



## FINAL REPORT FORM for WACC-SUPPORTED PROJECT

This document is for end-of-project reporting. It has two parts: a) Narrative Report; b) Financial Report.

You will need to refer to your Project Application Form, the Agreement with WACC, and your bank statement when completing this form. Please return it with supporting documents and materials to WACC. Please answer the questions as fully as possible.

### THE NARRATIVE REPORT

<b>1. Project Title:</b> (as appeared in the Agreement)	Conflict Transformation and Peace Building
<b>2. Project Reference Number:</b> (as appeared in the Agreement)	xS21-09
<b>3. Full Name of Project Holder:</b>	<a href="#">Subaltern Forum</a>
<b>4. Full Address:</b>	GPO Box 8978 CPC 58, Kathmandu, Nepal Email: <a href="mailto:mail@simant.co.cc">mail@simant.co.cc</a> , <a href="mailto:subalternforum@gmail.com">subalternforum@gmail.com</a> Website: <a href="http://www.subalternforum.co.cc">www.subalternforum.co.cc</a>
<b>5. Name of Country:</b>	Nepal
<b>6. Period the project was implemented:</b> (from month/year to month/year)	January 2008 to June 2008
<b>7. Project Grant received:</b>	Amount in local currency: 455,400  Amount in <u>Euros</u> or US\$ (circle as appropriate): 5,000
<b>8. Date(s) Project Grant(s) were received:</b> (as in your bank statement) 1 <sup>st</sup> remittance 2 <sup>nd</sup> remittance	January 26 NA

## 9. Activities

Give a summary of the major activities carried out during the reporting period in comparison with those planned. In case of changes from the original objectives, please explain the reasons.

Please describe in detail the activities of the project that were implemented such as content of production, programmes, workshops or training

**9.1 If the project is a workshop, seminar, or consultation, please attach the list of participants, the themes/topics of their speeches/papers, and any statement, declaration, or book published.**

**9.2 If the project is primarily purchase of equipment, please describe what kind of impact / change the equipment is bringing to the beneficiaries.**

=====

We at the [Subaltern Forum](#) are highly excited to have achieved the expected outcome from the WACC-supported project “Conflict Transformation and Peace Building- xS21-09” which included a fortnightly radio program. The program was designed with an objective to “facilitate the current peace process in Nepal and citizens' understanding of and involvement in establishing a Constituent Assembly”.

We are glad to report—after almost six months from the date we started the program—that the radio program played a significant role in establishing Constituent Assembly (CA), and thus the peace process, through different awareness raising interactions, drama, and public discussions. Today, Nepal and its peace-loving people stand victorious as they have successfully held the Constituent Assembly elections (which were twice deferred) and brought in the armed rebels in the democratic mainstream. The ex-rebels’ journey from BULLETS TO BALLOTS was not so easy, however. The strong civil society which included the vibrant media like our program played a crucial role in holding the conflicting parties committed to peace.

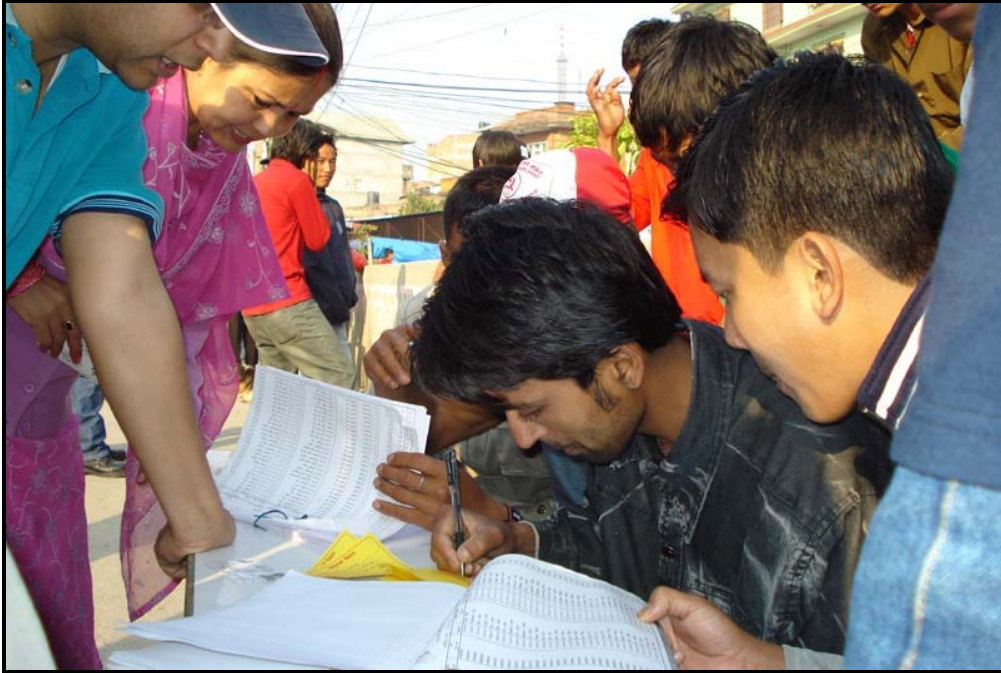


*Figure 1 Voters in the line in the Election Day*

We started our program focusing mainly on the April 10 Constituent Assembly elections. Though the Seven-Party Alliance (SPA) declared the election date for the third time, there was widespread doubt that the election will be held on the slated date. The new forces that emerged in the days after the government and the Maoists signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, such as the Madhesis (represent the people living in the southern plains bordering India) and indigenous/ethnic groups, were agitating raising their own demands which included guarantee of federal and autonomous states with the right to self-determination. The Maoists had pulled out of the government and again

brought back but still they were also raising some demands which included declaration of republic before the CA election, and a fully proportionate electoral system.

Besides, the next challenge for the government was to improve security situation which was worsening due to the Madhes Movement in the southern plains and the Maoist cadres' (mainly their newly formed/organized paramilitary force namely the Young Communist League-YCL) acts of intimidation, forced donation and extortion, murder, kidnapping, threatening, beating etc. The supply system of the country was completely affected by the protests of different disgruntled groups which most of the times resorted to highway blockades and traffic disruption.



*Figure 2: Agents of parties checking voters' name list on the Election Day*

Besides, there were more than a dozen of armed outfits operating underground in the southern belt (the Madhes or Tarai) who were killing, abducting, intimidating and working toward cleansing of Nepalis of hill-origin from the Madhes. A kind of nascent communal violence was spurred. So at the time we started our radio program we had to face mainly five major issues:

1. The agitation in the southern belt by the newly-established regional parties demanding for independent federal states with right to self-determination, without fulfilment of which they would not participate in the CA election; rather they were determined to disrupt the elections if their demand were not met.
2. The demands of the CPN (Maoist) for declaration of republic before the CA election and the likes
3. The nationwide criminal activities and atrocities of the Maoist cadres, mainly the YCL
4. Murder and abduction of hill-origin Nepalis in the southern plains by underground armed outfits who were demanding separate state.

