	Medium	Trusting and transparent dialogue with all stakeholders provides a basis for identifying possible delays and to allow for adjustment of timelines. We apply realistic but firm time management. Strong internal resources enable a timely response. Delays in receiving data may impact the evaluation timeline. The staff absences in APHR during the evaluation period are likely to cause delays, in part due to lack of institutional memory. The ET hopes the APHR MEL consultant will be able to help mitigate some of these challenges.
Emerging sensitive issues beyond the scope of the evaluation, e.g., corruption	Low	NIRAS Evaluation Toolkit provides clear instructions for all teams.
External risks; Natural disasters, conflict, political climate	Medium	We proactively engage with our network 'on the ground' and keeping 'eyes and ears' open, also in close collaboration with national consultants and local NIRAS offices in Southeast Asia. We have solid experience in using online tools for data gathering, including video conference tools, and surveys, in the event of inability to travel or conduct in-person meetings.
Stakeholder disagreements with evaluation findings and conclusions	Low	This is primarily addressed by applying a utilisation focused approach to the process whereby findings are triangulated to ensure credibility and transparency, and validation with users.

5.4 Updated work plan

Table 3 – Work plan

Updated workplan						May					June				July				August					September				October																
2024 (all dates are tentative)						FC	CMG	PA	PM	QA	w18	w19	w20	w21	w22	w23	w24	w25	w26	w27	w28	w29	w30	w31	w32	w33	w34	w35	w36	w37	w38	w39	w40	w41	w42	w43	w44	w45						
Inception Phase																																												
Start-up meeting, 29 May	0,25	0,25	0,25	0,5										M																														
Desk review, methods development and initial interviews	2	1	1																																									
Drafting inception report	3	1	1																																									
QA inception report				0,5	1																																							
Submission of draft inception report, 3 July				0,5															DL																									
Inception meeting (virtual), 8 July	0,25	0,25	0,25	0,3																M																								
Conference in Kuala Lumpur, 11-14 July	5																																											
Comments sent by stakeholders, by 17 July																																												
Revision of inception report based on comments	0,5																																											
Submission of final inception report, 22 July				0,25																																								
Approval of inception report, by 26 July																																												
Sub-total, inception phase:	11	2,5	2,5	2	1																																							
Data Collection Phase																																												
Preparations	1	1		1																																								
Field visits / KIIs / FGDs		5																																										
Remote KIIs / FGDs	5	2	3																																									
Additional desk review	1	0,5	1,5	2																																								
Sub-total, data collection:	7,0	8,5	4,5	3,0	0,0																																							
Data Analysis and Reporting Phase																																												
Debriefing/validation workshop, date tbd	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5																																								
Report writing	8	4	3	1																																								
QA draft report	0,5			0,5	1,5																																							
Submission of draft evaluation report, 30 September				1																																								
Feedback from stakeholders on draft report, by 14 October																																												
Finalization of the report	1	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5																																							
Submission of final evaluation report, 1 November				0,5																																	DL							
Sub-total, analysis and reporting:	10	5	4	4	2																																							
Total days						28,0	16,0	11,0	9,0	3,0	Initials: FC=Francesca Cook; CMG=Czarina Medina-Guce; PA=Philipp Annawitt; QA=Quality Assurance																																	

Annex 1: Stakeholder analysis and engagement plan

Our stakeholder mapping exercise allowed the team to identify stakeholders (and intended users) and establish an engagement plan. We define ‘stakeholders’ as individuals or organisations affected in some way by the outcome of the evaluation process or affected by the performance of the project / programme / strategy, or both. The exercise identified key stakeholders, assessed their interests and motivations, and, capacities and constraints, and relationships. This helped us to identify key entry points for engagement and devise practical and realistic strategies for engagement. It also allowed the team to verify stakeholder needs (in relation to the evaluation) and clarify stakeholder participation.

To note, this has been informed by initial conversations with APHR staff and earlier assessments (2018, 2021). Descriptions of interests/needs and influence/importance are preliminary and are expected to be further nuanced with subsequent interviews during data collection phase. The list reflects stakeholders constituting the primary and secondary network categories; hence, there are no stakeholder groups that have low significance or impact. Instead of arbitrary scoring, the matrix includes potential subcategories that could streamline the selection of which/who within-category may be prioritized given the study approach and pragmatic limitations. Final individuals and organizations comprising the stakeholder groups will be vetted with the APHR Secretariat to account for feasibility of interviews and availability of interviewees. APHR has provided an initial list of recommended stakeholders.²²

²² APHR stakeholder list/directory: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1yyY6hfgOpsz-ypK46QLS7EMGM5ZE1nBXQRv7i2cFtk/edit?gid=1490755183#gid=1490755183>

Table 4 – Stakeholder analysis

Stakeholders		Interests and Needs	Influence and Importance			Prioritizing	Actions
ID	Title - External - Internal	Description (Preliminary) - Demands and needs - Wishes and expectations - Primary and secondary interests	Description (Preliminary) - Significance as participants in the project - Potential impact on the project - Challenges and opportunities (positive/negative attitudes, conflicts, barriers, contradictions)	Score (1-10) Significance	Score (1-10) Impact	Overall assessment - High - Medium - Low	To be described in communication plan
	Internal						
	APHR Secretariat	- Insights on outcome areas where progress is observed, value (relevance) of the network, and strategies for expanding membership - Updating and grounding TOC and MEL approaches to better articulate assumptions and approaches that are fit to regional and country contexts - Streamlining workload management to balance emerging MP requests (informed by country contexts) and programmatic goals	- Core staff providing technical and implementation support to the Board and members - Expected direct users of assessment findings and recommendations Potential subcategories: (a) Senior management/functional staff (b) Portfolio-based (project-specific) (c) Country assignment (for National Focal Persons)	10	10	High	Regular learning/vetting sessions with NIRAS
	APHR Board		- Governance functions; oversight of strategic and portfolio implementation - Expected direct users of assessment findings and recommendations Potential subcategories: (a) Former/current (b) Countries	10	10	High	Interviews Survey
	APHR Members (MPs)	- Relevance (added value) of APHR as a network to MPs' in-country work - Outcome narratives focused on how APHR helped effect change	- Former and current MPs - Some volunteer to constitute Thematic Working Groups (TWGs) representing thematic priorities of APHR - Expected beneficiaries of improvements emerging from the assessment's findings and recommendations Potential subcategories: (a) Active/inactive (b) Countries © TWG engagement (d) Length of membership	10	10	High	Interviews *Survey

Stakeholders		Interests and Needs	Influence and Importance				Prioritizing	Actions
ID	Title - External - Internal	Description (Preliminary) - Demands and needs - Wishes and expectations - Primary and secondary interests	Description (Preliminary) - Significance as participants in the project - Potential impact on the project - Challenges and opportunities (positive/negative attitudes, conflicts, barriers, contradictions)	Score (1-10) Significance	Score (1-10) Impact	Overall as- essment - High - Medium - Low	To be described in communication plan	
	APHR Associate Members	Insights from MPs focused on promoting HR-based parliamentary with key insights into APHR		9	9	Medium	Interviews Survey	
	External							
	Regional-level partners	Relevance (added value) of APHR as an advocacy partner in the region	- Provide insight on the effectiveness of APHR strategies and recommendations for improvement - APHR partners in implementing strategies toward shared goals (outcomes) Working list of partners (for vetting and finaliza- tion with APHR): AICHR, CIVICUS, Article19, Forum Asia, Climate Action Network	10	10	High	Interviews *Survey	
	Country-level partners - Government - CSOs - Diplomats, Embassies	Relevance (added value) of APHR as an advocacy partner in the countries	- Provide insight on the effectiveness of APHR strategies and recommendations for improvement - Partners of the MP members in the re- spective countries to amplify messages and legislative action Potential subcategories: (a) Thematic engagement (b) Previous/current	10	10	High	Interviews *Survey	
	Funders/Donors	Relevance (added value) of APHR to advance thematic and programmatic outcomes framing the funding support	Provide insight on the effectiveness of APHR strategies and recommendations for improvement Potential subcategories: (a) Thematic engagement (b) Previous/current	10	10	High	Interviews *Survey	

Below we provide a more detailed **overview of the different stakeholder groups that we will interview and why**.

1) Interviews with the Swedish Embassy staff in Bangkok, Development Cooperation Section

These interviews will help the evaluation team deepen its understanding of the implementation of the [Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022–2026](#) - and the contributions APHR makes therein. It will help to better understand Sweden's rationale and process underpinning support to APHR, and provide major insights into successes and challenges, as well other principal donors, other actors, and the APHR itself (from Sweden perspective). It will also help the team familiarise itself with Sweden's perspectives on the current geopolitical environment across the region and shed light on opportunities and constraints; as well as its role in relation to other donors and partners involved in supporting APHR. The evaluation team will also communicate with the Embassy in relation to the initial desk review, review of portfolios, and hold early discussions on any gaps. Discussions on other partners may help consolidate stakeholder mapping and identification of Key Informants. It will be key to discuss how best to ensure the evaluation creates space for learning and reflection by the Embassy staff concerned.

2) Interviews with APHR Secretariat staff

The Team Leader hopes to be able to conduct in-person face to face exploratory discussions with key members of APHR Secretariat staff in Malaysia, to complement the familiarisation interviews held with a few staff at the very early stages of the inception phase. These help the team to strengthen its understanding of APHR, its vision, mission, goals, Theory of Change, institutional structure, portfolio choices and implementation, successes and challenges. These also allow the evaluation team to drill down on how it intends to use the results of the evaluation, and how best to ensure **meaningful participation** by staff and members, and how best to create space for effective **reflection, discussion and learning** between the intended users of the evaluation, not least within and across APHR. If a field visit at this stage is not feasible, these discussions will be virtual. Further virtual discussions/interviews will be conducted with specific APHR staff – across departments and portfolios. The Team Leader will also be able to observe a full APHR Secretariat staff meeting in Malaysia; this will provide rich observational data on the organisational aspects.

3) Interviews with APHR members and associate members

These interviews with **APHR members** will help the evaluation team to gather crucial additional data and insights, as well as to triangulate data veracity, interpretations, successes and challenges related to APHR as well as the broader environment. In particular, interviews will help the evaluation team to identify specific actions or successes to which the APHR was visibly a strong contributing factor (i.e., material for potentially applying Contribution Analysis and/or Outcome Harvesting analysis). These interviews will also help point the team towards additional potential Key Informants and other data sources. Again, the team will endeavour to ensure that the process creates space for effective **reflection, discussion and learning** related to this cohort. Though some interviews may take place in Malaysia or the Philippines face-to-face, most will be virtual. Key informant sampling is guided by the Secretariat and attempts to ensure a broad set of members across countries and portfolios.

Interviews or focused discussion groups with **associate members** can help deepen understanding of APHR from the associate member/parliamentarian perspective, and help to identify key avenues to explore, as well as provide nuance to success and challenges outlined by other Key Informants. The evaluation team plans to interview a few of these members.

4) Interviews with other APHR donors: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Open Societies Foundation (OSF)

These remote interviews will be similar to those conducted with the Swedish Embassy staff in Bangkok and allow the evaluation team to understand the rationale and expectations of the Norwegian MfA and the Open Societies Foundations in **providing support** to APHR; as well perspectives on Theory of Change, successes, challenges, and key priorities for the future.

5) Interviews/focus groups with entities outside APHR

To triangulate information and interpretations, as well as to identify successes, challenges and potential gaps in APHR's current approach, the evaluation team will **consult with entities external to APHR** (as appropriate and relevant, such as INGOs, NGOs, CSOs, think tanks, academia, intergovernmental organisations, UN-agencies, private sector etc), and ASEAN. The purpose of these interviews will also be to **provide more context and information regarding the human rights and parliamentary situation across the ASEAN region** and help point to opportunities and challenges for the future.

Annex 2: Evaluation matrix

The evaluation matrix was elaborated during the inception phase a first time, and then adjusted for the final inception report. It includes the evaluation questions organised by OECD-DAC evaluation criteria, indicators for assessment, what data collection methods will be used, and the source of information, including the reliability of the sources/information. The matrix is based on the methods presented in the inception report and addresses each evaluation objective to ensure that the appropriate data is collected during the assignment. The evaluation matrix should enable evaluation stakeholders to understand how data is triangulated and how the evaluation team will implement a mixed-methods and utilisation-focused approach. The inception phase and intense exchange across stakeholders/steering committee allowed the evaluation team to finalise a set of evaluation questions which are as relevant to APHR's reality, and as useful as possible.

