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**ASIA DEMOCRACY PROGRAM
EVALUATION REPORT**

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Bureau for Asia
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Submitted by:

Development Associates, Inc.

1730 North Lynn Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209
(703) 276-0677

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. **Program Evaluation:** This report constitutes an evaluation of the Asia Democracy Project (ADP) and the related activities of the country missions in Thailand, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. These four missions were chosen because of the comprehensive nature of their democracy programs. ADP activities in these countries were funded both from regional democracy project and from mission bilateral projects. A total of 43 completed and on-going projects were reviewed.

2. **Activities Involved:** In their democracy initiative strategy statements, the regional bureaus of A.I.D. place great stress on the linkages between the strengthening of democratic institutions and practices and the need for economic development. A prospering society is more likely to participate actively in the democratic process, and demand a system responsive to its interests. In transitional systems, assistance for political development unaccompanied by economic development is often perceived by the political leadership as a threatening intervention into a very sensitive area. The linkage minimizes this threat.

However, there are variations in the way in which the regional bureaus approach this strategy: The Latin America and Caribbean Bureau stresses the political content of democratization and the need to support the political leadership and to strengthen judicial and administrative institutions; The Africa Bureau focuses on enhancing governance as an attribute of the management of all aspects of bilateral development. Other bureaus seem to deal with democracy issues on a strictly pragmatic basis.

The approach of the Asia Bureau is different again. Subsequent to the Bureau's design of a region wide strategy document, the missions conducted their own democracy assessments or strategies, establishing their own priorities. Both the regional democracy strategy and the country assessments/strategies addressed the following program priorities:

- a. Voice: strengthening channels for the public to influence government decision-making and for the free dissemination of information and opinion;
- b. Choice: timely, free and open elections;
- c. Governance: effective and accessible administration;
- d. Redress: protection of individual and group rights; and

- e. **Accountability:** government that is responsive to the interests of the public and is financially responsible.

That the linkage between economic and political development is recognized by the missions visited by the team, is demonstrated by the mix of projects reviewed. A major objective of the ADP is to strengthen the decision-making capabilities of political institutions, which, when achieved, will mean more rational and accountable economic policy outcomes. Allied with this goal are endeavors such as institutional support for legislatures and the courts, training and research for innovative methods of conflict resolution, media enhancement courses, and assistance in the building of local government structures.

The recipients of funding were primarily indigenous non governmental organizations (NGOs). In most cases these NGOs received grants directly from the missions and in others through U.S. based PVOs, principally The Asia Foundation (TAF), the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), and Private Agencies Collaborating Together (PACT).

Despite the fact that the missions had the opportunity to generate their own democratization priorities, the team was impressed with finding that a number of categories of activities were common to each of the countries visited. This indicated an obvious consensus among the missions that certain areas were of significance to the successful achievement of ADP objectives. Included in these activities are the following:

- a. Informing citizens of their rights under the law, and how they can seek redress if they feel these have been violated; training paralegal specialists who can counsel citizens and who can offer assistance in forwarding their cases, and provide referral services.
- b. Reviving traditional dispute resolution processes; training mediators and arbitrators for out-of-court settlements;
- c. Strengthening legislative support systems through enhancing documentation, library cataloguing and data processing facilities;
- d. Upgrading political and social information generating capabilities, such as voter education, public opinion sampling, political and administrative profiles and needs assessments, and election monitoring;
- e. Professionalizing the media by increasing its accuracy, fairness, and making journalists aware of their responsibilities in the post-censorship era.

- f. Providing assistance in the governmental decentralization process, and increasing the functional capabilities of local governments and their elected officers.
- g. Promoting the service and advocacy capabilities of NGOs in recognition of their vital role in the democratization process;
- h. Recognizing that promotion of private enterprise is an important adjunct to increasing popular participation in public policy decision-making.

In assessing these eight activity areas, the Asia Bureau might undertake to reformulate its future democratization strategy. It is suggested that these activities be clustered around a new set of initiatives which the Bureau within the context of the ADP would support and strengthen:

- * **Civil Society**

- participatory development groups
- advocacy NGOs
- government accountability
- trade unions

- * **Governance**

- public administration
- national legislatures
- local government/decentralization
- institutional accountability and transparency
- electoral support

- * **Rule of Law**

- legal awareness
- judicial independence
- administration of justice
- informal dispute resolution
- human rights

- * **Information**

- public policy reporting
- citizen access
- independent media
- journalistic accountability

3. **Evaluation Methodology:** After being briefed on the strategies of the various regional bureaus in Washington, the team spent a week in each of the four countries interviewing mission, embassy, and USIS personnel, representatives from the U.S. based

PVOs, and senior officers of the indigenous NGOs, examining their facilities, and in some cases talking to the eventual beneficiaries of their efforts.

4. **Program Effectiveness:** The team viewed its purpose as evaluating the ADP in the light of the total package of activities undertaken by the mission and its grantees. These cover a broad range of endeavors and many of them have been implemented only in the last 18 months. Recognizing the implications of this brief period for project implementation, and the absence of statistically sound indicators for impact measurement, the team still found many specific examples of accomplishment:

- A voter education program in selected districts in the hill areas of Nepal which is reported to have increased voter turnout for the 1991 elections by at least 25%, is an example of a project enhancing public choice.
- A Thai labor lawyer who had completed the AAFLI organized leadership training workshop announced that as a result of the course he was winning better than 70% of the cases he has taken to the labor courts on behalf of his union clients; this exemplifies a substantial increase over previous performances and an increase in the level of redress.
- The Sri Lanka Bar Association's continuing education program conducted legal upgrading seminars for 350 outstation lawyers between July and September 1992 in order to familiarize them with the latest developments in both domestic and international human rights litigation; this demonstrates another decisive example of increased judicial access for the public.
- Lawyer volunteers connected to FREELAVA, a Filipino NGO in Cebu which receives funding under the ADP small grants competition, launched a very successful campaign to publicize both the plight of the inmates in local jails and the fact that many of those incarcerated had not been charged with any specific crimes. Front page articles complete with photographs of prison conditions appeared in English and vernacular newspapers in Cebu and Manila. Prison cleanup programs and faster progress of cases through the courts have been a direct result of this effort.

Other examples of project accomplishments are cited in the main body of this report. This constitutes a very obvious indication of better access and accountability. These projects do appear to be meeting democratization specifications; they are well designed; and the agents for their implementation appear to be carefully selected and well placed for fulfilling their contractual obligations. The ADP enterprises have the support of the missions and are being thoughtfully integrated into the missions' portfolios. Reporting and accounting procedures seem to be sufficient.

THAILAND: Although the mission is in transition to a regional office and the staff is preoccupied with this change, A.I.D. funded PVOs are energetically pursuing democracy activities. TAF is involved in training for greater government accountability, improving the research and accounting procedures of the parliamentary secretariat, and strengthening the administrative capabilities of provincial and local governments.

AAFLI is involved in promoting the collective bargaining of Thai labor unions, voter registration reform for workers, and day care and women's counseling centers at workplace locations. Graduates of AAFLI leadership training workshops were known to have played major roles in organizing and leading the May 1992 demonstrations which restored a democratic government to the nation.

Through research and training, PACT is enhancing NGOs' ability to raise funds and form more effective advocacy coalitions.

NEPAL: Special mention should be made of the design and implementation of the ADP program in Nepal, which could serve as a model for other DPI efforts elsewhere. The program is an integrated mission-wide effort with the Embassy, USIS and USAID each playing an important and complementary role. The Ambassador acts as point person in this enterprise, making the initial contact with leading political and administrative figures in the Government of Nepal. Her enthusiasm and commitment have paved the way for USIS to initiate a variety of exchange programs which have allowed Nepalese parliamentarians, other government figures such as mayors and senior administrative officers and journalists to visit counterpart institutions in other parts of the world, as well as for experts from abroad to offer consultation and training to strategically placed Nepalese. Her efforts have enabled USAID to support a wide variety of democracy activities that bolster the research and documentation services of parliament, undertakes opinion surveys, advises on the writing of the national constitution, assists the country in preparing for decentralization by enhancing the capacities of local government, trains individuals for mediating conflict, educates voters and monitors elections. An ADP funded Nepalese NGO was successful in revising national legislation on community forestry to protect the rights of villagers from having their forested lands arbitrarily seized by the government. Women's Legal Services has assisted 5000 women in getting redress for abuses through semi-judicial offices and has conducted radio programs on legal awareness.

The Kathmandu mission was particularly pleased with the timeliness of the selection of projects under the competitive small grants program. This provided immediate funding to keep alive many of the projects comprising the ADP which were considered to be of high priority.

These projects seem to be capably managed, and although they have the promise of considerable influence on the eventual democratization of the country, the implementing NGOs appear to be slow in diminishing their dependence upon funding from foreign

donors. The mission should consider more active collaboration with other donors to insure a less unilateral character to its otherwise impressive efforts.

SRI LANKA: The ADP program is focused on the issues associated with legal protection of human rights. A particularly notable example of this is the mission's support for "action" research by the Center for the Study Of Human Rights at the University of Colombo on means to constrain the effects of the emergency regulations and to attempt to rationalize them with constitutional and existing statutory law. A proposal to this effect has recently been presented to the Presidential Secretariat. Additional activities of the Center include study of the issues related to freedom of information, the incarceration of remand prisoners, and the design of human rights curricula for various university faculties. Of particular value is the University's Vice Chancellor's support for the entire program. The NGO and university programs are devised also to enhance the reportorial quality of the media and to expand and improve the resources, books, journals, court documents both domestic and foreign available to the legal profession, particularly those members in the outstations.

NGO and university programs supported by ADP funds are devised to enhance the reportorial quality of the media and to expand the resources, books, journals and court documents available to the legal profession and to improve their access to those members in the outstations.

The project establishing a public opinion research facility is on hold, pending further discussions as to its sensitivity given the current security situation. Mission personnel believed that such a facility would contribute to strengthening democratic practices because knowledge of public opinion on major political issues promotes accuracy of news reporting and the formation of equitable public policy decisions particularly those that relate to the issues of human rights.

PHILIPPINES: USAID funded organizations are heavily involved in the effort to restore the public's confidence in government institutions and law enforcement. Much of this focuses on the new code on decentralization, and how local governments will be granted and will accept added powers and responsibilities. Research, training programs and preparation of manuals are all being initiated.

Furthermore, marginalized groups, such as hill tribes, poor farmers, urban squatters, and prisoners awaiting trial are being informed of their civil rights and how to seek redress when these are infringed. Urban Poor Associates, an NGO affiliated to SALIGAN, has been able to persuade the mayor of Manila to decree that no squatter be forcibly evicted from his or her abode without finding alternative housing. Tanggol-Kalikasan has successfully turned major portions of the island of Palawan into a national forest to prevent illegal logging and deprivation of the livelihood of the local residents dependent on the availability of forest products. This is another sign of NGOs mobilizing

communities to recognize the illegal invasion of their rights and how they can bring this to the attention of the public and seek redress.