5. Agitation of the ethnic minority groups who were against the Madhesis of the southern belt who were demanding a single state in the entire Madhes (the plains).
6. Worsening supply systems (daily needed consumer goods/facilities were going scares. Scarcity of petrol, food, transport, electricity, drinking water, etc.)
7. Worsening security condition
8. Disagreement among major political parties on different issues such as electoral system, declaration of republic, demands of different groups etc



*Figure 3: Police trying to control riots during strikes in Nepal. A policeperson is taking away a tyre meant for burning from the hands of protestors.*

Under these circumstances the radio program tried to penetrate every important issue that could have affected the holding of the CA elections on April 10<sup>th</sup> 2008. The program tried to strike directly in the head with the nail: it brought the leaders of conflicting parties/groups/forces in the radio program, make them speak directly to the public, and answer questions that they are responsible to respond. We conducted a series of discussion and interaction programs bringing almost all major leaders of all political/non-political forces/parties. To summarize in totality our program adopted different models to achieve our objective, which were:

1. Bringing the leaders of agitating political parties/forces in the radio program and taking their interviews
2. Informative discussions and interviews with non-political leaders of civil society, constitutional experts, experts of state-building, arms and army management etc
3. Highlighting the voices of general public, victim of conflict, students, men and women who are directly or indirectly affected by the political developments taking place in the country
4. Correct analysis of the current developments, activities and progress of the overall peace process



5. Dissemination of messages from distinguished personalities who are respected and are popular in Nepali society
6. Broadcasting of songs which contain messages for peace, reconciliation, truth, justice, democracy and unity
7. Production and broadcasting of radio drama to raise voters' awareness on Constituent Assembly elections
8. Production of field based feature reports describing the situation of different areas focusing on the theme of peace and conflict transformation

The program, therefore, as a whole is a combination of a varied materials rich of information and analysis. The episode-wide description of the radio program is presented below:

### ***Episode 1***

The program was focused on the rights and **Concerns of the SUBALTERN Community** of Nepal because it has witnessed a long history of its social, political, and economic exclusion. The program attempted to bring to light the concerns/demands of the subaltern society. What are their concerns that are to be addressed through the upcoming Constituent Assembly elections, before the assembly, and in the assembly itself? The caste system, ethnic discrimination, poor governance and the concentration of influential elites in the capital have led to discriminatory policies and regional imbalances in government spending. The systemic exclusion has caused deep dissatisfaction among marginalized communities, who have long seen the state as an entity that extracts rents and distributes patronage, but provides few services to them. The resulting alienation has been one of the major underlying sources of violent conflict in Nepal. From their rural strongholds, the Maoists had capitalized on local grievances to join their insurgency.

At a time when the entire country was agitating to press forward the demands of different groups, the issues of the subaltern community are ignored and suppressed. As they are the minority they could neither raise their voices through street protests, which has been a bad precedent set by the political parties, there were chances that their agendas would be again sidelined. So we designed an interactive program which brought together representatives from the judiciary, law, civil society, indigenous community, Dalit society, students, women's rights groups and journalists. The main guests in the program were Ranjeu Sharma who represents the Maithala Samaj, an organization righting for the subaltern community in the tarai, Oum Gurungs, who represents the National Janjati Aadibashi Samaj, which has been struggling for the rights of the indigenous people of Nepal and some students, journalists and others.

The speakers in the interaction came to a conclusion that the state and the political parties have been till date intentionally marginalizing the SUBALTERN groups and when it comes to fulfilling the demands of the deprived community they cannot and should not escape blaming the Subaltern community that they are themselves divided within. The state should respect the rights of the dalits and marginalized groups and that is possible through adoption of a *fully proportional electoral system*, through increasing the dalit and marginalized people's *access to the judiciary* and justice, guarantee of marginalized

people's rights through *reservation* in the new constitution itself, increasing the participation of the representative from deprived community in the decision-making, policy-making level and the likes.

The program after the interaction was closed with the notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

### ***Episode 2***

The episode of the radio program began with the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction. The theme therefore was Peace Stakeholders' Preparation for the Constituent Assembly Elections and on Truth and Reconciliation Commission which is coordinated by the ministry. The program therefore included following materials:

- An exclusive interview with Shyam Sundar Sharma, Spokesperson and Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction. He was inquired on the ministry's preparation for the CA election, progress on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, dialogue with the agitating forces to ensure that the April 10 election will be held.



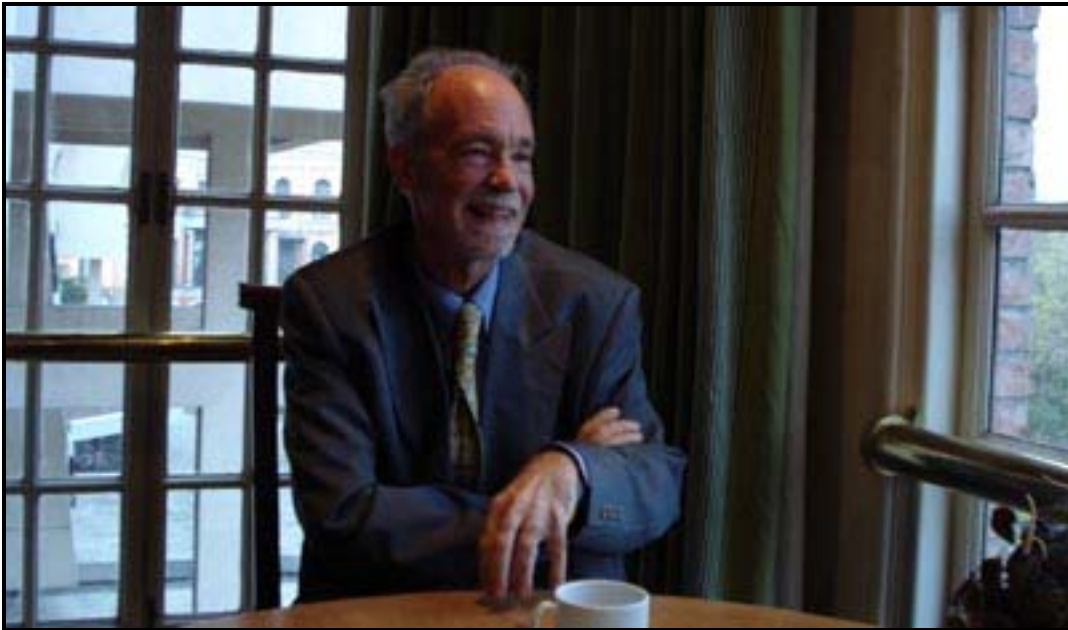
- A field-based radio feature report on the worsening supply system of the country. The feature included views and opinions of Tritha Bahadur Karki, Jyoti Baniya, General Secretary of Consumers Federation, Ichha Bikram Thapa, spokesperson of NOC and some other journalists.
- Voices of general public on what should be done to establish a sustainable peace in the country. The layers, students, civil society workers, professors and common citizens' voices were included.
- Question of the week: What the Seven Political Parties should do to successfully hold the CA election in the scheduled date, i.e. April 10?