Table 5 – Evaluation matrix

Relevance				
Evaluation questions	Sub-questions	Methods	Sources	Availability and reliability of data
EQ1: Relevance – How relevant is APHR?	EQ1.1: In relation to democracy and human rights evolutions and challenges that APHR members and parliamentarians in the region face, how important is it to have a regional network such as APHR? Does APHR occupy a unique niche and how relevant is this in the Southeast Asia/ASEAN context? What gaps might it be filling? How relevant is APHR to its members and to its stakeholders?	Desk and data review	Survey	The data and documents from APHR (MEL data, documents, reports, evaluations and reviews) is assumed to be available and reliable, though the team will triangulate to ensure reliability of data.
		Theory based & Contribution Analysis (Outcome Harvesting)	Key Informants	
		Network analysis	Climate Conference	
		Key Informant interviews	Survey	Key Informants are very busy. APHR Secretariat is assisting to facilitate access to key stakeholders. It is assumed the evaluation team will be able to secure a "good-enough" number of Key Informants for interview. List of interviewees is not included, partly due
		Triangulation with stakeholders	KIIs	
		Direct Observation of climate conference	Review of documents, including annual meetings	

				to confidentiality and anonymity related concerns for many. Survey will be sent to entire data-base of APHR, and is expected to have sufficient respondents as to provide statistically significant in-sights. We assume a 25% - 40% return rate of 100+ participants as likely. And will do several pro-active "reach outs".
	EQ1.2: To what extent are the objectives of APHR's programme, as set out in the most recent Strategic Framework and Theory of Change (November 2021), still relevant and valid? (linked also to EQ4.1)	Document and data review Key Informant Inter-views Direct Observation of climate conference	MEL documents and re-visions in ToC, MEL framework, organisation structure, programmatic choices. Current reality of pro-gramme of work and overview of events and output. Key Informants	
	EQ 1.3 To what extent are the objectives of APHR's programme, as set out in the most recent Results Framework and Theory of Change (November 2021), still relevant and valid?	Key Informant Inter-views Document review Theory based & Con-tribution Analysis (Outcome Harvesting) Gender Analysis	Documents and data review Key Informants Literature review Survey The ToC, the MEL Framework	
Effectiveness				
Evaluation questions	Sub-questions/ indicators	Methods	Sources	A key dimension here will be the broad-based survey results as well as the key informants interviews. These depend on the evaluation
EQ2: Is APHR achieving its objectives	EQ2.1: How effective has APHR been in addressing challenges in the region, and moving the needle therein?	Key Informant Inter-views	Key Informants Survey	

	▪ To what extent has APHR taken bold, high-quality, and credible positions on issues affecting the region and individual countries? ▪ To what extent has APHR fostered increased collaboration amongst its members across borders within the Southeast Asian region (to consolidate solidarity and actions for human rights, democratisation and sustainable development)? ▪ To what extent has APHR cooperated with and reached out beyond the Asian region? ▪ To what extent has APHR helped foster stronger engagement with civil society and other actors and provided a bridge between parliamentarians, advocates, members, and civil society and other organisations to consolidate advocacy positions and intentions? ▪ To what extent does APHR act as a regional thought leader, or create an ideation and thought leadership incubation space? To what extent does it help members to enhance and strengthen their knowledge, skills, connections and ideas to help them advance human rights, democracy and sustainable development? To what extent has APHR consolidated an inclusive, broad-based regional community of democracy and human rights advocates?	Document and data review Theory based & Contribution Analysis (Outcome Harvesting) Gender Analysis Direct Observation	Documents and data Media presence MEL data Conference	team's ability to secure interviews and to encourage survey responses. The ET is convinced that APHR is very focused on assisting access and responses.
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	EQ2.2: To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of gender equality ²³ ? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?	Key Informant Interviews Document and data review Theory based & Contribution Analysis (Outcome Harvesting) Gender Analysis Direct Observation	Key Informants Survey Documents and data Media mentions MEL data related to legislation, actions, community Conference	Availability of gender related data may be a challenge. If this is the case, we shall apply a GER lens to the output from APHR.
	EQ2.3: To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of environment and climate change? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?	Data and document review Direct Observation Theory based & Contribution Analysis (Outcome Harvesting)	Conference Parliamentary Inquiry (Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand) Key Informants MEL data	The conference on climate resilience (July 2024) provides a key source of information and observation data. The parliamentary inquiries output is likely to be reliable - assuming that it is available in a timely fashion. The first inquiry will take place in July (Indonesia). The other two are planned.
Impact				
Evaluation questions	Sub-questions/ indicators	Methods	Sources	Availability and reliability of data

²³ « gender equality » incorporates all genders / LGBTQ+ dimensions.

EQ3: Impact - What high-level effects has APHR had?	EQ3.1 In enabling and supporting continued attention to democracy and human rights in the South East Asia region, and beyond, what high-level effects has APHR had?	Direct Observation Theory based & Contribution Analysis (Outcome Harvesting) Data and Document analysis	MEL data and documents Key Informants Observation Survey Media	
Sustainability				
Evaluation questions	Sub-questions/ indicators	Methods	Sources	Availability and reliability of data
EQ4: Sustainability - How sustainable is APHR as a network in the future?	EQ4.1: Are the ToC and Strategic Framework accurate reflections of APHR as it moves forward? (linked also to EQ1.2)	Document and data analysis Network (health/organisational) analysis Direct Observation Theory based & Contribution Analysis (Outcome Harvesting)	Survey Documents and data Key Informants	This question relies a good deal on organisational assessments and frank and open dialogue at every level. -within APHR and with the core donors. The evaluation team is confident that this is possible, and the results will be reliable. Information is also planned to be triangulated.
	EQ4.2: Have the M&E Framework and system delivered robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? To what extent does APHR have the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions as lessons emerge on what is		ToC and Strategic Framework MEL data and MEL Framework (indicators etc)	The evaluation team is confident that the sources of data will be sufficiently reliable as to produce relevant and useful insight.

	more or less relevant, what works more or less well? How are gender equality dimensions integrated within monitoring, learning and evaluation exercises, and used to enhance APHR actions? Suggestions for improvements where appropriate.		Key Informants in particular APHR Secretariat, APHR Board, Core donors Survey Observation	
	EQ4.3: How sustainable is APHR as a regional network in the future? What is the health of the Network, and are its established structures and the way it, and its work, are governed, managed, staffed and resourced, fit for purpose? Are they sustainable moving forward?		ToC and Strategic Framework MEL data and MEL Framework (indicators etc) Key Informants including core donors Survey Observation	

Annex 3: Proposed revised evaluation questions - explained

Proposed Revised Evaluation Questions – Explained

Following preliminary discussions with Key Informants and a review of available data and documentation, and given the evaluation time frame, the evaluation team suggests that some questions are too broad in scope to be realistically feasible or would benefit from a slight shift in focus. We have therefore revised some questions. Additionally, responses to some questions will overlap with each other, so that in the final report it is likely that each main question will respond to all its sub-questions in a harmonised and succinct way, when necessary, in order to avoid repetitions.

EQ1 Relevance - ~~Is the intervention doing the right thing?~~ How relevant is APHR?

Original question: To what extent have the intervention objectives and design responded to beneficiaries' global, country, and partner/institution needs, policies, and priorities, and have they continued to do so if/when circumstances have changed?

Revised question: *In relation to democracy and human rights evolutions and challenges that APHR members and parliamentarians in the region face, how important is it to have a regional network such as APHR? Does APHR occupy a unique niche and how relevant is this in the Southeast Asia/ASEAN context? What gaps might it be filling? How relevant is APHR to its members and to its stakeholders?*

This question primarily examines the extent to which APHR reflects democracy and human rights needs in the region and the extent to which its members perceive APHR as relevant, unique and doing the right thing. This includes a review of APHR as a network, and its related relevance therein. It also entails a review of APHR's flexible ability to be responsive to evolving issues.

Original question: To what extent have lessons learnt from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust intervention implementation? (*content moved to effectiveness*).

Original question : To what extent are objectives of the programme set out in the Results Framework and Theory of Change still valid? (linked to sub-question under Sustainability)

The questions have been slightly adjusted in order to consolidate their focus on relevance. These (revised) questions will primarily examine the extent to which the objectives are (still perceived as) relevant and valid under the current shifting geopolitical and democratisation environments, and in relation to any resulting shifts in opportunities, priorities or other needs. This also looks at the thematic-portfolio choices and whether these (still) reflect members' priorities as circumstances change (national, regional or global), while adhering to the main APHR mission.

This also entails exploring any lessons learnt from monitoring of implementation, and the extent to which necessary adjustments were effected as a result of previous evaluations, reviews, and dialogue/learning with members. (For example, was the review and amendment of the Theory of Change and framework in 2022, and the shift to thematic portfolios, the result of learning). It also examines the institutional set up/organisational development in relation to decision-making and feed-back mechanisms that help to identify and choose amongst priorities.

EQ2: Effectiveness - Is the intervention APHR achieving its objectives

Original question: To what extent has the intervention achieved, or is expected to achieve, its objectives, and its results, including any differential results across groups?

Revised question: How effective has APHR been in addressing challenges in the region, and moving the needle therein?

- To what extent has APHR taken bold, high-quality, and credible positions on issues affecting the region and individual countries?
- To what extent has APHR fostered increased collaboration amongst its members across borders within the Southeast Asian region (to consolidate solidarity and actions for human rights, democratisation and sustainable development)?
- To what extent has APHR cooperated with and reached out beyond the Asian region?
- To what extent has APHR helped foster stronger engagement with civil society and other actors and provided a bridge between parliamentarians, advocates, members, and civil society and other organisations to consolidate advocacy positions and intentions?
- To what extent does APHR act as a regional thought leader, or create an ideation and thought leadership incubation space? To what extent does it help members to enhance and strengthen their knowledge, skills, connections and ideas to help them advance human rights, democracy and sustainable development?
- To what extent has APHR consolidated an inclusive, broad-based regional community of democracy and human rights advocates?

The question was revised to ensure that it captures the main important *raison d'être* of APHR, and key criteria for assessing its usefulness and effectiveness as a network of influencers. The objectives in the framework and expected indicator-results are ambitious given APHR's relatively short time frames and nature. The evaluation will apply a realistic approach to assessing achievements and consider the extent to which outputs (such as missions, media output, or knowledge building products and peer exercises etc) have led to shifts related to intended results (legislative effectiveness, oversight, regional solidarity). As a network, the effectiveness assessment particularly includes understanding the extent to which APHR has helped its members to consolidate relationships with each other across the region, increased their commitment to address HR and Democracy or helped change behaviours and attitudes, enhance skills and connections, or influenced others to acknowledge and embrace human rights. Since Key

Informants seem likely to validate the three objectives²⁴ the evaluation team will explore beyond that towards the perceived relevance and validity of the thematic portfolios²⁵ and their working groups, the extent to which members mobilised within these/found these effective, and the extent to which these helped members to be better or more effective legislators, and how these may help to reinforce the effectiveness and value of APHR as a Network. In particular, in relation to the support to the creation of a regional community of HR supporters.

Interview responses are likely to have a certain degree of positive bias, so triangulation and focused bias awareness will be necessary, including through a survey to a broader set of constituents. In the absence of documented learning, the evaluation will focus on the success stories across all project areas to help tease out results.

Original question (moved from impact): Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on gender equality? Could gender mainstreaming have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?

Revised question To what extent has APHR integrated considerations of gender equality? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?

In relation to scope and available data, this question was considered more relevant to effectiveness, and revised for feasibility. Tracing actual positive effects on the actual state of gender equality or national legislation is beyond the scope of the evaluation (and time frame is too short). Instead, this question examines the extent of APHR's gender transformative ambitions, and the extent to which APHR produces gendered output and results/outcomes. Any relevant data from APHR regarding tracing in national legislation will be used; but main sources are expected to be key informant narratives showcasing any sample examples of positive (or negative) instances; and APHR publicly available documents/output.

Original question (moved from impact.): Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on the environment? Could environment considerations have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?

Revised question: To what extent has APHR's integrated considerations of environment and climate change? Has it produced positive results, what is required to consolidate these?

In relation to scope and available data, this question was considered more relevant to effectiveness, and revised for feasibility. Tracing actual positive effects on the environment or national legislation is beyond the scope of the evaluation (time frame too short). The team will examine the extent to which APHR focus in this area has helped its members deliver on (any

²⁴ Objective 1: MPs progress laws and policies in their countries; Objective 2: MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private actions; Objective 3: MPs contribute to building and strengthening a cooperative human rights community in the region.

