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# FINAL EVALUATION OF USAID/NEPAL STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTORAL AND LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES PROJECT

*FINAL REPORT*

**January 2017**

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# FINAL EVALUATION OF USAID/NEPAL STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTORAL AND LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES PROJECT

## PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC POLITICS IN A TRANSITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

January 26, 2017

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### DISCLAIMER

The author's views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

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# ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BRIDGE	Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections
BWSN	Bagmati Welfare Society Nepal
CA	Constituent Assembly
CC	Central Committee
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CEPPS	Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening
COR	Contracting Officers Representative
CPN–MC	Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist Centre
CPN–UML	Communist Party of Nepal–Unified Marxist Leninist
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DAO	District Administration Office
DEO	District Election Office
DEW–Nepal	Democracy and Election Watch–Nepal
DO	Development Objective
DRG	Democracy, Human Rights and Governance
ECN	Election Commission of Nepal
FEG–Nepal	Federation for Good Governance–Nepal
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FLA	Future Leadership Academy
FPTP	First-past-the-post
FWLD	Forum for Women, Law and Development
FY	Fiscal Year
GESI	Gender and Social Inclusion (USAID/Nepal program)
GON	Government of Nepal
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IPA	Inter-Party Alliance
IPWA	Inter-Party Women’s Alliance
J4A	Justice for All (CSO supported by NDI)
KII	Key Informant Interviews
KQ	Key Question
LOE	Level of Effort
LP	Legislature Parliament
MDAG	Marginalized and Disadvantaged Groups
M&E	Monitoring & Evaluation
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
MJFN–D	Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Nepal–Democratic
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NC	Nepali Congress

NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEOC	National Election Observation Committee
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NNDSWO	Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization
NVRF	National Voters Rights Forum
PMEP	Performance Management & Evaluation Plan
PR	Proportional Representation
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
RPP–N	Rashtriya Prajatantra Party–Nepal
RPP	Rashtriya Prajatantra Party
RWDC	Rural Women Development Centre
SOW	Scope of Work
SPPELP	Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes
SSTT	Social Studies Teachers Training
TAF	The Asia Foundation
ToT	Training of Trainers
UCPN–M)	Unified Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist
UML	Communist Party of Nepal–Unified Marxist Leninist
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee
VRF	Voters Rights Forum
YI	Youth Initiative

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In evaluating a project as complex as SPPELP with its two implementing partners each carrying out a wide range of activities, we had to rely on many people to facilitate our work. We'd like to thank several of them directly for their help as we moved through our work.

At USAID/Nepal, thanks to Ramesh Adhikari and Murari Adhikari, our CORs, for their attention to our work and suggestions along the way. At CAMRIS/Nepal, thanks to Shibesh Regmi, Manorama Adhikari, Elliot Signorelli and Sanju Neupane Ghimire for keeping us on track throughout our data collection work and superintending the logistical support we needed. At CAMRIS headquarters in Bethesda, MD, to Jonathan Jones and Elliot Signorelli for their guidance throughout our work. At NDI, to Krishna Giri for lining up contacts for us, and to Binny Subha for responding so quickly and completely to our many requests for information and explanation. At IFES, to Binoj Ojha and Radhika Regmi for both arranging contacts and responding to our many information requests. To our team's four field researchers, who worked with us on our field visits as data collectors and transcribers: Lila Acharya, Maya Chhetri, Srijana Giri, and Chetral Upreti. And to our research assistant, Ashutosh M. Dixit, who served as a note taker on many interviews and undertook numerous research tasks for us.

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**Jagdish C. Pokharel** (deputy team leader) is currently President of the Center for Consolidation of Democracy, a national think tank organization, President of Regional & Urban Planners Society of Nepal and Governing Board Member of Community of Evaluators South Asia. He has Ph. D, in Regional Planning, Masters in Regional Planning, and Bachelor's in Architecture. Twice Vice Chairman and nearly five years Member of National Planning Commission, Nepal, has led country's post-conflict development planning, decentralization and social development. He has advised several multilateral and bilateral agencies. His book, "Environmental Resources Negotiation Between Unequal Powers" analyzes the role of power in negotiation.

**Ajaya Bhadra Khanal** is a former Editor of *The Himalayan Times*, an English broadsheet daily published from Kathmandu. In addition to high-level academic and practical trainings in the US, he has more than 25 years' experience as a journalist in Nepal, capped by inside involvement in conflict transformation. He is currently working in research and in making contributions toward enabling communities and national political institutions direct social change and promote democracy.

**Anamika Pradhan** has worked for more than a decade in the development field, focusing in particular on gender and social inclusion (GESI) issues, and in the communication field. Over the last five years, she has served with the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the UNDP's Electoral Support Project in Nepal, and the German NGO Welthungerhilfe. She holds a master's degree in rural development from Indira Gandhi Open University in Delhi.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## EVALUATION PURPOSE

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The purpose of the final evaluation of the US Agency for International Development's (USAID's), Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes (SPPELP) project is to understand the extent to which the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) achieved the project's objectives as expressed in five key evaluation questions, and to provide evidence and recommendations for planning a possible follow-on activity related to strengthening political parties, elections and legislation in Nepal's current context. It is expected that USAID, implementing partners and government stakeholders will use information from this evaluation to make decisions on future programming and activity design

## PROJECT BACKGROUND

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The SPPELP program is a six-year, \$29.5 million effort to support political parties, parliament, electoral institutions, and civil society organizations to promote a more stable and peaceful democracy in Nepal, with special attention devoted to increasing political participation from vulnerable groups. The Consortium of Elections and Political Processes Strengthening (CEPPS), in this project consisting of NDI and IFES, have been implementing the project. NDI largely supports strengthening political parties, enhancing civil society's monitoring capacity, and improving drafting capacity and constituent communication in the Constituent Assembly/Legislature; IFES focuses on improving the capacity of the Election Commission of Nepal (ECN) to manage elections and voter education, along with voter registration and rights, and the legal framework for elections.

## EVALUATION QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

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The evaluation SOW lists five key questions, each focusing on progress in a specific program area; these questions appear in priority order in **Exhibit 1**. Data (largely of a qualitative nature) were gathered at both the national level (mainly key informant interviews or KIIs) and the local level (KIIs and Focus Group Discussions or FGDs).

After locating a pilot district to test our data collection toolkit, we selected four sample districts, chosen so as to cover as many IFES and NDI activities as possible, and include different regions and ethnicities. Two sub-teams each spent a week in two districts collecting data.

Our methodology allowed us to gather information over a wide range of topics, but yielded data that must be regarded as illustrative of SPPELP's work rather than a statistically representative sample. And as there were no districts where both IFES and NDI had all their programs operatives during our visits, we could not cover the complete spectrum of project activities.

### Exhibit 1: Key Evaluation Questions: Subjects of Focus

1. Internal party democracy.
2. Vulnerable group representation and participation.
3. Election mechanics.
4. Voter education and mobilization.
5. Legislative functions.



## FINDINGS

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### INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY

- Party leaders recognize that internal democracy is important if their parties are to remain relevant in the changing political context.
- While decision-making within parties has become more systematic, local party secretaries perceive that decisions still run along traditional patronage lines.
- Parties have made some progress in internal party democracy, but top-down hierarchical command-and-control remains the norm.
- Most major parties have introduced elections for higher office.
- While most party leaders feel that it is better for parties to be trained separately, local level members prefer training that involves participants from multiple parties depending on the nature and subject of training.
- NDI training was sought after by the parties in the run-up to the 2013 elections and considered valuable. The trainings contributed to internal party democracy by improving knowledge of basic concepts.
- A top priority for almost all those in the parties' upper leadership levels is to master the new constitution's structural changes and their implications for the upcoming series of elections.
- Leaders consider as major challenges educating their party's active members on democratic values and ethics, along with attracting and retaining new blood (especially from marginalized communities) to the party.
- Nepal's parties have done well in acquiring the basic attributes of external democracy, and NDI can claim some contribution to these changes, most notably for the CPN–MC and to a lesser extent for the UML
- Smaller (RPP), newer (RPP–N), and more dynamic parties at the regional level (MJFN–D) are more enthusiastic about internal party democracy than older, more established, and centralized parties at the national level.

### VULNERABLE GROUP REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

- Political parties have been largely receptive to demands for inclusion.
- Women's activist groups, many supported by SPPELP, successfully lobbied to retain a constitutional provision mandating that one-third of the Constituent Assembly's members be women.
- Some party leaders appear to conflate the concepts of "representation" and "participation." Women and to a lesser extent youth groups in the districts have received more support and made more progress in improving their positions within parties than other vulnerable groups.
- Female interview respondents noted several barriers to their active engagement in political activities.
- While party leadership spoke of frequent and 'bottom up' communication patterns, local party members noted that communication remains a top down function.

### ELECTION MECHANICS

- Among our respondents, there was widespread agreement that ECN's management of the 2013 election was far superior to its performance in 2008.
- IFES engaged in many capacity-building initiatives.
- The NDI-supported umbrella organization DEW-Nepal deployed more than 6000 election observers in 2013, contributing to election credibility.
- Since the promulgation of the new constitution, IFES has directly supported the ECN in drafting nine new election laws.

- The 2013 election was widely thought to be “free and fair,” but opinion data show some discrepancies.
- ECN respondents want to develop a full work plan in collaboration with IFES.

### VOTER EDUCATION AND MOBILIZATION

- Voter education conducted by IFES-supported CSOs has reached a very large audience.
- A civics education program has been launched in 34 districts from 2011-2016 and 16 districts at the time of this evaluation.
- A district level voters’ rights forums has expanded to 23 districts.

### LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS

- Legislative committees experienced a delay in getting started on their work.
- NDI expert support began in earnest after the 2013 election.
- A library-building initiative failed to occur.
- An internship project also proved unsuccessful.
- Committees seem overly dependent on NDI for their operations.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

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### TWO CENTRAL THEMES

**Internal party democracy and inclusion of vulnerable groups are inextricably linked;** each needs the other if democratic politics is to flourish in Nepal. The critical element will be for political leaders to move from a patronage-fueled relationship with the citizenry to a transparent one in which public-sector goods and services are provided on objective grounds. USAID assistance to parties cannot produce changes of this magnitude during a five-year project, but it should inject the idea into its programs by pitching it as an incentive to attract votes in future elections: **Broad-based benefits to voters, in general, will generate more political support than patronage-based benefits steered to a few loyalists.**

#### Inclusion

- Continue to encourage party efforts to conform to new constitutional requirements for internal party elections and representation/participation for vulnerable groups.
- Incorporate into all party trainings significant time and effort to exploring the meaning of “representation” and “participation,” along with their practical implications—particularly the need to move from the first of these inclusiveness levels to the second.
- Build on IPWA’s success to expand its efforts to bring women into political advocacy.
- Encourage IPWA-like organizations for ethnic minorities—an IPDA for Dalits, an IPJA for Janajatis, etc.
- Continue to support the FLA program to nurture future leaders within the parties by recruiting successive cohorts from the political parties, perhaps every second or third year.
- Explore ways to ease the burdens that women from non-elite strata and minorities generally face due to lack of financial resources and cultural constraints, e.g., working with the Local Government and Community Development Program’s social mobilization program and Sajhedari’s micro-credit program (or absorb lessons from them if they don’t continue) to spur-small-scale economic growth. Such measures will not prevent those already advantaged within these vulnerable communities from getting the most benefit from opportunities for advancement, but they can help ameliorate prevalence of such a pattern.

### **External democracy**

- Help parties enforce the code of conduct each party will be required to enact (assuming the draft Political Party Law is passed).
- Continue the interparty trainings to encourage members from different parties to build acquaintances, learn to cooperate and develop common interests.

### **Voter education**

- Continue and expand voter education activities carried out for the 2013 election, perhaps in coordination with other donors, as the effort required will be large. Elections for the three government tiers must be held seriatim before 21 January 2018, so any CEPPS IV voter education program would have to move very quickly.
- As a longer-term investment, the SSTT program should be expanded from the present 15 districts to cover the entire country. Moreover, the program should be institutionalized so that refresher trainings are provided to social studies teachers on a regular basis (perhaps every other year). And given the changes federalism will be bringing to Nepal, new course material must be generated at least biannually.

### **Accountability**

- Support CSOs engaged in monitoring and reporting on public service delivery. The CDP study is a good model to follow.
- Expand social audits focusing on specific legislation (which began in CEPPS III) to survey-based social audits of public institutions of the sort regularly carried out in India by Public Affairs Foundation in Bangalore, among other CSOs.
- Support the media to conduct investigative journalism, a powerful instrument to press for state accountability. This was supported by CEPPS III but not in our SOW.
- Help build the monitoring and oversight capacity of the fledgling parliamentary committees that are still feeling their way, and at the same time begin to wean them from their dependence on USAID support.

### **Election monitoring**

- Revive and reinvigorate the DEW-Nepal network of CSOs (or launch a new network) to monitor all three of the elections to be held before 21 January 2018. There should be some economies of scale in monitoring three elections occurring close to each other, and perhaps some costs could be shared with other donors.

### **Election commission of Nepal**

- Support the ECN in crafting laws, regulations and directives needed to implement the new constitution's requirements for local and provincial elections.
- Work with the ECN to craft a long-term voter registration and education program that will endure beyond the end of a CEPPS IV.
- Help the ECN to build and capacitate an election monitoring structure along the lines of DEW-Nepal that will be a reserve organization that can be recalled to active duty in future elections.

**Internal party democracy.** This has arguably been SPPELP's most difficult challenge and will continue to be so for future projects.

- Emphasize inclusion, which will be as the driver that will in time widen internal party democracy as vulnerable group members attain leadership positions within the parties.
- Expand the FLA program with successive new cohorts that will both embody and promote inclusive party democracy.

### **Trust in elections**

- DO 1's data and analysis on this matter should be explored thoroughly. The disparity is quite possibly an artifact of coding or analyzing the data or perhaps poor sampling. But if the large drop in confidence appearing in the Bagmati zone reflects actual respondents' answers from a valid sample, some action is called for to shore up confidence in elections.

## EVALUATION PURPOSE

The purpose of the final evaluation of the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID's) Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes (SPPELP) project is to understand the extent to which the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) achieved the project's objectives as expressed in five key evaluation questions (KQs), and to provide evidence and recommendations for planning a possible follow-on activity related to strengthening political parties, elections and legislation in Nepal's current context. We expect that USAID, implementing partners and government stakeholders will use the information from the evaluation to make decisions on future programming and activity design. The statement of work (SOW) for the evaluation is available in **Annex 1**.<sup>1</sup>

The evaluation has been carried out by a team of national professionals led by an international consultant. The evaluation has drawn on multiple sources for data and information, including periodic project progress reports; mid-term evaluations of the project, field visits in selected program districts, interviews and interactions with key stakeholders, and interactions with political leaders and other target groups at the local level. At the national level, the evaluation has depended on SPPELP's main partners, including the Election Commission of Nepal (ECN), government ministries and departments, the national secretariats of major political parties, and parliamentary sub-committees. Individual interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) were carried out during the evaluation process.

## PROJECT BACKGROUND

The SPPELP program is a six-year (August 2010–August 2016, with a no-cost extension to February 2017), \$29.5 million effort that supports political parties, legislative parliament, electoral institutions and civil society organizations to promote a more stable and peaceful democracy in Nepal. The project is designed to restore public confidence in democratic processes and institutions and to encourage greater political participation, especially from marginalized groups.

The Consortium of Elections and Political Processes Strengthening (CEPPS)—consisting of NDI, the International Republican Institute and IFES—implement the project, in this instance using NDI and IFES. NDI largely supports strengthening political parties, enhancing civil society's monitoring capacity and improving drafting capacity and constituent communication in the Constituent Assembly (CA)/Legislature. IFES focuses on improving the capacity of the ECN to manage elections and voter education, along with voter registration and rights, and the legal framework for elections. By the end of the third quarter of fiscal year (FY) 2015–16, NDI had

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<sup>1</sup> This evaluation is being conducted under USAID/Nepal's CAMRIS Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) Project, which is a five-year, mission-wide monitoring and evaluation (M&E) support contract. The MEL project supports achievement of USAID/Nepal's Country Development Cooperation Strategy by assisting the mission in planning, designing, conducting, disseminating and learning from more rigorous M&E of development activities. This includes designing and implementing both quantitative and qualitative evaluations and assessments, as well as providing expert analysis and technical assistance to USAID/Nepal's programs.

spent about \$14.5 million on its work, and IFES had spent about \$11 million. Total funding allotted has been set at \$17.5 million for NDI and \$12.4 million for IFES at.

In the aftermath of the April 25, 2015, earthquake, SPPELP adapted to emphasize the principles of decentralization of governance, transparency and accountability for aid delivery, and communication with citizens as part of a democratic political process, but this evaluation will not focus on SPPELP's post-earthquake efforts as it was not in the SOW.<sup>2</sup>

The project has three objectives, as shown in **Exhibit 1**. (Sub-objectives appear in the evaluation SOW in **Annex 1**).

Partner non-governmental organizations (NGOs) at the national, district, and local levels have implemented SPPELP's activities. These activities have been conducted all over the country; some in all districts and others in fewer districts as management capacity and funding permitted. As of the third quarter of FY 2016, SPPELP had ongoing activities in 28 of Nepal's 75 districts, spanning all five Development Regions and all the recently delineated seven provinces of the country. Partner organizations are engaged in project activities at different levels. At the national level, partners and beneficiaries of the project are the ECN, ministries, and the CA/Legislative Parliament (now referred to simply as the parliament, after the promulgation of Nepal's new constitution in August 2015), with its committees and political parties.

#### Exhibit 2: Project Objectives

- Promote and strengthen broader political processes.
- Strengthen institutions involved in electoral processes, either as actors or participants.
- Improve the democratic functioning of the Constituent Assembly/ Legislature Parliament.

## FRAMING THE EVALUATION

### THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT

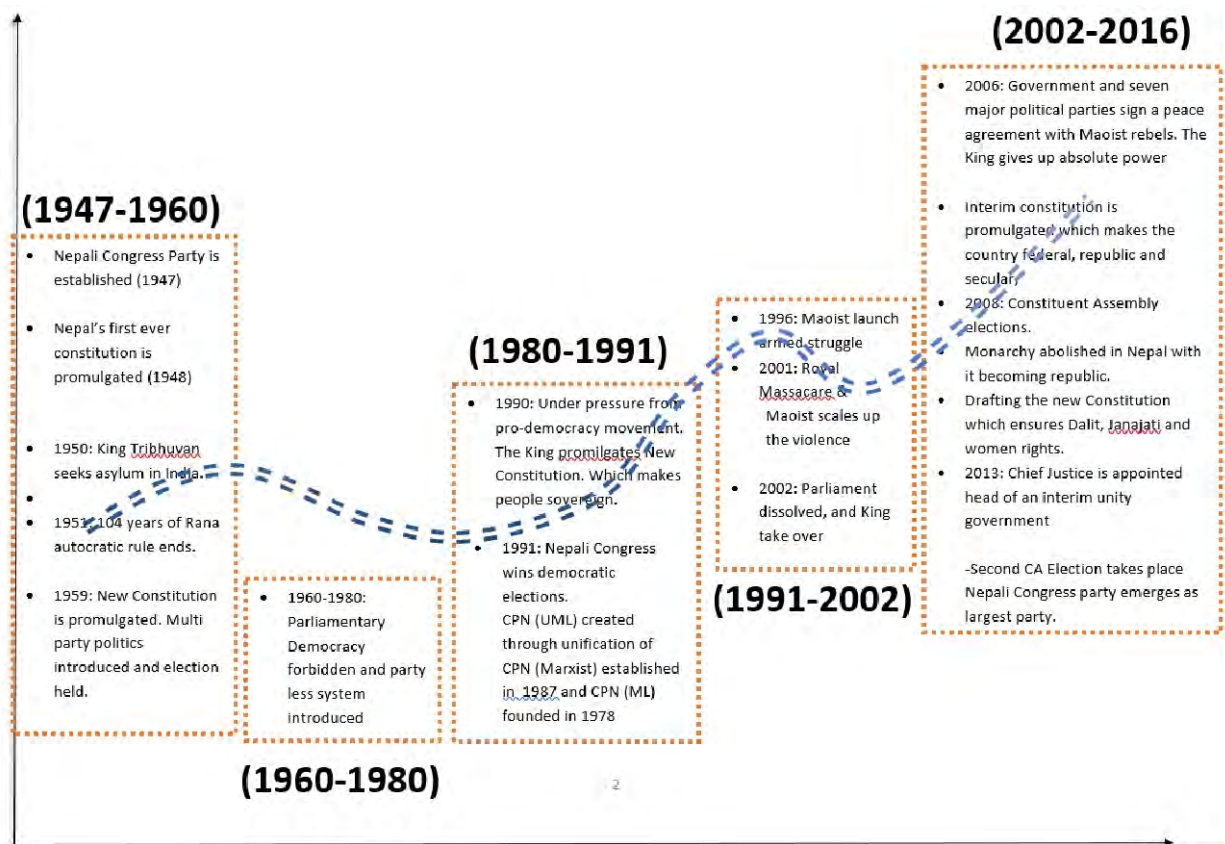
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Beginning with the overthrow of the Rana autocracy and the introduction of democratic elections in 1959, Nepal embarked on what proved to be a path of advancement toward a democratic polity, accompanied by regression toward authoritarianism, but with an overall trajectory that has been positive, as illustrated in **Exhibit 2**.

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<sup>2</sup> During planning meetings and a review of documents, the evaluation team learned about the addition of a fourth objective to the project after the earthquake: *Strengthen the government's capacity to communicate effectively on earthquake relief, recovery and reconstruction efforts*. Given that this objective was not in the SOW, it was not included in the evaluation.

Exhibit 3: A Brief Timeline of Nepal's Democratic Political History



SPPELP's goal is "To build a more stable and peaceful democracy in Nepal,"<sup>3</sup> meaning, a pluralistic democratic polity characterized by the inclusion of groups that historically have been excluded from meaningful participation—specifically women, youth, Dalits, Janajatis, Madhesis, Muslims and disabled persons. In the evaluation team's view, SPPELP is best perceived as a continuation of a longstanding effort on the part of USAID and other donors, which takes as its starting point the re-establishment of multiparty democracy in 1990–91—a point seen as a potentially transformative opportunity for these long-marginalized groups to open Nepal's domination by a closed elite to:

- Give them respect in the social order.
- Provide adequate public services to them.
- Allow and facilitate them to create productive lives for themselves.<sup>4</sup>

From the team's perspective, to accomplish these goals, SPPELP assumes that this scenario is feasible through a model of development (presented in **Exhibit 3**) in which:

- Competitive political parties must reach out for votes.
- The best way for parties to reach out is to attract and include Nepal's marginalized groups and communities.
- Internally democratic parties will be more likely to accelerate inclusion.