- A song on restructuring of the state
- Closing notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

(Photo: Shyam Sundar Sharma, spokesperson of Ministry for Peace posing for a photo after speaking to the Radio program)

### *Episode 3*

The episode focused on voter's awareness on CA election and its procedures and international community's observation and analysis of the ongoing Nepali peace process and the roles they could play in making it successful. The episode incorporated following materials:



- An exclusive interview with Malcom David, Canadian Ambassador to Nepal and Bhutan and High Commissioner to India. The interview was focused on lessons Nepal could take from Canadian experience of federalism and democracy, Canadian and international community's support to Nepali peace process and their observations and suggestions. In his interview, David stressed that stability in democracy results from compromises made by different powerful parties represented in the parliament or not represented in the parliament and that the habit of compromise is the most interesting thing about ancient parliament. The interview was taken and translated by Kamal Raj Sigdel and popular media personality Shree Thapa gave Nepali voice to Mr David's interview.
- In the second part of the program we included a **drama on electorate's education** prior to CA election. The drama presented two groups of people, one interested and conscious about the importance of taking part in the CA election and the other indifferent toward it. The former convinces the latter about the value of the election and its methods. There were different characters constructed in the drama. The drama was well received by the audience. We got many letters appreciating the drama.

- Closing notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

(Photo: Ambassador Malone M David speaking to the Radio program)

#### ***Episode 4***

In the wake of criticism from the media and the civil society about certain political parties' disrespect to the **Election Code of Conduct**, the episode featured a field-based radio report on whether the contesting political parties are complying with the election code of conduct in the remote districts such as Banke and Bardiya of the Mid Western Nepal. The report was prepared by our team that visited the districts which were mostly affected by insecurity, extortion, intimidation, and were reported to have a very unfavourable environment for other than the Maoist parties to do electioneering. The report involved local District Election Commoners, election officers at the district headquarters of the field districts, local people, leaders of political parties in the districts and local journalists.

Voices of general public on what differences they have perceived between earlier elections and this CA election and on activities of the political parties during electioneering was also an interesting part of the program. People speaking different local languages were given space. Most of the respondents said that the politicians have not come to teach them what this CA election means, how it is different from other general elections held earlier.

The third material for the program was a feature report on the interrelation between unemployment and conflict in reference to youth's rush for Korea employment. The government called for application from interested youth to work in Korea there were 5000 quotas where more than 100,000 youth queued for submitting their application. What impact does this have on the country's peace process when the CA election is scheduled to be held in April 10? **How are unemployment and conflict interrelated?** What it means to be unemployed in a post-conflict situation? There were the questions which were sought answer in the report.

#### ***Episode 5***

The theme of the episode was State **Restructuring and the Issues of Federalism**. There were new complications arising in the pre-election days as the parties had no clear vision on state restructuring issues. In this context we brought Dr Nilamber Acharya, a senior



political analyst and a leader of the civil society to talk on current issues.



So the program included following materials:

- Program introduction, notice about the broadcasting FM stations and time.
- An analysis of contemporary developments/activities and progress made along the peace process.
- Radio interview with Dr. Nilamber Acharya focusing on the roles and responsibilities of the political parties contesting the Constituent Assembly elections.
- Closing notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

(Photo: Nilamber Acharya speaking to the Radio program)

### ***Episode 6***

The theme of the episode was “**STATE RESTRUCTURING: FEDERALISM VS UNITARY SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE**”. As the country was soon going to opt for a federal system of government experts on state building and constitution writing were called for an interaction and debate on this issue to access the pros and cons of any possible decision and precautions to be taken by the political parties. The program included following materials:

- An exclusive interview with Vimarjun Acharya, a constitutional lawyer and expert who has been advocating against federal system of government and Daman Nath Dhungana, former Speaker of the House, constitutional expert, one of the members writing the constitution of 1990, a respected figure who played major role in bringing the Maoists in the dialogue with the government while they were still in the armed struggle. Dhungana is currently is heading the Civil Society’s

election observation committee. The talks were concentrated on the April 10 election, its fairness, post-election scenario, state restructuring, federalism and unitary system of government, their pros and cons etc.

- Voices of general public specially the college students on the roles of the political parties in the new context
- A national song
- Closing notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

### *Episode 7*

The theme of the episode was **“WOMEN IN FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES”**. The program was exclusively devoted on this very theme.

The CA election of the April 10 was historic not only because it was first of its kind but also because of its results which brought a record breaking number of women representatives in the Constituent Assembly. Excited by the achievement, we prepared an exclusive special program focusing on the role of the elected women representatives, their stand in the federal state, whether federal structure is beneficial for them or not, the agendas the women representative will raise in the CA etc.



The women and men to take part in the interaction were Ms Suprabha Ghimire, elected representative of the Nepali Congress party, Ms Sapana Mall Pradhan, a leading women's rights activist and layers well known in the entire South Asia who is nominated from the CPN-UML party as a CA member in the proportional system,



Ms Prativa Subedi, Chairperson of Nari Chetana Kendra and a leading women rights activist, Mr Vimarjun Acharya, leading constitutional lawyer who says federalism does not benefit women, Ms Tomma Lama, a subaltern journalist who came from remote Himalayan Mugu district, Ms Pregya Basyal, coordinator of the Women in Good Governance. The program was highly appreciated and well received among the women's groups in particular. (Photos: 1 Pragya Basyal talking to Karun Pokhrel, 2 Prativa Subedi talking to Karuna Pokhrel, 3 Suprabha Ghimire talking to KR Sigdel, 4 Suprabha Ghimire speaking to radio program.)

### ***Episode 8***

The central theme of the episode was “**ARMY INTEGRATION: THE NEXT CHALLENGE**”. After the successful holding of the April 10 CA elections, there were two major challenges facing the country: one was integration of armies and another was geographical division of federal states. In the post election-period, for many the results were unexpected because the erstwhile biggest parties had to suffer humiliating defeats. In this context, we prepared the program focusing on the issue of army management/integration and future course of Nepali politics. So the program included following materials:

- Program introduction, notice about the broadcasting FM stations and time.
- An analysis of contemporary developments/activities and progress made along the peace process.
- An exclusive radio report on current challenges and issues on management/integration of Maoists People's Liberation Army (PLAs) currently kept in UN monitored cantonments.
- Radio interview with Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi focusing on challenges/hurdles on the post-election scenario.
- Closing notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

### ***Episode 9***

The theme of the program was “**NEPAL'S TRANSITION FROM MONARCHY TO A FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**”. The CA was prepared to declare Nepal a federal republic ending the 240-year old institution of



monarchy. At this time, there were several speculations over possible reaction by the King Gyanendra who once staged coup by taking direct control of the government and by putting most of the political leaders on house arrest. The major force that could make difference, the Nepal Army which was supposed to be loyal to the king was still enjoying the benefit of doubt and was feared to take over to save the king and the monarchy. In this context, we tried meeting the king for an interview, but he was not willing to talk to the media. So we selected Kamal Thapa, the closest and most trusted man of the king, who was also the Home Minister in the government formed under the King's chairmanship. Our team went to Kamal Thapa's residence to take the interview. He warned that if the CA decided to abolish the 240-year old institution of monarchy without a referendum, either the Nepal Army or the Maoists will take over. The whole program was exclusive and it included his interview. (Photo: Kamal Thapa speaking to the Radio program)

### *Episode 10*

The theme of the program was **MADHESI ISSUES IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY**. At a time the Madhesi parties were warning that they would start another phase of their protest/movement if the past agreements signed with them were not fulfilled, the program included an exclusive interview/interaction with Upendra Yadav,



the leader of largest party in Madhes and Madhesi journalists.