²⁵ Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF); Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB); Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR); Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M); Myanmar Crisis (MC).

of) its objectives in relation to climate. The climate resilience conference in mid-July, and the parliamentary inquiry review exercises on the environment/climate change (referenced in the 2024 work plan) will be used as a deeper dive sample entry point, with key informant narratives as an important data element. It is unlikely that a specific piece of national legislation on environment was a direct result of APHR efforts, but the extent to which these are likely to have contributed will be captured, where possible.

Original question: Has the M&E system delivered robust and useful information that could be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not??
 Suggestions for improvements where appropriate. *This question is moved.*

This examines what the MEL framework has delivered, and how the information has been used. An examination of the MEL mechanisms will help shed light on APHR's ability to track output, learning and outcomes (including in relation to gender, and to climate-environment) and to make adjustments as needed, in order to consolidate relevance, effectiveness and sustainability. Gender dimensions were added. In particular this question will examine whether the objectives, and the indicators produced to measure results, are relevant and useful for APHR. It will also be linked to questions under sustainability, and basic needs required to ensure MEL.

EQ3: Impact – ~~What difference does the intervention make?~~ [What high level effects has APHR had?](#)

This section assesses the extent to which APHR has been successful in claiming a space from which to influence human rights/democracy legislation in the region, for example, in relation to advocating positions and raising awareness in relation human rights and democracy challenges; providing knowledge products or opportunities to promote HR/Dem 'good practice', strengthen collective voice, or in providing a safe and enriching dialogue and learning space. The overall impact question was revised to make it clearer. The evaluation team underscores that "impact" in the DAC evaluation criteria sense is not within the scope of the evaluation or the time frame of the project, and in particular given the underlying topic area. Here we look at impact as in "significant effect".

Original question: To what extent has ~~the project or programme~~ [APHR](#) generated, or is expected to generate, significant positive or negative, intended, or unintended, high-level effects?

Revised question: [In enabling and supporting continued attention to democracy and human rights in the South East Asia region, and beyond, what high-level effects has APHR had?](#)

APHR outcomes may contribute to larger societal changes (impact), but impacts are outside the direct sphere of influence of the APHR, so not entirely within the reasonable scope of the evaluation. The evaluation team proposes the use of the word "effects" as opposed to "impact" in an attempt to address the underlying spirit of the question. At the same time, it is important to remind that direct cause-effect attribution for higher level effects generated by APHR, in a context of multiple influence vectors, is a significant challenge. Given the highly politicised environment across the ASEAN region, this includes an additional layer of attention related to

applying a “do no harm” approach to avoid unintended higher-level negative effects, where possible. Data review, web investigations, and discussions with Key Informants will help provide depth to any transformative effects generated by APHR, or to which APHR has had a plausible contributing influence, in particular in relation to APHR as a regional network and the tangible and intangible knock-on benefits it may have produced.

Original question: To what extent is poverty, in its different dimensions, addressed in the design, implementation and follow-up? What/which dimensions are addressed? How could the programme design be strengthened so that poverty reduction is more explicitly addressed?

The evaluation team suggests deleting these questions, as poverty reduction does not appear as an objective or intended outcome of APHR, and the questions seem inherently unfair. The team notes that overall, applying a human rights-based approach to parliamentary strengthening and actions, and the implementation of APHR’s three strategic objectives, would theoretically help consolidate focus on marginalised (and underrepresented) rights holders.

Original question: Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on gender equality? Could gender mainstreaming have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?

A review related to gender equality is better suited to discussions on effectiveness. The evaluation team suggests to move this question to that section.

Original question: Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on the environment? Could environment considerations have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?

A review related to environment is better suited to discussions on effectiveness. The evaluation team suggests to move this question to that section.

EQ4: Sustainability - ~~Will the benefits last?~~ How sustainable is APHR as a network in the future

Original question: To what extent will the net benefits of the intervention continue, or are likely to continue?

Revised question: *Are the ToC and Strategic Framework accurate reflections of APHR as it moves forward? (also linked to sub-question 1.2 under relevance)*

Assessing the long-term sustainability of APHR is crucial. This entails a review of institutional dimensions (organisational health), including its ability to maintain quality membership and sustain core funding. In particular, it entails assessing the institutional and organisational set-up and the extent to which this matches, or is fit for purpose, related to APHR’s strengths and future ambitions.

Original question (under effectiveness): Have the M&E system delivered robust and useful information that could be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? Suggestions in improvements where appropriate

Revised question: Have the M&E Framework and system delivered robust and useful information that can be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? To what extent does APHR have the flexibility to adapt its programme focus and actions as lessons emerge on what is more or less relevant, what works more or less well? How are gender equality dimensions integrated within monitoring, learning and evaluation exercises, and used to enhance APHR actions? Suggestions for improvements where appropriate.

Additional question: How sustainable is APHR as a regional network in the future? What is the health of the Network, and are its established structures and the way it, and its work, are governed, managed, staffed and resourced, fit for purpose? Are they sustainable moving forward?

These questions, focused on how APHR gathers information, progresses learning, uses design approaches and ideation to enhance actions, activities, management approaches and corporate behaviour, are key dimensions in APHR's longer-term sustainability. Its overall network health as an institution, and its resources, and how these are managed, are also crucial aspects into which the evaluation team will delve, with probable recommendations for the future.

Annex 4: Interview guide for Key Informant interviews

This is a guide for semi-structured interviews. This is a qualitative research method that combines a pre-determined set of open questions (questions to guide or to prompt discussion) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses in more depth. These questions are designed to cover various dimensions important for responding to the APHR evaluation questions. They range from questions directed at outcomes to broader institutional and societal effects, as well as questions on the network itself, and how it functions. Not all questions are appropriate for each key informant (KI) and interviews will adapt as necessary. They should help the evaluation team to gain a comprehensive understanding of APHR's effectiveness and areas for improvement.

The strategic outcomes for the APHR, its thematic portfolios and their objectives, and APHR's "MEL lines of inquiry" are presented here as an interview assistance (section I.) . This is followed by possible interview questions, to be used in a semi structured way (section II)

Section I – Background on APHR

APHR

« ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) was founded in June 2013 with the objective of promoting democracy and human rights across Southeast Asia. Our founding members include many of the region's most progressive Members of Parliament (MPs), with a proven track record of human rights advocacy work.

We are a regional network of current and former parliamentarians who use our unique positions to advance human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia. We seek to help create a region where people can express themselves without fear, live free from all forms of discrimination and violence, and where development takes place with human rights at the forefront. Our members use their mandate to advocate for human rights inside and outside of parliament, regionally and globally. They work closely with civil society, conduct fact-finding missions, and publish recommendations and opinions on the most important issues affecting the region.

APHR was born out of the recognition that human rights issues in Southeast Asia are interconnected, and from the desire of progressive legislators to work together across borders to promote and protect human rights. »

Members

« APHR membership includes current and former parliamentarians from across Southeast Asia, as well as associate members from Australia, Germany, Hong Kong, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, and Taiwan. Currently, APHR does not have members from Brunei Darussalam, Lao PDR and Vietnam.

Board

Ms. Mercy BARENDT, Indonesia, Chair. Mr Charles SANTIAGO, Malaysia, Co-Chair. Ms. Eva KUSUMA SUNDARI, Indonesia. Mr Kasit Piromya, Thailand (former foreign minister). U Shwe Maung, Myanmar. Ms. Maria Angelina Lopes Sarmento, Timor-Leste. Ms. Mu Sochua, Cambodia. Mr Tom Villarin, Philippines. Mr Charles Chong, Singapore. Mr Walden Bello, Philippines. Son Chhay (Cambodia). Kraisak Choonhavan (Thailand). Lim Kit Siang (Malaysia).

APHR Theory of Change

Vision: An inclusive ASEAN regional community that is genuinely committed to democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development

Mission: To empower parliamentarians to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region.

Goal: Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region in the next five years (2019-2023)

APHR Strategic Outcomes

1. MPs progress laws and policies in their countries
2. MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private actions.
3. MPs contribute to building and strengthening the region's cooperative human rights community.

APHR MEL Lines of Inquiry

1. MEL Line of Inquiry 1 - Have ASEAN Parliamentarians participated in and contributed to an active community for the promotion of human rights, democracy and sustainable development?
2. MEL Line of Inquiry 2 - Which staff activities have most effectively contributed to create an active MP community?
3. MEL Line of Inquiry 3 - Which advances to democracy, human rights, and sustainable development in the region were achieved in part or whole due to APHR Parliamentarians' contributions?

Thematic Portfolio Key Achievements and Outputs

For recent statements by APHR on different dimensions of the portfolios, go to: <https://aseanmp.org/publications/>.

Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF)

1. Southeast Asian MPs expose threats and reprisals faced by opposition parliamentarians
2. Southeast Asian MPs address issues of free and fair elections in the region
3. Empower Southeast Asian MPs to advocate for repealing or reforming laws and bills that restrict fundamental freedoms
4. Southeast Asian MPs amplify democracy's voice and collaborating for change
5. Southeast Asian MPs promote a free and safe digital space in the region
 - Southeast Asian MPs urge international community to monitor potential dissolution of largest party in Thai parliament (2024)
 - <https://aseanmp.org/2021/06/07/mps-pledge-to-protect-freedom-of-religion-or-belief-and-combat-rise-in-hateful-narratives/><https://aseanmp.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/APHR-Parliamentarians-at-Risk-2023.pdf> (2023)

Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)

1. Expand and strengthen engagement of MPs in FoRB work through collaboration at the regional and international levels
2. Parliamentarians use their voice to promote and protect the right to FoRB
3. Protect peace and harmony in multicultural Malaysia through fact-finding mission, advocacy, and engagement with local stakeholders
<https://aseanmp.org/2021/06/07/mps-pledge-to-protect-freedom-of-religion-or-belief-and-combat-rise-in-hateful-narratives/> (2021)

Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR)

1. Support and mobilise members to ensure that ASEAN governments protect human rights and the environment from the impact of corporate activities at home and abroad.
 - « Inquiry on the Adverse Impacts of Industry Activities on the Environment in Indonesia (on-going) with report forthcoming. »
 - ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) organised an Interface between Members of Parliament and Civil Society Organizations on Strengthening Climate Action in Malaysia (2022)
 - "Climate Resilience in Southeast Asia: Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians Conference" 12-13 July 2024, Parliament of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M)

1. Promote counter-narratives to hate towards migrants and refugees
 - "Toolkit for Parliamentarians: Promoting Counter-narratives to hate towards migrants and refugees in Malaysia."

Myanmar Crisis (MC): <https://aseanmp.org/ipi-myanmar/>

1. APHR puts pressure on formal institutions approaches to the Myanmar crisis
 - Report resulting from APHR parliamentary inquiry "Time is not on our side". https://aseanmp.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/IPI-APHR-final-report_Time-is-not-on-our-side_-The-failed-international-response-to-the-Myanmar-coup.pdf
 - List of main consultative partners for the report: <https://aseanmp.org/ipi-myanmar/ipi-written-submissions/>

SECTION II – indicative Semi-structured interview questions

These are for a 40-to-60-minute interview, and to be adapted/used as necessary.

Introduction

- i. Can you provide a brief overview of your role within APHR, or how you are involved with APHR? Are you a current or a former MP? How long have you been with APHR? How did you get recruited or decide to join?

1. The Network

- Can you briefly describe what you see as the main usefulness or main added value of APHR, from your point of view? Can you explain how APHR has strengthened your connections to other MPs, your sense of connectivity, solidarity? Your sense of receiving information and knowledge that strengthens your standing and/or confidence? That gives you motivation to continue? How has APHR helped you to weave connections, build networks, stimulate your thinking, thought dialogues, actions? Has it contributed to collective learning, collective intelligence?