In many instances, the team was shown quantities of outputs: numbers of workshops and seminars held, number of persons who had completed training courses, numbers of cases decided by mediation, number of workers' complaints resolved, numbers of evictions from squatters housing thwarted by legal redress, numbers of reports and pamphlets produced by grantees, and numbers of abuses against women that were taken to court. The numbers are impressive, but at present it is difficult to determine how much of an ultimate impact these will have. The team believes that given continued support with funding and technical assistance, these initiatives will have positive results in the long term.

Moreover, a number of these activities were started under human rights initiatives or PVO co-financing and the extent to which their eventual impact can be attributed to the ADP as distinct from other efforts will be difficult if not impossible. The ADP does complement the other initiatives, and will certainly contribute to the fulfillment of a combined endeavor. The team feels optimistic about the eventual outcome of the ADP, as its component activities seem well conceived and the missions appear to have a strong commitment to its fruition. These components, when taken individually, address genuine deficiencies within the political systems of the recipient countries, and as a package they supplement and reinforce other activities, particularly those in the realm of economic development, of USAID.

5. **Program Management:** Management of the various activities under ADP, both by the mission staff and the grantees, appeared to be both enterprising and competent. Democracy officers were quite persuasive in having the ADP objectives incorporated into the total portfolio of the missions, including the respective Embassies and USAID offices. Missions were clearly knowledgeable about the issues and the occasional problems which arose in the implementation of projects. Grantees were well selected and well positioned for fulfilling their assignments.

Team members had some questions as to the sustainability of some of the ADP supported indigenous NGOs and consulting groups. Democracy officers appeared to be cognizant of this problem and confident of an eventual solution in most cases, including the sale of publications and consulting services to private firms and eventually contracting to their own government agencies.

Democracy officers were uniformly satisfied with the support they received from the bureau. The bureau's scheduling of workshops, dispatch of technical assistance, area and functional experts, provision of documentation and other materials and clarification of directives and interpretations of strategy was valued by the missions. Expectation for the continuation of this support was frequently expressed.

Recommendations:

General:

- ** That the ADP be sustained as a identifiable entity, with continuing support for strengthening civil societies in Asian countries and special emphasis on participation and advocacy, and to the extent possible that this emphasis be incorporated into the total mission portfolios.
- ** The small grants competition be continued with proposals sought from all Asian missions as a means of stimulating discussions within missions and dialogue with host country counterparts on innovative proposals to achieve ADP objectives.
- ** That the eight activity areas identified above, which are common to each of the countries visited, receive continuing attention and become the focus of future ADP support. Regrouping these into four new program areas, civil society, governance, rule of law and information, is a suitable means of emphasizing this focus.
- ** That whenever possible projects funded under ADP be implemented by indigenous NGOs. For the most part, these organizations have the ability to reach the grass roots and to mobilize the public. As they are indigenous, the populace easily identifies with them. At the same time the important functions of the US based PVOs (TAF, AAFLI, and PACT), as channels for funding, providing technical assistance, and monitoring project management and implementation should be recognized and sustained.
- ** That to produce a critical mass essential to inducing change in the political cultures of these countries, USAID should seek collaboration with other foreign donors, and to elicit more resources from host country institutions.
- ** That the NGOs assisted by funding from A.I.D. be encouraged to develop plans for eventual self-sufficiency, either through the sale of goods and services, or for predictable support from members.
- ** That periodic meetings with participation by mission staff, selected representatives from grantee organizations and country specialists, such as that held in Kathmandu in January 1992, be scheduled on a regular basis to exchange experiences and innovations in selection, design and management of potential activities under ADP.

- ** That the technical assistance for the democracy program provided to the missions, such as expert consultants, assessment/strategy teams, and electoral assistance, be continued under a direct ASIA/DR/TR contract.
- ** The need for statistical information to facilitate future program evaluations should be emphasized repeatedly and should become part of project management specifications.

Specific:

- ** Because of its special characteristics: the close collaboration among the Kathmandu Embassy, USIS, and USAID; the multifaceted nature of its democracy projects; and their positive reception by the leaders of the emerging participatory institutions, the Nepal program receive continuing study for use as a benchmark for the application of the DPI on a global basis.

Certain projects in other countries of the region, because of their unique potential for impacting on participatory behavior and institutions, should receive similar attention, among these are:

The Center for the Study of Human Rights at the University of Colombo, which incorporated effectively a number of human rights sub-projects into the research and teaching agenda of the University;

The Tanggol Kalikasan project of the Haribon Foundation, which is successfully mobilizing the rural population to the issue of sustainable development, and its traditional rights as guardians of the forest.

These recommendations are not meant to imply that other projects in the region lack purpose or relevance but rather that they are unique in providing innovative approaches to problems of global concern.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Evaluation

This evaluation of the Asia Democracy Program of the Asia Bureau/DR/TR of the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) was conducted during September-November, 1992 by Development Associates, Inc. under IQC Contract No. OTR-0000-I-00-0035-00, Delivery Order No. 17. The objective of the contract was to enhance the analytical and program management capacity of the ASIA Bureau for the Asia Democracy Program.

The main objective of the assessment as specified in the Statement of Work was to "assess the extent to which these programs have achieved or surpassed stated objectives and that the findings of the evaluation will be used to strengthen the Asia Democracy Program." Specifically, the evaluation team was asked to "examine whether the vehicles employed by the Asia Bureau (such as the annual small grant competition, democracy seminars, democracy officer's workshop, democracy assessments and strategies, etc.) have been successful in achieving the objectives of the Asia Democracy Program (ADP). The evaluation should also assess and make recommendations whether the field activities have impact toward strengthening democracies," this to be done by "selecting a few activities in each country to more closely examine the impact of field projects on the ADP and these aims."

In the Statement of Work the evaluators were directed to seek answers relating to the following areas of concern:

- 1) What is the impact of the activities funded by the Asia Democracy Program on the various countries' democratic development; what constraints have been experienced; and how can the effectiveness of the program be increased in meeting its objectives?
- 2) How do other regional bureaus incorporate democratic strategies into their programs; are there models which the Asia Bureau might follow?
- 3) Have the instruments for implementation, including the small grants competition and the democracy seminars, been effective in serving the objectives of the program?
- 4) Are the management, funding, and reporting procedures adequate for program success?

- 5) How well have the elements of the program been integrated into the mission portfolio?
- 6) Has the support by the Asia Bureau been sufficient to advance the objectives of the program, and how can it assist the missions in incorporating the ADP into its "focus and concentration" agenda?
- 7) How can the roles played by the PVO/NGO community and their linkage to the Asia Democracy Program be enhanced?

The responses to these questions from mission personnel and host country participants in Thailand, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Philippines form the core of this evaluation report.

Program Context

As stated in the A.I.D. policy document, Democracy and Governance, to help shape its program for the critical issues of the 1990s, the U.S. Agency for International Development issued in December, 1990 a series of initiatives, one of which was called the Democracy Initiative. This called for the Agency to focus its "experience, skills and resources to help promote and consolidate democracy." A critical component of the overall development effort in this regard is the Asia Democracy Program, which represents a long-range commitment to provide human and material resources to assist developing Asian countries in meeting the need for democratic reform in the 1990s and beyond.

As a policy and program strategy enunciated in 1991 the Asia Democracy Program had for its purpose the development and strengthening of sustainable democratic societies. Five elements compose the ADP strategy:

- (1) VOICE: The development and strengthening of channels for popular influence on government, and for the free dissemination of information and opinion;
- (2) CHOICE: The holding of free, fair, and meaningful elections;
- (3) GOVERNANCE: Achieving an effective, democratic and open administration that is responsive to the interests of its citizens;
- (4) REDRESS: Provision for full protection for individual and group rights; and
- (5) ACCOUNTABILITY: Creation of a financially responsible government, free of corruption.

Additionally, the strategy called upon ADP directly, by focusing on decision-making and representative institutions, and indirectly, by providing support to research, training and

advocacy organizations, to strive to improve the contextual preconditions for the evolution of more democratic political cultures.

Although there is a broad agreement about the meaning of the democracy initiative, there is no such consensus about the strategies to implement it. The heart of this dialogue in the Agency relates to the need for discreet stand-alone projects incorporating institution building and support for democratic processes on the one hand, and the integration of democracy promoting elements into the regular bilateral programs of the missions. This dialogue was dramatically illustrated during the September 1992 session of the Development Studies workshop, "Political Development, Democratization and Governance," where both Regional Bureau democracy officers and project officers from a variety of overseas missions, energetically discussed the pros and cons of each approach. What emerged was agreement on the theme that each recipient country has its own set of unique problems requiring different applications and therefore no single approach is appropriate for all situations.

The Asia Bureau and most of its country missions have preserved the idea that separate stand-alone projects are worthwhile. The best indication of this is the ADP small grants competition, where potential grantee organizations submit proposals through the missions for funding from Washington. The purpose of this approach, which for the most part has received the endorsement of the missions, is to stimulate interest and discussion within the missions and dialogue with host country government and non-government institutions. It provides an opportunity for the NGO/PVO community to advance innovative methods by which the democratic initiatives may be furthered. But this has not prevented the missions from emphasizing the potential impact on democratic processes from the remainder of its portfolio, whether it be education, promotion of family values, the environment, or support for mechanisms of privatization.

The observations of the evaluation team will show that both approaches are alive and well, with minor qualifications, in the missions under study, and that there is a recognition on the part of those involved that what is commonly called the Asia Democracy Program is integral to their portfolios.

Methodology

The Evaluation Team consisted of the following:

Millidge Walker, Ph.D. Team Leader, Political Scientist
Eliodoro G. Robles, Ph.D. Political Economist

The team first met for briefing and orientation in USAID Washington, D. C. on September 21 with the Asia Bureau/DR/TR/DAPV Unit staff. Interviews were then conducted with other USAID offices and staff involved with USAID'S Democracy Program strategies and Democratic pluralism initiatives until October 1 when the team left for Asia to conduct the

field evaluation. While in Washington, D.C., the team also interviewed representatives from other agencies, such as the UNDP, the World Bank, The Asia Foundation (TAF), Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), International Republican Institute, and some individual scholars and persons with extensive background and experience in the Asian countries to be visited. These interviews were supplemented by reading of policy statements and papers and by a review of literature relevant to the Asia Democracy Program and to country-specific activities.