Upendra Yadav is elected Constituent Assembly (CA) member from Sunsari-5 and Morang-5. He is Chairman of the Madhesi People's Rights Forum (MPRF), the largest Madhesi party, which was the initiator of the Madhes movement. Yadav came into the limelight when he launched the Madhes agitation after the Maoists signed the Comprehensive Peace Accord. Against a backdrop of the two phases of the powerful Madhes agitation, Yadav stands out as a victor leading the fourth largest party in the new political makeup. At a time when the Maoists were preparing to lead a coalition government, Yadav spoke to our team on the possibilities of future power sharing and the contentious Madhesi issues. The program was well received in the Madhes and Pahad. (Photo: Upendra Yadav speaking to the Radio program)

### ***Episode 11***

The program was focused on **INTERNAL DEMOCRACY** in Nepal's political parties as most of the democratic parties, let alone the newly transitioned Maoists, in Nepal are said to lack democratic system within their party. In this context, our program took an exclusive interview with Narahari Acharya, the most progressive leader of the Nepali



Congress who have been advocating



for intra-party democracy not only in his party but also in all democratic parties in order to establish a healthy democracy and peace in Nepal. The episode comprised of:

- Program introduction, notice about the broadcasting FM stations and time.
- An analysis of contemporary developments/activities and progress made along the peace process.
- Radio interview with Narahari Acharya focusing on the issue of internal democracy in the democratic parties for a healthy democracy in the country.
- Closing notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

(Photo: Narahari Acharya speaking to the Radio program)

### ***Episode 12***

The program made the “**MADHES POLITICS AND MAOIST ATROCITIES: ENDING ANTAGONISM**” its theme. Our first guest for the program was Hridayesh Tripathi, former minister of industry, commerce and supplies, and a senior leader of the Tarai Madhes Democratic Party (TMDP) – the youngest party to contest in the CA polls held last April. He is elected to the CA from Nawalparasi-5. Tripathi was with the Nepal Sadbhavana Party (Anandidevi) before he and Mahanta Thakur of the Nepali Congress broke away to form the TMDP last year in the wake of the Madhes Andolan. Tripathi spoke to our team on a range of issues concerning his party's future plans and role in the soon-to-be-formed Maoist-led government, constitutional amendment, army integration, Madhesi agenda in the CA and armed outfits operating in the tarai. Tripathi stressed that the Madhesi forces/parties would only cooperate/support the Maoists in forming the new

government under their leadership only when the latter guarantees to fulfil the demands of the Madhes, stops the Maoist sister organization YCL's atrocities, and commits to implement the past agreements made with the government.

In the second part of the program we focused on the alleged Maoist/YCL atrocities on other political parties. The parties have been unable to form a new coalition government two months after the CA election. The Young Communist League, a sister organization of the CPN (Maoist) formed after their PLAs were confined in the UN-monitored cantonments, has been the bone of contention in the formation of a new government under Maoists leadership, which has emerged as the largest party. The YCL is blamed and criticized for taking laws in their hands and committing crimes such as abduction, murder, intimidation, extortion of other political parties' cadres. Therefore, the parties like the Nepali Congress and the CPN-UML have been demanding for dissolution of the YCL as a paramilitary force as a precondition to form the Maoist leads government. But the YCL and the Maoists are not in a mood to dissolve the organization. Under such



condition our program team met with the chief of the YCL and took an interview. So the program contained:

- Program introduction, notice about the broadcasting FM stations and time.
- Radio Interview with Hridiyash Tripathi, Senior leader, TMDP on the new tensions in the Madhes
- Radio interview with YCL Chief, Ganesh Man Pun focusing on any possibilities for its reform or dissolution, its future course, its structure and the need for making a common youth organization to work for a common cause to bring peace

in the country. While speaking to us, he committed to stop YCL atrocities, stop his cadres from occupying government buildings; initiate talks with other parties' sister organizations, youth and student organizations for collaboration and joint action to institutionalize a lasting peace in the country.

- Closing notice about the program time, FM stations and program production team and closing of the program.

(Photo: YCL Chief Ganesh Man Pun speaking to the Radio program)

## 10. Was the project successful? (If possible, please give measurable indicators.)

The project was successful at it touched and addressed the issues of almost all audience ranging from the Madhesis of the southern belt, hill-based Nepalis of the remote far west and mid west, the ethnic communities, indigenous groups, women and students. The project's success could be better seen in the following tabular presentation:

Objectives	Indicators	Indicators
1. To raise general public awareness on the true democratic process of the CA	Most of the episodes were produced focusing on the objective to raise general public awareness on the process of CA. The responses of our audience have shown that their level of awareness increased due to our program.	The evaluation report (presented below) shows that 100% of the respondent felt that their understanding/awareness has been increased. (See Evaluation Report)
2. To stimulate the general public to assert their rights in different phases of the CA	The program encouraged the ethnic minorities, indigenous groups while discourage the armed outfits in its programs. Through different field-based reports and analysis, the radio program stimulated the public to assert their rights.	As per the evaluation report, of the inquired audiences from different areas, 76% responded that the program helped them fully, 21% responded it helped partially and only 3 % don't agree that the radio program helped raise their voices.
3. To ensure the active and meaningful participation of local communities in the whole process of CA, including while writing the new constitution	On each new political development the program was responsive and it prepared features and interviews with a view to ensuring active and meaningful participation of local communities in the whole process of CA.	In the given duration, almost all communities fighting for their rights were involved directly in the program through interviews, reports, analysis, editorial etc. which certainly promoted/encouraged them for their active participation in different process of the CA, mainly in the elections.

## 11. Project Beneficiaries

Please describe the actual direct beneficiaries and indicate the number of women and men. Please also mention any indirect beneficiaries.

Beneficiaries	Description	Number
Direct: a) Marginalized groups (1,000,000) b) Local communities (5,000) and c) Women (10,000,000)	The episodes of the program focused on the rights of the marginalized groups such as the Madhesis and Janjatis. Voices of local communities were given priority in our field based reports. We produced special episodes dealing with the women issues after the CA elections and hold interaction with women elected leaders.	100 (Directly) 100,000 (Indirectly)
Indirect/Secondary Beneficiaries are a) Political Parties, (all parties, including 8 major parties) b) Civil Society Organizations (all) and c) Press (all)	The radio program invited almost all top leaders of seven plus other new political parties in its dialogue/interview. Our program was indeed a platform for the parties to discuss, put forward their agendas, and build consensus. Major leaders of the civil society actively participated in our radio program through interview and interactions. Journalists representing minorities and mainstream journalists took part in our discussions.	Political leaders: a dozen Civil society leaders: a dozen Media persons: half a dozen
General public having access to the chosen FM stations: Radio Audio FM, Kathmandu, Synergy FM, Chitwan, Radio Bageshori FM, Banke and Khaptad FM, Dhangadi	The total number of audiences listening to the local FM stations, particularly the four selected ones	Approx. 200,000
Political Parties	The issues of the conflicting parties get space in the media with an objective to reconcile them.	1. The Seven Political Parties 2. The CPN(Maoist) 3. New parties from Madhes 4. Indigenous community 5. Women's group

**12. How have the beneficiaries reacted to the programme activities? What were the impacts of the project and different effects on women and men in the project?**

The program had become so significant and influential that some of the political and non-political forces agitating for their rights requested us to place their voices in our program. The groups about which the program dealt in its different episodes contacted us by phone and appreciated our effort to present things correctly and in a positive manner.