2. Legislative Performance:

- To what extent has APHR helped (you to) initiate or contribute to (increase the quality of) a legislative or budgetary initiative (in line with APHR mission/goals)? *(took measures to table a piece of legislation, commented on it, voted in favour, proposed amendments to a bill or the budget, engaged other MPs (across the region?) on a law, etc).* Can you give an example? (MEL 1)

3. Oversight Performance:

- To what extent has APHR helped you in your oversight (in line with APHR mission/goals)? (e.g., tabled parliamentary question, initiated or participated in a policy or budget oversight inquiry)? Can you give an example? (MEL 1)

4. Policy Influence and Joint / Peer Learning:

- To what extent has APHR supported parliamentarians in influencing government policy formulation and implementation. Where? on What? Can you give an example? (MEL 1)
- To what extent does APHR enhance peer learning or joint learning –with other MPs to help you in your legislative or political activities?
- Can you give an example? (MEL 1)

5. Accountability and Transparency:

- To what extent has APHR influenced the transparency and accountability of parliamentary processes and decisions at your parliament? Where? How? (MEL 2)
- Have you, with support from APHR, or as a follow-through of APHR, undertaken or contributed to accountability initiatives? Where? How? (MEL 2)
(1) advocated for freedom of information framework, for improved public information provision, (2) advocated for MP ethnics frameworks including interest registers etc. (3) through public initiatives of accountability (*i.e., joined a public statement, media statement, op-ed, mission, event, social media campaign*)? (4) through cooperation with media or private initiatives (*i.e., held private meetings, or communications*)

6. Human Rights and Democracy “Footprint” in the Region – and - Stakeholder Engagement: (MEL 3)

- In what ways does APHR, as a regional network, promote and strengthen human rights and democracy footprint in the region? Does the way it communicate with external stakeholders build support for the Network?
- Does APHR engage with the right actors? Why or Why not?
- How has APHR engaged with, or helped you to engage with and consult with CSOs and other non-government actors across the region on laws, policies, accountability initiatives? Engage with people affected by rights violations?
- To what extent does APHR help its members to support and collaborate with each other across the region and with key stakeholders? (MPs support and collaborate with other MPs from the region and key stakeholders (i.e., stand in solidarity with other MPs against attacks and harassment, develop and participate in joint learning or parliamentary review exercises, and follow up on these with concrete actions/activities?)
- How or to what extent has APHR strengthened positive narratives about human rights and democracy across the region?

7. Effectiveness of Capacity Building:

- How effectively have the APHR knowledge products or activities (e.g., training sessions, workshops, processes, reports, meetings) improved your skills and knowledge? Can you give an example?
- Which of these types of support activities of the APHR do you find most useful?

8. Gender and Inclusivity:

- What impact has APHR had on transforming how gender equality issues are integrated into actions, output, knowledge products, parliamentary reviews etc.?
- What impact on promoting inclusivity within parliamentary processes and representation, or within APHR?

9. Environment, Climate Change

- To what extent has APHR been able to promote a focus on climate, (and in relation to business and promotion of SMEs)? Has this helped you promote this within parliamentary processes and outreach activities? Any example?

10. MPs at Risk, Refugees, Freedom of Religion, Countries in Crisis

- To what extent has APHR helped (you to) promote quality focus on any of these areas? An example?

11. Strengthening APHR as a Network/Institution and its Theory of Change

- To what extent has APHR Secretariat used lessons learned from its experience and evaluations to strengthen APHR as a regional network and enhance its functionality as an institution? Is the Theory of Change valid, for you? The MEL framework?
- How are the opinions and voices of APHR members used to guide the choice of what APHR does, and how it does it? To what degree is it reactive? To what degree is it directional?

12. Impact:

- Do you think APHR has affected **public perception and trust** in parliamentary institutions and their effectiveness? How does the public know about APHR? Does it need to know about APHR?
- What impact do you think APHR has had on human rights and democracy across the region? What gaps does it fill?
- What about gender?
- What about environment and climate change?

13. Sustainability of APHR:

of its Outcomes:

- How sustainable are the outcomes achieved thanks to APHR or by APHR? Can you identify two most important outcomes that are likely to continue to have impact in the region?

as a Network:

- Why is it important for you to be part of this Network? What does it bring you? What is its added value to you?
- How sustainable is the network? What challenges does it face? What can be done in the future to make it better? More relevant? More sustainable? Are there mechanisms in place to ensure APHR's future ?
- How were you recruited to the Network and how to increase quality membership (i.e., engaged MPs, former MPs).

14. Opportunities and Challenges:

- What do you see as the main opportunities in the future for APHR, given the current geopolitical environment? The main threats? What key suggestions do you have for the future for APHR?

Annex 5: *draft* E-survey questions

An anonymous, short electronic survey will be sent to APHR members, and potentially other key stakeholders during August 2024.

A survey allows the capture of statistically legitimate qualitative trends. It allows the evaluation team to efficiently capture the points of view of a large stakeholder cohort. In this instance, the evaluation team will send an e-survey to conference participants in order to capture the value added of APHR as a network and how effective it has been in helping members advance the three strategic objectives captured in its Theory of Change. If the survey reaches stakeholders who are not APHR members, their survey responses will allow the evaluation team to capture the perceptions/utility of APHR in a broader context.

The below are indications of probable questions, and will be re-formulated and adjusted.

Confidentiality and GDPR: The responses to these survey questions are anonymous and confidential. Responses will be aggregated to reveal overall trends and tendencies. The survey cannot track who responded nor what an individual has responded.

Who are you:

1. Tick appropriate: I am: an MP, a former MP, a representative of business or industry, civil society organisation, academic or think tank, Embassy or aid agency, international organisation or international NGO, media or journalist, politician.
2. Tick appropriate: APHR is most relevant to my work in advancing: (please tick all appropriate boxes or fill in information):
 - Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms (DFF)
 - Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)
 - Climate Change & Business and Human Rights (CCHR)
 - Refugees and Migrants' Rights (R&M)
 - Myanmar Crisis (MC)
 - Other: please briefly explain
3. Tick appropriate: I identify as female/male/other/prefer not to say.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

4. The APHR Network has created a sense of connectivity with peers across the region, a sense of regional solidarity, and a sense of a regional voice of influence.
5. The APHR Network provides a "safe space" for stimulating thought dialogue, open learning, collective intelligence, strength-in-numbers, and a better grasp on intangible processes required to strengthen democracy, rule of law and human rights.
6. The APHR Network helps contribute with better quality to processes related to promoting democracy and human rights:
 - a) Policy processes
 - b) Legislative processes
 - c) Oversight processes
 - d) Budgetary processes
7. APHR promotes positive rights and narratives through campaigns, social media, reports, conferences and with regional constituents to influence policy and legislative positions.
8. APHR promotes a focus on gender equality.

9. APHR is influential across the ASEAN region – and the July climate conference is an example of how it helps to shed light on a key theme, to stimulate learning and dialogue and to brainstorm solutions.
10. APHR “products” (report, statement, parliamentary review etc) add weight and gravitas to my own position or to what I do, and help me have stronger voice and agency.
11. The “Parliamentarians at Risk” Report is a key advocacy tool and helps to maintain pressure for reform across South East Asia.
12. APHR reaches out to and works effectively with key organisations, institutions and people outside of the government, for example, CSOs; NGOs; advocates for Human Rights; media/press; international organisations; think tanks.
13. APHR has influence at the regional level.
14. APHR has influence at the global level.
15. APHR occupies a unique niche.

What suggestions do you have for APHR moving forward?

Annex 6: List of documents reviewed

GENERAL BACKGROUND AND TECHNICAL INSIGHT

Save the Children, 2020, « Monitoring and evaluating advocacy »,
 Nicolas Fischer chapter 9, Clément Pin chapter 10, of « Policy Evaluation : Methods and Approaches »
<https://scienceetbiencommun.pressbooks.pub/pubpolevaluation/chapter/contribution-analysis/>
 Wilson-Grau and Britt, 2012, "Outcome Harvesting
 Outcome Mapping Learning Community: <https://www.outcomemapping.ca>
 Sida, 2019, Evaluation of Swedish Leadership for Sustainable Development
 IDEA International, 201, Toolkit, Effective Human Rights Engagement for Parliamentary Bodies
 UNDP, 2019, Primer on Parliamentary Development and HR
 OECD, 2019, Better Criteria for Better Evaluation: Revised DAC Evaluation Criteria Definitions Principles for Use

FROM SWEDEN

Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022–2026 -

Sida's Gender Toolbox; Sida's toolkits for gender mainstreaming and gender analysis; and good practices on gender-responsive evaluation (GRE) approaches and methods by UN Women (2020).

Sida, 2024, Terms of Reference for the Evaluation of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR)

APHR, 2018, Grant Proposal Narrative January 2019 – December 2021, including annexes:

- Annex 1: Strategic Framework 2019-23 (updated November 2018)
- Annex 2: Strategic Action Plan (updated November 2018)
- Annex 3: Financial Proposal (updated November 2018)
- Annex 4: M&E Output Indicators Table (updated November 2018)
- Annex 5: APHR Charter
- Annex 6: APHR Member List
- Annex 7: Staff Handbook
- Annex 8: Financial accounting procedure
- Annex 9: Anti-Corruption Policy
- Annex 10: External Evaluation
- Annex 11: Current Secretariat Staff
- Annex 12: Indicative Workplan 2019-21 (updated November 2018)
- Annex 13: 2019 Workplan (updated November 2018)
- Annex 14: Logframe (New annex added November 2018)

APHR, 2021, Grant Extension 2022-2024// Parliamentarians Regional Action for Democracy and Human Rights (PRADHA) Sweden Cost Extension, Jan 2022 – Dec 2024, including annexes:

- Annex A: 2022-2024 Annual Indicative Workplan Activities including 2021 DfD Proposed Activities
- Annex B: 2022-2024 Three Year Budget Workplan Estimates and Funding
- Annex C: APHR's Organizational Theory of Change (simplified version)
- Annex D: Executive Summary: APHR Security Risk and Duty of Care Audit
- Annex E: 2021 Driving for Democracy Budget Estimates

FROM APHR

APHR stakeholder list/directory: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1yyY6hfgOpsz-ypK46QLS7EMGM5ZE1nBXQRrV7i2cFtk/edit?gid=1490755183#gid=1490755183>

APHR Charter and APHR Members

APHR Organigram and Staff Directory

APHR Theory of Change and MEL Framework

Strategic Mid Term Assessment of APHR programmes and strategies (2021)

External Evaluation of APHR (2018)

APHR Program Events and Calendar for 2024

APHR Annual Reports and APHR Narrative Reports (2019, 2021, 2022, 2023)

APHR Work Plans, Budgets, Indicative Outputs documents (several years)

M&E Outputs Indicators Table (2018)

Statements by APHR on different dimensions of the portfolios, at <https://aseanmp.org/publications/>
Report resulting from APHR parliamentary inquiry "Time is not on our side". https://aseanmp.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/IPI-APHR-final-report_Time-is-not-on-our-side_-The-failed-international-response-to-the-Myanmar-coup.pdf

APHR Toolkit for Parliamentarians: Promoting Counter-narratives to hate towards migrants and refugees in Malaysia

APHR Inquiry on the Adverse Impacts of Industry Activities on the Environment in Indonesia (on-going) with report forthcoming (background info only)

ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) organised an Interface between Members of Parliament and Civil Society Organizations on Strengthening Climate Action in Malaysia (2022)

Concept Note & Agenda - Climate Resilience in Southeast Asia_ Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians Conference_2024

APHR MPs Pledge to Protect Freedom of Religion or Belief <https://aseanmp.org/2021/06/07/mps-pledge-to-protect-freedom-of-religion-or-belief-and-combat-rise-in-hateful-narratives/> (2021)

APHR Parliamentarians at Risk Report - 2023

<https://aseanmp.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/APHR-Parliamentarians-at-Risk-2023.pdf>

INTERNET INFORMATION SCAN

The team also conducted an internet information scan, to assess APHR presence in a sample country using the Philippines as the focus.

Annex 7: List of Familiarisation Interviews

Table 6: List of familiarisation interviews

Name	Role	Interview
Jennifer Bayang	Former APHR ED, involved in development of ToR; now with UNDP in Laos	14 June
Ibu Mercy Barents	Chair, APHR Executive Board (Indonesia)	17 July
Marcus Brand	Head, International IDEA, Myanmar (Bangkok)	24 June
Elise Tillet-Dagousset	Former staff of APHR, Research & Advocacy Director	13 June
Kristina Uy Gadaingan (APHR)	Programme Director, and acting Executive Director	25 June and 15 July
Marc Ignacio	APHR MEL consultant and former MEL staff	25 June and 15 July
John Liu	Open Society Foundation	8 July
various	APHR staff	11 to 15 July
Charles Santiago	Founding APHR member, previous MP in Malaysia Co-Chair, Executive Board, APHR (Malaysia)	26 June
Oliver Slow	Former Media and Communications Officer, APHR	12 June
Ibu Eva Sundari	Executive Board member, APHR (Indonesia)	14 July
Danny Vannucchi	APHR MTR author	18 June
Erica Villborg	Embassy of Sweden (Thailand) / Sida, BKK	18 June
Mr Musangwa	Embassy of Norway	TBC Early July

(The Team Leader was able to interview about 25 stakeholders in Kuala Lumpur, 10-15 July 2024.)

Annex 8: APHR Theory of Change and MEL Framework

A Theory of Change (ToC) provides a snapshot of how an organization understands its overall goals and objectives, and the path it intends to go down to achieve those. While an organizational strategy might chart an organization's direction and investments for a specific period of time, a ToC is meant to be a foundational strategic vision that sits at the core of the organization's purpose and vision for change.