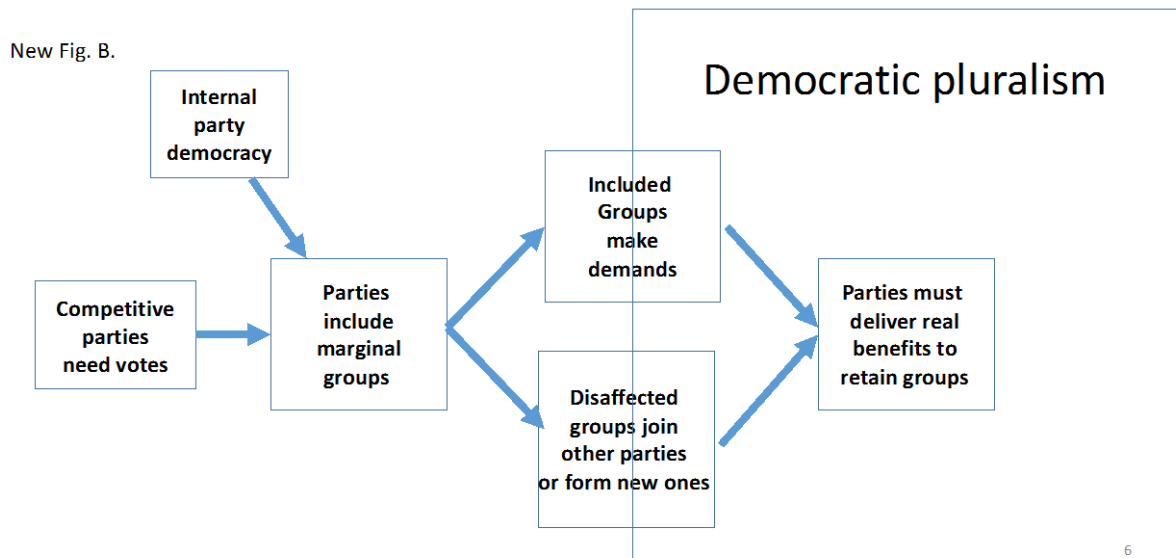
<sup>3</sup> Scope of Work. See Annex 1.

<sup>4</sup> These goals have been articulated most recently in USAID/Nepal's democracy strategy report (Guilain et al. 2012).

- Inclusion will open the door for those included to gain empowerment.
- Empowerment will give marginalized groups effective demand.
- USAID can help move the process along.

In its evaluation of the SPPELP project, the team also will be testing our own theory of democratic development as it applies to Nepal. **Exhibit 3** portrays what we have drawn from our meetings with the USAID Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) team, NDI, IFES, project documents and the 2012 USAID democracy strategy report (Guilain et al. 2012). It shows what we believe are the underlying assumptions of the SPPELP project and what it is aiming for in its goal of building a “more stable and peaceful democracy in Nepal.”

**Exhibit 4: Model for realizing inclusion and democratic pluralism**





# EVALUATION QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The evaluation SOW lists five key questions, shown in priority order in **Exhibit 4**. A full list of SPPELP's objectives and sub-objectives is in **Annex 1**. While the evaluation SOW includes all three project objectives, it does not include all sub-objectives. Those that are not included in the SOW (and therefore not in this evaluation) appear with a "strikethrough" font in **Annex 1**.

## METHODOLOGY

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**Sample.** For the national level, all the necessary key informant interviews (KIIs) and FGDs could be conducted in Kathmandu. For the local level, the focus of data collection was at the district level, since local government offices and the activities of civil society organizations (CSOs) and NGOs were generally located at the district headquarters, and given that Village Development Committees (VDCs) could be visited in day trips from the district centers. Data were collected during the last three weeks of September 2016 and the first week of October, with some follow-up interviews later on.

The following parameters were used to select a district sample:

- Visit both IFES and NDI activities on each trip.
- Cover activities under as many sub-objectives as possible in each district.
- Include different regions and ethnicities.

The sample districts, selected in collaboration with NDI and IFES, are presented in **Exhibit 5**. Lalitpur district was selected as a pilot to test the data collection toolkit. Lalitpur was chosen due to proximity to Kathmandu, as well as the fact that 35 percent of its population live in VDCs, many of which are rural.

### Exhibit 5: Key Evaluation Questions

1. What types of changes have political parties carried out to make their internal practices and organizational structures more democratic?
2. To what extent has SPPELP improved participation and representation of women, marginalized groups and youth in parliament, political parties, elections and civic engagement (registration/ voting)?
3. How has ECN's capacity to prepare for and conduct free and fair elections changed during the life of the project?
4. To what extent has the project made citizens better engaged, more aware of laws and more responsive voters? Has the project increased the number of registered and active (i.e., voted in most recent elections) voters?
5. How have parliamentarians/committees changed practices or introduced structures to improve oversight, representation and legislation?

Exhibit 6: District Sample		
Region	District	Comments
Far West	Kailali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Terai district</li> <li>• Large Janajati population</li> </ul>
	Dadeldhura	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hill district</li> <li>• High number of Pahadi</li> </ul>
East	Dhanusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Terai district</li> <li>• Substantial Madhesi population</li> </ul>
	Dhankuta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hill district</li> <li>• Prominence of Janajati groups</li> </ul>

For data collection related to political parties, the evaluation team focused on parties that SPPELP is presently working with, or has worked with over the long term in the past. The list of parties included in this evaluation appear in **Exhibit 6**.

**Exhibit 7: Political Party Sample**

**Fieldwork.** The evaluation drew on multiple sources of data, including periodic project progress reports, mid-term evaluations of the project, field visits, and interviews/interactions with key stakeholders, political leaders and other target groups at the local level. Fieldwork was conducted by two field sub-teams of three, each led by a team member. The field visit schedule and data collection activities appear in **Exhibit 7**.

- Nepali Congress (NC)
- Communist Party of Nepal–United Marxist-Leninist (CPN–UML or UML)
- Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist Centre (CPN–MC)
- Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Nepal–Democratic (MJFN–D)
- Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP)
- Rashtriya Prajatantra Party–Nepal (RPP–N)

The other two team members visited the field teams twice during the testing period in Lalitpur, and later the deputy team leader later visited the Dhanusha sub-team. Otherwise, these two team members remained in Kathmandu interviewing IFES and NDI staff as well as government officials, CSO staff, and parliamentarians with whom the two implementing organizations had worked over the course of the project. The team leader was in-country during the three weeks of data collection, after which time the deputy team leader directed fieldwork activities.

Exhibit 8: Data Collection in Five Districts				
Dates	District	Interviews	Focus Groups	Ongoing Activities Observed
21–23 Sep	Lalitpur	13	4	0
25–30 Sep	Dadeldhura	18	7	0
25–30 Sep	Kailali	21	7	2
2–7 Oct	Dhankuta	24	0	2
2–7 Oct	Dhanusha	19	6	2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>6</b>

The “Getting to Answers” matrix (**Annex 2**), includes some of SPPELP’s Performance Management and Evaluation Plan (PMEP) indicators that the evaluation team deemed especially useful to gauge the project’s progress. Of the 73 indicators (34 for IFES, 39 for NDI) adopted for the project, 15 looked potentially appropriate to match with the sub-objectives that the evaluation was tasked to assess, as can be seen in **Annex 4**. An analysis of the actual utility of these indicators also appears in **Annex 4**.

To keep the mission apprised of progress, the team lead submitted weekly action reports. The evaluation team also presented initial findings to the USAID mission’s DRG team in the form of two “mid-brief” sessions, on 28 September and 20 October, as well as a third session for the USAID mission more generally on 15 November.

**Data Collection Instruments.** The team developed a data collection toolkit—a set of structured questions—to be used in the KIIs and FGDs for the various types of personnel and groups that the team would be visiting, e.g., political party leaders, district-level party members, party women’s wings, voter education trainers and beneficiaries (with a separate list of questions for), CSOs monitoring political processes, ECN officials and parliamentarians. The lists were then tested in the Lalitpur pilot exercise and pared down where needed. The entire data collection toolkit is in **Annex 5**.

## STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

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The evaluation team notes the following strengths and limitations:

- While the limited district sample is illustrative of the areas on which SPPELP focused, it cannot be considered representative of the entire population of districts where the project operated over its six years.
- The SOW notes that “Data collection and analysis will likely focus on qualitative methods backed up by quantitative as required.” A rigorous quantitative approach would have required longer field visits, more extensive interviews to pursue cause-and-effect relationships, and several opinion surveys that, given the level of effort (LOE) and resources allotted to the evaluation, would not have been possible. And the additional facts that the evaluation (a) addressed what amounted to two separate projects welded together under the CEPPS heading and (b) operated at both the national and local levels, reinforced the need to adopt a qualitative mode.
- The data collection for this evaluation is primarily based on qualitative methodology. There are many strengths to this methodology. The tools used are flexible and can capture the essence of information as it flows during the discussion. The information is rich, as it is based on extensive probing to dig into the depth of information. However, the nature of qualitative data collected at district level means that findings will be essentially illustrative, as noted above.
- At the time of our field visits, there were no districts in which both NDI and IFES had all of their programs in operation on the ground, meaning that in each district visited, we could look into only a partial range of project activities.

# FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

## EVALUATION QUESTION 1: INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY

### Summary of Findings on Internal Party Democracy:

- Party leaders recognize that internal democracy is important if their parties are to remain relevant in the changing political context.
- While decision-making within parties has become more systematic, local party secretaries perceive that decisions still run along traditional patronage lines.
- Parties have made some progress in internal party democracy, but top-down hierarchical command-and-control remains the norm.
- Most major parties have introduced elections for higher office.
- While most party leaders feel that it is better for parties to be trained separately, local level members prefer training that involves participants from multiple parties depending on the nature and subject of training.
- NDI training was sought after by the parties in the run-up to the 2013 elections and considered valuable. The trainings contributed to internal party democracy by improving knowledge of basic concepts.
- A top priority for almost all those in the parties' upper leadership levels is to master the new constitution's structural changes and their implications for the upcoming series of elections.
- Leaders consider as major challenges educating their party's active members on democratic values and ethics, along with attracting and retaining new blood (especially from marginalized communities) to the party.
- Nepal's parties have done well in acquiring the basic attributes of external democracy, and NDI can claim some contribution to these changes, most notably for the CPN–MC and to a lesser extent for the UML
- Smaller (RPP), newer (RPP–N), and more dynamic parties at the regional level (MJFN–D) are more enthusiastic about internal party democracy than older, more established, and centralized parties at the national level.

The key evaluation question (KQ) used to guide this section appears in **Exhibit 8**. Political party democracy can be thought of as external and internal. **External democracy** as practiced by a party includes contesting for political power through legitimate elections, rejecting violence as a political tool, respecting other parties' freedom to compete in elections, encouraging political participation by marginal groups and governing responsibly (whether alone or in coalition—in short, accepting democratic politics as the “only game in town”<sup>5</sup>). **Internal democracy** includes clearly stating membership requirements, maintaining accountability between party layers, establishing dispute resolution mechanisms, adhering to internal rules for selecting party leaders and allotting “tickets” to candidates for election, and exercising

### Exhibit 9: Evaluation Questions—Internal Party Democracy

#### KQ #1. What types of changes have political parties carried out to make their internal practices and organizational structures more democratic?

- What changes to internal democracy have taken place?
- What are SPPELP's contributions to observed changes?

<sup>5</sup> This four-word formulation by Linz and Stepan (1996) as one test of democratic consolidation provides a good summation of these measures.

accountability in party finance.<sup>6</sup> The KQ here focuses on internal democracy, but the evaluation team believes that this dimension of party development would be better assessed and understood if it were examined along with its external dimension.

Specific parties are mentioned in this section as appropriate. The relevant historical context for each party is available in **Annex 8**.

## Findings

**Party leaders recognize that internal democracy is important if their parties are to remain relevant in the changing political context. Respondents noted that NDI's assistance has contributed to this understanding.** During interviews, leadership noted that continued assistance from NDI is catalytic to this effort, especially in its trainings for the cadres on democratic values, exposure and skills, even though it can be difficult because of party internal bureaucracy (an issue prevalent in the NC party) and willingness to work with an international NGO (an issue that has been prevalent with the two communist parties). Leaders for the most part believe that internal changes can be induced through pressure over time from inside the party, its professional organizations, intellectuals, interest groups, women groups, youth and others, and they see major opportunity in bringing internal changes through changes at the grassroots-level representation to the party national convention.

**While decision-making within parties has become more systematic, local party secretaries perceive that decisions still run along traditional patronage lines.** Local party secretaries said that decision-making had become more systematic and institutionalized within some parties after NDI training in administration and management. They are using new techniques, such as computers, for maintaining records, preparing documents, communicating within the party, and conducting meetings. However, when it comes to political decision-making, party members at the local level perceive that parties still run along traditional patronage lines. They claim that those leaders who control groups at the local level also control decisions. Respondents noted that “connections with the leaders” is what counts for reward, recognition, promotion and ticket distribution. Any real transformation remains elusive in the view of most of our field visit respondents. This has been especially the case with NC, MJFN–D, and RPP.

Those who work remain behind. I work 24 hours, but those who please the leaders are rewarded (Female local leader, Dhanusha. Note: Others in the FGD agreed with this perception).

**Parties have made some progress in internal party democracy, but top-down hierarchical command-and-control remains the norm.** In the end, while the parties have become more capable and more externally democratic, they have made limited progress when it comes to internal democracy. For example, the NC, encouraged by NDI trainings on policy debate, conducted policy discussions to be presented in its 13<sup>th</sup> convention, and the UML allowed dissenting proposal in the convention, but our party respondents at the district level almost uniformly told us that parties continue their highly-centralized management style. “They don’t listen to us” was a common refrain. Of course, any expectation that parties would become fully internally democracy would have been unrealistic.

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<sup>6</sup> NDI developed a similar list of indicators for party democracy, dividing them between “party behavior” and “party organization,” but for our evaluation purposes, “external” and “internal” seemed a better taxonomy.

**Most major parties have introduced elections for higher office.** The UML introduced provision for elections of majority central committee members in 2009, and NC introduced it in 2010. Other parties are instituting similar reforms, although more slowly in some cases. The 2007 interim constitution and the 2015 constitution have required parties to be “democratic” and conduct periodic elections every five years. These constitutional provisions are further articulated in the draft party law tabled in the parliament.<sup>7</sup> NDI training has included attention to internal party elections, but it seems clear from discussions with many of the party leaders that the constitutional requirements provided the major impetus for these reforms.

**Although most party leaders feel that it is better for parties to be trained separately, local-level members prefer training that involves participants from multiple parties, depending on the nature and subject of training.** Most (but not all) at the central level think that training programs work better when parties are dealt with separately rather than all parties together—arguing that party solidarity is likely to get diluted—but at the local level, many prefer training sessions with other parties, saying that getting acquainted with their members is beneficial and reduces interparty conflict. CPN–MC leaders and cadres (and to a lesser extent, their UML counterparts) appreciated the opportunity to learn about mainstream party behavior in joint sessions.

**NDI training was sought after by the parties in the run-up to the 2013 elections and was considered valuable. The trainings contributed to internal party democracy by improving knowledge of basic concepts.** NDI’s work with the parties in the early years of CEPPS III focused on supporting their women wings and training master trainers to go on to train party cadres. Demand for this training intensified as time drew closer to the elections finally held in November 2013. This can be seen in **Annex 9**, which shows an overwhelming majority of both trainings and party members trained occurred in FY 2011–12 and FY 2012–13. All six parties we interviewed participated in NDI’s training program—some considerably more than others, as can be seen in **Annex 9**. Leaders and cadres in the parties cited these trainings as useful. For example, these trainings were useful in terms of getting more knowledge, and sharing international experience and skills. Also useful were efforts to develop understanding of some basic concepts such as “inclusion,” “participation,” “democracy,” “issue-based politics” “using surveys in setting party agenda,” “conflict management,” and “party financing,” according to what party members told us in interviews and FGDs. Depending on an individual’s background, communication skills were more important and useful for some; for others it was international experience. Given that the 2013 election was widely considered better than its 2008 predecessor, it can be reasonably inferred that the trainings contributed to the improvement. (This point will be covered in KQ #3.)

**A top priority for almost all those in the parties’ upper leadership levels is to master the new constitution’s structural changes and their implications for the upcoming series of elections. Leadership expressed a desire for training this regard.** After the 2013 election, the parties devoted their internal energies to restructuring their organizations to conform with what they anticipated would be the new document’s three-tiered federal structure and its requirements for inclusion. Numbers of members of parliament (MPs) will radically shrink, both in “first-past-the post” (FPTP)<sup>8</sup> and proportional representation (PR) elections. The new provincial assemblies must be set up and elected, and the VDCs (which were eliminated in 2002) will be restructured as well. The leaders of all parties are especially eager for training on

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<sup>7</sup> 2007 constitution, article 142; 2015 constitution, article 264; draft political party law, article 15.

<sup>8</sup> Parliamentary seats in territorial constituencies won by the candidate obtaining the most votes.

the new constitution, on skills to manage party organization, and on practical campaign technology for upcoming elections.

**Leaders consider as major challenges educating their party’s active members on democratic values and ethics, along with attracting and retaining new blood (especially from marginalized communities) in the party.** Party leaders recognize that the importance of attracting and empowering members from marginalized communities. Moreover, they realize that to grow, the party must attract more youth and educate them in their ideology, democratic culture and values.

NDI’s Future Leadership Academy (FLA) program has been helping the parties in this regard. FLA began training younger leaders from the political parties in 2011. The next year, through a competitive process, it selected from the larger group 48 young people between ages 18 and 39 with high leadership potential for intensive training. These “graduates” became core groups within their parties to advocate for youth issues and help with future FLA training in 35 districts. By 2016, 1,075 younger leaders (including the 48) had received training.

As **Exhibit 9** shows, these 1,075 “end product” trainees are diverse in terms of gender and ethnicity: 36 percent were women, and 57 percent belonged to non-hill upper caste elites. The hope has been that the “graduates” would become and remain deeply engaged in politics over time, with some becoming leaders in their parties. An additional benefit to be realized over time would be that these leaders from different parties—in particular, the 48 FLA “graduates”—would all have known each other well over several years, unlike the present situation in which senior party leaders have achieved their positions largely in isolation from their compeers in other parties.

<b>Exhibit 9: FLA Training Participants, 2011-2016</b>																
Fiscal Year	Gender		Total	Age		Total	Ethnicity									Total
	Male	Female		<40	<35		UC/HM	UC/TM	J/HM	J/TM	D/HM	D/TM	Un-identified	Muslim	Newar	
FY 2011–2014	422	245	667	653		667	283	72	98	144	21	25	8	16	0	667
FY 2015–2016	264	144	408		349	408	183	18	81	52	20	16	0	2	36	408
<b>Total</b>	<b>686</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>1075</b>	<b>653</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>1075</b>	<b>466</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>1075</b>

NOTE: Age of participants was calculated differently in the last two years from the first three; thus, during the first three years, 98 percent of participants were under 40 years old, and during the last two years, 86 percent were under 35 years old. Newaris were counted separately in the last two years, but were included with J/HM in the first three years.

Key to table: UC/HM = Upper caste/hill and mountain; UC/TM = Upper caste/Terai and Madhesi; J/HM = Janajati/hill and mountain; J/TM = Janajati/Terai and Madhesi.

It is important to note that parties have attracted more women and ethnic minorities into their party membership and have made progress at advancing them to higher levels within the parties. These developments must be reckoned with as mindsets change, but we found there were inconsistencies among some party leaders in that they seemed to assume that representation of vulnerable groups in their party was equivalent to meaningful participation—a topic to be taken up with the next KQ.

**Nepal’s parties have done well in acquiring the basic attributes of external democracy, and NDI can claim some contribution to these changes, most notably for the CPN–MC and to a lesser extent for the UML.** Leaders in both parties said that the NDI training was especially valuable in helping their cadres and members appreciate the need to align their ideologies with the realities of a democratic political system. The CPN–MC leaders said the party had to transform itself from an insurrectionary force to a democratic participatory enterprise, and although the change was not so great for the UML, its leaders noted that the members had to adapt their ideologies to enable them to succeed in the world of multiparty democracy.

People say our party came from the jungle, and we don’t know how to present ourselves, I felt this saying was true when I participated in the NDI training. I really felt that I didn’t know even how to speak. NDI training taught me the overall leadership skills and prepared me to come forward with confidence. I feel lucky to have attended this training and also feel that many more need this training.  
(CPN–MC trainee in Dadeldhura district)

**Smaller (RPP), newer (RPP–N), and more dynamic parties at the regional level (MJFN–D) are more enthusiastic about internal party democracy than older, more established and centralized parties at the national level.** There seems to be a significant space and opportunities for strengthening and working with smaller, newer, and more dynamic parties at the provincial level. The eagerness and enthusiasm we saw in the MJFN–D to create a national party, and its aim to emerge as an “alternative democratic party,” is an example. Similar enthusiasm was observed in RPP. These party leaders find NDI support very helpful for their ambitions to grow.

NDI’s programs have significantly increased political strength of new parties like ours. The training modules have taught us to think and manage systematically.  
(MJFN–D party leadership)

## Conclusions

On internal party democracy, some parties have progressed further than others. The extent to which these changes have taken place vary by the ideology, mission, and historical context of formation for each party. Democratic parties, understandably, have gone through fewer and smaller changes than the previously non-democratic parties. These changes are slow and demonstrate some pattern and sequence. First, the parties introduced external democratization, inculcating belief in the core values and process of democracy—individual freedom, free and fair elections, rejection of violence as a political tool, respect for other parties and governing responsibly in coalitions. Compared with some other South Asian countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan, Nepal’s parties have made substantial progress in external democracy.



The parties have become externally more democratic over time in that they have accepted and practiced democratic “rules of the game” in competing—a notable achievement for the CPN–MC in particular. In a second phase, the parties have introduced internal democratization to a certain extent, particularly through internal elections and inclusion (to be taken up in the next KQ).