The audiences reacted to the program through phone, letters and personal meeting while in the field. Most of the regular audiences urged us to make the program weekly and make the program of one hour to include more discussions and direct voices of the audience through phone.

The program's impact was on the level of awareness among the general public about the Constituent Assembly and the overall peace process. The program had a visible impact on the overall peace process as it helped at large in the peaceful transition of the country to a federal republic after ending the 240-year old institution of monarchy. The program played a role of a facilitator, information disseminator, and also as a lobbying civil society for the responsible political leaders who were the decision makers as the program carried the strong voices of the people and the civil society intelligencia.

### **13. Outcome and Outputs of the project: What has your project achieved and what has changed?**

If your project produced media, please send a sample copy of audio/video cassettes, CD, VCD, or DVD and label it with title, duration, language used, and date of production. If you can, please send photos with informative captions (digital photos, if possible), newspaper/radio clips, homepage links, etc.

The major outcome of the radio program is its success in meeting its objective of "facilitating the current peace process in Nepal and citizens' understanding of and involvement in establishing a Constituent Assembly". We have achieved both the objective: the successful holding of the Constituent Assembly election and increased level of understanding of general public on the process of Constituent Assembly.

As the concrete outcome of the program we have 12 episodes of radio program which are stored in CD and sent to WACC. We have a detailed report and many photos (some of them have been already sent) from the field while preparing the program. Besides, the program has significantly increased the capacity and competence of Subaltern Forum and its members in carrying out projects in the media sector. The program has also helped us expand our network with the media and other organizations working in the field of peace and development in subaltern/remote areas of Nepal. We have posted some of the details from the experience of this project in our website: [www.subalternforum.co.cc](http://www.subalternforum.co.cc)

## **14. Evaluation**

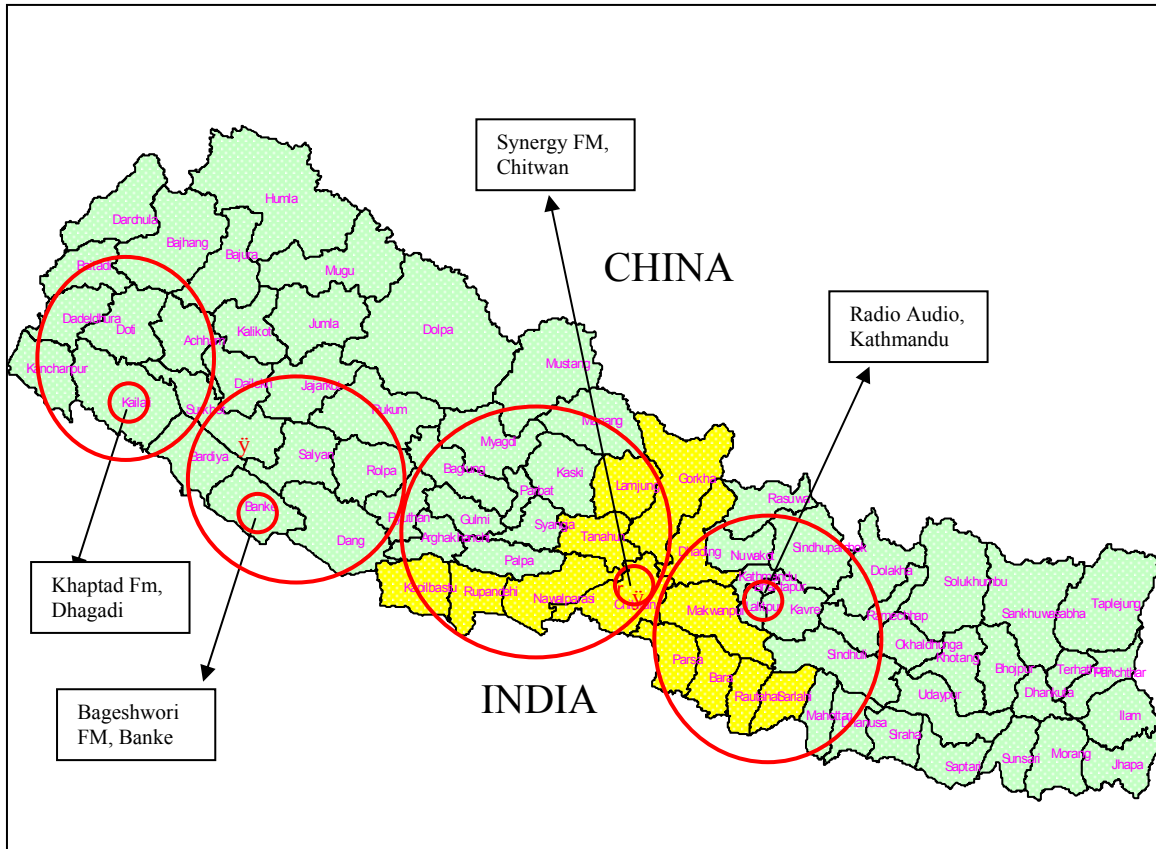
### **14.1 What were the results of evaluating the project?**

We used an evaluation questionnaire to evaluate our program. The questionnaire used in the last year was reused this year also. Besides, it is visible openly that the program played crucial role in making peaceful transition successful, our evaluation of the project has given us very positive results.

A questionnaire that we had prepared for the first time in evaluating the first program supported by WACC was used after some modification in evaluation of the second



program supported by WACC. We distributed 100 copies of the evaluation questionnaire among our audiences in the vicinity of the selected four FM stations, namely Radio Audio FM, Kathmandu, Synergy FM, Chitwan, Radio Bageshwori FM, Banke and Khaptad FM, Dhangadi. The areas are presented in the map below:



The encircled areas are the coverage area of the FM stations.