A ToC also provides clarity for what the organization considers as *success*, and the assumptions it makes about its ability to achieve change – creating a framework upon which a Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) framework can be built.

This annex²⁶ presents the evolution of APHR's ToC, and its current ToC which builds on its strategic framework and a mid-term assessment in 2021, and presents the corresponding MEL framework that helps APHR to measure its success and validity.

APHR's Theory of Change

APHR's current and previous strategic frameworks (2019-2024) articulate a clear overall vision, mission and goal for the organization.

Vision: An inclusive ASEAN regional community that is genuinely committed to democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development

Mission: To empower parliamentarians to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region.

Goal: Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region in the next five years (2019-2023)

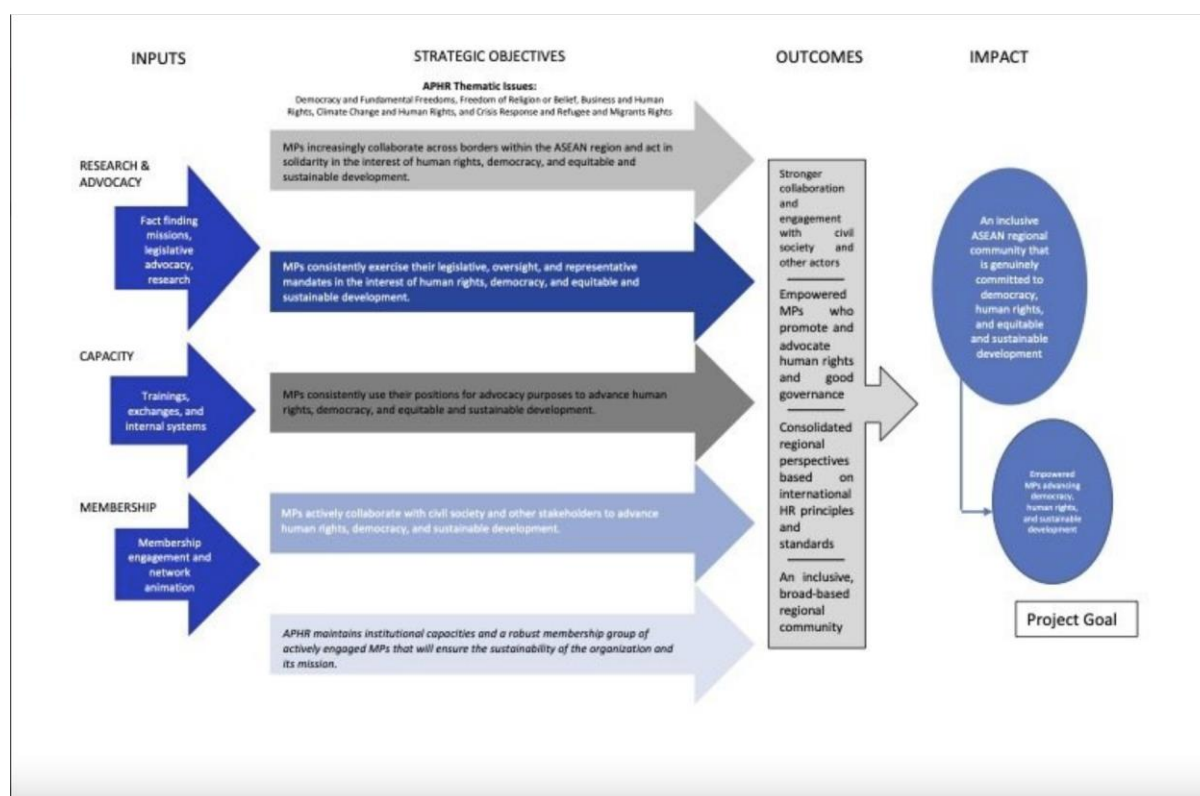
In the first framework, alongside this overall direction of travel, five objectives were to be achieved by 2023, listed below. These were replaced by the three strategic objectives listed further down, that correspond to the current (revised) Theory of Change.

1. MPs using their legislative and oversight mandate (SO 4)
2. MPs using their position and influence to conduct advocacy (SO 2)
3. APHR conducting work in collaboration with CSOs and stakeholders (SO1)
4. APHR creates an inter-regional community of MPs (SO3)
5. APHR is a more sustainable organization (SO5)

These objectives are a mixture of organisational interventions, internal results, and specific outcomes it wants to achieve in the behaviour and actions of MPs. In short, it puts at the same level what APHR *controls* (the activities it carries out and its operations) and what APHR is trying to *influence* (the behaviour and actions of member MPs).

Until recently, the Theory of Change was as follows:

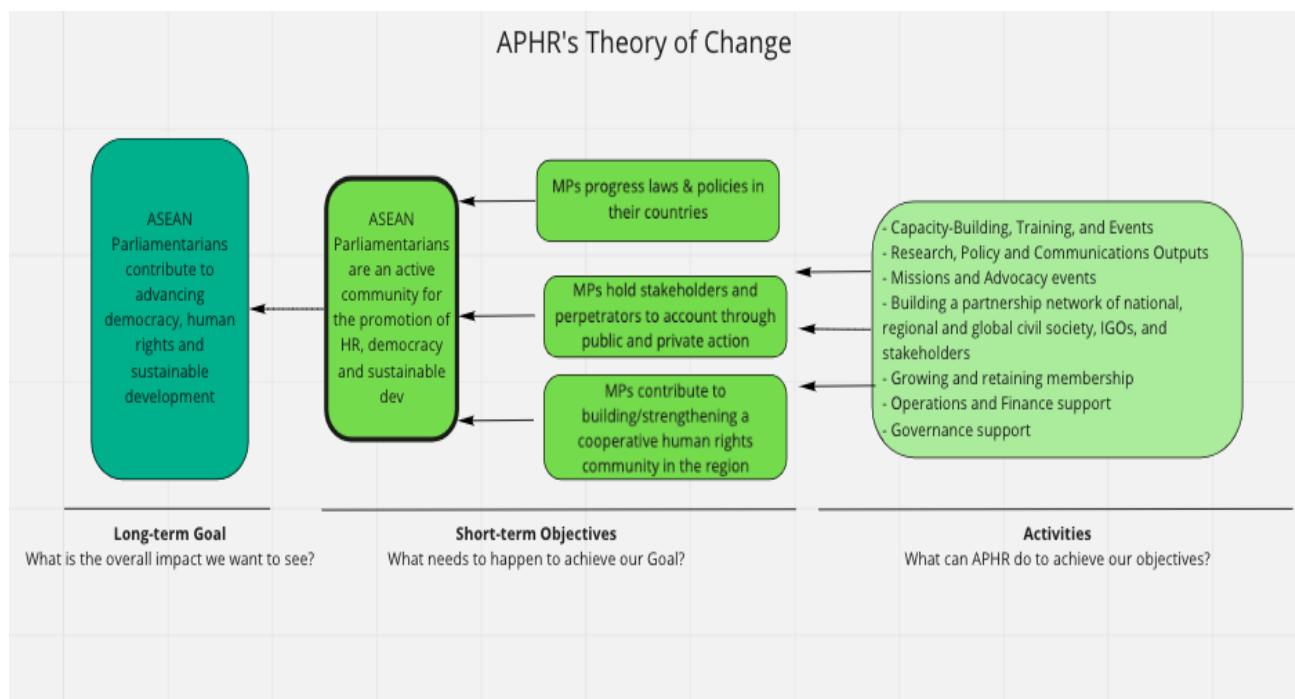
²⁶ This is provided by APHR Secretariat and based on their November 2021 document outlining the ToC and MEL Framework.



A new ToC for APHR was agreed in 2022 to help set these different elements apart – so that from a MEL perspective it can make a distinction between when it is tracking activities vs. when it is assessing the impact as a result of them.

The new ToC that spells out this distinction more clearly, and has helped APHR reframe its strategy to centre it around its **members**. As the mid-term assessment pointed out, APHR’s membership is its clear added value and unique selling point in the civil society ecosystem so it should heavily invest in it and in creating plans and programs that can help grow and diversify it. This is by no means an easy task, so it is important that APHR articulates clearly what kind of movement they are building, how they are doing it and what they are achieving as a result.

Bearing in mind the reflections above, the new ToC for APHR is summarised in the following visual.



The overall **long-term Goal** of the organization is clear: Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development both domestically and regionally. Overall, APHR wants to advance human rights, democracy and sustainable development in the region.

The **strategic Objectives** section of the ToC is a crucial one, as it articulates what APHR thinks needs to happen in order to create a rights-respecting ASEAN region. **In short, APHR believes that a strong community of MPs who are skilled, empowered, and willing to stand up for the protection of human rights can make a difference in the ASEAN region.** This is the central thesis and ambition of APHR. But what *exactly* does an active community of MPs upholding human rights look like? How can we show that APHR has built such a community? The three objectives are how APHR lays out its work, based on past successes, and the results of the mid-term review in 2021.

1. MPs progress laws and policies in their countries

This is about MPs fulfilling their representative mandate around legislative and budget adoption, as well as policy makers/influencers. We want to ensure that MPs take concrete steps to initiate or influence legislative processes in their country, as part of their parliamentary mandates, but influence policy-making, including by leveraging their public profile in promoting positive rights narratives. As the mid-term review points out, pushing for legislative change, in particular, is an area that has huge potential considering this is a type of outcome that would be “unique” to an organization made up of MPs.

2. MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private actions

This is about MPs fulfilling their government oversight mandate. This is an area that APHR is already seeing good results in, as this is essentially about MPs standing up and speaking out against human rights violations both in their own country but also the region. MPs have unique ways of holding perpetrators to account: through official channels (such as submitting parliamentary questions, setting up investigations or inquiries), through private advocacy, but also

through leveraging their public profile (such as by signing on to public statements, taking part in high-level missions, writing media outputs or any other public channel available to them). This will include holding governments to account but also other relevant stakeholders (i.e., ASEAN, corporate actors and so on).

3. **MPs contribute to building/strengthening a cooperative human rights community in the region**

This is an objective that is not directly related to MPs parliamentary mandate - but it is ensuring they are acting in collaboration with others, and thus strengthening participatory democracy in the region. They can do that through engaging meaningfully with civil society organizations, other MPs in the region, and other relevant stakeholders, to work for the promotion of human rights and democracy. Finally, if APHR wants to grow and diversify its membership, why not also include that as a responsibility for members as well? As part of its ToC, APHR could establish that a key outcome that MPs can achieve to help fulfil APHR's mission is to recruit new members, take part in planning activities, and join national caucuses. As part of this objective, one could also include when MPs engage in peer-learning and exchanges across countries. Through APHR membership, MPs can benefit from the expertise of peers in other countries and also share their own experience with others, building a community of mutual support.

Finally, the ToC articulates the **staff activities** it engages in to ensure MPs can become an active and thriving community. This section of the ToC specifically captures the interventions and work of the APHR secretariat. As outlined in the visual above, this reflects the key deliverables and work of APHR staff: Capacity-Building, Training, and Events; Research, Policy and Communications Outputs; Missions and Advocacy events; Building a partnership network of regional and global civil society, IGOs, and stakeholders; Growing and retaining current membership; Operations and Finance support; Governance support.

Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Framework

The ToC lays out the overall vision of the organization. The MEL framework helps APHR validate that not only it is materially delivering on this vision, but that its central thesis is also correct: that by providing certain support to MPs, they can become an active community in support of HR, and in return that can build a rights-respecting ASEAN region.

From a MEL perspective, the ToC can be split into three dimensions from the perspective of how close APHR is to the impact it is trying to achieve.

- **Sphere of Control:** APHR's staff activities are completely within the organization's control. APHR could aim to understand whether staff activities have taken place or not and to what level of standard. This should be the *easiest* element to evaluate as information should be completely within APHR's reach - but is it valuable for APHR to spend its resources tracking its staff activities?
- **Sphere of Influence:** what APHR is trying to influence is the behaviour of MPs. From a MEL perspective, establishing and proving that MPs are taking those actions should be at the heart of APHR's efforts.
- **Sphere of Interest:** This is what's furthest removed from APHR's control and also hardest to evaluate. APHR should aim to show causality between human rights progress in a certain country and be able to trace it back to the behaviour of APHR's MPs. While attribution may not be possible to establish, because of many external factors, Contribution Analysis should be the aim here.

Bearing this in mind, there are **three key lines of inquiry** that APHR invests in from a MEL perspective, in order to prove its impact and validate its Theory of Change:

MEL Line of Inquiry 1 - Have ASEAN Parliamentarians participated in and contributed to an active community for the promotion of human rights, democracy and sustainable development?