Given the background of these parties, especially those with a revolutionary background (which, if we stretch back far enough in party history, includes the NC and UML as well as the CPN–MC), this is a logical path that their leaders have taken. It has reduced the risk of dissent and blame accorded to party leaders for becoming “conformist” or “revisionist.” The further away the parties were from the democratic mainstream/center, the greater the effort and time required to democratize them. All three major parties have gone through such external and internal democratic changes. Newer and smaller parties seem more eager and enthusiastic about the possibility to modernize, achieve, manage and strengthen themselves than the older parties. In the end, it would be fair to say that NDI has contributed to bringing newer parties and those at the extremes into the democratic mainstream. And through such initiatives as the FLA and the Inter-Party Women’s Alliance (IPWA, to be covered in the next Key Question) NDI has contributed to creating what might be called “a culture of training” in which middle and lower-level cadres press to be included. These developments would be hard to quantify, but they constitute significant markers in the political democratization process.

Most of the parties have made some progress with internal democracy, but as noted above, they remain largely top-down and hierarchical in their operation. This seeming inability to change can be laid to several factors:

- The volatile history of Nepali politics since 1991 has been such that political parties have had to concentrate on bigger issues such as a Maoist insurrection, a royal takeover of the polity, increasingly voluble demands for inclusion from marginalized groups, two CA elections, two new constitutions and of course, the frequent factionalism bedeviling most of the parties. This little time or energy is left for internal democratization.
- Internal party elections can mitigate authoritarianism and give new groups some voice in party affairs, but this has proved only a modest brake on control from the top;
- South Asian political culture since the end of colonial rule in 1947 has been one of virtually uniform top-down domination. Internal factional strife can bring change, but it doesn’t bring internal democracy. It would be surprising if Nepal were to be an exception to this pattern.

The FLA program represents something of a wager that some of these “graduates” will become leaders in the political parties at some future point. (Some already have attained leadership positions in the youth wings of their parties.) But it is a risk well worth taking—an outlay in what might be called “political venture capital,” where even if only a small percentage of the investments payoff, the “shareholders” (in this case, the political parties and ultimately the citizenry at large) are well rewarded.

Recent constitutional changes have the potential to transform Nepal’s modern democratic process to a different level after more than seven decades, helping the smaller and newer democratic parties to emerge as “alternative” parties challenging the older, bigger parties’ dominance of the political arena. However, there is a risk of destabilizing the system by giving too much importance to the small parties, especially in a polity that includes a PR component.

One can think of smaller European countries in which PR has fostered the creation of splinter parties that can exert destructive influence on policy as the price for joining coalition governments.

### Further Reflections on Party Development

It proved difficult to ascertain what NDI had been doing to promote external and internal party democracy over the years prior to CEPPS III. A couple of NDI staff had been working there since the late 1990s and related to us that the organization had worked with demonstration activities to engage women in local politics, training some 1,700 to contest the VDC elections of 2002 (which in the end did not occur). It also supported the ECN with voter registration and the like. In the 1990s, NDI also worked with the parliamentary committee charged with oversight of Government of Nepal (GON) activities. In 2006, it supported the beginning of the Inter-party Women's Alliance (IPWA), and in 2008 it launched a forum for women's wings in the six parties it was then working with.

But these "institutional memories" had become less clear over time, and the present-day NDI office in Kathmandu had no access to the earlier records, although they are likely stored at NDI headquarters in Washington, DC.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, a search of USAID's Development Experience Clearinghouse database revealed no evaluation of any NDI program in Nepal since 1990 (nor any evaluation of an IFES program, for that matter). In sum, we were unable to obtain a written track record of what NDI has been doing before CEPPS III began in late 2010.

USAID's underlying objective, we believe (as outlined in the democratic development model presented in **Exhibit 3**), is not democracy within parties so much as it is to take advantage of Nepal's new constitution to promote democracy between parties—i.e., what we have called external party democracy, which could also be called multiparty democracy. That's the means, however. The end here (again as per our model in Exhibit 3) is to bring hitherto marginalized groups into the political arena with enough empowerment to advocate successfully for an equitable share of public goods and services, and that will require significant internal party democracy. External democracy, then, constitutes the first step in the process, and this is what is helping to advance election-related and interparty training, along with some smaller progress toward internal democracy.

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<sup>9</sup> At some future point, an analysis of all three CEPPS programs in Nepal would be most worthwhile, but anything so ambitious was far outside our SOW.

## EVALUATION QUESTION 2. VULNERABLE GROUP REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

### Summary of Findings on Vulnerable Group Representation and Participation

- Political parties have been largely receptive to demands for inclusion.
- Women’s activist groups, many supported by SPPELP, successfully lobbied to retain a constitutional provision mandating that one-third of the Constituent Assembly’s members be women.
- Some party leaders appear to conflate the concepts of “representation” and “participation.” Women and to a lesser extent youth groups in the districts have received more support and made more progress in improving their positions within parties than other vulnerable groups.
- Female interview respondents noted several barriers to their active engagement in political activities.
- While party leadership spoke of frequent and ‘bottom up’ communication patterns, local party members noted that communication remains a top down function.

**NOTE.** KQ #2 overlaps to a significant extent with KQ #4, although the two are different queries. If our answers to KQ #2 appear incomplete, readers should look at our answers to KQ #4, and vice versa.

The evaluation question used to guide this section is presented in **Exhibit 10**.

The Gender and Social Inclusion (GESI) unit at USAID/Nepal defines “marginalized” or “vulnerable” groups to comprise all Nepali citizens except traditional Pahadi elite males—i.e., women generally, youth under 40, Dalits, Janajatis, Muslims, disabled persons, and Madhesis of all castes.<sup>10</sup> Thus, efforts to encourage and advance vulnerable group representation and participation have, to varying degrees, included all these groups. This combination of representation and participation is often referred to as “inclusion” by USAID/Nepal and the CEPPS partners. Accordingly, in this evaluation, “inclusion” will be used to refer to that combination of representation and participation.

### Exhibit 10: Vulnerable Group Representation and Participation

#### **KQ #2. To what extent has SPPELP improved participation and representation of women, marginalized groups and youth, in parliament, political parties, elections and civic engagement (registration/voting?)**

- What changes in participation and representation have occurred in political parties, voting, voter registration and election monitors/observers?
- How has work with women’s leadership changed political party agendas/platforms?
- To what extent are new political actors (decision-makers who are now at the table and weren’t before: FLA, minorities, youth and women) contributing to policy discussions? What roles have project activities played in increasing their voice?
- How have any of these changes been put into law?

A great deal of Nepal’s political dynamic since 1991, and especially since 2006, has been fueled by the demands of these hitherto excluded groups to be accorded recognition, respect and a share in political power at all levels. Indeed, their escalating demands for inclusion were seen as the “core [democracy and governance] problem” in USAID Nepal’s DRG strategy report of

<sup>10</sup> Interview with USAID mission’s GESI officer on 19 September 2016.

2012.<sup>11</sup> Some progress has been made along these lines, but even so, results from a January 2016 survey commissioned under USAID Development Objective (DO) 1 showed that while a substantial majority (70 percent and more) of Nepalis believe the country has made good progress in conflict resolution and constitution drafting, far fewer (around 20 percent) perceive much progress in guaranteeing human rights and resolving gender/ethnic/class problems.<sup>12</sup> Inclusion, in short, remains a serious problem in Nepal.

## Findings

### Participation and Representation in Political Parties

**Political parties have been largely receptive to demands for inclusion. This has been partly driven by the new constitution requirements, but NDI has directly and indirectly influenced these decisions, largely through the trainings shown in** All the parties in our sample had taken steps towards better inclusion.

- The NC has established quotas at all levels and is working to meet them. On its 80-member central committee, women will have 32 seats (currently they have 17, we were told). Janajatis and Dalits will have six each, Madhesis will have five and Muslims two. For the party's next general convention youth, previously defined as being under 50 years old, will be redefined as up to 45 years old to bring in younger leaders. Quotas go down to the VDC level, where 5/12 of each party committee must be composed of people from vulnerable groups.
- The UML says it has already implemented the 33 percent female requirement on all committees, and women now comprise 22 percent of all leadership posts, on the way to a full one-third. (UML uses number of party members for representation of minorities, not the national population, as NC does.) It also has quotas for Dalits, but in regards to Janajatis, the party sees some ethnic communities as more in need of uplift than others and so has no overall quota and relatively little interest. Nor do Madhesis have quotas. In these latter cases, the party decides on the number for balancing the representation as it sees appropriate.
- The Unified Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist (UCPN-M) also calculates quotas in its own way, using party membership as the base rather than the national population. If group X has 10 percent of party members, it should have the same percentage of seats on its committees, even though it might have only 5 percent of the census report's figures. It has established quotas for all communities in this way. As for women's reservations, one party official said the party had decided on a 33 percent level at the center, but 35 percent in the new provinces and 40 percent at local level.
- The MFJN–D is working toward a 33 percent female representation overall, but otherwise has divided its members by regions into ethnic "clusters" that send nominees to the central committee. It has no quotas for these groups. The party has begun to expand from its regional Madhesi base to become a national party, and claims that already more than 30 percent of its members are Janajatis.

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<sup>11</sup> Guilain et al. (2012).

<sup>12</sup> O'Donnell (2016: slide 17).

- The RPP–N is striving toward the 33 percent threshold for women and is now at about 20 percent on its central committee, where it has reserved seats for Janajatis, Dalits, Madhesis. It also has quotas at the district level.
- The RPP is also working toward a 33 percent representation for women at all levels, we were told, but so far has managed to build their numbers on the central committee only to 20 percent. It has established quotas on the Central Committee (CC) for Janajatis, Dalits and Madhesis. At its national convention, each parliamentary constituency and district has a delegation with assigned quotas for women, Janajatis, Dalits and so on.<sup>13</sup>

Some of this progress can be attributed to the constitution, which requires, among other things, that one-third of each party's delegation to the national parliament and the provincial legislatures be women. It also establishes quotas for municipal legislatures and VDCs, and mandated quotas for Dalits in state agencies.<sup>14</sup> In terms of party structure, the constitution mandates that PR reflects Nepal in the executive committees at all levels of the party.<sup>15</sup>

Most party officials cited this constitutional mandate when discussing progress within their parties with respect to inclusion, and most (e.g., chief secretaries of the NC, UML and MJFN–D) mentioned NDI-sponsored workshops and discussion groups held with the individual parties (which in some cases occurred before the new constitution came into effect) as helpful in providing useful ideas on inclusion.

Parties can and do use their seats filled by PR to round out their gender requirements and ethnic quotas. In the present parliament, this is relatively easy, with 55 percent of the 601 seats being filled by PR, allowing ample room to adjust a party's gender and ethnic mix of MPs. But in the new parliament mandated by the 2015 constitution, there will be only 110—or 40 percent—of the total 275 seats designated as PR, so it will become more difficult for parties (especially small ones) to compensate for quota imbalances among their FPTP seats. The implication is that they must be more careful in their nominations for the latter to include women and minorities.

**Women's activist groups, many supported by SPPELP, successfully lobbied to retain a constitutional provision mandating that one-third of the CA's members be women.** The effort to restore the 33 percent reservation for women in the new constitution offers an excellent example of the difficulty in assessing attribution. The 2007 interim constitution specified that one-third of the CA's members should be women.<sup>16</sup> But during the drafting of the new constitution after the election of 2008, it appeared that this provision would be dropped.

Various women's groups, including the IPWA, women's wings of political parties and other women's CSOs, lobbied to retain the provision, and in the constitution promulgated in 2015, it was retained.<sup>17</sup> At least some of the credit for this retention must go to the IPWA and party

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<sup>13</sup> After our data gathering, the RPP and RPP–N merged in November 2016. Although their progress on inclusion was basically quite similar, it can be assumed that the unified party will follow the same trajectory.

<sup>14</sup> Constitution Drafting Committee (n.d.), Articles 40, 84, 86, 176, 215, 216, 264. The constitution also states that "Dalits, Adibasi, Janajati, Khas Arya, Madhesi, Tharu, minority groups, persons with disability, Muslims, backward classes...youths...shall have the right to employment in state structures and public service on the basis of the principle of inclusion." (Section 42). But it should be noted that the word "proportionate" does not appear before the word "inclusion," indicating that these various groups can claim no specific percentage of places in state employment.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Article 269 (4)(c).

<sup>16</sup> Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007, article 63 (4).

<sup>17</sup> Constitution Drafting Committee, article 84 (8).

women's wings that advocated for it, and thus, some credit should go to NDI for supporting these organizations to advocate for their common cause.

NDI trainings and workshops became an eye opener for us, and this realization led us to lobby within the party and at the national level on the issues of women representation and participation. We lobbied hard and have achieved it to some extent. (FGD participant, Dhanusha district)

While qualitative data demonstrated that NDI training contributed, the evaluation team could not ascertain how much impact it had. The quota restoration example makes an excellent case study in this regard, which is explored at the end of our conclusions to KQ #2.

**Some party leaders appear to conflate the concepts of “representation” and “participation.”** Some of those we interviewed appeared to perceive the concept of inclusion as simply meaning the “presence” of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, while others believe that these groups must be given a real voice. All party leaders interviewed for this evaluation noted the importance of reaching out to and cultivating vulnerable groups as potential voters, and all thought it valuable to include members of these groups on party councils and as MPs. However, differences were observed in how party leadership perceive the concept of inclusion. Some were eager to talk about bringing vulnerable groups into decision-making bodies like the party CCs and noted the need for training and mentoring them to take an active role. Others were more reticent about such matters and were not eager to talk about vulnerable group members as decision-makers.

Although all the parties are seeking to expand representation of vulnerable communities as party members and committee cadres, even up to their central committees, it is less clear how this “representation” relates to “participation” in their minds. Some seem to think that stacking committees with a few women or minority members should satisfy all demands for inclusion. But most leaders interviewed for this evaluation see that, over time, these new groups must be given a real voice in policy decisions. Some point to examples of women and minorities initially appointed just to fill requirements or party quotas who have moved up into leadership positions.

*In Terai it is very difficult for women to come out and engage in politics. We want to empower them such that they can say openly, “I do politics.” (Party leader)*

**Women, and to a lesser extent youth groups, in the districts have received more support and made more progress in improving their positions within parties than other vulnerable groups.** This is partly because USAID partners have focused more on these two groups than on ethnic minorities. In all the districts the team visited, women and youth groups appear to have received support and enjoyed some success in improving their positions within their parties, a task made easier by the existence of women's and youth wings within the parties. NDI's work to promote inclusion has focused mostly on women and youth. For women, it has supported the IPWA (which it began doing in 2006), women's wings in the political parties and women's candidate training.). For youth, it has assisted the FLA and supported workshops for younger MPs (called “youth parliamentarians”). IPWA participants reported a sense of empowerment, as has been noted elsewhere, and so did FLA trainees. The youth parliamentarians found their workshops informative but noted difficulties with application, perhaps because as backbenchers within their parties, they had as yet little change to exercise newly gained knowledge.

Some parties also have Dalit wings and Janajati wings, but they have assumed less importance than those devoted to women and youth. There are efforts directed specifically to ethnic minorities, as with the Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization (NNDSWO)—a CSO supported by IFES—but these groups have received relatively little attention compared with women (e.g., through the IPWA) and youth (e.g., through the FLA). There are no ethnic-based interparty alliances or political leadership academies supported by NDI.<sup>18</sup> This difference may in part reflect the worldwide donor enthusiasm in assisting women and youth (a priority for USAID, for example, through the longstanding Women in Development program), but it may also stem from the relative lack of political party interest in establishing ethnic-based wings. This may be due in turn to concern within the parties that such wings would lead to inter-ethnic tension and division within parties, or perhaps to a feeling that nurturing ethnic group leaders is not as important as cultivating women and youth to become leaders.

**Female interview respondents noted several barriers to their active engagement in political activities, both within the party system itself as well as historical social/economic barriers.** During focus groups, women spoke of constraints preventing them from active engagement in political activities. These were social (family duties and expectations), cultural (religion, disapproval of women being outside the home at night) and economic (inability to afford transportation to meetings). Others cited discouragement of competitive women, nepotism and patronage-based evaluation systems. UML and CPN–MC members mentioned an additional burden: Their parties demand an immersion in political ideology before taking on party work, thereby disqualifying women who don't have the time to absorb the preparatory study. We also found this pattern for women among vulnerable ethnic groups.<sup>19</sup>

During people's war, our women party cadres were as empowered as men; after we came to normal open politics, they are opting to be common housewives owing to the social, economic problems that they face. As a result, our party is facing a crisis when it comes to women leaders. (party leader)

The flip side of this situation is that the more advanced vulnerable groups are those most able to take advantage of any opportunities that arise, leaving out those less well positioned.

Decades of dedication and party evaluation have provided me the position of MP, but not all women have access and resources to engage in politics. Without strong financial backing, it is not possible for women and MDAGs [marginalized and disadvantaged groups] to come into politics. Along with the leadership training, NDI should also focus and try to link with income generation programs to uplift women and marginalized groups. (Female MP)

## **Communication Between Representatives and Their Constituents.**

**Although party leadership spoke of frequent and “bottom up” communication patterns, local party members noted that communication remains a top-down function.** During interviews, party leaders noted that MPs constantly (“frequently,” “weekly,” “whenever parliament is not in session,” we were told) communicate with constituents. Leaders view their

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<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that NDI's work with women and youth includes many vulnerable group members. Thus even while they are not focused on as such, they are included as individuals.

<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, it has been easier for Tharu women than for others to participate in party activity as they face less social stigma for engaging in public affairs and find greater social acceptance for doing so.

party structures as two-way streets to send demands upward and directives downward. However, local party members noted that MPs rarely, if ever, visited and felt that even when party officials at higher levels would listen to demands from below, they did not act on them. For example, in Dhankuta district, party workers said that sometimes MPs did visit, but they did not listen to local people; they just talked. In Kailali district, some respondents said that MPs visited regularly but proved unable to address people's actual problems.

It's also possible that the need and desirability of face-to-face contact between party leader and constituent has greatly diminished in this age of the cellphone, which provides opportunities for those at lower levels to bypass party hierarchy and communicate directly with higher levels. One party leader said, "My constituents are calling me day and night on their cellphones." NDI noted that party members use SMS text messaging to communicate (which is available on cellphones not capable of using internet email), but none of our respondents mentioned these alternative paths to make upward contact.

## Conclusions

In a competitive political environment (which certainly characterizes Nepal at present), parties have a powerful incentive to recruit minorities to the fold. This incentive can be counted upon to drive inclusion efforts. But genuine participation—in which vulnerable group representatives have an actual voice in decision-making, as opposed to merely acting as window dressing by their simple presence—will be harder to achieve for some time, as it demands that traditional party elites must share their power. Thus, a key challenge for a CEPPS IV will be to convince leaders that the trade-off will be worth it. Giving up some power is the price for including minority voters to the party base and keeping them within the base (as posited in our model in **Exhibit 3**). Moreover, what originates as rhetorical hypocrisy can eventually turn into obligation.

*If it's repeated often enough, hypocrisy can become commitment. (Party leader)*

This kind of sea change from the present practice of elite control will take some time, to be sure, and the tendency for political leaders to assume that representation of vulnerable groups amounts to actual participation serves as an obstacle to this kind of change. The inclusion achieved so far is only an initial step. In the longer run, the need for inclusion ties directly to the need for internal party democracy. Parties won't become internally democratic until vulnerable groups attain a meaningful share in decision-making, and these groups won't secure that share until the parties become internally democratic.

The apparent conflation of "representation" and "participation" is scarcely unique to Nepali political parties. Meanwhile, the long tradition of "neopatrimonialism" (in which political leaders act as patrons dispensing resources to their followers/clients in return for their support) in Nepal means that women and minorities who rise in the system may find it difficult to avoid being co-opted by their leaders (i.e., becoming clients rather than advocates for their communities). Even when vulnerable group members do attain leadership positions, it may turn out that they don't participate on behalf of their community so much as on behalf of the privileged stratum of that community, on behalf of themselves or on behalf of the influential individual leader in the party who picked or pushed them up for the position.

In reducing the number of FPTP members of parliament from 240 in the present national legislature to 165 in the next one, the new constitution will affect a 46 percent reduction. At the same time, the population of each MP's constituency will increase by a proportionate amount, which will make it correspondingly more difficult for the individual MP to communicate directly



with his or her constituents. The same pattern will take place at the VDC/municipality level, as the total number will shrink from more than 3,000 to between 400 and 1,000 when they become Village Councils (gaun palika).<sup>20</sup> Elected council members will be further removed from their constituents than was the case with the previous elected VDC members whose terms ended in 2002.

The political ecology of multiparty democracy should also provide incentives for MPs to visit their constituencies to communicate with their voters, and for party leaders to encourage input from their cadres and supporters in the countryside. Rational political logic would tell us that those who fail to communicate both upward and downward will lose elections to parties that do maintain that two-way street, but experience (especially in South Asia) tells us that more traditional political patronage (neopatrimonialism) may well prove a stronger glue binding party and voters together, at least in the short, and perhaps intermediate, run.

In the face of all these constraints, NDI has made a significant contribution to vulnerable group inclusion. The women we interviewed in FGDs and as individuals uniformly told us that they found the IPWA groups valuable in giving them a degree of empowerment within their own parties and a strong sense of community with women in other parties. FLA participants (covered in KQ#1) that we met reported that their training improved their understanding of democratic politics and gave them a better footing within their parties. Youth parliamentarians gained new knowledge, even though they experienced problems in applying it. And although ethnic groups did not receive training as such, individuals within these groups did participate in NDI's programs. Collectively and in combination with constitutional requirements and practical party incentives to reach out to new constituencies, these initiatives did enhance representation of vulnerable groups and to an extent participation. That there remains a long way to go in advancing vulnerable group inclusion should not detract from the progress made under SPPELP.

## Discussion on Contribution and Attribution

To what degree can improvements in representation and participation by vulnerable groups be attributed to SPPELP? The effort to restore the 33 percent reservation for women in the new constitution offers an excellent example of the difficulty in assessing attribution. The 2007 interim constitution specified that one-third of the CA's members should be women.<sup>21</sup> But during the drafting of the new constitution after the election of 2008, it appeared that this provision would be dropped. Various women's groups, including the IPWA and the women's wings of political parties, as well as other women's CSOs, lobbied to retain the provision. In the constitution promulgated in 2015, it was, in fact, retained.<sup>22</sup> At least some of the credit for this retention must go to the IPWA and party women's wings that advocated for it, and thus some credit should go to NDI for supporting these organizations.