On October 3, the team began its tour of four Asian countries in the following order: Thailand, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. The visits to Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Philippines were greatly facilitated by the cables sent ahead to each USAID mission by the Program Officer of the ASIA/DR/TR/DPAV Unit, announcing the purpose of the evaluation and requesting logistic support. In these countries, the Mission made practically all the appointments with the cooperation of NGOs, such as The Asia Foundation, AAFLI and others. While a cable was also sent ahead to Thailand, USAID involvement was more limited. There, The Asia Foundation and AAFLI were the primary agencies which scheduled the visits. Some scheduling had also to be made by the Team as the contact officer in the Mission originally assigned to assist the team had recently resigned and moved away from Bangkok.

In all the four countries visited, some forty-two project activities were reviewed, either by review of documents provided by the Mission or by grantees and sub-grantees, or by site visits, or by a combination of the two. Grant agreements, implementation and progress reports, and in some cases some evaluations were particularly helpful. These were supplemented by direct contact with the recipients and extended interviews with key project personnel. Although it was difficult in many cases to find direct beneficiaries, the team was able to find some in specific instances. Within the time available, it was not possible for the team to visit outlying areas, except in Thailand where a visit was made to a labor union operated women's counselling center in an industrial park in Navanakorn, outside of Bangkok, and to Cebu, Philippines to visit with the leaders of the Free Legal Assistance Volunteer Association project.

The team did not find it necessary to prepare written questionnaires for use in the field. The variety of projects both in number and purpose made it pointless to develop a standard questionnaire. Also, the Statement of Work contained enough questions about the projects and their implementation, and which provided a general guideline for the field interviews. The questions asked by the team in each case were generally open-ended. This allowed for greater flexibility and more coverage of relevant data.

At the start and at the conclusion of each country visit, sessions were held with senior mission personnel, members of the Embassy staff, including, in several cases, the Ambassador, and officers from USIS. Initially the team was asked to explain the rationale for its visit and what were its working expectations. The exit interview provided the

opportunity for the team and mission personnel to discuss the preliminary observations and findings.

Report Format

Of necessity, the contents of the report are descriptive and anecdotal. The team knows of no quantitative or analytical models with specific measurable variables that have applicability to this assignment. The center for Development Information and Evaluation has produced a document, A.I.D. and Democratic Development: A Synthesis of Literature and Experience, May 1992, which contains in its appendix, "Indicators of Democratic Development for the Democracy Initiative's Focus Areas," but these are too general to have applicability to this evaluation. They are observational criteria, and do not provide a useful methodological framework. Furthermore, the projects defined by the Asia Democracy Program have been in place for little more than 18 months at the longest, and impact even under the most ideal circumstances would be hard to detect.

The observations and findings of the evaluation leading to a summary of the team's conclusions and recommendations are presented in the following chapters. Chapter II assesses program management and implementation, starting with a discussion of other regional and central bureau approaches to see which might appropriate for incorporation into the ADP. The rest of the chapter is a review and critique of the vehicles used for implementation, management issues and concerns, program integration into mission portfolios, regional bureau support and PVO activities reinforcing the ADP. Chapter III deals with the activities of 43 projects reviewed by the team and their actual or potential impact on the countries' democratic development, wherever these could be perceived or ascertained. The chapter also includes a discussion of the constraints on determining project impact and program effectiveness. Chapter IV is a summary of the conclusions and recommendations of the Evaluation Team. The chapter includes a discussion of lessons learned. A selection of relevant documents, list of persons interviewed, and a bibliography of documents reviewed and other sources of relevant information utilized by the team constitute items of the appendix.

CHAPTER II

PROJECT MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter attempts to respond, to the extent possible, to the other issues raised in the statement of work, including the views of central and regional bureaus towards the implementation of the democratic initiatives, the quality of support by the regional bureau, the instruments for the implementation of the ADP, concerns about central and field management of the program, the operational fit of the program into the missions' portfolios, and the degree to which there is synergy between the ADP and the activities of NGOs. The presentation in this chapter will conclude with a general review of the democracy activities of each mission and the way these are embraced and performed by the implementing organizations.

To put these issues into context, it should be emphasized at the outset that democratization is primarily a political issue, but with social, cultural and economic implications. Globally there is such a wide diversity of political systems, even among those commonly considered to be democratic, that in many instances there is little commonality between institutions which bear the same names: cabinets, parliaments, political parties, municipal councils, district officers, magistrates, etc. Under the circumstances, it is easy to understand why, the regional bureaus can assemble little consensus about the way in which such initiatives should be operationalized. Furthermore, even though there is a strong commitment to implementing democracy programs within the agency, there is little actual experience with discrete projects that imply change of political institutions. Each bureau is required to generate its own strategies for implementation and to fit them into a programmatic rationale consistent with each mission's concept of its corporate goals.

Regional Trends and Issues

As described in Chapter I, the team could find no consensus among the regional bureaus as to the manner in which the democratic initiatives should be executed. In discussion with bureau democracy officers, it became clear that there was agreement to disagree. In perusing the records of the meetings of the Tuesday Group, this conclusion became even more obvious. For the most part, each democracy officer in each bureau knew of the pattern of implementation of each of the other bureau, and respected that decision because it responded most adequately to the needs of the region within the framework of the democracy initiatives. In some cases, democracy officers in the bureaus other than the Asia Bureau, had served in Asian missions, and were well aware of the contrast in

political institutions; therefore, there was a well founded understanding that flexibility and respect for diversity is essential for the success of the program.

In the case of the Latin America and Caribbean Bureau there is acknowledgment that democratization through economic development has not been sufficient for producing stable democratic regimes. As a result, the Bureau is moving toward a strategy which targets political leadership. Until now the bureau has considered this to be a concern of the embassies, but the added emphasis provided by USAID interventions might produce sustainable political reform. This change of strategy has yet to be implemented, but is receiving serious consideration.

The democratic initiative in the Africa Bureau appears to be based on the World Bank's notion that equates governance with development management; that is to say that good governance is the successful management of the whole development package, whether economic, political, or social. The bureau has gone beyond this by insisting that political development be reached through democratic practices.

Other bureaus, Near East, Europe, and the New Independent States, articulated no easily defined strategies. Their approach seems to be pragmatic and ad hoc.

Furthermore, the workshop on the democracy program which was offered by the Development Studies Program during the week of September 28, 1992, attended by democracy officers from a variety of overseas missions as well as by officers from the bureaus reinforced the impression that there was little consensus for an over all agency strategy. There were frequent heated exchanges among the participants over the appropriateness of one strategy over another: whether democracy projects should be interlaced with other portfolio components or whether they should stand alone. The impression became increasingly obvious that there was agreement to disagree, for there was such a great variety of political cultures, that each had to be approached with a country specific democracy strategy.

Asia Democracy Program (ADP) Implementation

The important point to be raised here is whether or not the strategy of the Asia Bureau is well received by its missions. The response, as understood by the evaluation team as it toured four Asian countries, was affirmative, and in most instances this affirmation was enthusiastic. The feature which sets the Asia Bureau's strategy apart from the other bureaus is the ADP and its annual small grant competition. As explained to the team, this competition was instituted first to direct the missions' attention to democracy issues, to stimulate discussion amongst officers of the mission, and dialogue between the mission and host country governments and between missions and NGOs, to elicit innovative and pilot projects proposals from potential grantees, to suggest areas of collaboration between the A.I.D. missions and their sister agencies such as USIS, the Embassy, and the Peace Corps and, perhaps most importantly, to encourage concerted efforts to integrate the

democracy concept into the entire portfolio. When these objectives were discussed with official U.S. personnel in the field, the team was struck by the degree of agreement, and later when the team met with the principal NGO grantees, such as TAF, AAFLI, and PACT, it found firm acceptance of these objectives, wherever applicable.

In Nepal, the team was told that prior to the announcement of the successful proposals, at least three of the grantees, SCOPE, HCAER, and CIPE, would have had to cut back seriously their operations, handicapping their effectiveness in a major way. The team was quite aware of the renewed vigor of these organizations arising from these fresh infusions. The creation of an opinion research center at the University of Colombo in Sri Lanka, would have represented a major breakthrough in the effort to facilitate the spread of democratic practices. TAF's project on local government management of urban growth in Thailand is considered to be a fundamental move in the direction of decentralization, an issue which lies at the core of the government's structural reform program. Even the FREELAVA grant in Cebu, the Philippines, gave that deserving organization a decided "shot in the arm" for its legal awareness training program. Each of these grants arrived at a critical moment, allowing for momentum created by the recipients to continue unabated.

Each of the missions emphasized continued access to these opportunities. This led the team to conclude that the configuration of the ADP should not be altered so that larger sums should go to selected missions. Perhaps one consideration should be added to future requests for proposals to the small grants competition, and that would be some indication of plans for the sustainability of the grantees or sub-grantees. The team raised this issue on numerous occasions in meetings with beneficiaries, and was not particularly satisfied with the responses. Each recipient would cite the marketing of services, the selling of journals and reports, and the like, but little research had been done as to who would be the consumers. One senior officer of one of the Nepalese NGOs receiving a grant stated quite flatly: "when your grant expires, we will apply for another from another donor." This is quite likely to happen, as there are many foreign donors in Nepal, but it does not contribute to self-sufficiency.

The mission democracy officers who had attended the Democracy Program Workshop in Kathmandu in January 1992, were uniformly enthusiastic about the event. They were particularly pleased to learn about the manner in which projects were being managed by mission and NGO personnel, and how they were being received by grantees. The opportunity to exchange views and discuss problems was important to the participants. The significance of holding the workshop in Nepal was not lost on the attendees, and the Ambassador had for several years been a strong supporter of the ADP and had arranged for the meeting to be held in Kathmandu. Several participants suggested greater support for ADP in their own countries might result from subsequent workshops held in their country. Issues such as project monitoring, reporting, institutional sustainability, management continuity, accounting procedures were among those raised as possible topics for future workshops.

Management Issues and Concerns

The issue of reporting and financial accounting of mission activities under the democracy program is not one that the team feels it can negotiate. This should take place between the missions and the relevant officers in the Asia Bureau. However, the team did discover no common pattern of reporting in the missions. Since the Thai projects were managed by either TAF, AAFLI, or PACT, the mission functioned largely as a communicator. The team could discern no management performed by officials in the mission whatsoever. This was likely due to the recent departure of the responsible officer. However, the concerned PVOs kept their activities well documented and accounts well recorded. One concern of the team's was the statement by the Director of the External Cooperation Division of the Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation, that the PVOs concerned were not sufficiently transparent to the Royal Thai Government. He made special reference to AAFLI, whose reports he did not see on a regular basis. At the same time, this individual also suggested that he ran his division with a "loose helm." It is quite possible that under the circumstances transparency is a consequence of how well one looks. The team was not able to confirm this criticism with the AAFLI representative.