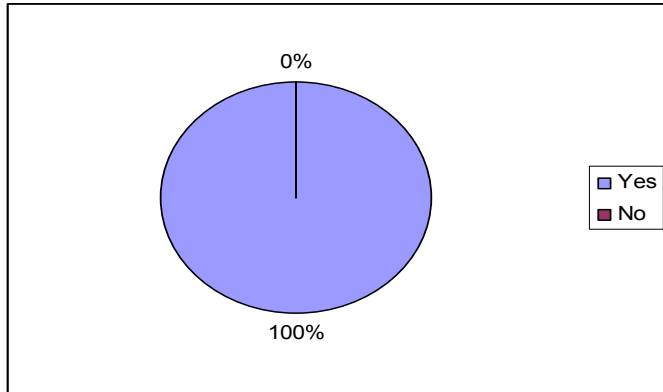
## **RESULTS of EVALUATION**

*(The following are the final results derived after compiling respondents' responses in the given questionnaire. The questionnaire was in Nepali language.)*

### **1 Have you heard about any radio program on Peace Building and Conflict Management?**

Yes: 100

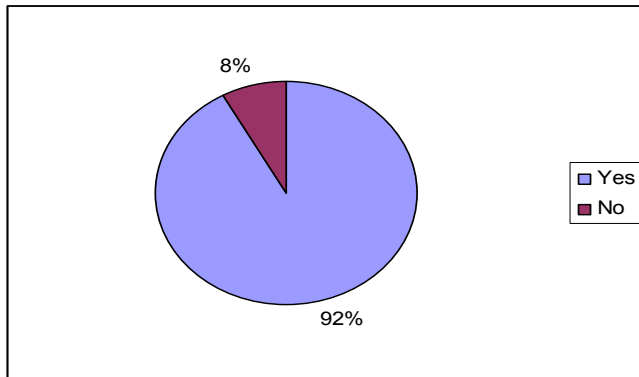
No: 0



### **2 Have you heard the radio program "Naya Nepal" in you local FM station? Do you hear it regularly?**

Yes: 92 (Regularly: 62, Sometimes only: 30)

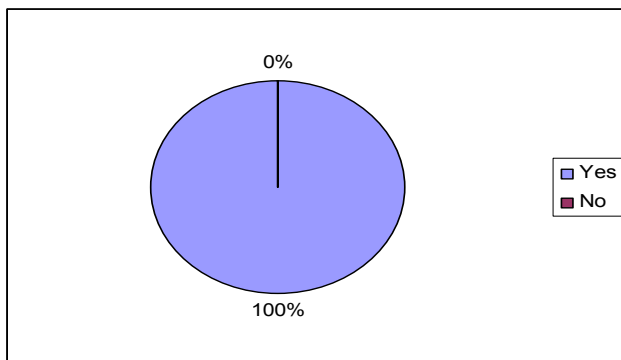
No: 8



### **3. Do you think the radio program "Naya Nepal" helped increase your understanding on the process of Constituent Assembly and the country's ongoing peace process?**

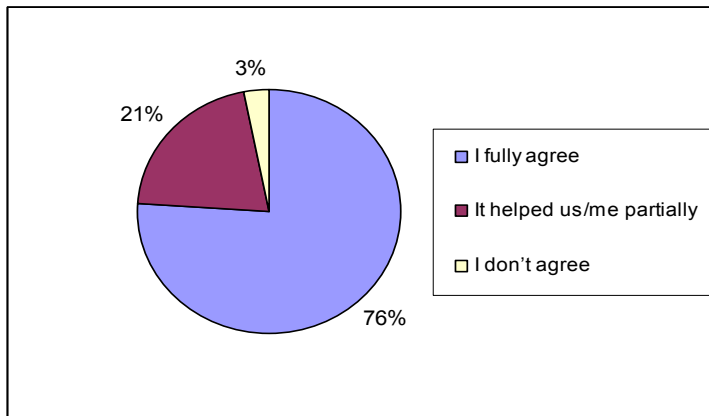
Yes: 100

No: 0



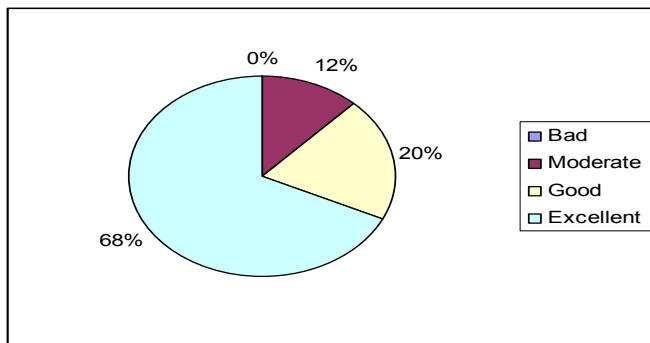
**4. Do you agree that the radio program helped assert or raise your voices for your or your community's genuine rights in course of the peace process?**

I fully agree: 76      It helped us/me partially: 21      I don't agree: 3



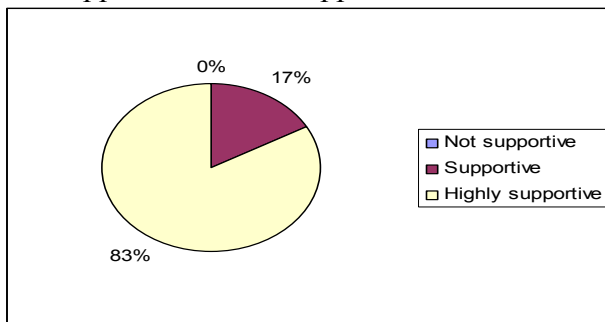
**5. What is your personal evaluation of the program?**

Bad: 0      Moderate: 0      Good: 12      Interesting: 20      Excellent: 68



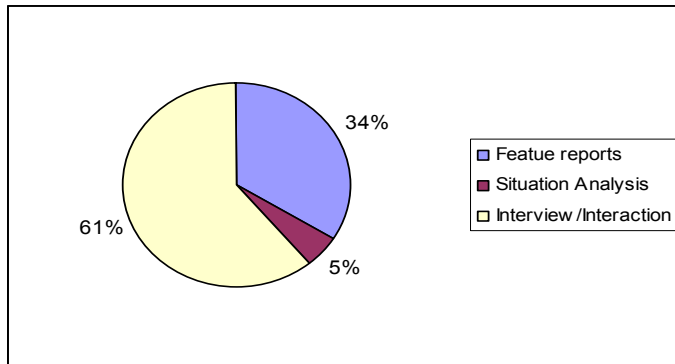
**6. How much supportive do you find the program to the country's ongoing peace process?**

Not supportive: 0      Supportive: 17      Highly supportive: 83



**7. Which section of the program do you find most interesting/effective?**

Feature Reports: 34, Situation analysis/Update: 5, Interview/interaction/discussions: 61



### 8. What improvements should be made to the program?

- Make the program on weekly basis (48 respondents)
- Increase the time form 30 minutes to 60minues and add discussions (24 respondents)
- Start phone-in sections where we can ask questions to our CA members (17 respondents)
- Make interviews more personal and informal than formal and political
- Voices of people in eastern Nepal are not included
- Letters of the audience are not given space in the program. Make a separate section for letters.
- Program should be more informative
- Take interviews of internationally acclaimed scholars on federalism, state building, conflict experts from INGOs, UN, EU and other organizations working in peace building
- Include more subaltern leaders and people
- Change the signing/signature tune of the program
- Keep a promo/ad about the program and its time and theme before the program goes on-air through the same FM stations
- In our community there are several cases/crimes that happened during the past one decade of conflict, which are never reported, please report them accurately.