But how much credit? Many quarters could reasonably assert they had a part in the decision, as shown in **Exhibit 11**. Other donors were likely urging the same action on the CA. Elected bodies in India had been practicing a 33 percent women's quota in all elected bodies for more than two decades (surely a powerful example). Women's groups do have agency in that they can and do act on their own volition, independent of outside influence, and politicians have their own motivations for action (in this case seeking more electoral support). NDI can justifiably claim some role here in terms of contribution—likely a larger role than other actors (as indicated by

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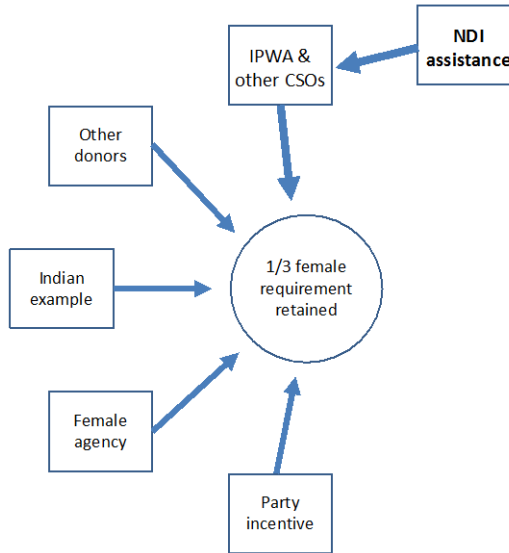
<sup>20</sup> As of this writing, the latest proposal mooted at the Commission called for the number to be between 500 and 800.

<sup>21</sup> Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007, article 63 (4).

<sup>22</sup> Constitution Drafting Committee, article 84 (8).

the bigger arrow in **Exhibit 11**)—and it could be argued that its role was necessary to secure the retention, but just how large a contribution this was cannot be exactly determined.

**Exhibit 11: Factors Contributing to Retention of One-third Female Requirement in the 2013 Nepal Constitution**



## EVALUATION QUESTION 3. ECN ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

### Summary of Findings on ECN Electoral Management Capacity

- Among our respondents, there was widespread agreement that ECN's management of the 2013 election was far superior to its performance in 2008.
- IFES engaged in many capacity-building initiatives.
- The NDI-supported umbrella organization DEW-Nepal deployed more than 6000 election observers in 2013, contributing to election credibility.
- Since the promulgation of the new constitution, IFES has directly supported the ECN in drafting nine new election laws.
- The 2013 election was widely thought to be "free and fair," but opinion data show some discrepancies.
- ECN respondents want to develop a full work plan in collaboration with IFES.

The evaluation question used to guide this section is presented in **Exhibit 12**.

### Findings

**Among our respondents, there was widespread agreement that ECN's management of the 2013 election was far superior to its performance in 2008.** The most widely cited improvement was the biometric voter ID system developed with IFES support. Party leaders we interviewed almost uniformly told us that ECN did much better in 2013 than in 2008, with most of them adding that the biometric voter ID system developed with IFES support was a real success. It was largely due to this system of voter registration that the number of eligible voters was reduced from more than 17 million in 2008 to something over 12 million in 2013, mainly by removing duplicated registered voters. Once the excess names had been eliminated, election turnout increased from about 60 percent in 2008 to almost 80 percent in both the FPTP and PR voting.

Interviewees at district level also said that management of the 2013 election represented a large improvement over its predecessor.<sup>23</sup> They said it was better organized, registration was easier (helped by IFES-sponsored campaigns), checking in at the polling stations was smoother (aided by the biometric ID system), and it was peaceful.

### Exhibit 12: ECN Management Capacity

**KQ #3. How has ECN's capacity to prepare for and conduct free and fair elections changed during the life of the project? Some specific activities include changes in behavior around:**

- Carrying out training, strategic planning, M&E, political party regulation, GESI and legal frameworks.
- Modifying or creating election laws that prepare the legal framework for new elections (based on new Constitution).
- Providing election monitoring, specifically, citizen oversight of electoral processes
- What have been the partners' contributions to the ECN's capacity for this work?

<sup>23</sup> In the even more hastily arranged 2008 election, USAID deployed its Office of Transition Initiatives, which serves as a quick-acting branch of the Agency, used most often in emergency situations like post-conflict recovery (which characterized Nepal at the time). For 2013, USAID partnered with IFES for election support.

For the 2013 election, IFES helped with ballot design/printing, staff training, and voter registration and access—all down to the district level throughout the country. Voter education (to be covered in KQ #4) was also a major effort. Much of this work had to be done within a very short timeframe (the election date was finalized only a couple of months before the actual polling), and ECN was most appreciative of the assistance. A number of these short-term achievements will carry over into the future, such as the election manuals and code of conduct.

**IFES engaged in many capacity-building initiatives.** Throughout SPPELP, IFES has focused heavily on building capacity at ECN. Among its more important efforts have been:

- The Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections (BRIDGE) program, which offers intensive, specialized training in some 43 modules focusing on such topics as election management, gender and elections, access to elections, and political finance. A large proportion of BRIDGE assistance was channeled to the ECN office, where officers told us that it had helped them greatly in managing the 2013 elections.
- Support for developing eight training manuals on topics such as voter registration, polling and counting, and election security.
- Assistance in drafting policy, directives, a code of conduct and the legal framework for elections. The code of conduct was described to us by several district election officers as a behavioral model that candidates should live up to but often did not.

These capacity building activities covered several other areas as well:

- Voter registration and education programs (to be covered in KQ #4);
- Social science teachers training (also to be covered in KQ #4); and
- Media development training (not covered in our SOW).

**The NDI-supported umbrella organization DEW-Nepal deployed more than 6,000 election observers in 2013, contributing to election credibility.** The CSO DEW-Nepal, itself an umbrella organization composed of seven CSOs, trained and deployed more than 5,400 short-term volunteers (of whom 42 percent were women and 53 percent were not hill elites) in 61 districts across the country. There they monitored the voting process in 216 of Nepal's 240 FPTP constituencies in the 2013 national elections, reporting on 98 percent of the polling stations in their districts. These observers also served as an early warning system to report problems at the polling stations, issuing several press releases during the day of the elections. In addition to these short-term observers, DEW-Nepal also trained close to 500 long-term observers to monitor political party compliance with election regulations. The DEW-Nepal initiative, along with observers posted by other organizations, contributed significantly to election credibility and the widespread perception across virtually all communities that the 2013 election was “free and fair” (see **Exhibit 13**).

NDI has also sponsored four CSOs to implement SPPELP objective (2.D) to “enhance the capacity of civil society to monitor elections and political processes.” They are Federation for Good Governance–Nepal (FEG–Nepal), Forum for Women, Law and Development (FWLD), Justice for All (J4A) and the National Election Observation Committee (NEOC). NEOC subsequently has monitored by-elections in the last couple of years, but like FWLD and J4A, it has primarily been monitoring reconstruction after the earthquake of April 2015 (which is outside the purview of this evaluation). FEG-Nepal monitored the Constituency Development Program

Funds in a three-district study in 2015 –16, finding that some MPs had indulged in favoritism as they dispensed their funds to improve their election prospects.<sup>24</sup>

**Since the promulgation of the new constitution, IFES has directly supported the ECN in drafting nine new election laws.**<sup>25</sup> Most of these draft laws have passed through the Law Ministry. ECN staff told us that this assistance was critical to drafting these laws; one staff member told us that “without it they could not have been crafted.”

One draft that has moved into parliament will enable the ECN to “deregister” a political party if it has not submitted a financial audit report for three consecutive years. This measure is a new political party law long in the making. During CEPPS III’s first quarter of work in FY 2010, IFES supported the initial concept papers for this law, and it continued to advise the effort through the passage of the new constitution (with which the law must conform) and into the third quarter of FY 2016 when the law was finally published and submitted to the parliament. At the time of this writing, the law has been registered but not passed. Prior to the promulgation of the constitution, IFES supported the ECN to amend three other election laws including the Local Bodies Election Procedures Act, the CA election law and the Local Self-governance Act.

**The 2013 election was widely thought to be “free and fair,” but opinion data show some discrepancies.** Respondents in the DO 1 survey, conducted in January 2016 (see **Exhibit 13**), reported little difference among ethnic groups as to belief that elections are now “free and fair” (except for Newaris, whose numbers were too small to have statistical significance). But when respondents were grouped by zone (see **Exhibit 14**), there were quite large differences. Approximately 72 percent said elections were “completely free and fair” in the Rapti zone, while in the Bagmati zone (which includes Kathmandu and 15 percent of Nepal’s total population) only 9 percent evinced a similar belief, as shown in **Exhibit 14**. Such disparities are remarkable.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See Pokharel and Bhugel (2016).

<sup>25</sup> Before the 2013 constitution came into effect but during CEPPS III, IFES had supported the ECN to amend three other election laws.

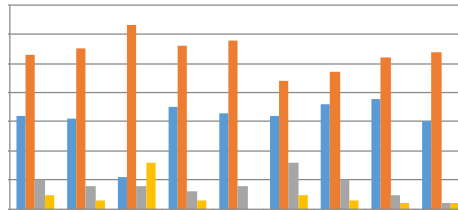
<sup>26</sup> It could be that the sample in Bagmati was very small and so the anomaly should be discounted, but unfortunately, the DO 1 survey presentation given to the team did not include the number of respondents by zone. There could also be problems with the data collection, the coding or even the making of the presentation slide.

**Exhibit 13: Electoral Processes Improved**

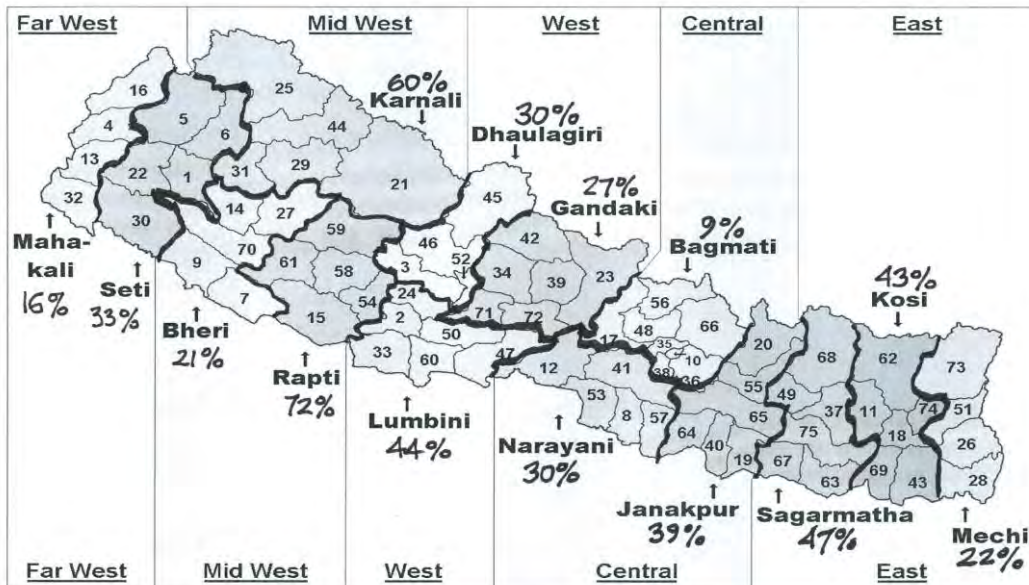
**D&G Indicators:**

- 1.2.3-1: Percent of respondents that consider elections in Nepal as free and fair

Source:  
 NORC,  
 2016.



**Exhibit 14: Percentage of DO 1 Respondents Saying Elections are “Completely Free and Fair” (January 2016)**



Source: NORC, 2016

**Next Steps**

**ECN respondents want to develop a full work plan in collaboration with IFES.** ECN has been working with IFES since 2009 using a series of memoranda of understanding (MOU) that it initiated, but each one has been only an outline. The current MOU contains a nine-point outline, while the actual work has been done through successive ad hoc arrangements. ECN would like to move to a MOU with an actual work plan in future. Our interviewees at ECN told us that their most immediate need is for help in preparing/drafting laws needed for upcoming local elections (which were last held in 1997). This is especially urgent, they say, given that the present GON

plan is to hold VDC/municipal elections first (hopefully in the first half of 2017), before the provincial and then national elections to come.

## **Conclusions**

Since the 2008 election, IFES has expanded its reach and deepened its involvement from election mechanics to voter education and supporting the development of the biometric voter ID program for the 2013 election. It is presently opening new levels of activity with its social science school teachers' program (see KQ #4) and helping ECN with legal drafting, all of which represent a steady upward trajectory in supporting democratization in Nepal.

From what the ECN staff said to the evaluation team, there can be no doubt that many of the laws drafted by ECN and their content can be attributed in significant part to IFES. The staff's eagerness for further support in a possible CEPPS IV is testimony to the efficacy of IFES support. Of course, other influences were at work here: party officials were surely lobbying the ECN staff for provisions in the laws they thought would be favorable to them; staff must have perused the election laws of other countries; and staff members were certainly capable of independent creativity on their own. But IFES's contribution was quite evident.

In monitoring the 2013 elections, DEW-Nepal, along with other domestic observer groups and three international organizations including the Carter Center, helped to ensure an honest and peaceful polling. Other factors played a role as well, like the new biometric voter ID system that IFES helped to develop, but election monitoring was clearly an important one, and much of the 2013 election success can be attributed to NDI's support of DEW-Nepal.

The very large disparities between zones regarding citizen belief in "free and fair" elections seem alarming at first glance. Either there were critical problems with the opinion survey (e.g., poor sampling, too few respondents in some zones or a systematic coding mistake for Bagmati zone) or basic trust in elections is dangerously low in some parts of the country—in particular the capital region.

## EVALUATION QUESTION 4. VOTER EDUCATION, MOBILIZATION AND ENGAGEMENT

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### Summary of Findings Voter Education, Mobilization, and Engagement

- Voter education conducted by IFES-supported CSOs has reached a very large audience.
- A civics education program has been launched in 34 districts from 2011-2016 and 16 districts at the time of this evaluation, and the program has helped improve clarity on elections among participants.
- A district level voters' rights forums has expanded to 23 districts.

The evaluation question used to guide this section is presented in **Exhibit 15**. Note: As with KQ #2, please note the overlap between that KQ and this one. If our answers here appear incomplete, please look at the answers to KQ #2. CEPPS III activities directly connected with the 2013 election are covered in KQ #3.

### Exhibit 15: Evaluation Question—Voter Education, Mobilization, and Engagement

**KQ #4. To what extent has the project made citizens better engaged, more aware of laws and more responsive voters? Has the project increased the number of registered and active (meaning, they voted in most recent elections) voters?**

### Findings

#### **Voter education conducted by IFES-supported CSOs has reached a very large audience.**

These efforts have been expanded to 34 districts since 2011, totaling some 250,000 sessions and recording 4.2 million people attending over that time. This is an impressive achievement by any standard.<sup>27</sup> Understandably, the program was more intense in its earlier years as the election of 2013 was anticipated, as shown in **Exhibit 16**, and it has been more modest since then.<sup>28</sup> A post-election survey showed that some 94 percent of those participating in the program voted in the 2013 election, as opposed to 78 percent of eligible voters nationally—a significant accomplishment.

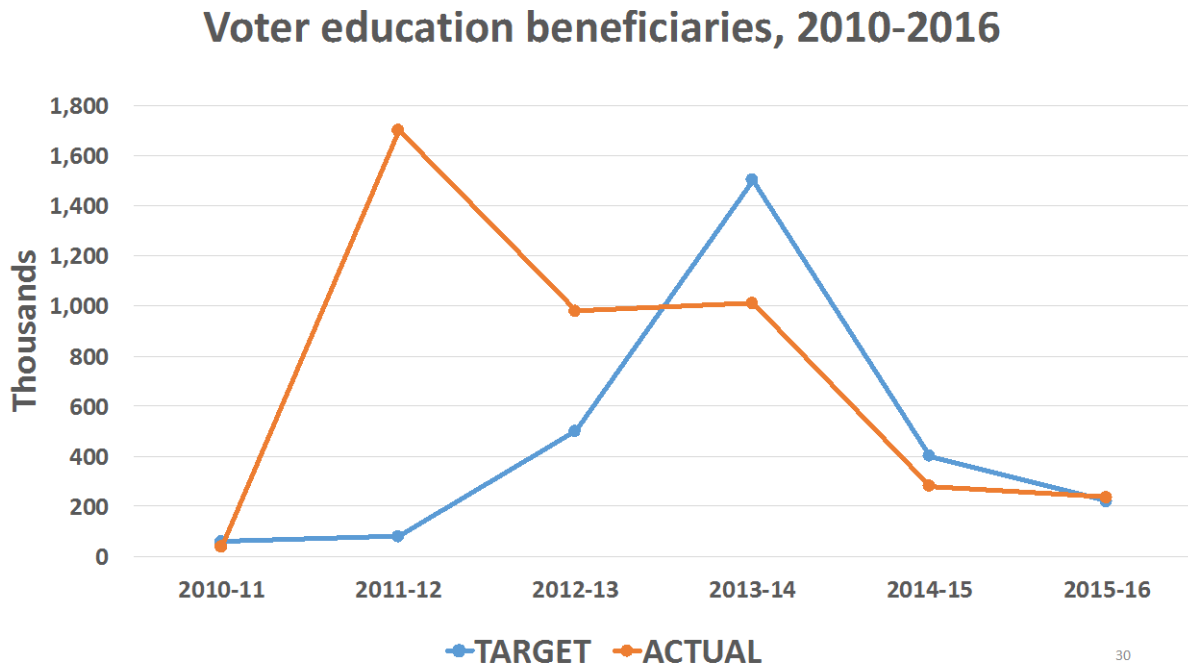
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<sup>27</sup> The number of individuals reached was probably rather less than 4.2 million, as the voter education efforts comprised a broad range of activities, such as group orientations, VDC-level orientations, household visits, street drama, help desk support at District Election Offices and joint mobile camps, mock-polling events and voter education to seasonal migrants returning from India during Dashain/Tihar at border entry points. A survey asking about attendance showed respondent answers totaling 156 percent, indicating that many people attended more than one event. Extrapolating that datum to the total attendance would indicate that at least 2.7 million people attended at least one event, which itself is a remarkable accomplishment.

<sup>28</sup> The targets precede in actual figures in Figure C largely because the second Constituent Assembly election, promised for 2011, was postponed several times, finally taking place in November 2013. Thus the actual attendance peaked at exactly the right time: the immediate run-up to the 2013 election.



Exhibit 16: Voter Education Beneficiaries 2010-2016 (In Thousands)



Source: IFES Data

One of the IFES-supported CSOs involved in voter education was NNDSWO, which operated among other districts in Kailali visited by one of our sub-teams. The NNDSWO chapter there has worked on voter education as well as voter registration, which often means helping people obtain a citizenship certificate, generally needed to obtain a voter ID card. A VDC secretary told the sub-team that NNDSWO had been especially involved in helping Dalits and disabled people through this process, even providing transportation to the district headquarters for this purpose.

ECN mobile camps to register voters are held mainly in spring/summer and so tend to miss migrant laborers going to India but returning for the Dashain and Tihar holidays. They are mainly Dalits, who could be reached through campaigns held when they are in-country. IFES does conduct voter education campaigns during the holidays through its CSOs, but we did pick up complaints on our field visits that these efforts were missing many of the returnees.

**A civics education program has been launched in 34 districts from 2011-2016 and 16 districts at the time of this evaluation, and the program has helped improve clarity on elections among participants.** The Social Studies Teachers Training (SSTT) program, begun by IFES in 2013 in cooperation with the ECN and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). It started with one program in a single district training 25 social studies teachers and grew to 12, 18 and 36 trainings in the following three years. By 2016 it had covered 15 districts, 67 trainings, and 1,770 teachers. Trainees have provided a civics curriculum introducing students to democracy and how it is practiced in Nepal. It should be noted that only 182, or slightly more than 10 percent, of these teachers were women, but that disparity likely reflected the total composition of social studies teachers in Nepal rather than the selection of teachers for the trainings. Some interviewees spoke of how helpful the program has been to allay confusion about elections.

Social Studies Teachers Training is an initiative of the ECN. This training was an opportunity to learn and clarify and refresh our confusion on overall electoral education. After the training, I feel confident and more in command on the topic to teach students. SSTT should be nationwide so everyone gets the opportunity. (Female teacher, Dadeldhura district)

**District-level voters' rights forums has expanded to 23 districts.** IFES-supported voters' rights forums (VRFs) at district level have concentrated mainly on enabling potential voters to obtain a voter ID and, if needed, the citizenship certificate required to apply for an ID. A country-level, umbrella CSO, the National Voters Rights Forum (NVRF) has been formed by the VRFs with 21 national-level CSOs as members, its chairman told us. He said it is now active in 23 districts with hopes to expand to all 75 districts. Its objective is to make elections "the backbone of democracy" by eliminating "money and muscle," leading to clean polling. The NVRF has also taken up an advocacy role in supporting the ECN's bill on Local Elections and House Representation.

## Conclusions

The voter education program represents an impressive effort. But as impressive as these achievements in voter education have been, there is still work to do. A majority of citizens have not yet been reached. Fewer than half of registered voters have experienced voter education, and there was much duplication among the citizens included, as people attended more than one type of event).

Demand for voter education can be expected to rise as the new round of elections (presumably in 2017) draws closer, emanating from the ECN but also from the parties and the public. Moreover, given the well-known "fadeout" effect following voter education generally, it is not just new voters who would benefit from voter education but also citizens who had received the instruction earlier. Given the very large-scale changes that will be coming with the new provincial elections and the restoration of VDC/municipal elections after two decades, even knowledgeable voters would benefit from another round of voter education. Citizens themselves appear eager for renewed voter education initiatives, as was evident in the FGDs conducted during the team's field visits.

High school civics training is inherently a risk, simply because the gestation period (until students can become active citizens) can take some years<sup>29</sup> and so actual impact is virtually impossible to measure. Even so, the SSTT program has found favor, and it is certainly worthwhile to acquaint students with the concepts and mechanics of democracy and Nepal's new federal system as it unfolds. Civics instruction is the only place most people ingest any coherent knowledge about the political universe they live in, and it should become a regular component of the school across the country. Yet, thus far, the SSTT program has left 60 districts uncovered, or roughly 80 percent of the country's territory. It is important to note that the scope of the program is constrained by the availability of funds.

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<sup>29</sup> Fewer years than in most Western countries, however, at least in the case of high school students, who can register to vote at age 16 and vote at 18. For students receiving civics instruction in primary school and then dropping out, the gestation period can be much longer.