In other missions the reporting and accounting procedures appeared to be more than adequate. The democracy and PVO officers in Nepal were able to provide us with substantial documentation for whatever we demanded. The files were well maintained, and reports from grantees were regular and fairly comprehensive. The case of the Sri Lanka and Philippine missions was similar. The relevant personnel in the missions seem always to be well informed and in periodic contact with those concerned with implementing the projects. TAF offices in Colombo and in Manila were particularly well managed, staffed by seasoned expatriots and veteran local staff. The team was treated with professional courtesy and thoroughness in Colombo, Kathmandu and Manila. Full schedules and timely meetings were the features of the agenda in all three capitals. The team's only criticism was the tightness of the scheduled limited severely time for recording impressions. The team was competently briefed by the responsible mission personnel and given a detailed preview of the organizations and the leaders to be interviewed. The grantees had in each case been forewarned of the team's arrival and were always well prepared for the ensuing discussions. The best possible use was made of the time allocated.

In most cases, mission democracy officers are assigned to the offices dealing with Private Voluntary Organizations or other multisectoral responsibilities. Although the linkage between democracy efforts and NGO activities is a strong one, the private voluntary activities of each mission have expanded rapidly to the point that the democracy officers have very little time to focus on democracy programs per se.

The quantity of reporting from the field is critically dependent upon the absorptive capacity of the relevant officers in Washington. It was the teams definite impression that the latter were suffering from information overload; that they lacked time even to read thoroughly the reports that they did receive. It did not behoove the team members to advise democracy officers in the missions to increase the number and comprehensiveness of their reports.

Program Integration into Mission Portfolios

Mission personnel responsible for the democracy program expressed no dissatisfaction with the manner in which the program was being integrated into the total mission development portfolios. The other members of the mission were well aware of the purpose of the democracy initiatives and in the meetings with the team which involved individuals from sectoral offices, there appeared to be no confusion as to the objectives of the democracy program. Special mention should be made of the situation in Nepal. The current ambassador is an extremely enthusiastic supporter of the democracy program and from the manner in which she welcomed the team, made facilities available to it, and introduced its members to highly placed individuals in the Nepalese government and NGOs, it is obvious that the program was in the forefront of the total United States effort in Nepal. The ambassador was also instrumental in urging the various elements of the U.S. establishment, the embassy, USIS, and USAID, to collaborate closely in facilitating the implementation of various elements of the program. Ambassadors in Sri Lanka and the Philippines also expressed approval of the program and the way in which it was being implemented. The Mission Director in Sri Lanka also expressed strong support for the program. In this case, there is a major preoccupation on the part of the mission and other bilateral donor agencies with infringements on human rights, in an otherwise open and straightforward parliamentary system. NGOs are in the forefront of the movement to protect civil rights from the abuses of the emergency regulations, and these are the organizations being supported by democracy programs. Therefore these programs assume a front row position in the portfolios of all donor agencies.

There is no question about the concern of those involved in the implementation of the democracy program with the issue of women, their rights and empowerment. In Thailand, one of AAFLI's major concerns is for the right of women to register in the location of their workplace. Women who have migrated to the suburbs of Bangkok for work in new factories, are required to return to their places of origin to register. This poses a severe constraints on their enfranchisement, and AAFLI is energizing the labor movement to correct it. In Nepal a key recipient of funding is the Women's Legal Services Project which has a remarkable record of pursuing women's legal rights, and in bringing women's rights to the attention of legal institutions. According to the constitutional provisions for elections, women must form 5% of the candidates for parliamentary seats. Women play a vital role in the operation of the Center for the Study of Human Rights at the University of Colombo, whose director is a woman. The Congressional Research and Training Services in Manila, is directed by an extremely capable woman and women occupy most

of the other leadership positions. The Center is actively promoting the rights of women in their training and research activities.

Support by Regional Bureau

Without exception mission personnel expressed satisfaction for the support they received from the Asia Bureau. They stressed the point that the bureau personnel understood their problems of personnel and funding shortages and the fact that democracy officers had such a variety of responsibilities. They also were grateful that the bureau did not weigh them down with unnecessary reports.

Mission personnel did express concerns about the implications of "focus and concentration," but felt they lacked sufficient experience to know how flexibly it was to be interpreted. In other words nobody had said "no" to any of their proposals so far; no officer was heard to state that the "focus and concentration" agenda had exerted any constraints upon activities or plans. In the main, none expressed frustration about any policy or institutional constraints upon the ability to design or implement democracy programs. In Thailand, the conversion of the mission into a regional facility to service the Indochina countries had sublimated any new democracy activities. On the other hand mission personnel did not deny that democracy initiatives might become an important part of this new role. In the Philippines, the reduction of development assistance in the wake of the military base closures did force the delay in funding of a major project. In all other cases, constraints were occasioned by lack of resources.

PVO Activities Reinforcing the Asia Democracy Program

There is a recognition by all of the missions that PVOs or NGOs play an extremely important part in the democracy program. Since the majority of the projects are implemented by NGOs, their presence is essential to its success. A distinction must be made between the U.S. based PVOs, such as TAF, AAFLI and PACT, and the indigenous NGOs, SCOPE, FREEDeAL, CRTS, or Haribon. The former are utilized as conduits or channels for funding the latter, although not all indigenous NGOs are funded this way. Some are funded directly by the mission. The relationship between the mission and the U.S. based PVOs is a close one and appears to work to the advantage of both. The PVOs keep the missions well informed of their activities, and reporting is frequent and regular. In turn, the PVOs seem to have close ties to their sub-grantees. In Colombo and Manila, TAF officers accompanied the team on visits to the sub-grantees. In all cases the atmosphere was cordial and cooperative. The same was true in Bangkok and Manila with AAFLI. The team was particularly impressed by the manner in which the Manila AAFLI representative was received by prominent activists in the human rights field.

It is the team's impression that indigenous NGOs are difficult to typify. Some of these are service organizations, committed to serving a particular constituency. An example would be the Women's Legal Service in Nepal which provides assistance, whether it be training

or counseling, to women with legal problems. There are those NGOs which are dedicated to advocacy or policy influencing on behalf of certain issues, such as SALIGAN. Many deal with both service and advocacy. On the other hand, many of the NGOs, and this is particularly true of Nepal, offer contracting services, in some cases for improving the capabilities of legislative secretariats, in others for election monitoring, or public opinion surveying. This variety of functions makes it difficult for mission personnel to suggest any one strategy for improving the organization and operations of the NGOs. PACT has as one of its primary function the strengthening of NGOs through training and workshops with technical specialists from abroad. One concrete objective is to increase the fund raising and membership capabilities of the NGOs. This activity should be encouraged if indigenous NGOs are to become self-sustaining.

One feature of the indigenous service cum advocacy NGOs which impressed the team was the number dedicated to enhancing the position of women. There is a general recognition that women, particularly poor women, are vulnerable to physical abuse, over work, underpayment. They are either disenfranchised or under represented in the political arena; they play a minor role in the formal decision-making process. They have the fewest assets against which they can request loans for self-improvement. An NGO such as FREELAVA in Cebu, Philippines features an aggressive leadership, which, while not ignoring the problems of other marginal groups, emphasizes the importance to a healthy community of women who can achieve legal, educational, and economic self-sufficiency. Among those organizations which receive A.I.D. funding, these NGOs are well represented.

General Observations on the Asia Democracy Program

It is important to note that there are seven common themes which appear in the democracy components of the portfolios of each of the missions visited by the team.

1) There is a uniform acknowledgment that NGOs are the most important institution for the realization of democratization in these countries. There are a number of activities performed by NGOs that no other organizations can. Advocacy is the foremost of these, followed by education and mobilization. In each country a trade union, a research organization, an election monitoring group, an agency modernizing the working of a legislative secretariat, a library or a documentation center, a para legal training institute, a firm producing video cassettes on abuses of women, becomes a link in the chain of a democracy enhancing movement. A vital activity of an NGO is demanding that the government live up to its promises; to enforce laws protecting civil liberties already on the books, to be attentive to the rights of the imprisoned, or those in squatter settlements about to be evicted, or factory women who have to travel hundreds of miles in order to register to vote. The democracy programs in each of the missions recognize that neither a foreign development assistance agency, nor the host country government has the right kind of recognition or organization to carry out activities of this sort which are so important to the advancement of democracy.

2) There is a recognition by the mission that democratic participatory institutions are desired by the public, but there are contemporary constraints on their exercise. In Thailand and Nepal there have been recent regime changes of a very significant sort. Haltingly democracy is being restored: in Thailand there is fear of a resurgence of the military, in Nepal there is uncertainty about and unfamiliarity with institutions of governance. Sri Lanka is described as a "wounded democracy" which means that until normalcy is restored, civil liberties will be curtailed. In the Philippines the restoration of confidence in political institutions and procedures after years of abuse is slow. In each case citizen awareness of human rights is crucial to restoring participation by the public. Whether it be through voter education, training of paralegals to enlighten the public on their legal rights and how they can seek redress when these are ignored, support for such activities has become an integral part of each mission's portfolio.

3) In each country impatience and frustration has increased with the formal legal system, and the fact that access to it is difficult for the poor. To deal with this, restoration of a traditional "informal justice" system is underway. Mediation or arbitration of disputes is becoming an increasingly important element of judicial reform. Informing citizens of their rights and then providing them with a simple and familiar vehicle for adjudication is an immediate step in the creation of a political culture. Institutes for training arbitrators, or mediators or umpires do exist in each country and are being funded by USAID democracy programs. An area of particular relevance is labor dispute negotiation and settlement. AAFLI is a major actor in this area of activity.

4) In three of the four countries there is a focus on the improvement of institutions supporting legislatures. It is recognized that the performance of such bodies is increased immeasurably when a support structure is in place. This means that members and their staffs should have unlimited access to libraries and to documentation facilities. They should also have available reports on committee as well as plenary deliberations, and news and information of political events elsewhere. In Nepal SCOPE is beginning to help build up such capabilities; in Sri Lanka it is a TAF grant to the Parliamentary Secretariat, and in the Philippines it is the work of the Congressional Research and Training Service.

5) There is a conviction in the missions that the media plays an important role in promoting democracy, particularly when it is objective, fair and not subject to arbitrary censorship. Thailand and the Philippines have energetic and unfettered media, but they have to learn to work unburdened by government censorship and with responsibility to fair reportage. Nepal's press is unsophisticated and disorganized and needs a focus and an organization such as the Nepal Press Trust to provide these features and to protect its future. In Sri Lanka quality reporting has to spread to the outstations and reporters must learn to report in meaningful depth. Closely tied to the media is public opinion survey and analysis particularly when environmental issues are at stake. The use of electronic media for the exposure of rights violations is a recurring theme. NGOs in the Philippines have made good use of the radio to publicize their objectives.