**14.2 What were the challenges, difficulties, and/or failures in carrying out the project? Please explain how you addressed these issues.**

Increasing insecurity during the time before the CA elections was the major challenge for the journalist. Several journalist had to suffer from this, many of them were abducted, intimidated, extorted, some three were killed by different agitating armed outfits both in the southern belt and hills. It was risky to travel to remote villages where there was no presence of security. The team faced this challenge by being familiar with all the agitating groups, by winning their confidence and being close to local community. Our team was recognized by most of the leaders and communities across the country. We got cooperation from people and leaders wherever we went in course of our field visit for program production.

Travel to and from the recording station was again the major challenge, especially during the pre-election time when there were agitations and blockades. We addressed this challenge by arrange our field visits considering the mobility of traffic and schedules of strikes in the highway.

Limited budget was again the challenge for the journalists involved in the program to produce episodes, go for field visits, hire recording stations, and broadcast programs. The radio program production team addressed this challenge by being economical and doing many things on volunteer basis.

**15. Other comments, if any.**


**16. Name of the person submitting the report:**

**Kamal Raj Sigdel**

**Position: Program Coordinator**

**Date: July 9, 2008**

**Signature:**



=====



## ANNEXES

### **ANNEX 1. Sample of our radio program translated into English**

Radio Program *Naya Nepal* for Peace and Development

Presented by SUBALTERN FORUM with the support from WACC

#### **Signature Music and Program Introduction**

**Ajit:** Nameste! Welcome to Naya Nepal. Naya Nepal is a radio program committed to the cause of peace and development. In this program, we focus on Nepal's efforts to establish peace and democracy. The program is dedicated to the peace process that started after the end of the decade-long armed conflict. It is a presentation of Subaltern Forum.

Outside Kathmandu, you can listen to the program from different FM stations across the country. Let us start today's program.

**Menaka:** Today's episode features Malone M David, Canadian Ambassador to Nepal and Bhutan, and Canadian High-Commissioner to India. Coordinator Kamal Raj Sigdel talks with David over issues concerning Nepal's peace process, Nepali democracy, state restructuring and federalism vis-à-vis Canadian experience of being a federation, support of Canadian Government and international community, and the upcoming Constituent Assembly elections.

#### **Sigdel: Do you foresee that Nepal will be able to restore peace?**

**David:** I hope so. It depends entirely on the politicians. You don't waive the magic wand and hope the stability infused. Stability in democracy results from compromises made by different powerful parties represented in the parliament or not represented in the parliament. The habit of compromise is the most interesting thing about ancient parliament that parties that swore they'd never support this or that measure one day end up supporting them because they think something else is even more important.

I think Nepal is not there yet. The habit of compromise is not deeply ingrained; what is deeply ingrained is a sense amongst the people and they're right because they have not received their due and they are increasingly angry, willing to demonstrate, disrupt the economy, which sets them back further, of course ... but perfectly a logical expression of popular unhappiness. The answer is the responsible politicians who are prepared to make compromises necessary to serve the people rather than their individual interests.

In the West, the system took too many centuries to evolve. It did not happen overnight. Our democracy is not perfect, we have lots of problems, but the quality of the problems is not so severe as the quality of the problems of Nepal.

So, am I hopeful? Yes. Am I optimistic? I'll be optimistic if the election takes place in the 10<sup>th</sup> of April, if the result of the election is accepted by the losers. Elections are very worrying for politicians because they are unpredictable. So the outcome of April 10 is tremendously important. If we have another postponement of the election the international community will be ready to give up on Nepal. Nepalis seem to take international support for granted. But actually no; there are many such countries around the world. So a government like Canadian government has to choose which country to invest its money in support of peace process.

#### **Sigdel: How is Canada helping Nepal restore peace in this situation?**

**David:** We are trying to do it in number of ways. First, our aid tends to target people rather than government and large institutions. But one large institution we admire very much is the Election Commission. Through the UN fund we have been supporting the EC directly. They are doing very well and for them the postponement of the election last time was deeply frustrating and by the way quite a lot of money was wasted. But mostly our aid in countries like Nepal and India is very people-centric. It is very difficult for a distant country like Canada to imagine, then plan and then implement a development program that would help some poor Nepalis.

<b>Sigdel: Do you think the losers will accept the election result?</b>
<p><b>David:</b> I don't know. I certainly hope they accept the results. That is the basis of democracy. But the alternatives for a party that is not keen on accepting an outcome are unattractive also. What you do? Do you create violence? That's a risky strategy. Do you withdraw to the hills and resume the war? Not easy, once you've been part of a government.</p> <p>So, that fact makes me quite optimistic. The study of what goes on in other countries is useful because insurgencies are rather alike. I am very much hopeful that Prachanda and his colleagues will see what support they have could be further eroded by strategy of non-acceptance of the results because my sense is the people here want the elation. The people here will accept the outcome of the election and will expect the parties too accept the outcome of the election. So, in that sense I am very optimistic.</p>
<b>Sigdel: You have experience of working in a federal structure. Nepal is also going federal. Some of the regional and ethnic/caste based forces have been demanding federal states with autonomy and right to self-determination. Some say that such demands are against the national welfare. What do think of these demands? Because Canada has also adopted a federal system of governance and Quebec and other provinces were granted autonomy when such demands were raised.</b>
<p><b>David:</b> It is very complicated. And it takes a lot of time to think about and negotiate. With Quebec, its current status in the federation of Canada is the very slow evolution over many years. It's easy to say a region is autonomous but what is the content of autonomy? In what way a region is autonomous? Does it deliver all the programs? Does it raise its own taxes? Does it stop asking the centre for more money? None of these has been thought about yet. And in Canada it took us a great deal of time to think about these things.</p> <p>Quebec is much more like every other Canadian province than it is different from them. The parliament of Canada has recognized Quebec as a nation because of its cultural identity, which is largely French. But if you look at the practical arrangements that govern Quebec, they are very similar to the ones that govern Ontario. What Quebec gets from Ottawa is pretty same what Ontario gets from Ottawa.</p> <p>So, I sympathize with the people of tarai because they have been marginalized for a long time. And nobody listened to them for a long time. But I think frankly there is no magic constitutional solution to their problem. If a new designation within the new Nepali federation, that is somehow distinct for the tarai, helps them psychologically that's good. Does no harm. But the people in the tarai and rest of Nepal need to think about the practical arrangements involved because they are the ones that affect development and growth.</p> <p>So the business in Canada of building our federation has been nearly as much a boring business than as it has been an exciting business of visionary leaders. That's why I say it is slow. So the people who think that the constituent assembly will be able very quickly solve all of Nepal's problems -- NO I don't think that is true. But it is important that they start.</p>
<b>Sigdel: Do you think Nepal should opt for the federal structure as this seems to be a very small country to be suited for a federal structure?</b>
<p><b>David:</b> It seems small to you because you live next to China and India. But actually ... 24/25 million people ... quite a big country. One of the most successful federations, Switzerland has only over six million people. So I don't think size determines whether a federation is successful. Whether Nepal should become a federation is something actually foreigners should not actually even officer advice on. It is something the Nepalis have to think about. It is clear that the past did not work well for Nepal. Whatever the arrangements in the past, you don't want to go back to them. But for the arrangements in the future Nepal, it has to come up with its own model. It won't be the model of Switzerland, Costa Rica or Westminster. And whether it is federal or not is much less important than the basic political understandings that are reached amongst the various important communities in this country and those don't have to be organized along</p>