## EVALUATION QUESTION 5. LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS

### Summary of Findings on Legislative Functions

- Legislative committees experienced delay in getting started on their work.
- NDI expert support began in earnest after the 2013 election.
- A library-building initiative did not come to completion.
- An internship project did not materialize.
- Committees seem overly dependent on NDI for their operations.

NDI has been working with six of 14 parliamentary committees formed after the second CA election in 2013. They include the Social Justice and Human Rights Committee; Finance Committee; Development Committee; Industry, Commerce and Consumer Welfare Relations Committee; Good Governance and Monitoring Committee; and Environment Protection Committee. The program has worked in three broad areas regarding legislative processes: 1) strengthening the legislative and oversight capacity of the parliament; 2) strengthening the capacity of the parliament secretariat; and 3) promoting dialogue between elected members and their constituencies. While NDI mainly focused on the committees, its subgrantee, The Asia Foundation (TAF) focused on capacity building of the parliament secretariat, including its library.

The committees had been in place during the earlier CA/Legislature, but after the 2013 election, a new CA/Legislature Parliament (LP) has emerged, and consequently the committees had to be reconstituted. For this evaluation, members and staff from five of the six new CA/LP committees were interviewed.

### Findings

#### Legislative committees

**experienced delay in getting started on their work.** SPPELP's activities related to legislative support were subject to several significant

contextual factors, we learned from our respondents. SPPELP's investment in the first CA was undermined by the dissolution of the first CA. Many issues settled by the first CA were reopened, and many fresh faces found their way into the new CA. Similarly, it took some time for the new LP to form the committees. Nepal's political process remained polarized, and political parties' priorities shifted to issues of power sharing, earthquake, Terai unrest, the trade blockade at the border and conflict after the promulgation of the constitution.

**NDI expert support began in earnest after the 2013 election.** At the initial stage of the new committee formation in the second CA, NDI provided technical support to operationalize the scope and mandate of each committee and sharing international practices. In other instances, committee members needed expert support to discuss a draft bill, and NDI hired experts and provided useful knowledge and information for MPs to take informed positions on the bill and better articulate the issues during political debates.

In other cases, NDI supported committees who took the lead on convening different stakeholders. The meets were focused on providing information on the bills' issues, potential amendments and basis for the amendments. The Committee on Industry, and Commerce and Consumer Welfare Relations discussed a bill with the private sector before forwarding it to the

#### Exhibit 16: Legislative Functions

**KQ #5. How have parliamentarians/committees changed practices or introduced structures to improve oversight, representation and legislation?**

house. This bill is now the Industrial Enterprises Act. Similarly, a bill on gender violence was discussed and forwarded to the house. NDI, together with IFES, also facilitated drafting of the “Bill Related to Political Parties,” which became the Political Party Bill tabled in the parliament in October 2016. NDI also supported public discussion on a bill to amend some Nepal acts to ensure gender equality and end gender-based violence, currently with the parliamentary Legislative Committee.

Several committees were able to explore new ideas. The Committee on Good Governance organized debate on the role of state and non-state actors to come up with policy recommendations. NDI hired several national experts and one expatriate expert to discuss this subject at the request of the committee. The thematic papers presented by experts during the conference and the outcome of discussions provided useful policy ideas. The committee member who initiated the activity said that it provided clear ideas about the appropriate role different government and non-government actors can play without conflict and redundancy within the system. Though he was not happy with the NDI’s lack of follow-on interest, he suggested NDI’s support on conflict management in dealing with the upcoming federalization debate, where disputes are unavoidable. NDI provided support to the Finance Committee to draft a Procurement Act, and a Banking and Finance Institution Act (BAFIA). The international experience and knowledge experts brought in with NDI support were very useful for understanding this complex new issue and drafting better law. The Member we interviewed said, “we could very much have drafted this bill ourselves but when it comes to BAIFA type subjects we need to be exposed to international knowledge and practices and that is what we got from NDI.”

NDI also provided technical support to the Finance Committee when it conducted pre-budget discussions at district level in five districts. These exercises were new and helped stakeholders identify and prioritize key issues and problem to be addressed in the upcoming budget. The stakeholders felt very comfortable with NDI expert’s presentation of issues because they presented them in a “non-political way”. NDI also helped Committees come together and make joint decisions on issues of cross cutting interest. NDI’s expert facilitation for joint meetings among the Public Accounts Committee, Development Committee and Finance Committee on NCELL (a private telecommunication) payment was very helpful to come up with common decision. “We identified the issues and they provided us support and we like this modality” the member said.

Regarding support to carry out oversight responsibility, the Institute provided technical support to develop check lists for monitoring and provided logistic support for field visits for committee members. The Development Committee Chair was concerned with the way Constituency Development Fund (CDF) is implemented. So, he is seeking support from NDI to come up with ideas to monitor expenditure. He did not take logistical support, but some other Committees did in order to carry out oversight responsibilities.

**A library-building initiative did not come to completion.** NDI supported a library project through its sub-grantee TAF.- Although committee members indicated to us a keen interest in the library, they reported little tangible progress on the project and that “it still needs quite a bit of work.” Separately we learned from NDI that the TAF sub-grant had been phased out.

**An internship project did not materialize.** It had been planned to provide interns to make up the expertise gap in the committee secretariat, but this effort did not come to fruition either. One Committee chair personally requested assistance, and NDI responded positively with one short-

term intern, but there have been no others.<sup>30</sup> Committee members that we met commended the idea of internship arrangements with universities, stating that absent such help they would not have been able to prepare quality reports and to show what they have done

**Committees seem overly dependent on NDI for their operations.** In addition to their need for expertise, the committees appeared to be almost completely dependent on NDI for their operating expenses and logistical support (e.g., for taking field trips to observe the government activities they are charged with monitoring). They received virtually no support from the parliament itself, even though they are official organs of that body.

## Conclusions

The new parliamentary oversight committees have yet to develop capacity to fulfill their mandated and priority responsibilities. As for support, even when there are possibilities of accessing government resources, their internal capacity to convincingly demand such support seems lacking. NDI's support has been inadequate and sporadic, perhaps in part because the committees have not developed clear and well-organized ideas about what they want to do. In all fairness to these committees, however, it is necessary to keep in mind that they assumed their responsibilities only some months after the November 2013 elections, and their members have been diverted by such higher priorities as drafting a new constitution and the 2015 earthquake. The committees are also affected by their remaining short tenure (ending in January 2018 or sooner if elections are held) to make any long-term commitment, start a long-term project, and mobilize resources.

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<sup>30</sup> NDI supported a different internship program with 10 Dayitwa fellows to assist selected MPs in 2015, but the effort was apparently not repeated after that.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on our findings and conclusions, we make the following recommendations for a potential CEPPS IV project. First, we present two central themes and then specific recommendations, both listed here in rank order.

## TWO CENTRAL THEMES

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It should be kept in mind that **internal party democracy and inclusion of vulnerable groups are inextricably linked**; each needs the other if democratic politics is to flourish in Nepal. This is our first central theme. If the political system is to move from a patronage-fueled relationship between elected office holders and citizens to a transparent service-based one, those officials must cease concentrating their efforts to provide individual or group-based goods and services (e.g., public works contracts to their backers, scholarships to member of particular castes, and irrigation pumps to farmers in certain ethnic communities), and they must begin providing these benefits as public or merit based goods (e.g., public health campaigns, infrastructure, potable water supplies). USAID assistance to parties cannot produce changes of this magnitude during a five-year project, but it should inject the idea into its programs by pitching it as an incentive to attract votes in future elections. This is our second central theme: **Broad-based benefits to voters, in general, will generate more political support than patronage-based benefits steered to a few loyalists.**<sup>31</sup>

## SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

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**Inclusion.** We believe the best path to internal party democracy lies in meaningful inclusion: recruiting, mentoring and advancing vulnerable group members to active participatory roles at all party levels. A potential CEPPS IV should:

- Continue to encourage party efforts to conform to new constitutional requirements for internal party elections and representation/participation for vulnerable groups.
- Incorporate into all party trainings significant time and effort to exploring the meaning of “representation” and “participation,” along with their practical implications—particularly the need to move from the first of these inclusiveness levels to the second.
- Build on IPWA's success to expand its efforts to bring women into political advocacy.
- Encourage IPWA-like organizations for ethnic minorities—an IPDA for Dalits, an IPJA for Janajatis, etc.
- Continue to support the FLA program to nurture future leaders within the parties by recruiting successive cohorts from the political parties, perhaps every second or third year.

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<sup>31</sup> These two ideas from the basis for our model presented in Exhibit 3.

- Explore ways to ease the burdens that women from non-elite strata and minorities generally face due to lack of financial resources and cultural constraints, e.g., working with the Local Government and Community Development Program's social mobilization program and Sajhedari's micro-credit program (or absorb lessons from them if they don't continue) to spur small-scale economic growth. Such measures will not prevent those already advantaged within these vulnerable communities from getting the most benefit from opportunities for advancement, but they can help ameliorate prevalence of such a pattern.

**External democracy.** As they compete, Nepal's political parties have made good progress in external democracy by accepting the "rules of the multiparty democracy game" (especially in comparison with most other South Asian countries), but they can do more. A CEPPS IV should:

- Help parties enforce the code of conduct each party will be required to enact (assuming the draft Political Party Law is passed).
- Continue the interparty trainings to encourage members from different parties to build acquaintances, learn to cooperate and develop common interests.

**Voter education** should be thought of as both short-term efforts focusing on specific elections and a long-term enterprise to inculcate an understanding of democratic politics and their practice. A CEPPS IV should:

- Continue and expand voter education activities carried out for the 2013 election, perhaps in coordination with other donors, as the effort required will be large. Elections for the three government tiers must be held seriatim before 21 January 2018, so any CEPPS IV voter education program would have to move very quickly.
- As a longer-term investment, the SSTT program should be expanded from the present 15 districts to cover the entire country. Moreover, the program should be institutionalized so that refresher trainings are provided to social studies teachers on a regular basis (perhaps every other year). And given the changes federalism will be bringing to Nepal, new course material must be generated at least biannually.

**Accountability.** Elections are the ultimate accountability tool, but in between elections, civil society must carry most of the load for holding the state accountable. A CEPPS IV should:

- Support CSOs engaged in monitoring and reporting on public service delivery. The CDP study is a good model to follow.
- Expand social audits focusing on specific legislation (which began in CEPPS III) to survey-based social audits of public institutions of the sort regularly carried out in India by Public Affairs Foundation in Bangalore, among other CSOs.
- Support the media to conduct investigative journalism, a powerful instrument to press for state accountability. This was supported by CEPPS III but not in our SOW.
- Help build the monitoring and oversight capacity of the fledgling parliamentary committees that are still feeling their way, and at the same time begin to wean them from their dependence on USAID support.

**Election monitoring.** It should not be difficult (although it will be costly) to replicate the very successful efforts from the 2013 election. A CEPPS IV should:

- Revive and reinvigorate the DEW-Nepal network of CSOs (or launch a new network) to monitor all three of the elections to be held before 21 January 2018. There should be some economies of scale in monitoring three elections occurring close to each other, and perhaps some costs could be shared with other donors.

**Election Commission of Nepal.** CEPPS III assistance to the ECN has been critical to its success in managing the 2013 elections and in drafting new laws to comport with the 2015 constitution, but it still needs help. A CEPPS IV should:

- Support the ECN in crafting laws, regulations and directives needed to implement the new constitution's requirements for local and provincial elections.
- Work with the ECN to craft a long-term voter registration and education program that will endure beyond the end of a CEPPS IV.
- Help the ECN to build and capacitate an election monitoring structure along the lines of DEW-Nepal that will be a reserve organization that can be recalled to active duty in future elections.

**Internal party democracy.** This has arguably been SPPELP's most difficult challenge and will continue to be so for future projects. We find that some progress has been made (e.g., internal party elections, promoting women and minorities), but top-down control by hill elites continues. A CEPPS IV should:

- Emphasize inclusion, which will be the driver that will in time widen internal party democracy as vulnerable group members attain leadership positions within the parties.
- Expand the FLA program with successive new cohorts that will both embody and promote inclusive party democracy.

**Trust in elections.** The serious geographical disparity in trust concerning the 2013 elections that emerged in the DO 1 survey is puzzling—sufficiently so that:

- DO 1's data and analysis on this matter should be explored thoroughly. The disparity is quite possibly an artifact of coding or analyzing the data or perhaps poor sampling. But if the large drop in confidence appearing in the Bagmati zone reflects actual respondents' answers from a valid sample, some action is called for to shore up confidence in elections.



# ANNEX 1: EVALUATION STATEMENT OF WORK

## Final Evaluation of SPPELP Input for Evaluation Design after MEL's Feedback

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### 1) SPPELP:

The Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes (SPPELP) program is a six-year (August 2010-August 2016), \$29.5 million effort that supports political parties, legislative parliament, electoral institutions, and civil society organizations to promote a more stable and peaceful democracy in Nepal. The project is designed to restore public confidence in democratic processes and institutions, and to encourage greater political participation, especially from marginalized groups. SPPELP also adapted its work in earthquake-affected districts to emphasize the principles of decentralization of governance, transparency and accountability for aid delivery, and extensive communication with citizens as part of a democratic political process. The program is implemented by Consortium of Elections and Political Processes Strengthening (CEPPS): National Democratic Institute (NDI) for International Affairs and International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES).

### 2) Theory of Change/Result framework:<sup>32</sup>

Goal of the program is to build a more stable and peaceful democracy in Nepal. Three objectives of the program are as follows;

- 1) Promote and Strengthen Broader Political Processes
  - a. *Sub-Objective 1.A:* Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations
  - b. ~~*Sub-Objective 1.B:* Enhance the electoral competitiveness of political parties~~
  
- 2) Strengthen Institutions Involved in Electoral Processes, Either as Actors or Participants
  - a. ~~*Sub-Objective 2.A:* Strengthen democratic legal framework, (IFES)~~
  - b. *Sub-Objective 2.B:* Strengthen the ECN's electoral management capacity (IFES)
  - c. *Sub-Objective 2.C:* Expand and improve delivery of voter education (IFES)
  - d. *Sub-Objective 2.D:* Enhance the capacity of civil society to monitor elections
  - e. ~~*Sub-Objective 2.E:* Strengthen the capacity of media to report on the electoral process~~
  
- 3) Improve the democratic functioning of the Constituent Assembly (CA)/Legislature Parliament
  - a. *Sub-Objective 3.A:* Strengthen the legislative drafting capacity of the legislature

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<sup>32</sup> The sub-objectives with lines struck through are not included in the SOW, as per the table on the third page of this SOW, and thus did not comprise a part of this evaluation.

- b. *Sub-Objective 3.B:* Increase communication between representatives and their constituents

Refer to SPPELP Performance Management and Evaluation Plan (PMEP) under results and indicators for each of the three objectives.

- 3) Drawing on past evaluation work:** There was a mid-term evaluation, which is attached separately.

#### **4) Focusing the Scope/Purpose:**

The purpose of the SPPELP final evaluation is to understand the extent to which NDI and IFES achieved the project's objectives, and to provide evidence and recommendations for planning the follow-on activity related to strengthening political parties, elections and legislation in Nepal's current context. USAID, implementing partners, and government stakeholders will use the information from the evaluation to make decisions on future programming and activity design.

The scope of work is also guided by the questions.

The evaluation questions are not designed to address every sub-objective or intervention. The questions are listed in priority order to highlight issues that are important to the Mission for its future programming.

#### **5) Evaluation Questions:**

Five key questions will guide the scope and design of SPPELP evaluation. The questions are presented in relation to the objectives in diagram below.

Objective/Sub-Objective(s)	Evaluation Questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sub-Objective 1.A: Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations</li> </ul>	<p>What types of changes have political parties carried out to make their internal practices and organizational structures more democratic?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What changes to internal democracy have taken place?</li> <li>What are SPPELP's contributions to observed changes?</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sub-Objective 1.A: Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations</li> <li>Sub-Objective 2.C: Expand and improve delivery of voter education (IFES)</li> <li>Sub-Objective 3.A: Strengthen the legislative drafting capacity of the legislature</li> <li>Sub-Objective 3.B: Increase communication between representatives and their constituents</li> </ul>	<p>To what extent has SPPELP improved participation and representation of women and marginalized groups, youth in parliament(?), political parties, elections and civic engagement (registration/voting)? Some of the specific questions for example include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What changes in participation and representation have occurred in political parties, voting, voter registration, election monitors/observers?</li> <li>How has work with Women's Leadership changed political party agendas/platforms?</li> <li>To what extent are new political actors (new decision-makers who are now at the table, and weren't before; FLA, minorities, youth, women) contributing to policy discussions? What roles have project activities played in increasing their voice?</li> <li>How have any of these changes been put into law?</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sub-Objective 2.B: Strengthen the ECN's electoral management capacity (IFES)</li> </ul>	<p>How has ECN's capacity to prepare for and conduct free and fair elections changed during the life of the project? Some of the specific activities for example under this include the changes in behavior around:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Carry out Training, Strategic Planning, M&amp;E, Political Party Regulation, Gender and Social Inclusion, Legal Framework.</li> <li>Modify or create election laws that prepare the legal framework for new elections (based on new Constitution)?</li> <li>Provide election monitoring, specifically, citizen oversight of electoral processes.</li> <li>What the partners' contributions have been to the ECN's capacity for these works?</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sub-Objective 2.C: Expand and improve delivery of voter education (IFES)</li> <li>Sub-Objective 2.D: Enhance the capacity of civil society to monitor elections</li> <li>Sub-Objective 3.B: Increase communication between representatives and their constituents</li> </ul>	<p>To what extent has the project made citizens better engaged, more aware of laws and more responsive voters? Has the project increased the number of registered and active (meaning, they voted in most recent elections) voters?</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Objective 3. Improve the democratic functioning of the Constituent Assembly (CA)/Legislature Parliament</li></ul>	How have parliamentarians/committees changed practices or introduced structures to improve oversight, representation and legislation?
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The evaluation will also draw from the midterm evaluation of the SPPELP. It assesses the extent to which the recommendations relevant to above questions were implemented and if further lessons are learned. The evaluation questions will be further detailed with considering outcome to the target group, barriers and enablers for the outcomes, sustainability of the results, and lessons for the future.

## 6) Data Sources:

In addition to the regular reports of the SPPELP (quarterly and annually progress and midterm evaluation), the following indicative sources are relevant to the respective questions:

Evaluation Questions	Information/Data Sources (in addition to SPPELP progress report)
<p>What types of changes have political parties carried out to make their internal practices and organizational structures more democratic with contribution from SPPELP?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes on internal party democracy?</li> <li>• SPPELP partners' contributions to observed changes?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Check with partner on surveys/existing data beyond monitoring data.</li> <li>• Interviews, KII, FGD with parties and implementing partners.</li> </ul>
<p>To what extent has SPPELP improved participation and representation of women and marginalized groups, youth in parliament(?), political parties, elections and civic engagement (registration/voting)?</p> <p>Some of the specific questions for example include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What changes in participation and representation have occurred in political parties, voting, voter registration, election monitors/observers?</li> <li>• How has work with Women's Leadership changed political party agendas/platforms?</li> <li>• To what extent are new political actors (new decision-makers who are now at the table, and weren't before; FLA, minorities, youth, women) contributing to policy discussions? What roles have project activities played in increasing their voice?</li> <li>• How have any of these changes been put into law?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interviews, KII, FGD.</li> <li>• ECN.</li> <li>• Interviews, KII, FGD with women members of political parties.</li> <li>• Interviews, KII, FGD with youth leadership committees.</li> <li>• Review of draft laws/policies/regulations.</li> </ul>
<p>How has ECN's capacity to prepare for and conduct free and fair elections changed during the life of the project?</p> <p>Some of the specific activities for example under this include the capacity to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carry out Training, Strategic Planning, M&amp;E, Political Party Regulation, Gender and Social Inclusion, Legal Framework.</li> <li>• Modify or create election laws that prepare the legal framework for new elections (based on new Constitution)?</li> <li>• Provide election monitoring, specifically, citizen oversight of electoral processes.</li> <li>• How have the partners contributed to the ECN's ability to carry out this work?</li> <li>• What external factors contributed positively or negatively toward changes in these areas?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ECN, parties, stakeholders, parliamentarians/committee, implementing partner.</li> </ul>
<p>To what extent has the project made citizens better engaged, more aware of laws and more responsive voters? Has the project increased the number of registered and active (meaning, they voted in most recent elections) voters?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ECN, parties, voters, voter registration lists.</li> </ul>
<p>How have parliamentarians/committees changed practices or introduced structures to improve oversight, representation and legislation?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliamentarians/committees, review of legislation/ policies.</li> </ul>

## 7) **Methods:**

Appropriate methods will be followed for a quality evaluation considering purpose, scope of work, time, budget and other practical considerations. Data collection and analysis will likely focus on qualitative methods backed up by quantitative as required. Strengths and limitations of the applied methods will be described in detail.

Sampling strategy may include:

- Selection of representative districts/voters from 23 districts where voter education was provided – total [xxxx] voters educated.
- Project activities focused on 6 major political parties.
- Direct capacity building work with ECN and Ministry of Information and Communication.
- Some focus group discussions with women in parliament, youth in parliament, political parties, marginalized group of voters.
- Interaction with key informants and other stakeholders.

## 8) **Deliverables and timeline:**

- **Evaluation design** to be shared to USAID by July 2016 (USAID provides feedback within a week).
- **Draft evaluation report** to be submitted by September 2016 (USAID provides feedback within two weeks).
- **Final evaluation report** (together with raw data, any code books) to be submitted by October 2016.

## 9) **Team composition:**

In addition to technical team lead (evaluation) and mid-level field researchers, a Democracy and Governance Specialist and a GESI Specialist/Researcher may be required for this task. The MEL project team will oversee, coordinate the evaluation and ensure quality deliverables on time.