6) Another vital area which has attracted the attention of all missions is that of decentralization and the strengthening of local government institutions. Each program has an important component focusing on this issue. In Nepal and the Philippines this is a major effort involving millions of dollars for training, research, for the preparation of manuals. In Thailand TAF administers a major project on leadership training for members of provincial councils. ADP funds through TAF are strengthening municipal agencies' capabilities in managing urban growth. There is an acknowledgement by the missions that in order to generate a stable democracy, local participatory institutions cannot be ignored. The public must be involved in the setting of development priorities and in making decisions on how these are implemented. Local councils are the vehicles for citizen inputs, and government bureaucrats must share their functions and powers with community representatives. There is one hurdle to the successful implementation of programs promoting local government. Regional administration has always been culture bound. It has been highly dependent on patron-client and elite based relationships. Traditionally local bureaucrats have followed instructions coming from above, not the articulation of interests from below. For local government to succeed, these traditions must be replaced by accountability to below. This is an extremely complex and illusive problem, and local elites are not likely to volunteer to surrender their long held prerogatives.

7) The final commonly held tenet is that promotion of private enterprise goes hand in hand with political participation. Much energy is devoted to promoting everything from high-tech foreign investment to micro-entrepreneurial development through low interest loans to women or to released prisoners. Entrepreneurs are participants; entrepreneurs exist only in a free-market environment; private enterprise promotion leads to participatory democracy as all entrepreneurs want to participate to protect their interests. The explanation of the Bangkok mission's preoccupation with "transaction" is evidence of this belief.

As explained to the evaluation team, an important function of the mission is to identify an opportunity for investment and a Thai entrepreneur associated with that opportunity; put the Thai in touch with an American firm who would invest resources, technical and management skills in that opportunity; and the "transaction" involved would provide the momentum for take off. This would increase contact between Thai and American enterprise, widen the exposure of each to the other, increase employment, involve more individuals in decision-making and generally expand participation, a basic ingredient of democracy.

Certainly the deliberate support of U.S. development assistance to private and non-governmental organizations is consistent with the promotion of private enterprise. Additionally, the fact that most democracy officers are closely affiliated with the private voluntary activities offices in the missions is an overt recognition of the linkage.

Political Conditions and Democratic Initiatives

In general, the political climate in the four countries visited by the team is favorable for democratization. Although there is some residual uncertainty about new regimes in Thailand and Nepal and lingering insurgency in Sri Lanka and the Philippines, a feeling of optimism seemed to prevail. This climate is conducive to democracy initiatives in most cases. However, success requires caution and sensitivity. For example, in Thailand there is a feeling that the political system is democratically mature. The population is prosperous and well educated. The economy is growing rapidly and the government has adequate resources of its own to invest in development programs. Among Thai intellectuals the attitude is one of gratitude for past assistance, but now the country has advanced its political sophistication and needs little advice from abroad. Thai authorities are mildly suspicious of foreign assistance to NGOs, for as they become stronger advocates, they may pose embarrassments to the government. AAFLI's support for trade unions intent on revising voter registration procedures is considered to be an example of this trend.

Nepal, on the other hand, presents a window of opportunity. Nepal's experience with participatory institutions has been curtailed for at least a quarter of a century, and before that it was very brief. Representative bodies have been revitalized and elections have produced an entirely new cast of characters who have had little experience with deliberative procedures. There is a strong intent to bolster participation at the local levels, and new laws have been devised to actuate this. The judicial system needs to be modernized and made more accessible to the public. Interestingly, this involves two opposite forces: modernization of the formal system to make it more equitable and efficient, and revitalization of the traditional mediational process for out of court settlements which are quicker and cheaper. The move to a more pluralistic and participatory system will not be quick or easy. It will require the slow building of a political culture which will contrast dramatically with what presently exists. A patrimonial system involving a complex hierarchy of patron client relationships must be replaced by one which allows equal access by all. The civil service represents the embodiment of this hierarchy, and its position within the political and administrative structure must be revised before a decentralized participatory polity can evolve.

Sri Lanka declares itself to be one of the older Asian democracies, having adopted the Westminster parliamentary model from Britain at the time of independence. Leaders proclaim the soundness of these institutions even though the country is involved in a brutal insurgency. However, set against this claim is the existence of the emergency regulations which represents an arbitrary means of government infringement on civil rights. There is considerable speculation in the country as to what damage to participatory institutions has been wrought by these regulations. Legal specialists maintain that most emergency regulations are superfluous as the necessary law enforcement powers exist in the constitution or in statutory law. Even those who criticize the use of emergency regulations, still respect the constitutional structure of the nation,

emphasizing that it is sound enough to deal with the insurrection without the need for redundant executive decrees. Improved administration of justice and respect for human rights form the basis for activities of the NGOs receiving support from USAID.

The euphoria occasioned by successful elections is still evident in the Philippines. The new executive is considered to be experienced and decisive. Reform is in the air, but not of the political institutions themselves but in the manner in which they are managed. The most commonly heard expression is: "we have the institutions and we have the laws. The institutions have to work the way they are supposed to and the laws have to be enforced. Then we will be ok." The major effort of the non-governmental activists is to inform the people of their rights and to empower them to the point that the establishment will respect them. Legal awareness training, publicity about prison conditions or abuses of women and children, violations of environmental regulations are essential ingredients in this effort. Within this context the recent moves toward reinforcing local government and providing provincial councils with the power to mobilize their own resources are important areas of support. Training of local government officials, studies on how best to devolve functions to lower levels need concerted attention. The Manila mission shows a strong dedication to this process.

CHAPTER III

THE EVALUATION OF ADP ACTIVITIES

The results of the evaluation for this part of the report are based mainly on a review of the documentation, interviews and site visits with key staff in charge of the implementation and monitoring of project activities. The projects reviewed covered both "integrated" and "stand alone" activities in relation to the promotion of democracy in the countries visited. These include activities funded under human rights directives, Mission-funded PVO-Co-Financing and Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI) and more recently by the Asia/DR/TR Asia Democracy Program. For ease of reference, the activities reviewed are listed below by country and are consecutively numbered. These numbers will appear in the text along side of the activity title.

COUNTRY, PROJECT (START/END DATES)

THAILAND

1. Leadership Training and Research to Strengthen Provincial Councils in Thailand (1989-1991)- USAID/TAF (116-e Project)
2. Strengthening Responsiveness and Capability of Elected Government in Thailand (1991-93)--USAID/TAF (DPI Project)
3. Local Government Management of Urban Growth in Thailand's Secondary Cities (1992-93) -USAID/TAF (Competitive Grant, 1992)
4. Worker Rights Protection Project: Strengthening the Labor Movement Through Local Leadership Training (1990-1992)--USAID/AAFLI (116-E Project)
5. Worker Participation in the Decision-making Process (1991-93)- USAID/AAFLI (DPI Project)
6. Strengthening Participatory Institutions and Research in Thailand (SPIRIT) (1990-93) - USAID/PACT (PVO-Co-Financing Project)
7. Reaching Street Children in Urban Environments (RESCUE)(1992-94) - USAID/PACT

NEPAL

8. Women's Legal Services Project (WLSP) (1989-1993) - USAID/TAF/SUSS (Services for Underprivileged Sections of Society)
9. Assistance to Advocacy NGOs; Election Observers Technical Assistance; Constitutional Reform and Legislative Strengthening; and Judicial Training Center (1990) - ASIA/DR/TR
10. Test of Public Opinion on Local Government and Decentralization and Feasibility Study of Local Revenue Generation. (1991-92) - USAID/CART
11. Preparation of District Political Profiles of Districts (Phase I)-1991; Phase II- (1992-93), Himalayan Center for Applied Economic Research (HCAER) - Competitive Grant
12. A Comprehensive Democratic Pluralism Initiative Project (1990-93)- USAID/TAF - PVO Co-Financing II. (This is an umbrella project consisting of 14 separate project activities grouped under four general headings: Constitutionalism, Representative Government, Administration of Justice and Human Rights, and Development of a Free Press)
13. Strengthening the Judicial Services Training Center (JISC)(1990-93), USAID/TAF - DPI Project
14. Institutional Development and Arbitration Project (1990 and 1992) USAID/TAF/FREEDEAL
15. Strengthening the Parliamentary Process (1992-94) -Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Exercise (SCOPE)- Competitive Grant
16. Training in Political Polling by USIA's Research Division (Obligated to Mission's Economic Liberalization Fund)- (1992-93) Nepal Opinion Survey Center. Competitive Grant
17. Role of NGOs in Nepalese Democracy (1991)- Service Extension and Action Research for Communities in the Hills (SEARCH)- DPI Project Completed. Monitoring Election Procedures in 20 Districts of Himalayan and high belts of Nepal (1991-92)
18. Parliamentary Tours of Eastern Europe (Obligated to the Mission's Development Training Project), 1992. Competitive Grant.

19. Exploratory Work with the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) - (Obligated into the Mission's Economic Liberalization Project)- 1992 Competitive Grant
20. Local Government Manual (1992) -USAID/Nepal Ministry of Local Government (Obligated into the Democratic Institutions Strengthening Project (DISP) Competitive Grant.
21. Survey of Public Opinion Concerning Major Constitutional Issues (1990-91) USAID/Legal and Environmental Analysis for Development and Research Services (LEADERS) - DPI Project Completed
22. Developing strategy for Institutional Reform and Informal Sector (IRIS) Program in Nepal (1990-91) - DPI Project Completed
23. Community Education Materials (1991)- USAID/World Education, Inc. DPI Project Completed
24. Support for Parliamentary Elections (1990-92), A.I.D./Washington/International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) -DPI Project Completed
25. Voter Education Campaign Project (1991)001)p USAID/SEARCH -DPI Project Completed
26. Study of May 1991 General Elections (1991) USAID/Drs. Leo Rose, John T. Schultz and Frederick H. Gaige. DPI Project Completed.
27. General/Additional Funds Obligated into Development Training Project for DPI Training Activities, Ministry of Finance, (1990-99)

SRI LANKA

28. Strengthening Democratic Institutions in Sri Lanka. (1990-1994) USAID/TAF-DPI/ADP Project. (Grant for this project supports activities in three areas: (1) Strengthening law and justice, (2) Information resources for strengthening Representative Government, and (3) Strengthening the media. Projects include a) Public Participation in Sustainable Development: Strengthening Sri Lanka's Environmental NGOs, (b) Strengthening Parliamentary Research and Information Services, (c). Development of a Journalism Course, University of Colombo, (d) Inservice Training for Journalists, Marga Institute and (e) Continuing Legal Education, Bar Association of Sri Lanka.