Through this line of inquiry, APHR tries to establish whether its short-term objectives have been met and whether APHR MPs have taken action in line with APHR's three key objectives. This is not focused on staff activities, but rather the behaviours and activities of APHR MPs. Through an Outcome Mapping process, APHR could track MPs behaviour by monitoring the below table of indicators.

How can we track this? This simple outcome framework should be monitored regularly and diligently throughout the year - ideally from input from both staff and MPs themselves. Data should also be disaggregated by nationality of MP and in order to track unique engagements (i.e., how many MPs in total have taken action in any given year).

Short-term Objectives	Outcome Indicators
1. MPs progress laws and policies in their countries	1.1. MPs initiate or contribute to a legislative or budgetary process in line with APHR's objectives (<i>i.e., takes measures to table a piece of legislation, comments on it, votes in favour, proposes amendments to a bill or the budget, engages other MPs on a law, etc.</i>) 1.2. MPs contribute to a policy process in line with APHR's objectives (<i>i.e., Comment on a proposed government policy, promote a policy with the executive/relevant stakeholder (or argues against it), engages other MPs for the same purpose, promotes positive rights and narratives through campaigns, social media, with constituents to influence policy?</i>)
2. MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private oversight	2.1. MPs undertake or contribute to accountability initiatives through formal parliamentary channels (<i>i.e., set up or join a committee, ask formal question in parliament, set up, join or support an inquiry</i>) 2.2. MPs undertake or contribute to public initiatives of accountability (<i>i.e., joins a public statement, media statement, op-ed, mission, event, social media campaign</i>) 2.3. MPs undertake or contribute to private initiatives of accountability (<i>i.e., holds private meetings, or communications</i>)
3. MPs strengthen the human rights and democracy footprint in the region	3.1. MPs collaborate with civil society and amplify their work (<i>i.e., MPs consult with CSOs on laws, policies, and accountability initiatives; MPs speak out against attacks on CSOs and HRDs, MPs promote positive narratives about human rights CSOs etc, MPs engage with people directly affected by rights violations both in and outside of parliament etc.</i>) 3.2. MPs contribute to APHR's growth and sustainability (<i>i.e., by recruiting other members to APHR, joining caucuses and governance spaces, contribute to planning etc.</i>) 3.3. MPs support and collaborate with other MPs from the region and key stakeholders (<i>i.e., stand in solidarity with other MPs against attacks and harassment, develop and participate in joint learning activities</i>)

MEL Line of Inquiry 2 - Which staff activities have most effectively contributed to create an active MP community?

Through this line of inquiry, APHR tries to focus on staff activities and their effectiveness. A MEL framework which is overly focused on tracking all outputs and their direct connection to outcomes (i.e., through a logframe), has not proven to be adequate to serve the needs and nuance of advocacy organizations. It is for this reason that APHR should commit itself to carrying out qualitative analysis of which activities the organization believes are leading to positive MP behaviour.

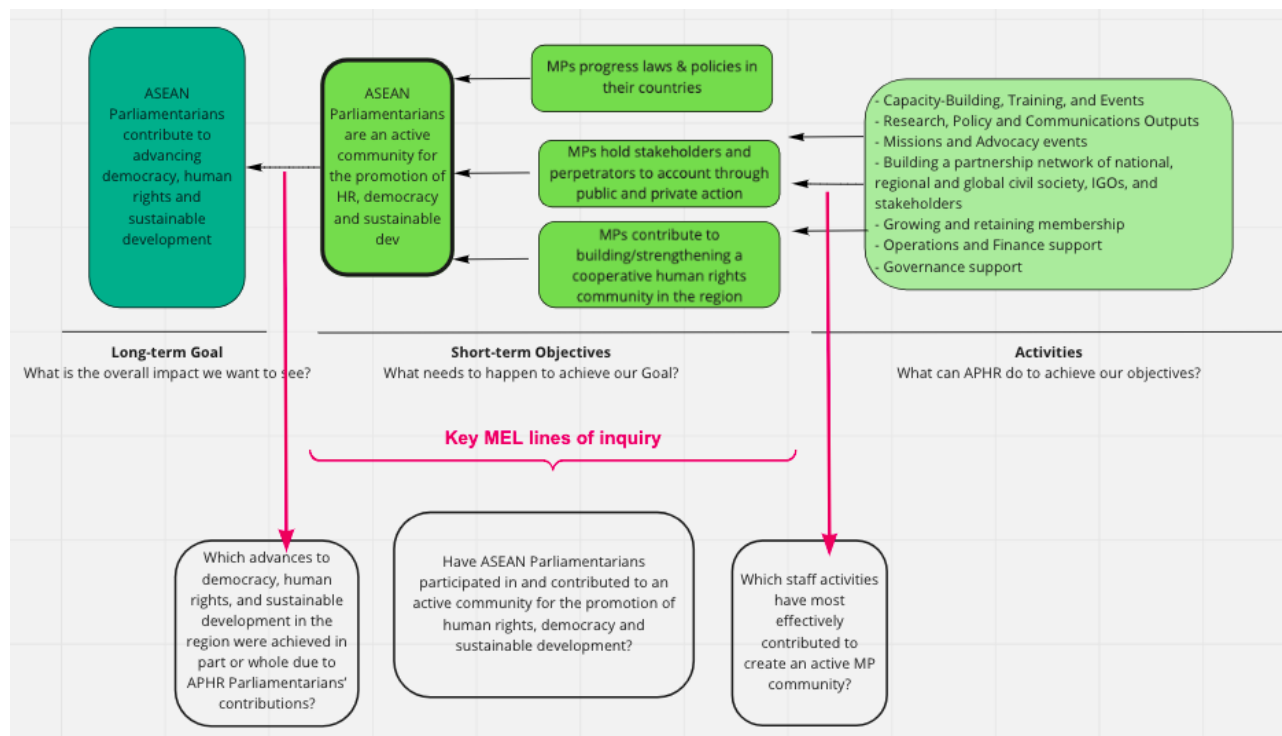
How can we track this? This could be done through qualitative surveys of members and staff's own self-assessment (i.e., done quarterly or annually).

MEL Line of Inquiry 3 - Which advances to democracy, human rights, and sustainable development in the region were achieved in part or whole due to APHR Parliamentarians' contributions?

Through this line of inquiry, APHR tries to be able to connect its work, and the work of its MPs to tangible improvement on the ground. Tracking comprehensive human rights progress in a certain country will not be necessary, but the organization should focus on identifying select areas of progress (i.e., a change in legislation, situation or specific case) and be able to trace it back to the behaviour and contribution of APHR's MPs. While full attribution may not be possible to establish, because of many external factors, Contribution Analysis should be the aim here.

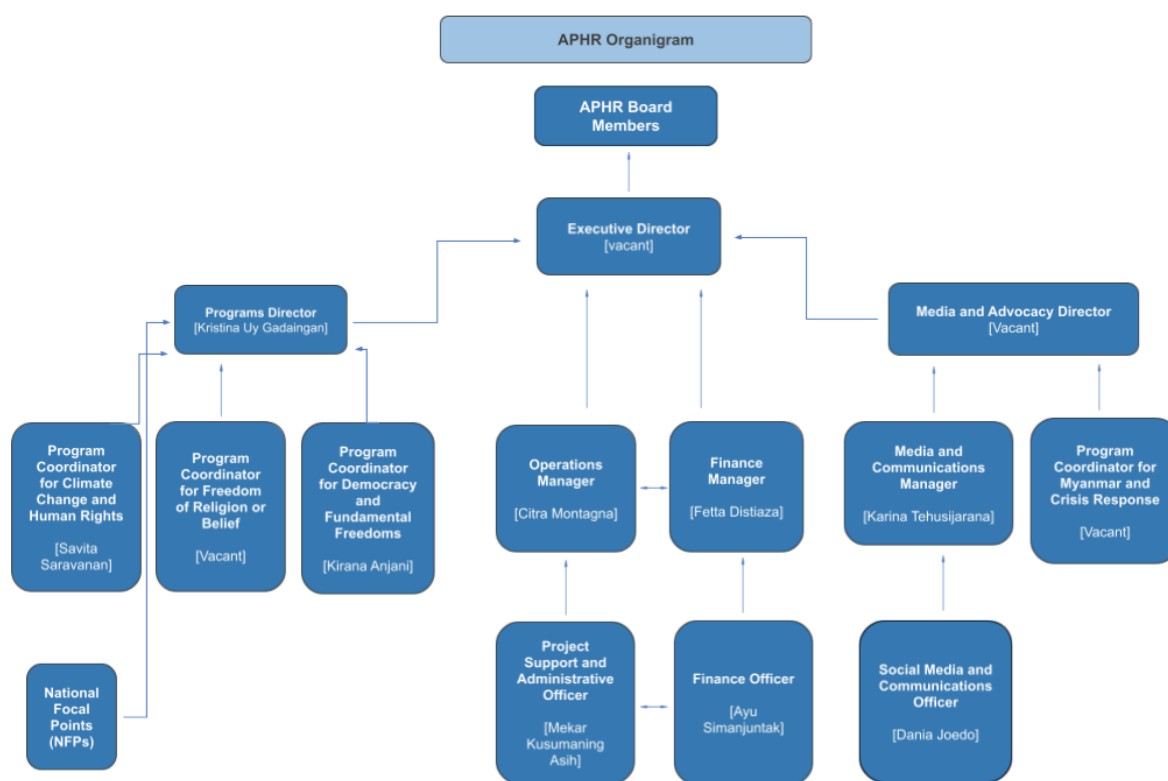
How can we track this? This could be done through a qualitative reflection process driven by input from both members and staff (perhaps annually). Feedback from partners and CSOs will also be able to contribute to this analysis.

The below visual summarizes and connects the MEL lines of inquiry to the current Theory of Change.



Annex 9: APHR Organigram

It is important to note that as of August 2024, the three top management positions are vacant, and in the midst of being recruited. (The Programs Director left at end of July 2024.) A new Executive Director has been confirmed and is due to begin full time in December 2024, with some part time overview until then. The below diagram is not updated. Note also that two programme coordinators are vacant. And the portfolio for refugees and migrants has been dropped for now.



(*updated as of 18 January 2024)

Current Board members:

1. Ms. Mercy BAREND, Indonesia, Chair.
2. Mr Charles SANTIAGO, Malaysia, Co-Chair.
3. Ms. Eva KUSUMA SUNDARI, Indonesia.
4. Ms. Mu SOCHUA, Cambodia.
5. Mr Wong CHEN, Malaysia
6. Mr U SHWE MAUNG, Myanmar.
7. Ms Arlene BROSAS, Philippines
8. Mr Teodoro BAGUILAT, Jr, Philippines
9. Mr Charles CHONG, Singapore.
10. Mr Kasit PIROMYA, Thailand (former foreign minister).
11. Ms. Maria Angelina Lopes Sarmento, Timor-Leste
- Mr Walden BELLO, Philippines (*Ex officio* member)

Annex 10: Evaluation Terms of Reference

Terms of Reference for the Evaluation of Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) Date: 2024-04-19

1. General information

1.1 Introduction

Regional overview: In Asia-Pacific, Sweden addresses cross-border challenges in human rights, democracy, gender equality, migration and climate and the environment. This is of great importance as many countries in Asia-Pacific have experienced rapid economic growth, but often at the expense of the environment, climate, and human rights. Many countries in Asia-Pacific have introduced laws restricting freedom of the press, expression, association, and assembly. Growing inequality, religious fundamentalism and xenophobia are creating populist leadership, increasing divisions in society, and generating discrimination against people on the basis of ethnicity, gender and sexuality. It makes it more difficult for civil society and the media to hold governments accountable for their actions. Corruption remains high in most of the countries. Judgments against people who express their views online have increased. Asia and the Pacific region is home to more than 60 million international migrants,⁷ most of them born in the region. Threats, conflicts, and effects of environmentally unsustainable development also lead to increased migration. Migrants and their families run a high risk of ending up in vulnerable situations. Women and children are more vulnerable to a range of abuses, such as human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

The challenges and opportunities for parliamentarians: Human rights restrictions and violations against parliamentarians, by using emergency laws and regulations declared during the COVID-19 pandemic, continued despite the pandemic being under control. Lawmakers in the region have been increasingly at risk in recent years, with a deterioration of human rights safeguards and the shrinking of the democratic space in most countries. They are often being targeted, in particular those from the opposition, for carrying out their mandate to speak for the people and perform oversight of the government.²⁷ At the same time, it is more important than ever that parliamentarians use their unique position in parliament to ask their governments about what actions it is taking on human rights violations, including work to repeal or amend all laws that have been identified as restricting the rights to freedom of expression, association, and peaceful assembly with a view to bringing them in line with international human rights law and standards.