## ANNEX 2: GETTING TO ANSWERS MATRIX

Principa l focus	Evaluation questions	Objective/sub- objective(s)	PMEP indicators usable as measures of progress	Information/data sources (and 4 <sup>th</sup> Qtr activities to see)
INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY	<p><b>1. What types of changes have political parties carried out to make their internal practices and organizational structures more democratic?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What changes to internal democracy have taken place?</li> <li>• What are SPPELP's contributions to observed changes?</li> </ul>	Sub-Objective 1.A: Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations (NDI)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indicator 1.1.1: Number of follow-on political party trainings conducted by party reps trained by CEPPS (outcome)</li> </ul>	Mostly KTM, some districts Interviews, KII, documents, FGD with parties and implementing partners <i>Party secretariat workshops</i>
VULNERABLE GROUP PARTICIPATION	<p><b>2. To what extent has SPPELP improved participation and representation of women and marginalized groups, youth in parliament(?), political parties, elections and civic engagement (registration/voting)?</b></p> <p>Some of the specific questions for example include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What changes in participation and representation have occurred in political parties, voting, voter registration, election monitors/observers?</li> <li>• How has work with Women's Leadership changed political party agendas/platforms?</li> <li>• To what extent are new political actors (new decision-makers who</li> </ul>	<p>Sub-Objective 1.A: Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations (NDI)</p> <p>Sub-Objective 2.C: Expand and improve delivery of voter education (IFES)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indicator 1.1.2.2 Number of non-office holder FLA graduates who seek office. (outcome)</li> <li>• Indicator 1.2.1.1 Number of women who are elected to different party structures at the district and national level. (outcome)</li> <li>• Indicator 2D.1.2: Degree to which the understanding of target citizens of the electoral process is enhanced by voter education (outcome)</li> <li>• indicator 2D.2.1: Degree to which local partners implement voter education strategies</li> </ul>	<p>KTM &amp; districts Interviews, KII, FGD w party women's wings, youth (FLA, et al) Review of draft laws/policies/regulations <i>National youth workshops</i></p> <p>KTM &amp; districts KII, FGD w CSO/DPO partners, Comm. Advisory Forum Surveys available? <i>Continued support for partners</i></p>

Principal focus	Evaluation questions	Objective/sub-objective(s)	PMEP indicators usable as measures of progress	Information/data sources (and 4 <sup>th</sup> Qtr activities to see)
	<p>are now at the table, and weren't before; FLA, minorities, youth, women) contributing to policy discussions? What roles have project activities played in increasing their voice?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How have any of these changes been put into law?</li> </ul>	<p>Sub-Objective 3.A: Strengthen the legislative drafting capacity of the legislature (NDI)</p> <p>Sub-Objective 3.B: Increase communication between representatives and their constituents (NDI)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>None</li> <li>Indicator 3.2.1.2 F Indicator / GJD 2.1 Number of public forums resulting from USG assistance in which national legislators and members of the public interact. (outcome)</li> <li>Indicator 3.2.1.2: Number of citizens addressing elected officials at constituency outreach activities (impact)</li> </ul>	<p>KTM                      KII w MPs, FGD w legislative staff, review of laws passed, bills in progress  <i>Work w parliamentary committees</i></p> <p>KTM &amp; districts                      KII w FEG-Nepal on Cons Dev Fund monitoring Surveys?  <i>Women &amp; youth MP workshops</i></p>



Principal focus	Evaluation questions	Objective/sub-objective(s)	PMEP indicators usable as measures of progress	Information/data sources (and 4 <sup>th</sup> Qtr activities to see)
ELECTION MECHANICS	<p><b>3. How has ECN’s capacity to prepare for and conduct free and fair elections changed during the life of the project?</b>                      Some of the specific activities for example under this include the changes in behavior around:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carry out Training, Strategic Planning, M&amp;E, Political Party Regulation, Gender and Social Inclusion, Legal Framework</li> <li>• Modify or create election laws that prepare the legal framework for new elections (based on new Constitution)?</li> <li>• Provide election monitoring, specifically, citizen oversight of electoral processes</li> <li>• What the partners’ contributions have been to the ECN’s capacity for these works?</li> </ul>	Sub-Objective 2.B: Strengthen the ECN’s electoral management capacity (IFES)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indicator 2C.1.a:                          Percentage of citizens reporting confidence in the integrity of the ECN (Impact)</li> <li>• Indicator 2C.1.a:                          Percentage of citizens reporting confidence in the integrity of the ECN (Impact)</li> </ul>	Mostly KTM  KII w IFES sub-grantees on voter registration, documents  GESI progress on ECN staff  <i>Sub-grantees &amp; manual, booklet preparation</i>

VOTER EDUCATION & MOBILIZATION

- **4. To what extent has the project made citizens better engaged, more aware of laws and more responsive voters? Has the project increased the number of registered and active (meaning, they voted in most recent elections) voters?**

Sub-Objective 2.C: Expand and improve delivery of voter education (IFES)

- Indicator 2D.1.3: Number of people reached by USG assisted voter education (F indicator, GJD 3.2) (output).
- Indicator 2D.1: Percentage change in citizens knowledgeable about electoral processes following USG-supported voter education (outcome)
- Indicator 2D.1.2: Percentage of target citizens demonstrating an increase in knowledge of the electoral process after voter education programs (outcome)

Mostly districts, some KYTM KII, IFES surveys of Voter education impact?  
 Community Advocacy Forum, Voter Rights Forums  
 Social Science Teachers Training program.  
*Sub-grantees in districts*

Sub-Objective 2.D: Enhance the capacity of civil society to monitor elections and political processes (NDI)

- F Indicator 1.3.3-3: Number of USG-assisted civil society organizations that participate in legislative proceedings and/or engage in advocacy with national legislature and its committees (outcome)
- Indicator 2.1.2: Number of activities that USG assisted CSOs carry out to monitor political processes (outcome)
- F indicator 1.3-4 Number of civil society organizations (CSOs) receiving USG assistance engaged in advocacy interventions (impact)

KTM & districts  
 KII & FGD with sub-grantees  
 NEOC, FWLD, FEG-Nepal, J4A  
 Documents  
*Work with sub-grantees*

**LEGISLATIVE  
 FUNCTIONS**

- **5. How have parliamentarians/committees changed practices or introduced structures to improve oversight, representation and legislation**

Sub-Objective 3.B: Increase communication between representatives and their constituents (NDI)

Objective 3. Improve the democratic functioning of the Constituent Assembly (CA)/Legislature Parliament (NDI)

- Indicator 3.2.1.2 F Indicator / GJD 2.1 Number of public forums resulting from USG assistance in which national legislators and members of the public interact. (outcome)
  - Indicator 3.2.1.2: Number of citizens addressing elected officials at constituency outreach activities (impact)
  - Indicator 3.1.1.3: Percent of committee staff that finds research and analytical debriefs useful (outcome)
- KTM & districts  
 KII & FGD, documents  
 Surveys?  
 FWLD w citizen report cards  
 FEG-Nepal w constituency development funds  
*Constituency outreach initiatives*  
*National & provincial CDF conferences*
- KTM  
 KII w MPs, FGD w staff  
 Documents  
*NDI work with committees*

## ANNEX 3: WORK PLAN AND TIMELINE

Project: SPPELP	Resp.					September				October				November				
	Team leader	Dy Team ldr & DG expert	Polit-elections-legis expert	GESI expert	Field researchers (n=6)	4	11	18	25	2	9 Dashain holidays	16	23	30	6	13	20 Thanksgiving week	27
<b>Tasks</b>																		
<b>Phase 1: Evaluation design</b>																		
Develop & draft design	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Draft data collection protocols	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Submit to Mission and get feedback	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Draft evaluation design submitted	<input type="checkbox"/>																	
<b>Phase 2: Design finalized &amp; data collection begun</b>																		
Team leader to Nepal	<input type="checkbox"/>																	
Internal team meeting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														
In-brief meetings																		
Further develop evaluation plan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														
<b>Deliverable: Final evaluation plan</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Data collection – Kathmandu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														
Prep for field visits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>													
First field visit (1 district)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>													
Mid-brief with USAID, NDI, IFES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														

Project: SPPELP	Resp.					September				October				November				
	Team leader	Dy Team ldr & DG expert	Polit-elections-legis expert	GESI expert	Field researchers (n=6)	4	11	18	25	2	9 Dashain holidays	16	23	30	6	13	20 Thanksgiving week	27
<b>Tasks</b>																		
Team planning for second and third districts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>													
Second field visit (2 districts)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>													
Internal team meeting to review & plan Phase 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>													
Team leader departs KTM	<input type="checkbox"/>																	
<b>Phase 3: Data collection &amp; analysis</b>																		
Field visits (final districts and other data collection as needed)		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>													
Transcribing field notes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>													
Oral presentation to USAID & implementers		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														
<b>Phase 4: Reporting</b>																		
Two page draft summary findings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														
Analysis and drafting report	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														
<b>Deliverable: Draft report</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														
Mission response to draft																		
Incorporate feedback and finalize	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																
<b>Deliverable: Final report</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>														

# ANNEX 4: USING PMEP INDICATORS AS AN EVALUATION TOOL

SPPELP's PMEP indicators offer a way to use information already gathered and analyzed by the project implementers to gauge progress toward realizing those sub-objectives linked to the five Key Questions. The total of 73 indicators (34 for IFES, 39 for NDI) certainly offered ample scope for selection. Navigating through them was somewhat challenging, given frequent changes that had taken place over the course of CEPPS III as particular indicators were added and subtracted. It proved possible to find potentially useful indicators for all but one sub-objective, as shown in Annex 2, the "Getting to Answers" matrix. By mid-October 2016, the two implementers had gathered data on achievement against targets for most of the indicators, which are presented in the accompanying table. For a few indicators, it was not possible to process the relevant data in time (FY 2016 had just ended a couple of weeks earlier). An assessment of the utility provided by the PMEP indicators follows.

## 1. Internal party democracy.

- This indicator was useful as a gauge of activity outcome, as it what the original party Training of Trainers (ToT) trainees did with their training.

## 2. Vulnerable group participation.

- The first two indicators (for sub-objective 1.A) would have been good outcome indicators, but the evaluation came too early for them to be available (e.g., indicator 1.1.2.2 became available too late to be useful to us).
- Indicators for sub-objective 2.C are discussed below for Key Question #4.
- None of the 73 indicators being employed matched with sub-objective 2.C.
- The only available result for sub-objective 3.B showed significant attainment, but it was difficult to discern what "interact" meant or how many interactions occurred at a forum.
- 

## 3. Election mechanics.

- This indicator (2C.1.a) implies a change of question from what was initially intended as the target query, but the "integrity" figure of 53% is hard to compare with the NORC finding that 32% of its survey respondents considered the 2013 elections "completely free and fair" and 52% perceived them as "mostly free and fair."

## 4. Voter education & mobilization.

- For sub-objective 2.C, the first indicator (2D.1.3) was useful in our analysis, though it should read something like "number of *attendees* recorded at USG-assisted voter education events," since there were many kinds of events and a good number of attendees surely visited more than one of them.
- The second indicator(2D.1) would have been worth pursuing but to do so would have been too intensive for our LOE (how was the knowledge assessed? When? What was considered an increase in knowledge?)
- For sub-objective 2.D, the target for the first indicator (1.3.3-3) was fulfilled by FEG-Nepal, one of NDI's supported CSOs which met with two parliamentary committees to discuss its study of the CDP. To look into the CDP would have entailed a short case-study, which would have been most informative, but team resources would not allow it.

- The second indicator here (2.1.2) addressed CSO monitoring activities, which focused primarily on earthquake reconstruction (outside our SOW), though one CSO assessed the CDP, as noted just above.
- As for the third indicator (1.3-4), it also tracked three of the same CSOs in the same activities as the two indicators just above, and we did not look further into them for the same reasons.

#### 5. Legislative functions.

- The one indicator (3.1.1.3) that might have been useful was not yet available.

In sum, a couple of the indicators proved helpful, and several others would have been had the data been available (which the team had no right to expect, since the evaluation was taking place just as the quarter was ending). For this evaluation, then, using PMEP indicators as an evaluation tool proved only modestly useful.

But in retrospect, we could have picked better indicators to use from among those available, several which would have been available to us in time to be used. That, however, would have required more knowledge about SPPELP than we had before embarking on this evaluation.

To conclude, we'd say that while PMEP indicators can be very useful in determining USAID project achievement, they have serious limitations for evaluations, because:

- They often change over the course of a project.
- Evaluators don't know enough ex ante about a project to pick good indicators.
- Reporting on indicators may not have been completed in time to be of use to an evaluation.

**Annex 4 Table.  
GETTING TO ANSWERS INDICATORS**

Key Question	Objective/sub-objective(s)	PMEP indicators usable as measures of progress	Target 2015-16	Actual 2015-16
<b>1. INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY</b>	Sub-Objective 1.A: Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations (NDI)	Indicator 1.1.1: [cumulative] Number of follow-on political party trainings conducted by party reps trained by CEPPS (outcome)	242	339
<b>2. VULNERABLE GROUP PARTICIPATION</b>	Sub-Objective 1.A: Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations (NDI)	Indicator 1.1.2.2 Number of non-office holder FLA graduates who seek office. (outcome)	56	46
	Sub-Objective 1.A: Improve democratic political party organizational structures and operations (NDI)	Indicator 1.2.1.1 Number of women who are elected to different party structures at the district and national level. (outcome)	43	n/a
	Sub-Objective 2.C: Expand & improve delivery of voter education (IFES)	See same sub-objective below in section 4 on "Voter Education & Mobilization"		
	Sub-Objective 3.A: Strengthen the legislative drafting capacity of the legislature (NDI)	None		
	Sub-Objective 3.B: Increase communication between representatives and their constituents (NDI)	Indicator 3.2.1.2 F Indicator / GJD 2.1 Number of public forums resulting from USG assistance in which national legislators and members of the public interact. (outcome)	136	132
		Indicator 3.2.1.2: Number of citizens addressing elected officials at constituency outreach activities (impact)	20	n/a
<b>3. ELECTION MECHANICS</b>	Sub-Objective 2.B: Strengthen the ECN's electoral management capacity (IFES)	Indicator 2C.1.a: Percentage of citizens reporting confidence in the integrity of the ECN (Impact)	70%	Integrity = 53% Capacity = 71%



Key Question	Objective/sub-objective(s)	PMEP indicators usable as measures of progress	Target 2015-16	Actual 2015-16
<b>4. VOTER EDUCATION &amp; MOBILIZATION</b>	Sub-Objective 2.C: Expand and improve delivery of voter education (IFES)	Indicator 2D.1.3: [Cumulative] Number of people reached by USG assisted voter education (F indicator, GJD 3.2) (output)	2.76m	4.20m
		Indicator 2D.1: Percentage change in citizens knowledgeable about electoral processes following USG-supported voter education (outcome)	30%	37.7%
		Indicator 2D.1.2: Percentage of target citizens demonstrating an increase in knowledge of electoral process after voter education programs (outcome)	80%	n/a
	Sub-Objective 2.D: Enhance the capacity of civil society to monitor elections and political processes (NDI)	F Indicator 1.3.3-3: Number of USG-assisted CSOs participating in legislative proceedings or engaging in advocacy w national legislature & committees (outcome)	1	1
		Indicator 2.1.2: Number of activities that USG assisted CSOs carry out to monitor political processes (outcome)	60	98
		F indicator 1.3-4 Number of civil society organizations (CSOs) receiving USG assistance engaged in advocacy interventions (impact)	3	3
	Sub-Objective 3.B: Increase communication between representatives and their constituents (NDI)	See same sub-objective above in section 2 on Vulnerable Group Participation		
<b>5. LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS</b>	Objective 3. Improve the democratic functioning of the Constituent Assembly (CA)/Legislature Parliament (NDI)	Indicator 3.1.1.3: Percent of committee staff that finds research and analytical debriefs useful (outcome)	60%	n/a

# ANNEX 5: DRAFT DATA COLLECTION TOOLSET

Note: the questions highlighted below are the more important questions for data collection.

## KII for Political Party Members

1. When did you become involved in politics and parties? How long have you been a party member/officer?
2. What kind of activities (capacity building; trainings; workshops, seminars, exposure visits) have you been part of since last 5 years? Can you mention those training/workshop/capacity building initiatives you participated in? What organization supported the training?
3. Did the training/workshop/conference add to your knowledge in a practical way? If so, how? What did you learn? What learnings did you put in practice? How much of it got implemented at the party level? Do you remember which organization conducted the training? Could the training be improved?
4. Do you think the party has changed in its internal operations (especially in its structure) since last five years? If so, in what ways? Did that improve things? If so, how? Can you give some examples? Were there any negative changes?
5. Despite all these changes over the years, what do you think are still the key bottlenecks for democratic practices within your party and how can that be addressed? Why do you say so? Anything else? Why do you say so?
6. How has the status and role of women, youth and marginalized communities, Dalits, Janajatis, persons with disabilities (PWDs) changed over the last five years in your party? For instance, the representation of marginalized groups in the party and their meaningful participation in decision making process?
7. Have you seen any women's participation making a change in the party's political agenda and platform? How about Janajatis? Dalits? Young people, PWDs and other minority groups? Have you worked with any of these groups/organizations?
8. How does communication work up and down the party between the party's central leaders and other party members? Has the communication process improved over the last five years? If yes, can you cite some of the examples of improvement? Do party leaders listen to people like you? (If respondent is a party leader himself, ask how he responds to lower level members.)
9. Do you think there are good and dependable mechanisms in place to understand the general public's opinions? If so, what are they? Do you think they work satisfactorily so that citizens' opinions get heard within the party and changes get made in the party's agenda? If so, can you give an example?

**For MPs only**

10. How often do you interact with the citizens of your constituency (besides during election campaign)? How do you interact? Probe for the mode of interaction; is it in public forums or home visits? VDC and ward visits?
11. Do you think this training and other support from the CSO and NDI (the American organization assisting it) have contributed to any improvements in how your party functions? If so, how?
12. What is your perception about the ECN's capacity to conduct "free and fair" elections? Has it changed in the last five years? If yes, what has changed? Any further improvements required in ENC?

**KII for CSO/NGO members working as voter & civic education trainers  
(BWSN, NNDSWO, RWDC, Youth Initiative [YI])**

1. Since when have you been working as a voter/civic education trainer?
2. Did you receive any training regarding the voter/civic education before you started working as a trainer? What other support/training/capacity building initiatives were you part of for rolling out the voter/civic education training?
3. Who provided these training and other support? Which ones do you say are the most effective and why? Can you give an example?
4. **Can you tell me something about your experience as a voter/civic education trainer?** How was the training curriculum designed? How effective was the curriculum? What do you think could be improved?
5. **What would you say was the average number of participants in each one? How long did the training last (how many sessions and how many days)?**
6. What do you have to say about **the meaningful participation of women/janjati/disabled and other disadvantaged groups?** How do you see the changes over the period of time (five years back to now)?
7. In your estimation, do you think some/most/all of the participants became inspired to vote or otherwise become involved in politics after the training?
8. Do you know of other CSO/NGOs working to motivate voters, monitor elections, etc in your area?
9. Do you know anything about the ECN in your district? In your opinion, how actively was it engaged in providing civic and voter education and for ensuring free and fair election in the recent election?
10. How do you think the activities of ECN has changed over the period of time (last 5 years and now) Do you think it will be able to conduct “free and fair” elections when they next occur? Why do you say so?
11. Overall, do you think the whole effort in voter education has been worthwhile? If so, how?
12. **Can you suggest some ways in which this kind of training could be improved?**
13. Which was more important: voter education or civic education?

**FGD with General Public (voter education trainee beneficiaries)  
(BWSN, NNDSWO, RWDC, YI)**

1. Can you tell me approximately **when you participated in a civic/voter education program?** What is your opinion on such trainings? Do you think such trainings are important for the voters? Why do you say so?
2. How many sessions were held? Can you tell me something about your experience in the training? What do you think were the most important topics covered? How useful do you find it and why?
3. As best as you can remember, what was the mix of people attending the sessions? Were there many women, Dalits, Janajatis, youth there? Any disabled persons?
4. **Did the training help you with any particular problems, like voter registration, voter rights, obtaining an ID card, services provided by the VDC office? Anything else?**
5. Can you think **of ways this training could be improved?** Other important topics that should be included, the timing and delivery of the training?
6. Did the training inspire you to engage in any political activity other than voting? Volunteering to monitor an election, participate in political party activities, etc.?
7. How effective do you think was the role of ECN for conducting the fair elections in 2070 election? How was their work in 2070 different from the former election? How could they work better for ensuring free and fair election and for inclusion of women and disadvantaged groups in the election?
8. What do you think are the contributors behind this change? Do you also see the role of any USAID funded activities/efforts for this change? Probe further for NDI/IFES initiatives (whether they are aware/have taken part in any of these initiatives)
9. Do you think the ECN will be able to conduct “free and fair” elections after the USAID project ends and USAID withdraws its support? Why?
10. What do you think needs to be done further to ensure free and fair elections and participation of women, Dalits, MDAGs, disabled in the election from all parts of the country?
11. What is your opinion on the mobilization of Constituent Development Fund? How effectively has it been mobilized? Why do you say so? What could be improved?
12. Has your MP ever asked for your opinion about anything? Has he/she come to your neighborhood or town to ask such questions? A forum, dialogue, or the like? If so, did you participate, attend or hear anything about it?
13. What is your opinion on the utilization of CDF? What needs to be improved for its better utilization?

**FGD for CSO/NGO members involved in monitoring political processes  
(FWLD, J4A, NEOC, FEG-Nepal)**

1. Please tell me which CSO/NGO you have been working with.
2. **What has been the main focus of your organization's monitoring?** (should be primarily post-earthquake recovery, but probe for other topics. If respondent is with FEG-Nepal, their focus has been on Constituency Development Funds or CDFs)
3. Did you receive any training for the monitoring work? If so, what were the topics covered? Was the training worthwhile? What do you recall as its most important component?
4. **What kind of monitoring have you worked on? Can you tell me something about this experience? What aspect of monitoring do you think has been most important?** (e.g., interviewing earthquake victims, government officials, checking records)
5. Do you think this monitoring work has had an impact on how the overall reconstruction process has been going? (e.g., inspired government officials to do a better job, drawn media attention, inspired **victims** to become more effective in requesting assistance)
6. In what you have observed from your work, do you think marginal groups (women, Dalits, Janajatis, disabled persons) have received a fair share of the reconstruction assistance?
7. So far as you know, has the work of your CSO/NGO had any impact on the assistance given to these marginal groups? (e.g., more attention to the needs of disabled persons, widows with children)
8. **Can you think of ways in which this monitoring activity could be improved, made more effective? If so, what are your ideas?**
9. **(For FEG-Nepal members) Can you tell me about your experience in monitoring Constituency Development Funds (CDFs)?**
10. What has been the main impact of monitoring the CDFs? (e.g., improving project selection process, identifying problems with project implementation, focusing attention on marginal social groups)?