29. Pilot Clinical Legal Aid Program (1990-93) USAID/TAF/ Open University of Sri Lanka. 116-e Project; Legal Literacy Through Mass Media. (1989-90)- USAID/TAF/Open University of Sri Lanka - 116-e Project Completed
30. Development of Opinion Research (1992) Asia/DR/TR -Competitive Grant. Project not yet funded.
31. Teaching of Human Rights: A Project on Legal Literacy. (1987-90)- USAID/Law and Society Trust, 116-e Project Completed (Funding consisted of grants for each of two phases of the project in FYs 1987, 1988, and 1989)
32. Creation of a Library on Human Rights Law (1988-89)- Nadesan Center of Human Rights Through Law, 116-e Project Completed. (Funding consisted of two separate grants in FYs 1988 and 1989)
33. Center for the Study of Human Rights, University of Colombo. (1991-94) (Grant supports the establishment of the Center and its three-year programs for training, research and creation of public awareness on human rights issues.)

(Note: The democracy initiatives of USAID/Sri Lanka are integrated into the overall development assistance portfolio, which includes activities in the PVO Co-Financing project, Private Sector Policy Support project, Natural Resources and Environmental Project, Irrigation Systems Management Project and other related projects.)

PHILIPPINES

34. Legal Assistance, Consultation and Non-Formal Legal Education for the Urban Poor. USAID/TAF/Alternative Legal Assistance Center (ALA)/Sentrong Alternatibong Lingap Panlegal (SALIGAN)- ALA is divided into five units: Peasant Unit, Labor Unit, Urban Poor Unit, Women's Unit, and the Local Governance and Advocacy Special Unit. The Center also provides services to youth, students, and fisherfolk and considers issues on environment and human rights.
35. Improving Access to Justice. (1990-92)-USAID/TAF/Structural Alternative Legal Assistance for Grassroots (SALAG)- Conducts paralegal training, alternative law schools, legal lectures, legal consultation and representation, holding of radio programs, expansion of institutional connections and production of educational documents and materials.
36. Legal Assistance, Research and Public Information on Environmental Problems. (1991-93). USAID/TAF/Haribon Foundation for the Conservation of National Resources, Tanggol Kalikasan.

37. Alternative Dispute Resolution: (a) Local Government Development Foundation (LOGODEF) project assistance to the Barangay Justice System (BJS), (b) Pilot Project on Court Cases and Mediation.(1990-93), USAID/TAF/University of the Philippines, Office of Legal Aid (UPOLA).
38. Human Rights Radio Drama Program. (1990-91)-USAID/AAFLI/Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), with the cooperation of The Associated Labor Unions (ALU) and the Commission on Human Rights (CHR)- Completed.
39. Trade Union and Human Rights Workshops, (1989-90)- USAID/AAFLI/TUCP Completed.
40. Trade Union/Workers Training Programs (1989-93) USAID/AAFLI/TUCP AND National Conciliation and Mediation Board, Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE); Components-- (1) Voluntary Arbitration Training, (11) Labor Advocacy Training, (III) Three-level Trade Union Leadership Training, and (IV) Worker Legal Counselling Service (WACS).
41. Improving Access to Justice through Community-based Legal Counselling and Advisory Services (1992-1995) Asia/DR/TR/ Free Legal Assistance Volunteers Association (FREE-LAVA), Cebu, Philippines. Competitive Grant.
42. Local Development Assistance Project, (1990-93). USAID Project which supports the Democracy Program in the Philippines, Cash-transfer to support decentralization..

(Note: A project also visited by the team entitled Congressional Research and Training Services (CRTS) was established as a result of a Congressional Fellowship offered through The Asia Foundation to its founder and current Executive Director. This was followed up by a grant from the Ford Foundation. CRTS, which networks with USAID, is providing training for legislative and congressional staff and other support services for strengthening legislative institutions and their accountability.)

The Question of Impact

There is a wide range of projects under the rubric of democracy initiatives funded within recent years in the countries visited. Many have been completed. These include the 116-(e) project in Thailand dealing with leadership training and research to strengthen provincial councils (No. 1)) and the activities funded for specific purposes, such as the Nepalese projects on the survey of public opinion on constitutional issues (No. 21), developing strategy for institutional reforms (No. 22), community education materials (No. 23), support for parliamentary elections (No. 24), voter education project (No. 25), study of 1991 general elections (No. 26), the legal literacy through mass media (No. 29); in Sri Lanka, the teaching of human rights (No. 31) and creation of a library on Human Rights

(No. 32); and in the Philippines, the Human Rights Radio Drama Program (No. 38) and the Trade Union and Human Rights Workshops (No. 39). Most of the other projects are either in their second or third year of funding. This applies particularly to those which have been funded under the Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI), PVO Co-Financing and other mission program accounts. Those that have been funded under the Asia Democracy Program proper a initiated in 1990-91 are either just starting or awaiting release of funds. This is particularly the case of the two to three year projects which have been approved under the competitive grant program.

Because of the wide variety of activities funded under ADP and their recent implementation, the team was unable to measure the impact with any certainty. Even in the case of the completed projects, the team found it difficult to track down their impact especially on democratic development mainly because they are relatively small, scattered and short term in nature. There appeared to be little base line data against which progress could be compared. In the absence of strictly analytical materials, the team was able to make some judgements on the basis of interviews of key personnel and of reports from mission files and materials provided by NGOs.

THAILAND

AAFLI, for example, perceives that funding from USAID/Thailand in 1990, which enabled the organization to undertake democracy promotion activities including voter registration and education, labor counselling centers, worker rights protection, and women's counselling (Project Nos. 4 and 5), led to the active participation of many prominent trade union leaders in the pro-democracy protests of May 1992 which resulted in the establishment of the present government of Thailand. It was observed that participants in the AAFLI democracy courses took high profile positions in support of the pro-democracy rallies and several democracy educators were in the vanguard of the pro-democracy movement. One of them was a leader of the Railway Workers Union, Somsak Kosaisok, who was one of the seven original founders of the Confederation for Democracy. An interview with Somsak, as an AAFLI project beneficiary, revealed that his exposure to workers rights training as a democracy educator contributed to his rallying his co-workers and risking his life during the May 1992 pro-democracy demonstrations.

USAID/AAFLI's Worker Rights Protection Project in Thailand (No.4) has had success in increasing the awareness and knowledge of labor laws and workers' rights and a significant rise in the number of cases filed in the Labor Court. During 1991, the first full year in which the grant was operative, 9,173 cases were filed. 8,018 of them were filed by workers. A labor lawyer, who had attended several of AAFLI'S Local Leadership training seminars viewed the worker rights project as a great success "because workers who would otherwise not have access to a lawyer, were able to get legal representation". He added that as a result of his training, he won about 70% of the cases he took to the Labor Court.

Reporting on its project for Strengthening Responsiveness and Capability of Elected Government in Thailand (No. 2), The Asia Foundation states that the component that deals with the Institute of Public Policy Studies' Legislative Research and Budget Office is improving the quality of information and analysis of national budget issues. Also, under the NGO public advocacy portions of the project, activities were carried out in the areas of environment, securities market regulation, and electoral reform programs. Under the project, voter education campaigns, including radio programs, educational comic books, local television spots, posters, and political town meetings were conducted in Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son. These activities reached an estimated 400,000 voters in the nine provinces in the northern part of the country. In November, 1991, a seminar on Thai elections was held, attended by some 150 persons who discussed issues of organizing and implementing poll watching programs. As a result of the seminar, the organizers, along with a number of other NGO leaders, created the Poll Watch Committee, which played a part in the holding of fair, honest and free elections which implies a greater future parliamentary accountability.

The USAID/TAF Project on Leadership Training and Research to Strengthen Provincial Councils in Thailand (No. 1) is also seen as having positive results in the form of more knowledgeable and better trained local officials. More than 2,000 provincial councilors have been provided with copies of the Handbook for Provincial Councilors developed and published under the project. Some eighty-eight of these have also benefitted from participation in the leadership training program which should improve their performance in local government, by making them more responsible and accountable to the public.

The USAID/PACT Project for Strengthening Participatory Institutions and Research (SPIRIT) (No. 6), is designed to stimulate more active participation of NGOs in the discussion of public issues and concerns. An expected impact of this project is that some government agencies are now actively seeking to incorporate NGOs into their programs in both design and implementation phases. Additionally, NGOs are seeking access to government on behalf of their constituencies on a range of issues relating to environmental and economic development.

Reaching Street Children in Urban Environments (RESCUE), the other USAID/PACT project in Thailand (No. 7) also appears to be having a significant impact on the protection of children's rights and prevention of child abuse. A progress report on this project states that since 1989, some 3,000 children have been assisted through the street children's program. From October 1991 to February 1992 alone, some 131 children were "rescued from the street" and saved from "being sold" and in some cases, from child prostitution.

NEPAL

That portion of the Nepal mission's portfolio which deals with democratization reflects a strategic concern with the five concepts: voice, choice, governance, accountability and

redress. Evidence available to the Team indicated that the Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI) program was achieving its overall objectives and contributing to a gradual change toward a more open, just and participatory political system. This program is to enable various institutions of government and the private sector to carry out political, economic and social functions, which are expected to contribute to the country's democratic development. These activities encourage NGOs to move in the direction of advocacy; legal and environmental NGOs in particular are making themselves heard and felt in policy making and legislative deliberations. Local press has increased its political reporting and more frequently focuses on parliamentary debates. Political and administrative decentralization is expected to be another area of concerted involvement in response to the Nepalese government's dedication to implementing local government reforms. Reports of progress and interviews by the Team confirm the extent of A.I.D.'s contributions to democratization.

For example, the Women's Legal Services Project (No. 9), which "provides free legal counselling, mediation and representation services..... has to date (as of July 15, 1992) provided representation on behalf of more than 3,000 women around the country, assisted 5,000 women in getting redress from semi-judicial and administrative offices, and provided legal literacy classes for some 8,000 women." Through its 15-minute legal awareness broadcast program with Radio Nepal every last Saturday of each month, and through its publications on various aspects of women's rights, the project is making the government aware of the role of women in the overall task of national development. The impact of the project on Nepalese women throughout the entire country is also evidenced by the increasing number of requests for project assistance and cases being brought to court and administrative offices. A research study on various legal issues concerning women (e.g. inheritance rights of women, laws on marriage, laws on divorce, etc.) submitted by WLS to Parliament is also now under consideration for remedial legislation.

Other activities of WLS which should have a positive effect on the position of women in Nepal include giving special courses in law schools on the rights of women, training programs for village para-legals and social workers. Women's advocacy groups are being formed with membership from the political parties and NGOs. These groups have been involved in voter registration. Although the constitution requires that 5% of all candidates for Parliament be women, no such provision applies to local assemblies. Therefore advocacy groups must work at the local level to ensure enfranchisement of women.