The [Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022–2026 - Government.se](#) is handled from the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok, Development Cooperation Section. Sweden is implementing the strategy via a range of different actors²⁸ from civil society, academia, intergovernmental organisations, UN-agencies, and private sector. In this specific partnership with Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR), Sweden, together with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Open Societies Foundation (OSF) are the main donors.

²⁷ [New report denounces the worsening situation of Parliamentarians at risk in Southeast Asia - ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights \(aseanmp.org\)](#)

²⁸ Annex A, portfolio overview

1.2 Evaluation object: Intervention to be evaluated

The evaluation object is the Strategic Framework of APHR (Sida contribution no. 12004, core support APHR 2019-2024). The Strategic Framework has been revised since the decision on support was taken in 2019, and the version submitted to the Embassy in July 2022 is currently the one in use.

Information about the partner: APHR was founded in June 2013 with the objective of promoting democracy and human rights across Southeast Asia. Its founding members include many of the region's most progressive Members of Parliament (MPs), with a proven track record of human rights advocacy work. APHR is a regional network of current and former parliamentarians who make use of their unique positions to advance human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia. APHR seeks to help create a region where people can express themselves without fear, live free from all forms of discrimination and violence, and where development takes place with human rights at the forefront. APHR's members use their mandate to advocate for human rights inside and outside of parliament, regionally and globally. They work closely with civil society, conduct fact-finding missions, and publish recommendations and opinions on the most important issues affecting the region. APHR was born out of the recognition that human rights issues in Southeast Asia are interconnected, and from the desire of progressive legislators to work together across borders to promote and protect human rights.

APHR's *vision*, as stated in the Framework, is: "An inclusive ASEAN regional community that is genuinely committed to democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development." The *mission* of APHR is: "To empower parliamentarians to promote and protect democracy, human rights, and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region". The *goal*: "Parliamentarians of ASEAN countries, supported by APHR, contribute to advancing democracy, human rights and equitable and sustainable development in the ASEAN region". APHR has identified three strategic objectives for its work in the ASEAN region:

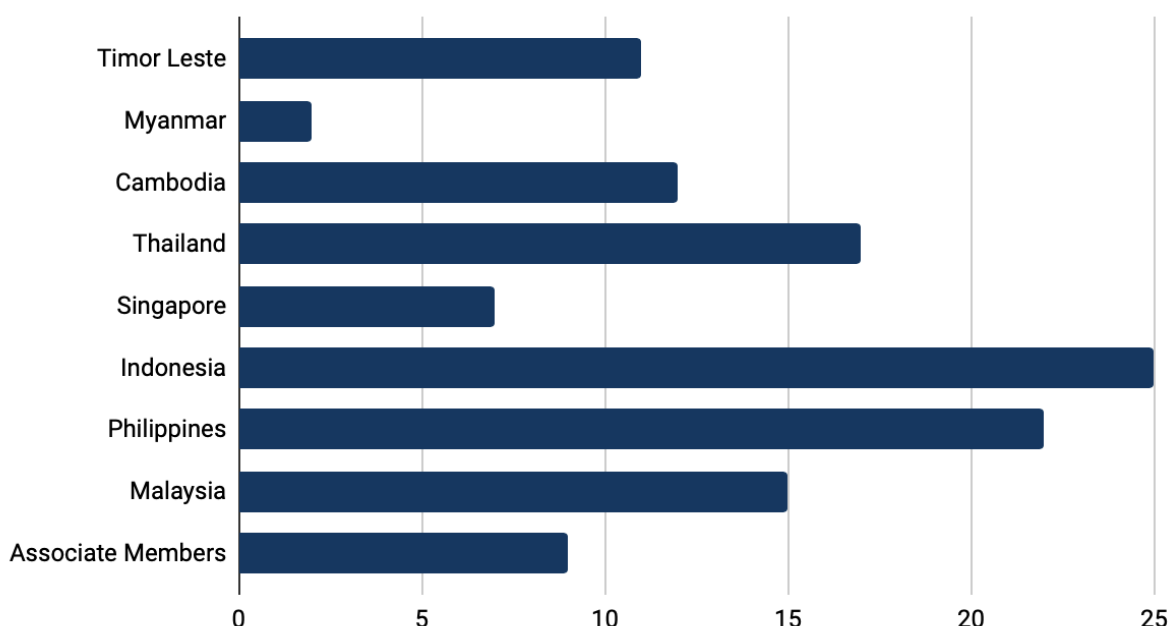
Short term Objective 1: MPs progress laws and policies in their countries. This objective relates to MPs fulfilling their representative mandate around legislative and budget adoption, as well as policy makers and influencers. APHR will ensure that MPs take concrete steps to initiate or influence legislative processes in their country, as part of their parliamentary mandates, and influence law drafting and policymaking by promoting positive rights narratives and democratic principles in the legislative and executive branches. Pushing for legislative change is an area that has great potential considering this is a type of outcome that would be "unique" to an organization made up of MPs.

Short term Objective 2: MPs hold stakeholders and perpetrators to account through public and private actions. This objective relates to MPs fulfilling their government oversight mandate. This is an area that APHR is already seeing positive results in and is essentially focused on MPs standing up and speaking out against human rights violations, both in their own country but also within the region. MPs have unique ways of holding perpetrators to account: through official channels (such as submitting parliamentary questions, setting up investigations or inquiries), through private advocacy, and through leveraging their public profile (such as by signing on to public statements, taking part in high-level missions, writing media outputs or any other public channel available to them). This objective will include holding governments to account as well as other relevant stakeholders (i.e., ASEAN, executive and corporate actors).

Short term Objective 3: MPs contribute to building and strengthening a cooperative human rights community in the region. This is an objective that is not directly related to MPs' parliamentary

mandate - but it is ensuring APHR is acting in collaboration with others, and thus strengthening participatory democracy in the region. APHR will do this through engaging meaningfully with civil society organizations, other MPs in the region, and other relevant stakeholders, to work for the promotion of human rights and democracy. To achieve this objective, APHR should need to grow and diversify its membership by recruiting new members, take part in planning activities, join national caucuses, engage in peer-learning and exchanges across countries. Through APHR membership, MPs can benefit from the expertise of peers in other countries and share their own experience with others, building a community of mutual support and strengthening solidarity among like-minded MPs. The contribution is focused on the sub-region Southeast Asia. APHR: s members by country:

APHR Members



The total budget for implementing the Strategic Framework is US\$ 3,282,201. Out of the total budget, Sweden is covering 56 %. Funds budgeted is US\$ 1,841,734 and spent US\$ 776,975.

For further information, the Strategic Framework is attached, see Annex A. The intervention logic or Theory of Change of the intervention may be further elaborated by the evaluator in the inception report, if deemed necessary.

1.3 Evaluation rationale

The upcoming evaluation is a significant undertaking for the ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR). This evaluation coincides with APHR's efforts to, in parallel, develop a new Strategic Framework and Theory of Change, establish an improved Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Learning framework, re-strategize priorities and strategies, and initiate a staff restructuring process. This comprehensive approach aims to enhance APHR's effectiveness, strengthen its impact, and align its operations with evolving regional needs.

When developing the ToR, APHR also formulated the rationale for the organisation, and why an evaluation would be of benefit to the organisation:

Assessment of Key Results and Impacts:

A central objective of the evaluation is to assess the key results and impacts of APHR's advocacy and work from 2019-2024. This evaluation will provide a comprehensive understanding of the outcomes and effects of APHR's initiatives, shedding light on the organization's contributions to human rights and democracy in the ASEAN region including Timor Leste.

The project evaluation will also look into APHR's relevance in the region and the human rights community and assess whether the intended outcomes have been achieved and whether the projects have contributed to making tangible improvements in human rights and democratic practices within ASEAN member countries. Ensuring relevance in project evaluation for APHR is vital to effectively measure the impact of its initiatives, consider the unique dynamics of the ASEAN region, communicate the significance of its work, and maintain accountability.

Lessons Learned

Evaluating past initiatives provides an opportunity to learn from successes and failures. By understanding what has worked well and what needs improvement, APHR can refine its approaches, strengthen its impact, and maximize its resources. This evaluation will help identify best practices and lessons learned that can be applied to future endeavours.

Development of a New Strategic Framework and Theory of Change

The evaluation will serve as a crucial foundation for APHR's development of a new Strategic Framework and Theory of Change. By evaluating the outcomes and effectiveness of past initiatives, the evaluation will inform the identification of key focus areas, strategic objectives, and desired impact for the future. This process will enable APHR to align its work with emerging human rights and democracy challenges in the ASEAN region, ensuring relevance and maximizing its influence.

Establishment of an Improved M&E Learning Framework

Building on the evaluation, APHR will in parallel establish an enhanced M&E Learning framework. This framework will provide a systematic approach to monitoring and evaluating the organization's activities and impact. By collecting and analysing data on project outcomes, lessons learned, and best practices, APHR can continuously improve its interventions, adapt strategies, and optimize resource allocation.

Re-Strategizing Priorities and Strategies

The evaluation period presents an opportune moment for APHR to re-strategize its priorities and approaches. Based on the evaluation findings, APHR will be better equipped to prioritize between areas that require greater attention, assess the effectiveness of current strategies, and explore innovative approaches to address emerging challenges. This re-strategizing process will ensure that APHR's advocacy efforts remain responsive, impactful, and aligned with the evolving human rights and democracy landscape in the ASEAN region.

2. The assignment

2.1 Evaluation purpose: Intended use and intended users

The evaluation is intended to provide learning opportunities for both APHR and its Secretariat, Board and members, as well as for Sweden and other donors. It will provide an opportunity to take stock of the progress so far, and to learn from what works well and less well.

The evaluation will be used to:

- Inform decisions on how the new Strategic Framework may be adjusted and improved; and how implementation, including monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) and strategic communication can be strengthened to contribute to, and capture, results beyond output-level.
- Provide APHR, Sweden and other donors with an input to upcoming discussions concerning the preparation of a possible new phase of intervention.
- The findings will also be used for reporting purposes, such as to the Swedish government.

The primary intended users of the evaluation are APHR, its members and board, APHRs donors (including Sweden).

The evaluation is to be designed, conducted, and reported to meet the needs of the intended users and tenderers shall elaborate in the tender how this will be ensured during the evaluation process. Other stakeholders that should be kept informed about the evaluation include strategic partners of APHR, to be identified together with APHR and its donors during the inception phase. During the inception phase, the evaluator and the users will agree on who will be responsible for keeping the various stakeholders informed about the evaluation.

2.2 Evaluation scope

The evaluation shall have a focus on the current Strategic Framework of APHR, but results from the implementation of the previous Strategic Framework shall be included. Target groups are mainly APHR Secretariat, members, Board and core donors. If needed, the scope of the evaluation may be further elaborated by the evaluator in the inception report.

2.3 Evaluation objective: Criteria and questions

The main purpose of the evaluation is to identify results, collect lessons learned and provide APHR and its donors recommendations for future strategic programme design and implementation in order to enhance sustainable, anticipated effects in advancing human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia.

The objectives of this evaluation are to:

- Evaluate the **relevance, effectiveness, impact, and sustainability** of APHRs current Strategic Framework, and formulate recommendations on how its Secretariate, Board and Members can improve and adjust implementation.
- Formulate recommendations as an input to upcoming discussions concerning the preparation of the new Strategic Framework of APHR, and possible continued support from core donors.

The evaluation is expected to focus on the areas below. The evaluators are expected to present detailed evaluation questions in the inception report, for APHR and Sweden to consider and approve. The inception phase will provide an opportunity for the evaluator to further develop the evaluation questions based on initial findings.

Relevance: Is the intervention doing the right thing?

- To what extent has the intervention objectives and design responded to beneficiaries', global, country, and partner/institution needs, policies, and priorities, and have they continued to do so if/when circumstances have changed?
- To what extent have lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust intervention implementation?
- To what extent are objectives of the program set out in the Results Framework and Theory of Change still valid?

Effectiveness: Is the intervention achieving its objectives?

- To what extent has the intervention achieved, or is expected to achieve, its objectives, and its results, including any differential results across groups?
- Have the M&E system delivered robust and useful information that could be used to assess progress towards outcomes and contribute to learning? If not, why not? Suggestions in improvements where appropriate.

Impact: What difference does the intervention make?

- To what extent has the project or programme generated, or is expected to generate, significant positive or negative, intended, or unintended, high-level effects?
- To what extent is poverty, in its different dimensions, addressed in the design, implementation and follow-up? What/which dimensions are addressed? How could the programme design be strengthened so that poverty reduction is more explicitly addressed?
- Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on gender equality? Could gender mainstreaming have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?
- Has the project had any positive (or negative) effects on the environment? Could environment considerations have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?