### **KII for officials of the Election Commission of Nepal (ECN)**

1. How long have you been an official of the ECN? If you were at the ECN during 2008 election, how would you compare 2008 and 2013 regarding participation, fairness and freedom to vote?
2. Of all the ECN activities that have received support from USAID through IFES, which do you think was most useful? Why?
3. Which was the least useful? Why?
4. Of all the things USAID supported, which ones do you think will be sustainable after the project ends and USAID withdraws its support? Why?
5. Do you think the ECN's ability to conduct a "free and fair " election has been improved with USAID support through IFES? (assume the answer is "Yes" – if not ask why not?) Will this improvement be sustainable through the next round of elections coming up? What makes you think so?
6. How inclusive do you think the ECN itself is in terms of representation from marginalized groups of people (women, Dalits, Janajatis, disabled persons)?
7. How has the ECN impressed upon the political parties to become more inclusive?
8. What about district level offices? Can all of them conduct a "free and fair" election? Are some less likely than others to be capable of doing this?
9. At district level, ask to what extent have CSOs (like District Voters Rights Forum) been effective in motivating voters, conducting free and fair elections, etcetera?
10. Election commissions face many problems and challenges in conducting an election in all countries. What do you think is the most difficult challenge the ECN will face in the upcoming elections here?
11. Between now and the upcoming elections in Nepal, what is the most valuable assistance that IFES could offer to the ECN?
12. In your opinion, how has the voter registration process improved over the years?
13. Election observation by CSOs – has it improved? If so how? If not , what are the areas that needs to be improved?

## FGD for staff of the Legislature

### Tools for KII:

1. How long have you been working as a Legislature staff?
2. Of all the things USAID supported, through NDI, which ones do you think have been most important?
3. Do you think all the legislative activities supported by NDI will be sustainable after the project ends and USAID withdraws its support? Will some things be more difficult to sustain than others? If so, why?
4. How have the oversight functions of parliamentary committees evolved over time? Have they improved their capacity to oversee government activities? In what ways?
5. Have the committees and parliament changed to include more women, Dalits, Janajatis, youth, disabled persons? If so, to what extent for the various marginal groups?
6. (NOTE: this is a different question than the one just above). Have parliamentary committees shown much serious interest in improving the position of marginal communities more generally in Nepal? Mention the 33% required for female representation – what have these committees done about ensuring enforcement of this law
7. Has NDI assistance led to any changes in legislative procedures? If so, Can you give examples?
8. Has NDI helped you develop your own personal abilities in reviewing draft laws in the committees? If so, how?
9. How effective is the legislature more generally in reviewing and deliberating bills under consideration? Is there significant room for improvement here? If so, in what ways?
10. Have you (or your colleagues) participated in public forums with members of the public in your( or their) constituency? If so, how often?
11. How transparent are the legislative proceedings these days? How could they be made more transparent?
12. Do you receive research and analytical debriefs? From whom? Are they useful? Could they be made more useful?
13. How about the library and information services? Useful? Could be?
14. How could USAID assistance be improved if the present project were to continue or be carried over into a new project?



### Tools for FGD:

1. Of all the things USAID supported, through NDI, which ones do you think have been most important?
2. Do you think all the legislative activities supported by NDI will be will be sustainable after the project ends and USAID withdraws its support? Will some things be more difficult to sustain than others? If so, why?
3. How have the oversight functions of parliamentary committees evolved over time? Have they improved their capacity to oversee government activities? In what ways?
4. Have the committees and parliament changed to include more women, Dalits, Janajatis, youth, disabled persons? If so, to what extent for the various marginal groups?
5. (NOTE: this is a different question than the one just above). Have parliamentary committees shown much serious interest in improving the position of marginal communities more generally in Nepal? Mention the 33% required for female representation – what have these committees done about ensuring enforcement of this law
6. Has NDI assistance led to any changes in legislative procedures? If so, Can you give examples?
7. How effective is the legislature more generally in reviewing and deliberating bills under consideration? Is there significant room for improvement here? If so, in what ways?
8. How transparent are the legislative proceedings these days? How could they be made more transparent?
9. How could USAID assistance be improved if the present project were to continue or be carried over into a new project?

### FGD for District-level party members

1. How long have you been a party member/officer?
2. In that time, have you seen a change in representation of marginal groups in the party? If so, what kind of change (Women, Dalits, Janajatis, Youth, disabled persons)? Has the 33% requirement for women been implemented in your VDC?
3. Have you seen any women's participation making a change in the party's political agenda? How about Janajatis? Dalits? Young people? PWDs?
4. Has your MP ever asked for your opinion about anything? Has he/she come to your neighborhood or town to ask such questions? A forum, dialogue, or the like? If so, did you participate, attend or hear anything about it?
5. Have you been a part of NDI/IFES trainings/activities in last five years? If yes, what were those? Which ones do you find useful and why? What do you think could be further improved?
6. What is your opinion about the ECN's capacity to conduct free and fair elections over the period of time (5 years back and now)? How has their capacity changed in last five years?
7. What do you think are the contributors behind this change? Do you also see the role of any USAID funded activities/efforts for this change? Probe further for NDI/IFES initiatives (whether they are aware/have taken part in any of these initiatives)
8. Do you think the ECN will be able to conduct "free and fair" elections after the USAID project ends and USAID withdraws its support? Why?
9. What do you think needs to be done further for ensuring the free and fair elections and for the participation of women, Dalits, MDAGs, disabled in the election from all corners of the country?
10. What is your opinion on the mobilization of Constituent Development Fund? How effectively has it been mobilized? Why do you say so? What could be improved?

FGD for Interparty Women Wing  
[You can adapt these questions for groups of youth, Dalita, Janajatis, etc.]

1. How has the structure and operation (decision making process) changed within your party over the period of last five years? Has there been any changes for providing space to women and other MDAGs.
2. Could you please mention some of the examples? What do you think needs to be further strengthened/improved for making it still more democratic and inclusive?
3. What kind of challenges do you have to go through while working in the party and politics? What kind of changes needs to be done in your party and its functioning for you to work in a better and active way?
4. What kind of training/support/activities were you part of in last five years and who provided those? Which ones do you mention as the most effective and why?
5. What needs to be done to further strengthening the leadership capacity of women and other MDAGs?
6. Have you worked with any group advocating for women's, Dalits, Janjatis, disabled people's rights? If so what are your memories of this experience? If not, have you noticed any advocacy from women, Dalits, Janajatis, etc? If so, did any of it have impact on the party's platform, agendas. etc.?
7. Did you participate in a voter education exercise? What do you remember from the experience? Did it have any effect on you? If so, do you remember who sponsored it?
8. Has your MP ever asked for your opinion about anything? Has he/she come to your neighborhood or town to ask such questions? A forum, dialogue, or the like? If so, did you participate, attend or hear anything about it?
9. Have you been a part of NDI/IFES trainings/activities in last five years? If yes, what were those? Which ones do you find useful and why? What do you think could be further improved?
10. What is your opinion about the ECN's capacity to conduct free and fair elections over the period of time (5 years back and now). How has their capacity changed in last five years
11. What do you think are the contributors behind this change? Do you also see the role of any USAID funded activities/efforts for this change? Probe further for NDI/IFES initiatives (whether they are aware/have taken part in any of these initiatives)
12. Do you think the ECN will be able to conduct "free and fair" elections after the USAID project ends and USAID withdraws its support? Why?
13. What do you think needs to be done further for ensuring the free and fair elections and for the participation of women, Dalits, MDAGs, disabled in the election from all corners of the country?
14. What is your opinion on the mobilization of Constituent Development Fund? How effectively has it been mobilized? Why do you say so? What could be improved?

## ANNEX 6. REFERENCES USED IN THE EVALUATION

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# ANNEX 7: LIST OF RESPONDENTS: KEY INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

## FGDs and KII in Kathmandu

Date	Participant	Position / Organization	KII/FGD	Location
13 Sep 16	Kamal Rijal	Nepali Congress (Formerly in-charge of Training)	KII	Baluwatar
16 Sep 16	Neel kantha Uprety	Former Chief-ECN	KII	Hotel Himalaya Pulchowk Lalitpur
16 Sep 16	Ayodhya Pd Yadav	Chair, ECN	KII	His office
18 Sep 16	Kamal Rijal	Former Director Training, NC	KII	Mike's Breakfast
18 Sep 16	Ram Chandra Poudel	Former president, NC	KII	His residence
19 Sep 16	Manju Tualadhar	GESI Advisor, USAID Mission	KII	CAMRIS Office
20 Sep 16	Ishwor Pokharel	General Secretary – CPN (UML)	KII	UML Headquarter
21 Sep 16	Sita Samba	Dt. Election Officer	KII	Her office
21 Sep 16	Astha Laxmi Shobi Shakya	Official / DEW	KII	Lalitpur , DEW Office
21 Sep 16	Bhakta Biswakarma	Chair NVRF	KII	NNDSWO office lalitpur
21 Sep 16	Madhu Acharya	Former Director Training, NC	KII	Kathmandu Hotel
22 Sep 16	Krishna Paudel	Chief Secretary	KII	Nepali Congress Party Office, Patan
25 Sep 16	Satya Pahadi	CPN-MC Politburo member	KII	Bakery Café, Lalitpur
25 Sep 16 & 24 Nov 16	Bhartendru Malik	General Secretary – Madhesi Janadhikar Forum	KII	Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Office, Kathmandu
25 Sep 16	Madhesi Janadhikar Forum-Cadres	Central Members	FGD	Madhesi Janadhikar Forum

25 Sep 16	Nepali Congress	Central Members- Nepali Congress	FGD	Nepali Congress, Party Office, Patan
26 Sep 16	Neelkantha Uprety	Former Chief-ECN	KII	Himalaya Hotel, Lalitpur
26 Sep 16	Sushil Shrestha	Parliamentary Committee Member and Chief of Training Unit	KII	Singhadurbar, Kathmandu
26 Sep 16	Satya Pahadi	Coordinator for NDI, Maoist	KII	Jawlakhel, Bakery Café
26 Sep 16 & 12 Nov 16	Prithivi Subbha Gurung	CPN-UM Secretary	KII	Chief, Organization Department
26 Sep 16	Manohar Bhattarai	General-Secretary (Parliamentary Committee)	KII	Singhadurbr, Kathmandu
27 Sep 16	Narvan Kami	MP, Parliamentary Committee on Social Justice	KII	Singha Durbar office
27 Sep 16	Deokaran Pd Kalwar	MP, Parliamentary Committee on Social Justice	KII	Singha Durbar, MP lounge
27 Sep 16	Krishna Bahadur Mahara	General Secretary – CPM – Maoist Center (currently Minister of Finance)	KII	Singha Durbar
28 Sep 16 & 12 Nov 16	Bhuban Pathak	Asst. Secretary General, RPP	KII	Shangri La Hotel
28 Sep 16	Navaraj Dhakal & 5 others	Jt. Secretary, ECN & colleagues	FGD	ECN office
29 Sep 16	Biminendra Nidhi	Dy. Prime Minister & Home Minister, NC	KII	Minister's Block, Singha Durbar
29 Sep 16	Janak Raj Joshi	Member of Good Governance and Monitoring Committee	KII	Singha Durbar
30 Sep 16	Gopal Dahit	Member of Parliamentary Committee on Finance	KII	Singha Durbar
30 Sep 16	Gopal Krishna Siwakoti	Secretary General of NEOC	KII	NEOC Office, Patan
2 Oct 16	Maoist Youth Leaders	Polity Bureau Members	FGD	Baluwatar
2 Oct 16	Nagendra Prasad Tharu	Member of Committee for Industry, Commerce	KII	Singha Durbar

		and Consumer Welfare Relation		
2 Oct 16	Sudarshan Khadka	Joint Secretary, Parliament secretariat Committee on Industry Commerce and Consumer Welfare Relations	KII	Committee Secretariat Singhadurbar
3 Oct 16	Prakash Mani Sharma	Chairman/ Pro-Public	KII	Anamnagar, Kathmandu
27 Oct 16	Rabindra Adhikari	Chairperson/ Parliamentary Committee on Development	KII	Committee Office, Singha Durbar
2 Nov 16	Badri Pandey	Member of Parliament/ Nepali Congress	KII	Bajura
2 Nov 16 & 3 Nov 16	Mokhtar Ahamad	Member of Parliament/ Nepali Congress	KII	Kathmandu
2 Nov 16 & 3 Nov 16	Nar Devi Pun	Member of Parliament/ UML	KII	Over the phone (Myagdi)
2 Nov 16	Ram Bahadur BK	Member of Parliament/ CPN Maoist Center	KII	Over the phone

### Respondents List – Lalitpur District

Participant	Data collection method	Location VDC/ward	Date
Sita Samba (election commissioner)	KII	Lalitpur	21 Sep 2016
Laxmi Shobha shakya (President DEW Lalitpur)	KII	Lalitpur	21 Sep 2016
Bhakta Bishowkarma (NVRF, chairperson)	KII	Lalitpur, NNDSWO office	
Prakash Khatri (School teacher (constituency level trainee RPP Nepal)	KII	Tikabhairab, lalitpur	21 Sep 2016
Anil Kumar Chalise (Samsad Samparka Karyalaya)	KII	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Saraswati (RPPN)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Puja Rana (RPPN)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Saraswati Nyupane (CPNUML)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Chandra Kala Subba (CPNUML)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Roshan Karki (RPP)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Laxmi Thakur (Madheshi Janaadhikar Forum)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Nirmala Chhetri (Nepal Mahila Sang, Nepali Congress)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Sunita Shah (RPP)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Prabha Khadgi Shrestha (Nepal Malila Sangathan Central)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Bimala K.C (Nepali Communist Maoist)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Uma Kapali (Akhil Nepal Mahila Sang)	FGD-IPWW	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Sri devi Basnet (RPPN, district vice president)	KII	Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Biraj Bista (RPPN)	KII	Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Bhim Bahadur Shrestha (beneficiary)	KII	Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Tej Kumari Nagarkoti (RPPN)	KII	Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Min Maya Gole	FGD (FCHV)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016



Bimala Tamang	FGD (FCHV)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Mana Kumara Tamang	FGD (FCHV)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Sarita Shyangtang	FGD (FCHV)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Kamala Shrestha	FGD (FCHV)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Sabina Tamang	FGD (FCHV)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Kalpana Tamang	FGD (FCHV)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Karna Bahadur Nepali	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Madhav Nepal	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Narayan Bhattarai	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Babin Adhikari	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Sanjaya GC	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Narendra Rijal	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Radha GC	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Milan Shrestha	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Tara Bahadur Thapa	FGD (mixed group)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Sapana Nagarkoti	FGD (women's grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Bina Nagarkoti	FGD (women's grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Nirmaya Nagarkoti	FGD (mixed grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Sharmila Nagarkoti	FGD (mixed grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Ganga Nagarkoti	FGD (mixed grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Laxmi Nagarkoti	FGD (mixed grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Lalita Nagarkoti	FGD (mixed grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Seti Nagarkoti	FGD (mixed grp)	Lalitpur	23 Sep, 2016
Anil Kumar Chalise (Samsad Samparka Karyalaya)	KII	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Bishal Rai	KII	Jaulakhel, Lalitpur	23 Sep 2016
Tak Bahadur Tamang (NGO foundation)	KII	Lalitpur	24 Sep 2016
Tika Dahal (NFDN, general secretary)	KII	Lalitpur	

### Respondents List – Dadeldhura District

Participant	Data collection method	Location VDC/ward	Date
Manju Kumari Bhandari	KII	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Hem Raj Awasthi (school teacher)	KII	Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Gajendra Shahi (CPNUML)	KII	Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Parbati Paneru (secretary IPWW, RPP)	KII	Dadeldhura	28 Sep 2016
Parbati Jairu (president IPWW, NC)	KII	Dadeldhura	28 Sep 2016
Kalawati Kathayet (IPWW member, CPNUML member)	KII	Dadeldhura	28 Sep 2016
Anita Thapa (RPPN member)	KII	Dadeldhura	28 Sep 2016
Gyanu Gaire (MP, CPNUML)	KII	Dadeldhura	28 Sep 2016
Ganesh Bhatta (coordinator, town hall meeting)	KII	Dadeldhura	29 Sep 2016
Saraswoti Khadka (CDF mobilization secretary-Arju Deuba)	KII	Dadeldhura	29 Sep 2016
Padam Raj Joshi (documentation officer, RUWDUC)	KII	Dadeldhura	29 Sep 2016
Dambar Awasthi	KII	Dadeldhura	29 Sep 2016
Kashi Nath Upreti	KII	Dadeldhura	29 Sep 2016
Gyanu Sijapati (beneficiaries)	FGD-1	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Sony Bhandari	FGD-1	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Anju Gaire	FGD-1	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Radhika Rokka	FGD-1	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Sunita Gaire	FGD-1	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Rupa Bhatta	FGD-1	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Sundari Devi	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Dhauri Devi	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Haru Devi Tamata	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Laxmi Tamata	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Nirmala Bhatta	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Dhauri Koli	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Bhanu Bhatta	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Ganesh Prasad Bhatta	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Parbati Devi Bhatta	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Kamala Devi Bhatta	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Tek Bahadur Sharki	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Kamala Devi Bika	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Khadka Kali	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Mandir Sharki	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Nanda Kumar Sharki	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Dev Raj BHatta	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016

Prabhakar Bhatt	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Lok Raj Bhattaa	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Bhuban Keli	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Hira Devi Sharki	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Govinda Bhatta	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Sarada Sharki	FGD-2	Rahi,Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Bhagirathi Tamrakar	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Basanti Tamrakar	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Bhag Tamata	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Krishna Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Tara Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Ambika Tamrakar	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Rambha Tamata	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Saru Devi Tamata	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Pashupati Tamrakar	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Gita Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Janaki	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Indira Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Gudho Devi Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Priyanka Tamrakar	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Devaki Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Basanti Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Padma Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Bhagirathi Tamrakar	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Gorakh Tamata	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Ballu Tamata	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Laxman Bahadur Kaini	FGD-3	Amargadhi VDC	27 Sep 2016
Lalita Bhatta	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Nirmala Bhatta	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Anju Bhatta	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Anita Bhatta	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Yeshodha Chand	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Srijana Ranamagar	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Bishna Mahata	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Sabina Rayamajhi	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Magarati Awasthi	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Radhika Awasthi	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Dipa Bhatta	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016

Bhuwana Awasthi	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Suresh Raj Awasthi	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Sushil Bista	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Dipak Bika	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Bhumi Raj Awasthi	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Narendra Bhatta	FGD-4	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Govinda Bhatta	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Ganga Dutta Bhatta	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Krishna Nanda Bhatta	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Bhagirathi Blka	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Kalawati Bhatta	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Manju Bhatta	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Pashupati Bhatta	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Narpata Kumari Deuba	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Laxmi Devi Nath	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Maya Bhatta	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Bhawana Bharati	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Sankar Blka	FGD-5	Bhatgadha-7, Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Tarak Tamata (District Voters' Right Forum)	FGD-6	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Krishna Bahadur Sharki (District Voters' Right Forum)	FGD-6	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Radhika Rokka Dube (District Voter's Right Forum)	FGD-6	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Lalit Bohara (District Voters' Right Forum)	FGD-6	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Prem Nepali (District Voters' Right Forum)	FGD-6	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Ganesh Prasad Awasthi (District Voters' Right Forum)	FGD-6	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Sundar Jairu (District Voters' Right Forum)	FGD-7	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016

Prakash Bhatta (participant town hall meeting)	FGD-7	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Prakash Chandra Budayer (participant, town hall meeting)	FGD-7	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Puspa Raj Pathak (participant, town hall meeting)	FGD-7	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Padam Tamrakar (participant, town hall meeting)	FGD-7	Amargadhi Municipality	28 Sep 2016
Subash Saud (DDWS)	KII	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Udaya bahadur singh (DAO)	KII	Dadeldhura	21 Sep 2016
Krishna Singh Nayak (DEO)	KII	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Siddha Raj Pathak (DEW)	KII	Dadeldhura	26 Sep 2016
Tarak Tamata (NNDSWO)	KII	Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016
Puspa Raj Joshi (Belapur, VDC secretary)	KII	Dadeldhura	27 Sep 2016

## Respondents List – Dhankuta District

Participant	Data collection method	Location VDC/ward	Date
Kushum Shrestha (IPWW member, central member CPN Maoist)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	3 October 2016
Bhima Khanal (IPWW secretary, CPN Maoist)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	3 October 2016
Yegya Kumari Ruchal (IPWW member, District Committee member CPNUML)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	3 October 2016
Sharmila Rai (IPWW member, District Committee member, CPNUML)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	3 October 2016
Tika Bhandari (IPWW member, Central Committee member NC)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	3 October 2016
Sumana Timilsina (IPWW Member, District Committee member, Mahaadibeshan Pratinidhi NC)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	3 October 2016
Parbati Rai (IPWW member, FSP District in charge)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	3 October 2016
Tilak Prasad Rai (Maoist District Committee member)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	4 October 2016
Tej Narayan Singh Rai (Notary Public, Advocate)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	4 October 2016
Hari Kumar Rai (UML District Committee member)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	2 October 2016
Tika Ram Chemjong (MP UML)	KII	Bhedetaar VDC	2 October 2016
Bijaya Santosh Rai (NC District Secretary, Mahaadibeshan Pratinidhi)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	5 October 2016
Ujjwol Kirati (Maoist Sub-Incharge)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	5 October 2016
Tika Prasad Ghimire (RPP Jilla Karya Upa Samiti)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	6 October @016
Lila Subba (NC Mahasamiti Sadashya)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	6 October @016
Arjun Niraula (NC Morang Mahaadebishan Pratinidhi)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	6 October @016
Narayan Khanal (secretary, Bhedetaar VDC)	KII	Bhedetaar VDC	2 October 2016
JP Bhujel (DEW)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	4 October 2016
Dambar Rughu (Woman Act, municipality administrative officer)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	5 October 2016

Pradip Shah (DEO)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	6 October 2016
Prem Prakash Upreti	KII	Dhankuta municipality	5 October 2016
Bidur Subedi (HUSADEC)	KII	Dhankuta municipality	5 October 2016
Constituency Outreach Program organized by NDI & Tikaram Chemjong	Observation	Dhankuta	4 October 2016
Constituency Outreach Program organized by NDI & Tikaram Chemjong	Observation	Bhedetar	2 October 2016