Other indications of project impact were cited during the field interviews. The project on Assistance to Advocacy NGOs and Election Observers (No. 9), the Voter Education Campaign Project (No. 25) and the Monitoring of Election Procedures (No. 17) conducted in 1991 by the Service Extension and Action Research for Communities in the Hills (SEARCH) described as having contributed to the formation of a better informed electorate and to the holding of relatively clean and honest elections. Also, the preparation of district political profiles (No.11) by the HCAER (Himalayan Center for Applied Economic Research) enabled political parties to know more about their

constituencies and candidates. The survey of public opinion concerning major constitutional issues conducted in 1990-91 by the LEADERS, Inc. (Legal and Environmental Analysis for Development and Research Services) (No. 21) provided the government with useful information on the concerns of the various sectors of the targeted groups. Recommendations from the survey were said to have been considered in the framing of the new constitution.

A sampling of public opinion concerning local government and decentralization and a feasibility study of local revenue generation conducted in 1991-92 by CART (Center for Applied Research and Training) was described as contributing to parliamentary discussions on the decentralization and local government act which although recently passed by parliament, awaits enabling regulations. The decentralization effort is designed to get the line agencies to provide more information to the district development committees (DDCs). The effect of this has already shown up in the municipality of Pokhara, where the mayor now has influence on sectoral budgets and can initiate development projects determined by the development committee. The relationship between the people and the local, municipal and district officials from sectoral agencies is becoming more animated and a modest level of accountability is beginning to occur, but this is an ad hoc example and is not the general rule. The USAID funded project was described by the decentralization program officer of the UNDP as being particularly useful with definite potential for impact because it involves information-sharing between elected and appointed local officials.

The activities under the USAID/TAF umbrella project on Comprehensive Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI) (No.12) are designed to increase public knowledge and awareness of issues in the areas of constitutionalism, representative government, administration of and access to justice, human rights and development of a free press. Under this project, a sub-grant to the Nepal Press Institute in 1990-91 for institutional development through quarterly fora and fellowships for reporting on rural development has observably raised the quality and standards of economic and development journalism. It has also provided opportunities for both the vernacular and English language press to take advantage of the lifting of censorship imposed by the former regime. The Center for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA) in its progress report to the Kathmandu Mission stated that the sub-grant Research on the Future of the Nepalese Economy made in 1991 has resulted in better understanding of the macro and micro economic issues of the country and how political leaders, professionals and the general public perceive these issues.

Likewise, a DPI grant assistance to FREEDEAL (a non-governmental organization of judges, lawyers, law teachers and economists) for an Institutional Development and Arbitration project (No. 14) is hoping to modernize Nepal's arbitration system. Also, the DPI project sub-grant to the Ministry of Law and Justice for the strengthening of the capacity of the(JSTC) Judicial Services Training Center (No, 13) is expected to improve

professional skills of judges, government attorneys and other officers in the country's judicial system and result in more efficient and more equitable administration of justice.

The ambitious effort being carried out by SCOPE (Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Exercise) (No. 15) will eventually help to strengthen the country's parliamentary processes, by making available reports of parliamentary proceedings in a relatively short time and improving the skills of the technical staff of the parliamentary library and information center. Through orientation programs, policy research, discussions, workshops, seminars and its monthly publication called "Parliamentary Affairs", the SCOPE project purports to upgrade the professional caliber of parliamentarians and foster more awareness of their role and responsibilities. SCOPE has also been involved in the preparation of a Constitutional Commentary which is generating a lively national discussion and dialogue about constitutional interpretation and development.

When asked by the team about the impact of their activities, SCOPE executives maintained that parliament was becoming better informed about rules of procedure and a more cooperative relationship was developing between the government and the opposition parties, contributing to a new culture of political compromise which is emerging and a notable reduction in the frequency of incompatible positions in that body. An example of this occurred during the debate on the social welfare bill in parliament. The government version was excessively restrictive and so SCOPE organized discussion sessions with inputs from specialists brought in from universities and the NGOs. The recommendations which emerged were incorporated in final versions passed by the parliament. SCOPE also asserted that the number and quality of bills discussed in parliament had increased in recent sessions.

SRI LANKA

In Sri Lanka, the multifaceted USAID/TAF project for the Strengthening Democratic Institutions (No. 28) and the sub-grants under the project are expected to create a climate for change in the areas of law and justice, representative government and media communications. Grant support under this project for the strengthening of parliamentary research and information services through the appointment of short-term research consultants to parliamentary committees, acquisition of American research and reference materials, journal subscription and the establishment of a computer information unit headed by a senior consultant has greatly improved institutional capabilities and the quality of legislative technical support services. The Deputy Secretary General of Parliament explained that in recent years, Parliament had been criticized for lack of substance in debating issues and making decisions, due mainly to the absence of a strong institutional support structure. Without access to reliable background information on sophisticated legislative and policy issues, Members of Parliament were unable to engage in substantive debate. An increasingly well stocked library and reference center is now available to them.

A component of this same grant is the Continuing Legal Education Program of the Bar Association which is making it possible for lawyers in the so-called out-stations throughout the country to keep abreast of legal issues, case law and new trends in both the theory and practice of law. There were some delays in the start up implementation of project activities but from July to September 1992, the project conducted regional seminars for a total of some 350 participants, almost all lawyers practicing outside the capital. Project staff of the Bar Association said that the continuing legal education program is contributing to the improvement of standards and quality of private law practice in the country particularly in the outstations. Allied to this is the sub-grant to the Ministry of Justice for legal textbooks which has much the same objective: improving the competence of practitioners.

In the area of media strengthening, funding by TAF through a parent grant from USAID to the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Center for the development and publication of a monograph on Sri Lankan media laws and regulations is generating professional interest and participation in public education and debate on free flow of information and exchange of ideas. A separate grant which has since produced a degree course on development journalism at the University of Colombo is attracting students interested in press freedom and freelance reporting. A separate grant to the Marga Institute, a Sri Lankan center for development studies, expects to improve the quality of writing among practitioners from the various newspaper and media agencies in the country. The director wants the media to be "story focused not event focused," meaning that they should provide understandable background to the events they report. This In-Service Training for Journalists regularly conducts workshops for media representatives on journalism and the development process.

The Pilot Clinical Legal Aid Program and Legal Literacy Through Mass Media projects at the Open University of Sri Lanka (No.29) is promoting and promoted, respectively, through radio and video tapes, public understanding of and respect for fundamental human rights, the legal system and the rule of law through practical legal education and community legal service. Through this projects, law students are and were being provided with a better appreciation of the potential role of the legal professions as an instrument of public service and social change. They are also being introduced to a variety of skills necessary for a successful career in legal practice; free legal counselling and advocacy services are also being provided to economically disadvantaged Sri Lankans. The latest status and progress report on the Pilot Clinical Legal Aid Project, (supplemented by the team's interview with the Project Director and her staff) indicates that although this project had some difficulty getting started, it is beginning to realize its potential. The team was shown an excellent video on the abuse of women and redress available to them, and another, produced by the Law and Society Trust, on the rights of people suffering from mental disorders.

Three other human rights projects are also showing signs of increasing activity. The grants to the Law and Society Trust (No. 32) have resulted in the development of various

educational materials, including audio-visual presentations, a series of educational "comics", manuals and case studies. Recently, five additional video productions on human rights were developed. These films included presentations on remedies available to citizens for violations of fundamental rights, unfair labor practices, abuses involving prisoners, laws pertaining to mental health and laws dealing with prostitution and sexual exploitation of women. These films are reaching out to adults, university students and school children and are increasing public awareness of fundamental freedom and human rights.

The grant to the Nadesan Center of Human Rights Through Law (No. 32) has resulted in the establishment of a library and documentation center on human rights, which is acclaimed to be the most reliable source in the country for reference and research studies on the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Library is now being used by scholars, university professors and students, as well as lawyers and frequently by parliamentarians. The resources and documentary collection of this Library made it possible for the Center for the Study of Human Rights at the University of Colombo (No. 33) to compile all emergency decrees promulgated by the government over the years for analysis and review. The Center itself, which was funded in FY 1991 by ADP funds is proceeding smoothly with its three-years' programs for teaching, research and creation of public awareness on human rights issues. It has recently made a study and analysis of the country's emergency decrees and made recommendations to abolish those regulations which duplicate prevailing constitutional and statutory law. The study has since been submitted by the University Vice Chancellor to the Presidential Secretariat for consideration and a number of emergency regulations subsequently have been eliminated.

One other project of the Colombo Mission's portfolio should be mentioned, namely the Development of Opinion Research (1992) ASIA/DR/TR, competitive grant (No. 30). This project was designed to create a public opinion survey research facility. It generated a considerable amount of discussion both in the mission and in the Embassy because of its presumed sensitivity. The outcome of these discussions was to table the project for the time being and to wait for a more favorable climate in Sri Lanka before broaching the subject with the host government.

THE PHILIPPINES

As in the examples identified in the countries already discussed, the projects in the Philippines, which focus mainly on legal education and counseling, improving access to justice, support for NGOs, protection of workers, and human rights, are moving toward expected goals. Some indicators of their emerging impact are also perceptible.

Under the USAID/TAF sub-grant on Legal Assistance, Consultation and Non-formal Education for the Urban Poor (No. 34) being implemented by the Alternative Legal Assistance Center (ALAC), which is now known as SALIGAN, the acronym in the

vernacular, 46 seminars on local governance and advocacy have been conducted for a clientele of 1,389. Research and advocacy activities are dealing with issues such as devolution of government administration, policy-conflict resolution, and mandatory consultations. Publications, consisting of news briefs, monthly analysis of burning issues, posters and flyers on local development councils, qualifications and disqualifications of candidates, sectoral and environmental issues, are reaching out to the target groups and increasing public awareness and involvement. The Center is also the research arm of the Philippine Organization of Women Elected Representatives (POWER), an organization of congresswomen committed to the promotion and advancement of women's rights. As such, SALIGAN regularly provides the members with education sessions on women's issues taken up in proposed legislation and makes recommendations. In an interview with SALIGAN staff and lawyers, during which representatives from the Urban Poor Associates, Inc. (another NGO affiliated with SALIGAN) were also present, the evaluation team was told that the Center has been responsible in many cases for stopping illegal demolitions of houses of the urban poor. On this matter, SALIGAN's interventions have been responsible for the success of a petition to the Mayor of Manila requiring not only relocation before eviction but also that the evictor to give a sound reason for the action, such as the government's need for public land or if by a private enterprise, a feasibility study and impact evaluation of the action. The Center's advocacy methods are being emulated by other NGOs giving rise to a major movement to safeguard the rights of the urban poor.