Sustainability: Will the benefits last?

- To what extent will the net benefits of the intervention continue, or are likely to continue?

Questions are expected to be developed in the tender by the tenderer and further refined during the inception phase of the evaluation.

2.4 Evaluation approach and methods

It is expected that the evaluator describes and justifies an appropriate evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection in the tender. The evaluation design, methodology and methods for data collection and analysis are expected to be fully developed and presented in the inception report. Given the climate crisis, innovative and flexible approaches/methodologies, and methods for remote data collection and/or working via local consultants should be suggested when appropriate and the risk of doing harm managed.

The evaluator is to suggest an approach/methodology that provides credible answers (evidence) to the evaluation questions. Limitations to the chosen approach/methodology and methods shall be made explicit by the evaluator and the consequences of these limitations discussed in the tender. The evaluator shall to the extent possible, present mitigation measures to address them. A clear distinction is to be made between evaluation approach/methodology and methods.

A *gender-responsive* approach/methodology, methods, tools and data analysis techniques should be used²⁹.

Sida's approach to evaluation is *utilization-focused*, which means the evaluator should facilitate the *entire evaluation process* with careful consideration of how everything that is done will affect the use of the evaluation. It is therefore expected that the evaluators, in their tender, present i) how intended users are to participate in and contribute to the evaluation process and ii) methodology and methods

²⁹ See for example UNEG United Nations Evaluation Group (2014) Integrating Human Rights and Gender Equality in Evaluations <http://uneval.org/document/detail/1616>

for data collection that create space for reflection, discussion and learning between the intended users of the evaluation.

In cases where sensitive or confidential issues are to be addressed in the evaluation, evaluators should ensure an evaluation design that do not put informants and stakeholders at risk during the data collection phase or the dissemination phase.

2.5 Organisation of evaluation management

This evaluation is commissioned by the Development Cooperation Section at the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok. The intended users are: APHR Secretariat, its Board and members, donors (and possible other strategic partners to APHR). The intended users of the evaluation form a steering group, which has contributed to and agreed on the ToR for this evaluation. The steering group is a decision-making body. It will approve the inception report and the final report of the evaluation. The steering group will participate in the start-up meeting of the evaluation, as well as in the debriefing/validation workshop where preliminary findings and conclusions are discussed.

2.6 Evaluation quality

All Sida's evaluations shall conform to OECD/DAC's Quality Standards for Development Evaluation³⁰. The evaluators shall use the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation³¹ and the OECD/DAC Better Criteria for Better Evaluation³². The evaluators shall specify how quality assurance will be handled by them during the evaluation process.

2.7 Time schedule and deliverables

It is expected that a time and work plan is presented in the tender and further detailed in the inception report. The time and work plan must allow flexibility in implementation.

The evaluation shall be carried out during **May-October 2024**. The timing of any field visits, surveys and interviews needs to be settled by the evaluator in dialogue with the main stakeholders during the inception phase **(end of May, APHR and Board are meeting in Jakarta for a strategic discussion on the way forward of the organisation. This could, potentially, be a strategic opportunity for the consultant to participate)**.

The table below lists key deliverables for the evaluation process. Alternative deadlines for deliverables may be suggested by the consultant and negotiated during the inception phase:

Deliverables	Participants	Deadlines
1. Start-up meeting/s (virtual)	Evaluators, APHR, Swedish embassy, possible other donors.	Early May 2024
2. Draft inception report		To be delivered three weeks after the up-start meeting
3. Inception meeting (virtual) Comments from intended users to evaluators will be sent to	New/interim ED M&E Consultant (tbc) Program staff APHR Board Executive Members	Tentative first week of July 2024

³⁰ OECD/DAC (2010) Quality Standards for Development Evaluation.

³¹ Sida OECD/DAC (2014) Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management.

³² OECD/DAC (2019) Better Criteria for Better Evaluation: Revised Evaluation Criteria Definitions and Principles for Use.

evaluators ahead of the inception meeting		
4. Data collection, analysis, report writing and quality assurance	Consultant/s	Tentative first week of July- first week of September
5. Debriefing/validation workshop (meeting)	New/interim ED M&E Consultant (tbc) Program staff APHR Board Executive Members	Tentative second week of September
6. Draft evaluation report	Consultant/s	Tentative final week of September
7. Comments from intended users to evaluators	APHR Board and Secretariat	Tentative first week of October
8. Final evaluation report	Consultant/s	Tentative final week of October

The inception report will form the basis for the continued evaluation process and shall be approved by Sida before the evaluation proceeds to implementation. The inception report should be written in English and cover evaluability issues and interpretations of evaluation questions, present the evaluation approach/methodology *including how a utilization-focused and gender-responsive approach will be ensured*, methods for data collection and analysis as well as the full evaluation design, including an *evaluation matrix* and a *stakeholder mapping/analysis*. A clear distinction between the evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection shall be made. All limitations to the methodology and methods shall be made explicit and the consequences of these limitations discussed.

A specific time and work plan, including number of hours/working days for each team member, for the remainder of the evaluation should be presented. The time plan shall allow space for reflection and learning between the intended users of the evaluation.

The final report shall be written in English. and be professionally proofread. The final report should have clear structure and follow the layout format of Sida's template for decentralised evaluations (see Annex C). The executive summary should be maximum 3 pages.

The report shall clearly and in detail describe the evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection and analysis and make a clear distinction between the two. The report shall describe how the utilization-focused approach has been implemented i.e., how intended users have participated in and contributed to the evaluation process and how methodology and methods for data collection have created space for reflection, discussion and learning between the intended users. Furthermore, the gender-responsive approach shall be described and reflected in the findings, conclusions and recommendations along with other identified and relevant cross-cutting issues. Limitations to the methodology and methods and the consequences of these limitations for findings and conclusions shall be described.

Evaluation findings shall flow logically from the data, showing a clear line of evidence to support the conclusions. Conclusions should be substantiated by findings and analysis. Evaluation questions shall be clearly stated and answered in the executive summary and in the conclusions. Recommendations and lessons learned should flow logically from conclusions and be specific, directed to relevant intended users and categorised as a short-term, medium-term and long-term.

The report should be no more than 25 pages excluding annexes. If the methods section is extensive, it could be placed in an annex to the report. Annexes shall always include the Terms of Reference, the

Inception Report, the stakeholder mapping/analysis and the Evaluation Matrix. Lists of Key Informants/interviewees shall only include personal data if deemed relevant (i.e., when it is contributing to the credibility of the evaluation) based on a case-based assessment by the evaluator and the commissioning unit/embassy. The inclusion of personal data in the report must always be based on a written consent.

The evaluator shall adhere to the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation³³.

The evaluator shall, upon approval by Sida/Embassy of the final report, insert the report into Sida's template for decentralised evaluations (see Annex C) and submit it to Nordic Morning (in pdf-format) for publication and release in the Sida publication database. The order is placed by sending the approved report to Nordic Morning (sida@atta45.se), with a copy to the responsible Sida Programme Officer as well as Sida's Evaluation Unit (evaluation@sida.se). Write "Sida decentralised evaluations" in the email subject field. The following information must always be included in the order to Nordic Morning:

1. The name of the consulting company.
2. The full evaluation title.
3. The invoice reference "ZZ980601".
4. Type of allocation: "sakanslag".
5. Type of order: "digital publicering/publikationsdatabas".

2.8 Evaluation team qualification

In addition to the qualifications already stated in the framework agreement for evaluation services, the evaluation team shall include the following competencies:

- documented expertise in the challenges facing legislatures and legislators in transition and developing countries in South East Asia (SEA). It is also preferable that a team member has knowledge of cross-cutting issues, not least gender and environment and climate.
- The personnel proposed shall have knowledge of development cooperation/ international cooperation or equivalent knowledge that relate to tenderer's core activities.
- Documented extensive experience of evaluating programmes of support for democracy, including experience of evaluating methods, and ability to draw forward-looking conclusions and recommendations.

It is desirable that the evaluation team includes the following competencies:

- Knowledge of Sida's and/or other donor's democratic governance programmes in SEA would be an asset.
- Strong background in democracy assistance – a thorough understanding of the political dimensions of legislative support in SEA would be preferable.

A CV for each team member shall be included in the call-off response. It should contain a full description of relevant qualifications and professional work experience.

³³ Sida OECD/DAC (2014) Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management.

It is important that the competencies of the individual team members are complimentary. It is highly recommended that local evaluation consultants are included in the team, as they often have contextual knowledge that is of great value to the evaluation. In addition, and in a situation with Covid-19, the inclusion of local evaluators may also enhance the understanding of feasible ways to conduct the evaluation.

The evaluators must be independent from the evaluation object and evaluated activities and have no stake in the outcome of the evaluation.

Please note that in the tender, the tenderers must propose a Team Leader that takes part in the evaluation by at least 30% of the total evaluation team time including core team members, specialists and all support functions, but excluding time for the quality assurance expert.

2.9 Financial and human resources

The maximum budget amount available for the evaluation is SEK 650 000.

Invoicing and payment shall be managed according to the following: The Consultant may invoice a maximum of 50% of the total amount after approval by the Embassy of the Inception Report, and a maximum of 100% after approval by the Embassy of the final Report and when the assignment is completed.

The contact person at the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok is Erica Villborg Lindstrand, programme manager erica.villborg@gov.se The contact person at APHR is Programs Director Kristina Uy Gadaingan kristina@aseanmp.org The contact persons should be consulted if any problems arise during the evaluation process.

Relevant documentation will be provided by the Embassy programme manager and APHR well in advance and shared with the evaluators before the start-up meeting.

Contact details to intended users (cooperation partners, Swedish Embassies, other donors etc.) will be provided by the programme manager at the Embassy and the APHR contact person.

The evaluator will be required to arrange the logistics, such as booking interviews, preparing visits etc. including any necessary security arrangements.

3. Annexes

Annex A: List of key documentation

- (1) Funding proposal APHR
- (2) Strategic Framework of APHR
- (3) Proposal for cost extension 2022-2024 (2021)
- (4) Strategic Assessment Report 2021
- (5) Updated programme description APHR (2022)
- (6) Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022-2026 available online: [Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation with Asia and the Pacific Region in 2022-2026 - Government.se](https://www.government.se/press-releases/2022/04/strategy-for-sweden-s-regional-development-cooperation-with-asia-and-the-pacific-region-in-2022-2026)
- (7-11) APHR annual reports 2019-2023
- (12-13) APHRs MPs@risk Report 2023 and 2024 available online: [Publications - ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights \(aseanmp.org\)](https://aseanmp.org/publications)
- (14) Portfolio overview, Swedish regional development cooperation portfolio Asia Pacific.
- (15) External evaluation APHR 2018

Annex B: Data sheet on the evaluation object

Information on the evaluation object (i.e., intervention)	
Title of the evaluation object	APHR core support 2019-2024
ID no. in PLANIt	12004
Dox no./Archive case no.	UM2018/31480/BANG
Activity period (if applicable)	2018-12-12-2024-12-31
Agreed budget (if applicable)	26 724 000
Main sector	Democracy, Human Rights, Gender Equality
Name and type of implementing organisation	Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights, NGO
Aid type ³⁴	Core support
Swedish strategy	Sweden's Regional Development Strategies for Asia and the Pacific:2016-2021, 2022-2026

Information on the evaluation assignment	
Commissioning unit/Swedish Embassy	Development Cooperation Section, Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok
Contact person at unit/Swedish Embassy	Erica Villborg Lindstrand
Timing of evaluation (mid-term, end-of-programme, ex-post, or other)	End of programme evaluation
ID no. in PLANIt (if other than above).	

Annex C: Decentralised evaluation report template (Enclosed as a separate file)



Evaluation of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR)

The evaluation assesses Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) across its core Strategic Framework, focusing on relevance, effectiveness, high level effects and sustainability, to support APHR's strategic planning and guide core donors in their reflections on further partnership.

Conclusion

APHR plays a vital role in Southeast Asia, advocates for democracy and human rights amidst rising authoritarianism and shrinking civic space. The network connects former, current and exiled parliamentarians; fosters solidarity, knowledge and advocacy capabilities. APHR's significant influence on regional discourse on a broad set of themes underscores its value. Key

challenges include limited tracking of outcomes and effectiveness metrics, poor use of gender analysis, high staff turnover, and governance ambiguities. These are compounded or perhaps in part due to funding constraints.

Recommendation

APHR should clarify governance structures; increase focus on measurable outcomes and data collection; secure sustained and sufficient funding. Deeper integration of gender equality perspectives would align APHR efforts with donor priorities and enhance effectiveness and relevance.

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