### Dhangadi Respondents List – Kailali District

Participant	Data collection method	Location VDC/ward	Date
Dil Bahadur Chhantyal, Nagarik Daily Newspaper	KII	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016
Sabitri Joshi, NC Mahasamiti representative and teacher	KII	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016
Nara Narayan Shah (NC)	KII	Dhangadi	29 Sep 2016
Rabindra Budha, Village Voters Forum member Godavari VDC	KII	Godavari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Dirgha Sodhari (UML)	KII	Dhangadi	29 Sep 2016
Birman Chaudhari (Maoist)	KII	Dhangadi	29 Sep 2016
Gaya Prasad Kushmi (Forum Loktantrik)	KII	Dhangadi	29 Sep 2016
Tulashi Devkota (NC)	KII	Dhangadi	29 Sep 2016
Phulmati Mahato (Forum Loktantrik)	KII	Dhangadi	30 Sep 2016
Janak Kumar Kuwar (RPPN)	KII	Dhangadi	29 Sep 2016
Laxmi Buda (UML)	KII	Dhangadi	30 Sep 2016
Kalpana Joshi	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Dharu Devi Saud	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Harina Bika	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Raju Dhami	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Dhana Joshi	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Lali Khadka	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Chitra Bali	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Bhagawati Joshi	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Kalawati Nepali	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Parbati Bika	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Batu Bika	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Laxmi Devi Saud	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Bhagawati devi Badaul	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Basanti Bika	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Hira Devi Bika	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Kastura Bika	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Dil Maya Bhandari	FGD-1	Godawari VDC	27 Sep 2016
Ganesh Saud	FGD-2	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Nabin BC	FGD-2	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Bhim Bahadur Bika	FGD-2	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Anil Bika	FGD-2	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Arjun Bika	FGD-2	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Dipak Bika	FGD-2	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Jitan Bika	FGD-2	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Naramaya Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Sharmila Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016



Lila Devi Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Mansara Devi Blka	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Kaushalya Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Aashika Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Kabita Blka	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Shanti Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Laxmi Thapa	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Aasha Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Sushma Ale Magar	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Sangita Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Saraswati Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Nirmaya Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Sony Devi Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Pampha Ale Magar	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Hira Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Bisna Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Shanti Devi Bika	FGD-3	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016
Dabal Bahadur Khadayet	KII	Godavari VDC	28 Sep 2016
Nanda Raj Bhatta	KII	Dhangadi	30 Sep 2016
Jyadatta Pandey	KII	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Bhim Bohora	KII	Dhangadi	29 Sep 2016
Pasupati Chand	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Mitilesh Chaudhary	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Menuka Khadka	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Dipendra BK	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Manoj Jaigadi	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Kiran Paudel	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Min Bahadur Biswakarma	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Laxman Sahi	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Chakra Sahi	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Prem Raj Sapkota	FGD-4	Pahalmanpur VDC	29 Sep 2016
Rabin Kant Pant DEW	KII	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016
NNDSWO interaction	Observation	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016
Suresh Bahadur BK, (assistant program manager, NNDSWO)	KII	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016

Devraj Sharma (VDC secretary, Godawari VDC)	KII	Godavari VDC	26 Sep 2016
Keshab Prasad Bhattarai (FEG Nepal)	KII	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016
Suresh Bahadur Bishowkarma (NNDSWO)	KII	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016
Rabin Kanta Panta (DEW)	KII	Dhangadi	26 Sep 2016
Devi Prasad Khanal (NFN Farwest)	KII	Dhangadi	28 Sep 2016
Mohan Aryaal (election officer)	KII	Dhangadi	25 Sep 2016
Bimal Prasad Joshi (VDC secretary Sahajpur)	KII	Sahajpur VDC	28 Sep 2016

## Respondents List – Dhanusha District

Participant	Data collection method	Location VDC/ward	Date
Birendra Kabir Panthi (Dalit Samajh)	KII	Janakpur	
Shila Yadav (Naya shakti, Maoist)	KII	Janakpur	
Sunil Kumar Mandal (election education volunteer)	KII	Janakpur	
Renu Jha (IPWW member, Tarai Madhesh Loktantrik)	KII	Janakpur	
Samyogita Shah (IPWW member, UML)	KII	Janakpur	
Munni Daas (IPWW member, Rastriya Madhesh Samajbadi Party)	KII	Janakpur	
Halkhodi Kapali (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Pramod Mandal (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Nirmala Thapa (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Binod Kumar Yadav (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Kamlesh K. Mandal (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Indira Thapa (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Ram Bahadur Das (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Indira Thapa (FLA Mixed)	FGD-1	Janakpur	3 October 2016
Pradip Kumar Yadav (NC)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Urmila Yadav(DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Ram Chandra Shah (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Puja Yadav (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Ram Narayan Kapad (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Chandreshwor Mahatoo (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Kiran Paswan (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Ram Chandra Pandit (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Rup Narayan (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Pramod Kumar Mahatoo (DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Niraj Bhandari(DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Ram Dev Thakur(DVF)	FGD-2	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Renu Jha (Mina) (IPWW president, TA. MA. LO. Pa)	FGD-3	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Bindu Kumari Yadav (IPWW member)	FGD-3	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Bima Thakur (IPWW member, Sadbhabana)	FGD-3	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Munni Daas (IPWW Member,TAMASAMAPA)	FGD-3	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Nilam Karna (IPWW secretary, NC)	FGD-3	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Renu Jha (IPWW member, RPP)	FGD-3	Janakpur	4 October 2016

Samyogil Shah (IPWW member, CPNUML)	FGD-3	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Rekha Devi Das (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Bhulli Devi Mahara (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Aashita Devi Pasban (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Anita Mahara (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Rekha Devi Mahara (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Radha Devi Paswan (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Merin Devi Paswan (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Nirmala Mandal (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Narendra Kumari Yadav (VVF, female)	FGD-4	Janakpur	4 October 2016
Mukeshwor Kumar Mandal (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Ramjiba Daas (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Ranjit Kumar Yadava (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Laxman Mandal (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Ram Gulam Daas (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Gopal Prasad Shah (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Narendra Kumar Yadav (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Ram Dev Thakur (VVF, male)	FGD-5	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Manoj Kumar Karna (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Mukesh Prasad Bhagat (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Bijaya Kumar Yadav (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Pramod Shah (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Shanti Devi (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Sharmila Yadav (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Bibha Gautam (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Kishandev Kumar Mahatoo (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Ajaya Dev Shah (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Sarad Yadav (DEW)	FGD-6	Janakpur	5 October 2016
Dipak Kafle (VDC Secretary, paudeshwor)	KII	Janakpur	
Ram Binod Jha (NDI)	KII	Janakpur	
Umesh Prasad Yadav (DEW)	KII	Janakpur	
Mahesh Raj Yadav (Sunaulo Samaj)	KII	Janakpur	
Niraj Bhandari (BWSN)	KII	Janakpur	
Ram Chandra Shah (RUCC)	KII	Janakpur	

Puspa Kumar Jha (election commissioner)	KII	Janakpur	
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## ANNEX 8. INTERNAL DEMOCRACY AMONG NEPAL'S SIX NDI PARTNER POLITICAL PARTIES

### Nepali Congress (NC)

Among the six NDI partner parties, the NC is the oldest, established in 1946 in India seeking to overthrow the ruling autocratic feudal system and establish a parliamentary (Westminster model) democracy in the country. It successfully ran for the first-ever multiparty elections in Nepal in 1959, securing almost two-thirds of the parliamentary seats and leading a majority government for one and a half years until it was disbanded and the democratic window closed by the King in 1960. It continued to struggle to reestablish democracy in the country, launching a major movement in 1989–90. Therefore, it was essentially ready to become a competitive party when multiparty democracy returned to Nepal in 1990, and it did not have to go through external democratization. But except for a brief period in the 1950s, the party was continuously fighting against the ruling system and functioned as a banned party, so internal democracy was not a priority. NC made it an agenda item only after the 1990 democratic restoration.

The demand for internal party democratization within the NC originated in efforts to reduce the power of an all-powerful president who nominated all CC members. After almost seven decades of its existence as the mainstream democratic party, it took a first step by electing 5 regional members, then 14 zonal members. Only in its 12<sup>th</sup> convention in 2010 did it move to having a majority of elected CC members. The new party constitution contained a concrete provision for inclusiveness and representation of marginalized groups at all levels. It set specific quota for women, Dalit, Janajati, Madhesi and Muslims in the CC. The president can nominate about 25 percent of the members, who are then endorsed by the CC, and the Convention Members (known as Mahadhiveshan) elect the remaining members. As per the new constitution of the country, the NC has accepted the principle of “proportional inclusion” at all levels of its organization (Nepali Congress Central Office, 2016).

Following the 13<sup>th</sup> convention, which concluded in 2016, the NC has been going through a leadership transition. Its current concern is restructuring the party to conform with the new constitution and preparing for the upcoming elections at three levels of government.

NC leaders told us that they value and appreciate NDI's support, especially the trainings, interparty linkages, and youth leadership and development training. It has been by far the largest beneficiary of NDI's training program over the past six years, with some 176 follow-up trainings in which trainees in ToT courses conducted by NDI became master trainers who trained more than 15,600 party worker trainees (see **Annex ZZ**). These follow-on courses were for the most part funded by the party itself.<sup>33</sup> Party leaders would like similar support in the future once the party decides on its structure and forms its departments.

The leaders consider their main challenge to be educating the party's active members (over 400,000) on democratic values and attracting new blood into the party. Equally pressing is the

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<sup>33</sup> Other parties have also largely organized and funded this follow-on training themselves.

need to attract and empower members from marginalized communities. They realize that to grow, the party must attract more youth and educate them in democratic culture and values. The leaders are especially eager for training on the new constitution, skills to manage party organization and upcoming elections. They also think that training programs work better when parties are dealt with separately rather than all parties together.

Regarding internal democracy, the leaders suggest continued work from NDI, although it is difficult because of the party's internal bureaucracy. They believe that internal changes are easier through pressure from inside the party, its professional organizations, intellectuals, interest groups, women groups, youth and others, and they see major opportunity in bringing internal changes through changes at the grassroots level representation to the party national convention.

The perception at the local level is that the party still runs on patronage. Although decision-making is becoming more systematic and institutionalized after NDI training of local party secretaries, the general feeling, as a result of how meetings are conducted and decisions are recorded, is that leaders who control groups at the local level also control decisions. Even now, "connections with the leaders that matter" is what counts for reward, recognition, promotion and ticket distribution. Any real transformation remains elusive.

#### Communist Party of Nepal–Unified Marxist Leninist Party (UML)

A later version of the Nepal Communist Party, established in 1949, the UML party emerged in 1991 through the unification of the CPN (ML) and as an outcome of a left alliance formed to work with NC in the democratic movement of 1990. Since then, it has been going through both external and internal democratization processes, shedding some of its revolutionary images and rhetoric as a revolutionary Communist party. "People's Multiparty Democracy" is UML's guiding theoretical basis—a principle quick to accept all external democratic practices, but it took nearly two and a half decades to introduce internal democracy.

The eighth convention of UML in 2009 made a "drastic change" in the party by introducing two key democratic concepts into the party organization and process: "election of leaders" and "allowance for dissenting voice" in the party's policy decisions. The General Convention now elects the president, vice presidents and other CC members. "This is a new and major shift for a Communist party," one leader commented. The party has relaxed its rules for including women and Dalits at all level of the hierarchy. It is the first major party to have reorganized itself to conform to the state restructuring. It has also established "checks and balances" with a disciplinary committee and a financial control committee. Now its leaders feel an urgent need to educate its leaders and members to be effective in a competitive democracy.

At the same time, the party leadership feels that the introduction of intraparty elections has brought new challenges, including "groupism" (contending factions), which leads them to try asserting control over party cadres. At the local level, leaders also feel that the introduction of inclusion and democratization has opened the door for groupism, nepotism and corruption.

UML leaders appreciate NDI training support for "changing the mindset" of members and preparing them for openness and competitive politics. The party's master trainers have conducted some 42 follow-on trainings and trained over 5,000 members between 2010 and 2016. They find the FLA and the IPWA useful. Party leaders seemed to radiate confidence as they told us that their school, which is coordinated directly by the party president, can now effectively train its cadres and its 300,000 members at all three levels—primary, secondary, and

high level. In other words, they believe their district-level members have learned enough from NDI such that their trainers can administer future training themselves, for example, in communication technology. They will seek NDI support only at the highest level of training that requires advanced knowledge and expertise. In our field interviews, it appeared that two-way communication between UML's center and lower level is more effective than with other parties, although it is still essentially top-down, as with other parties.

### Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist Center (CPN–MC)

CPN–MC, the third-largest party NDI is working with, formed in 1994, with the main objective of overthrowing the “feudal, imperialist and reformist” state and establishing a people’s government. Its followers believed that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,” and with that belief, it launched a ‘people’s war’ in Nepal which lasted almost a decade. When they came to the mainstream democratic process after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2006, the biggest challenge for party leaders was to convince and “educate” its cadres to make them see other political parties—especially the democratic ones—as competitors and friends and not as “enemies.” The leadership had to justify the ideological basis and logic behind accepting the very “corrupt parliamentary system” in the country—a very big jump indeed.

In this difficult transition, support from NDI became most useful in training our cadres. Although initially there were strong reservations from party cadres to accept NDI assistance (particularly because it is an American NGO), we were told, it proved adept at explaining Nepal's governance to the cadres, and it became the only trusted international NGO for the party, which worked only with NDI. Ten years ago, when party members came to open politics from the war, they knew nothing about parliament and mainstream politics. NDI's training on party organization and management, and the interactions and links with other parties through the Inter-party Alliance (IPA), were all very helpful, we were told. CPN–MC leaders appreciate and are eager to continue such programs, especially for their district-level cadres. Through their master trainers taught by NDI, CPN–MC has trained more than 2,000 cadres. Although there are some fears within the party about party secrets getting leaked to outsiders, most leaders trust NDI-supported activities.

### The Other, Smaller Parties

**Rashtriya Prajatantra Party–Nepal (RPP–N):** This party formed in 1990 with the objective of providing an alternative democratic force to the nation. Nationalism, democracy and liberalism are its three main ideological pillars, along with support for the restoration of a Hindu kingdom in Nepal. In the 2013 elections, it emerged as the fourth-largest party in parliament, with 24 seats under proportional representation. Through their master trainers, the party has conducted 28 follow-on trainings and trained about 3,000 party members in the past two years of collaboration with NDI. Its main concern currently is to overcome factionalism and establish itself as a national democratic party.

**Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP):** This is a center-right, liberal-conservative party formed in 1990. In the 2013 CA election, it won three FPTP seats and 10 PR seats. The party has been working with NDI since 1995 for training party leaders at different levels, and its master trainers have trained close to 1,400 party members. RPP is trying to meet the constitutional provision of 33 percent women, and so far, it has 22 women in its 107-member CC. It has specified seats reserved for marginalized groups, including geographic area quotas.



Party leaders consider IPA very useful because it helps develop harmony, resolve issues, understand common concerns and develop a new culture of cooperation. They regret that it has not met over the past two years.<sup>34</sup> They also suggested that the democratic parties need more support from NDI for the next five to 10 years because they do not generate their own resources, as Communist parties do, and cannot pay full-time workers like some Communist parties do. RPP thinks that NDI support is critical for preparing the parties for the upcoming three elections.

**Madhesi Jana Adhikar Forum Nepal–Democratic (MJFN–D):** This party, formed in 2010, has adopted social democracy and socialism as its guiding principles. It has included equality, democracy and social justice, along with a participatory, consensual and coalition-based system. The party is committed to non-violent people's movements for the elimination of all forms of racial and regional discrimination. It has 14 MPs (4 FPTP and 10 PR) in the parliament who frequently visit their provinces, we were told.

MJFN–D has been working with NDI for the past five years. Immediately after formation of the party, they needed orientation and training. They have now 5 to 10 trainers in almost all districts providing training at constituency level. NDI has supported 10 districts. In some districts, the party has reached its 33 percent target for women membership. It has allocated seats for ethnic groups as well; for example, more than 30 percent of party members are Janjatis. NDI has helped organize youth groups and develop messages regarding party principles like “social democracy.”

The MJFN–D now wants to become a national party. By removing “Madhesi” from their name and expanding their offices nationwide, they aim to make their party an alternative democratic party at the national level. Its president is even more specific: “I want to build an alternative to NC,” he says.

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<sup>34</sup> NDI reported to us that the IPA had registered as an NGO and thereby had become ineligible for assistance, given the prohibition against funding NGOs, including political party members.

## ANNEX 9. FOLLOW-ON TRAININGS AND TRAINEES BY PARTY AND YEAR, 2010-16

Trainings by party and year							
Party	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	Total
NC	11	96	65	3	1		176
CPN-UML		18	16	3	5		42
CPN-MC		7	11				18
MJF-N		9	17				26
SP		3	4				7
TMDP			4				4
MJFN-D		3	2	1			6
UCPN-M			6				6
CPN-M			7				7
RPP		15	3		1		19
RPP-N				4		24	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>339</b>

Trainees by party and year							
Party	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	Total
NC	887	8767	5729	240	70		15693
CPN-UML		3380	941	160	630		5111
CPN-MC		364	547				911
MJF-N		785	1184				1969
SP		273	509				782
TMDP			202				202
MJFN-D		211	160	25			396
UCPN-M			385				385
CPN-M			2190				2190
RPP		1163	210				1373
RPP-N				224	22	2811	3057
<b>Total</b>	<b>887</b>	<b>14943</b>	<b>12057</b>	<b>649</b>	<b>722</b>	<b>2811</b>	<b>32069</b>

Source: NDI

Note: Parties analyzed in this evaluation are shown in **boldface** font.

# ANNEX 10: STATEMENT OF DIFFERENCES

The National Democratic Institute offered the following statement of differences for this evaluation report.

## **Evaluation Question 1 Finding: Parties have made some progress in the area of internal party democracy, but top-down hierarchical command-and-control remains the norm**

NDI would like to note that this finding does not speak to whether or not this finding represents significant progress or falls short of program expectations. NDI has a Party Profile Tool which has been used to collect information on pre-identified dimensions on which SPPELP planned to improve party performance. This tool has been shared with USAID and shows how SPPELP defined internal democracy and how the program has contributed to results within each pre-identified dimension. Though SPPELP did not assume that all parties would be fully internally democratic at the end of the program, this tool lays out the program's assumptions as it relates to internal democracy.

## **Evaluation Question 1 Further Reflections on Party Development**

CAMRIS mandate was to look at the 6.5 years of SPPELP, and not NDI's entire history in Nepal. It doesn't seem relevant to talk about prior programming.

## **Evaluation Question 5 Finding: An internship project did not materialize**

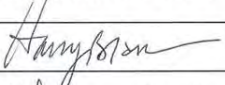
NDI would like to note that the initial internship program did not materialize in year two due to various challenges in the political context, such as the dissolution of the parliament in 2012, and the willingness of the Secretariat to move on with this aspect of the program on the ground that it would be difficult to have it in place within the Secretariat. This program however was modified in approach to have it managed through a Dayitwa Fellowship Program that paired 10 fellows with selected MPs.

# ANNEX 11. CONFLICT OF INTEREST DISCLOSURE STATEMENTS

<b>Name</b>	Harry Blair
<b>Title</b>	Senior Research Scholar, South Asian Studies Center, Yale University
<b>Organization</b>	CAMRIS International
<b>Evaluation Position?</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Team Leader <input type="checkbox"/> Team member
<b>Evaluation Award Number X</b> <i>(contract or other instrument)</i>	AID-367-C-15-00001
<b>USAID Project(s) Evaluated</b> <i>(Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)</i>	Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes Project (SPPELP), Nepal
<b>I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
<b>If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts:</b> <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with	

<p><i>the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</i></p> <p>6. <i>Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.</i></p>	
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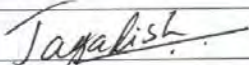
I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change. If I gain access to proprietary information of other companies, then I agree to protect their information from unauthorized use or disclosure for as long as it remains proprietary and refrain from using the information for any purpose other than that for which it was furnished.

<b>Signature</b>	
<b>Date</b>	11 January 2017

<b>Name</b>	JAGADISH C. POKHAREL
<b>Title</b>	Planning Consultant
<b>Organization</b>	CAMRIS International
<b>Evaluation Position?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Team Leader <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Deputy Team Leader <input type="checkbox"/> Team member
<b>Evaluation Award Number X</b> <i>(contract or other instrument)</i>	AID-367-C-15-00001
<b>USAID Project(s) Evaluated</b> <i>(Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)</i>	Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes Project (SPPELP), Nepal
<b>I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
<b>If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts:</b> <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</li> <li>2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation.</li> <li>3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project.</li> <li>4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</li> <li>5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen</li> </ol>	

<p>as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</p> <p>6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.</p>	
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I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change. If I gain access to proprietary information of other companies, then I agree to protect their information from unauthorized use or disclosure for as long as it remains proprietary and refrain from using the information for any purpose other than that for which it was furnished.

Signature	
Date	January 13, 2017



<b>Name</b>	Ajaya Bhadra Khanal
<b>Title</b>	Consultant
<b>Organization</b>	CAMRIS International
<b>Evaluation Position?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Team Leader <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Team member
<b>Evaluation Award Number X (contract or other instrument)</b>	AID-367-C-15-00001
<b>USAID Project(s) Evaluated (Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)</b>	Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes Project (SPPELP), Nepal
<b>I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
<b>If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</li> <li>2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation.</li> <li>3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project.</li> <li>4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</li> <li>5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</li> <li>6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and</li> </ol>	

that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.

6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.

I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change. If I gain access to proprietary information of other companies, then I agree to protect their information from unauthorized use or disclosure for as long as it remains proprietary and refrain from using the information for any purpose other than that for which it was furnished.

Signature
Date

*Amy Lehana*

December 23, 2016

<b>Name</b>	Anamika Pradhan
<b>Title</b>	Consultant
<b>Organization</b>	CAMRIS International
<b>Evaluation Position?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Team Leader <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Team member
<b>Evaluation Award Number</b> <i>X (contract or other instrument)</i>	AID-367-C-15-00001
<b>USAID Project(s) Evaluated</b> <i>(Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)</i>	Strengthening Political Parties, Electoral and Legislative Processes Project (SPPELP), Nepal
<b>I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
<b>If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts:</b> <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</li> <li>2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation.</li> <li>3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project.</li> <li>4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing</li> </ol>	

<p><i>organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</i></p> <p>5. <i>Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated.</i></p> <p>6. <i>Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.</i></p>	
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<b>Signature</b>	
<b>Date</b>	13 Jan 2017