federal lines at all. So I say a well-designed New Nepal is going to take some time.
<b>Sigdel: As you mentioned earlier that Canadian companies would be interested in investing in Nepal. What could be the areas of attraction for them?</b>
<p><b>David:</b> Provided there is stability there are many areas that would interest. For example a number of Canadian engineering firms have been very good at development of hydroelectricity and have done a lot of work in India. We are very good at some aspects of infrastructure, if, for example, Nepal decides of development of rail road, it is an area where we are doing a lot of business.</p> <p>We are a big mining country; it is very likely that Nepal is full of mineral wealth. I don't think Nepal has very seriously surveyed it yet. But once it is surveyed, it is going to be very rich at that point. Probably Canadian mining companies might demonstrate a big interest. We are quite good at agricultural processing too.</p> <p>Everything that happened in Bangladesh, India can happen here. But none of them can happen here without stability. And also politicians need to take economy seriously. In Canada we have quite competitive politics but our politicians try not to do anything that would damage the economy. They don't call for street demonstrations; they use other ways that can make their unhappiness known.</p> <p>So I hope the Nepali politicians will take the economy of Nepal to heart, accept that the lack of growth in this country is their responsibility and that they have to do better in the future. That is what the Nepalis deserve from them.</p>
<b>Menaka:</b> You were listening to an interview with Ambassador Malone M David.
Now it is time for a radio docu-drama. We have prepared it in the context of upcoming CA elections.
.....the drama ..... ..
[The drama was prepared with an objective to raise voters' education/awareness to take part in the April 10 Constituent Assembly elections.]
<b>Menaka:</b> This drama was prepared by Sudip Kumar Poudel. The characters of the drama were Sudip Kumar Poudel, Menaka Pokhrel, Susan Sharma.
<b>Menaka:</b> This months' question for our readers is: What should the Seven-Party Alliance do to make the Constituent Assembly elections a success? One best answer will selected from the entries and will be prized in the next episode.
<b>Ajit:</b> Now, let's listen to what our popular singer Ramesh says.
<b>Ramesh:</b> Nameste! My name is Ramesh. Singing is my profession. What I want to say in this Naya Nepal radio program is, to make a New Nepal we must harbor new culture, new values; new manners which benefit the people and the country should be adopted. Appealing you all to start a new tradition for the welfare of the citizens, I wish for the success of this radio program. I dedicate one of my songs to you.
Song.....Let's rise to change the color of the nation. ....
<b>Ajit:</b> With this national song, we are approaching the final minutes of our program. How was today's program? Please send us your comments, feedback, or any creation in this address: GPO BOX 8978 CPC-58, Anamnagar, Kathmandu. We will come to your local FM radio with another episode in the next 15 days. We all including Program Coordinator, Kamal Raj Sigdel, Colleagues Susan Sharma, Sudip Kumar Poudel, Menaka Pokhrel, and Ajit bid good bye. Have a nice time.
<b>Song by Ramesh....</b>

[Episode 2] The program was broadcast through local FM stations across the country: Bageshwori FM, Radio Audio FM, Synergy FM, Khaptad FM.]

**ANNEX 2: Sample of email circular for program alert.**

# **Women and Federalism**

*Subaltern Forum with support from WACC presents "Naya Nepal",  
a fortnightly radio program on peace building.*

Listen to an exclusive radio show that concentrates on the burning issues  
concerning the peace process.

This week's theme is Women and Federalism.

Don't forget to listen to a comprehensive **Radio Feature** on Women and Federalism. Listen to know the answers of the questions: Do women have better opportunities in the federal system? What is the difference between federal and unitary system of governance? What role do you want your CA representative to play in the CA? What agendas the women CA members should raise in the historic CA?

The speakers in the feature are the acclaimed women leaders Ms Suprabha Ghimire, Ms Sapana Mall Pradhan, Ms Prativa Subedi, Mr Vimarjun Acharya, Ms Tomma Lama, and others.

Naya Nepal is a Presentation of Subaltern Forum. WACC, Canada has been supporting us for its production.

The stations through which the program is being aired are:

1. Radio Audio FM, Kathmandu (Thursday at 7:00am)
2. Synergy FM, Chitwan (Sunday at 8:00pm)
3. Bageshewari FM, Banke (Wednesday at 6:30pm)
4. Khaptad FM, Dhangadi (Wednesday at 6:30pm)

Comments are welcome.

Thank you.

Program Coordinator

**Naya Nepal** (Fortnightly Radio Program on Peace Building)

Subaltern Forum

Email: [subalternforum@gmail.com](mailto:subalternforum@gmail.com), [mail@simant.co.cc](mailto:mail@simant.co.cc)

Website: [www.subalternforum.co.cc](http://www.subalternforum.co.cc)

Cont: 9841 322984, in Kathmandu and 081 524350 in Banke

### **ANNEX 3: Program Production Team**

<b>Advisor and Resource Person:</b>	DR Kafle
<b>Coordinator:</b>	Kamal Raj Sigdel
<b>Radio Journalists:</b>	Sarala Gautam, Karuna Pokhrel, Sudip Kumar Poudel, Menaka Pokhrel
<b>Technical Editor:</b>	Sushan Sharma
<b>Volunteers from districts:</b>	Gobinda Khadka (Kathmandu district), Uddav Sidgyal (Bardiya district), Sujan Babu Adhikari (Chitwan district), Sarada Karki (Banke district), Ghanshyam Chaudhari (Dhangadi)

[Subaltern Forum board of directors are also actively engaged and playing advisory role in different phases of the program production and broadcasting.]



#### **ANNEX 4: Photos of the program**



*Figure 4 Radio Audio FM in Kathmandu*



*Figure 5: Radio Journalists recording Naya Nepal in a studio in Kathmandu*



*Figure 6: A school-going indigenous boy of Chaudhary Community in Mid Western Nepal*



*Figure 7: A Tharu women busy in her household chores while the radio is left on outside.*





*Figure 8: A local farmer in Bardiya District listens to the radio program where his voice was included while working in the farm. He is making hay.*



*Figure 9: Madhesi leader Hridayesh Tripathi of TMDP speaking to Naya Nepal with KR Sigdel*



*Figure 10: Conflict victim Madan B KC shares his pains with Naya Nepal in outskirts of Kahtmandu. He was forcefully displaced from his village in Lalitpur by the Maoists. He spoke to Naya Nepal before returning home as part of the rehabilitation program.*





*Figure 11: A girl from Western Nepal*



*Figure 12: The decade-long conflict has affected the education sector. Children are taught under open sky in some schools in Mid-Western Nepal. The school hut (building) was destroyed during the conflict..*



*Figure 13: People crossing the Nepal-India border in Nepalgunj. Nepalis who fled to Indian cities to escape the conflict in Nepal in search of jobs have started coming back home after the Peace Process began.*