Alongside with the SALIGAN project, that of SALAG (Structural Alternative Legal Assistance for Grassroots) for improving access to justice (No. 35) and the Alternative Dispute Resolution project of the University of the Philippines Office of Legal (No. 37) are also dealing with alternative or informal methods of conflict resolutions and making the general public aware of legal rights and available options in cases of litigation. SALAG activities include paralegal training, alternative law schools, legal lectures, legal consultations and representations, radio broadcasts, expansion of institutional connections and production of educational materials. In 1991-92, this sub-grantee carried out its activities in four regional offices of the country. As of September, 1992, cumulative accomplishments included 34 sessions of paralegal training, 5 courses on alternative law schools and 71 legal lectures. Radio programs continued in three radio stations outside of Manila. These activities are substantially of increasing call-ins for SALAG legal assistance and representation. A publication focused on the "Local Government Code and the Uplands" is being distributed to target audiences.

The Alternative Dispute Resolution project of the University of the Philippines Office of Legal Aid has since established two sites, one for testing mediation in an urban context, and the other, in a provincial environment. As of September, 1992, 16 mediators have been recruited and trained. Actual mediation cases handled numbered 71, of which 23 were successfully settled. The balance was returned to court. Experience with the project showed that various types of disputes are appropriate subjects for mediation, including interpersonal relations, neighborhood quarrels, collection cases based on

creditor-debtor relationships, claims for damages, consumer disputes, landlord-tenant relationships, minor criminal disputes, domestic relations (including marriage and child support or custody), and settlement of estate. This project's 30% success rate in the mediation of cases resulted in considerable savings in litigation expenses to the government and the litigants. The intended long term objective is to induce a change in the judicial system through a proposal to the Supreme Court of an amendment to the Rules of Court incorporating mediation as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism.

The project on Legal Assistance, Research and Public Information on Environmental Problems (No. 36) is being implemented by HARIBON Foundation for the Conservation of National Resources. The team found that project activities extend to a variety of sectors, including community-based resource management, science and research development, information and publication on environmental issues, advocacy and networking as well as the Tanggol Kalikasan, which is the recipient of USAID aid channeled through the Asia Foundation. Tanggol Kalikasan (the local term for defense of resources), is dedicated to the providing training for paralegals, legal advice, research and representation for members of indigenous communities, community organizations and individuals who have fallen victims to violations of environmental law regulations. It engages in community legal education by teaching people what are the laws concerning environment and what sorts of redress people have when they feel that the laws are being violated. Those that have little access to the redress system, such as farmers, fisherfolk and upland indigenous populations form the target group. Major complaints are made through the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). Under the project, paralegal training is offered to fishing wardens, forest guards and selected trainees usually recruited from the localities. Trainees are taught to look for evidence which they bring before officials of the line agencies. One result of the project is that the number of arrests made by wardens and guards has increased since the program was instituted and in some cases, the catch was quite significant. Additionally, there has been a marked decrease in the number of cases of illegal use of protected resources and a rise in the number of reports of violations. As a result of Tanggol's representations and lobbying with the government, the island of Palawan where illegal logging has been rampant, has recently been proclaimed a national park by the government and logging in that island has also been declared illegal.

The USAID/AAFLI Trade Union Human Rights Workshops (No. 39) implemented in 1989-90, made it possible for the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) to conduct workshops which had far reaching effects. The workshops brought together representatives from key government agencies such as the Commission of Human Rights, Department of Labor and Employment, Department of Justice, Department of National Defense, Philippine Constabulary (now Integrated National Police), academics from the University of the Philippines School of Labor and Industrial Relations, legislature, business sector, labor groups and NGO organizations. Issues and problems discussed in the workshops served as the bases for formulating recommendations and resolutions. Overall, a total of 71 resolutions and recommendations were developed, many of which

were integrated into a Workers Handbook on Trade Union and Human Rights. A culmination of the series of conference-workshops conducted under the project was the Manila Conference in 1990 at which a proposal for a "Manila Declaration" was made to President Aquino calling on the government to formulate and implement a comprehensive program to promote trade union and human rights in the country. In that historic conference, President Aquino was reported to have assured the general public that the government would consider the declaration in designing future policies and programs. A summary report on the project states that the human rights workshop program succeeded in making the people aware of the need for basic human rights guarantees and in bringing together disparate groups to address human and trade union rights. Further, it opened up channels for reporting violations.

The Human Rights Radio Drama Program (No. 38) which followed the workshops enabled the TUCP to reach out to the general public and educate them through mass media materials. With the cooperation of the Associated Labor Unions (ALU) and the Commission on Human Rights (CHR), the project was able to develop some 25 half-hour human rights dramas in two major Philippine dialects, Tagalog and Cebuano, focusing on common violations of the Labor Code, Bill of Rights statutes and the Constitution. The airing of these radio drama programs was started in October, 1990 by the two major broadcasting companies in the country, the government-owned Philippine Broadcasting Service (PBS) and the Manila Broadcasting Company (MBC). An assessment of the project carried out in cooperation with the Commission on Human Rights stated that public response to the drama series was so wide and positive that top-rated programs on Philippine television have invited the officials of the CHR as guests to accommodate the audiences' requests for further enlightenment on the subject of human rights violations. The Commission credits the radio dramas as a leading factor in the decline of alleged abuses by military personnel of civilians and a sixty percent increase in the reporting of basic rights violations since the radio programs were launched. The CHR had plans to translate and broadcast the radio dramas in other regional languages, such as Bicolano and Ilocano, an indication of the broad appeal of these programs.

The USAID/AAFLI Trade Union/Workers Training Project (No. 40), which was started in 1989 and has been extended to 1993 is also spinning off benefits. Under this project, the TUCP (with the cooperation of the National Conciliation and Mediation Board (NCMB) and the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), both government agencies) has established four programs: (1) Voluntary Arbitration Training, (2) Labor advocacy Training, (3) Three-level Trade Union Leadership Training and (4) Workers Legal Counselling Service. Four voluntary arbitration training programs conducted in four major urban centers in the country (attended by a total of some 233 participants from labor groups, private practitioners, academics, religious leaders, retired judges, industrial relations specialists, businessmen and government officials) have resulted not only in the development of a Manual on Voluntary Arbitration but also in the printing and distribution by the NCMB of a Directory of Accredited Voluntary Arbitrators throughout the country. A ranking official of the NCMB told the team that as a result of the voluntary arbitration

program, some 600 cases of labor disputes, some of which might have degenerated into violence and strikes, have been avoided. The five training programs on labor advocacy, attended by a total of 126 federation and local grievance officers from various TUCP affiliated federations in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, have also improved the ability of local officers to present their grievances and eventually in voluntary arbitration proceedings. Under the three-level trade union leadership training, over 218 young local union officers, including 48 women leaders, were provided with necessary skills and knowledge on all aspects of trade union administration. Concerning the Workers Legal Counselling Service (WLCS) some 13 trained lawyer/counselors have been recruited representing the number of WLCS centers established throughout the country. After almost three years of operation, the counselling service project has processed a total of 4,627 cases affecting some 85,532 workers. At least 122 cases have been resolved with over \$346,300 in back wages and compensation recovered for the workers. This total does not include the large number of cases which were abandoned when dismissed workers found new jobs. However, the Centers are becoming inundated with workers' requests for legal assistance and representations.

In Cebu, the project entitled Improving Access to Justice through Community-Based Legal Aid Education and Assistance (No. 41) of the Free Legal Assistance Volunteers Association (FREELAVA) has been funded by TAF and has recently received a competitive grant. FREELAVA has been involved in popular education program in the barangays in the region. Of particular concern to its leaders, all lawyers, is the plight of prisoners, some of whom have been jailed without charges, and with little knowledge of what recourse is available to them. The organization has attracted a good deal of publicity with its activities at the Cebu municipal jail, where, besides offering legal counseling to prisoners and literacy classes, it has initiated vocational training and made low interest loans available to prisoners so that they can start small enterprises when they are set free. The team was told that FREELAVA will use the recent funding from A.I.D. for training barangay leaders in dispute resolution methods.

Mention must be made of the LDAP--Local Development Assistance Project (No.42)--being implemented by the Mission's ONRAD unit. This project, with a total budget of \$50 million, is actively supporting the Philippine democracy program with cash transfers to support decentralization and capacity building of local government units (LGUs). Under the LDAP a Local Government Academy is engaged in a massive education and training program for local development councils throughout the country to facilitate their understanding and exercise of their new powers under the new 1991 Local Government Code. It is relevant to note that the new code mandates (1) stronger and more responsible local governments, (2) legalizing the LGUs'share of national revenues, (3) more open local governments, by requiring at least 25% NGO representation in some local bodies and development councils, (4) giving citizens the potential to control LGUs through such tools as referendum, recall, and initiative, (5) increased cooperation by LGUs and the private sector in accelerating local development, and (6) more LGU flexibility in seeking funding and investment by being able to deal directly with foreign

donors and investors. Given these features of the new decentralization program, the LDAP play a significant role in improving the functioning of local government which may yet prove to meaningful step in promoting democracy in the Philippines.

Throughout this report of project activities and expectations, the team would like to repeat that the discussion should not obscure the caveat stated at the outset: that it is still too early to arrive at any assessment of impact of the projects on the countries' democratic development. Also, allowances should be made for the fact that much of what has been reported came from those involved in the projects and therefore may be a reflection of enthusiastically internalized association with expected outcomes. In any case, any impact of the projects at this stage is still largely at the micro-specific project development level and objectives and their effects at the macro-national level of democratic development remain to be seen. However, it is the team's impression that both the ADP strategy and the in-country activities designed to implement the strategy have appropriately targeted the major fundamentals of sustainable democracy. There is little reason to doubt that these activities will eventually produce tangible benefits for the countries reviewed. At the same time, to facilitate future evaluations, statistical materials, starting with base-line data, suitable for measuring program accomplishments must be generated.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In is the team's view that with a few exceptions, the design and the implementation of the Asia Democracy Program is sound, and that the impact in the long run should promote democratic institutions and practices in the respective countries. The future success of the program will depend upon a variety of factors, the most important of which will be the degree of political stability experienced by each nation in the coming years. For the most part, optimism was expressed by those with whom the team members spoke. The military in Thailand can be kept in check; the government of Sri Lanka will initiate talks on a cease fire with the insurgents; in Nepal the palace is content to play its designated constitutional role; and in the Philippines legitimization of the new administration is taking place and a viable civic culture is returning. This bodes well for the projects under the ADP as well as other activities within the mission portfolios which contain democracy promoting elements.

Recommendations

These recommendations are offered on a country by country basis:

Thailand: The appropriate representative from the Bangkok mission should seek clarification from DETEC of the complaint that US PVOs (TAF, AAFLI, and PACT) lack sufficient transparency. DETEC reports that periodic reports are not reaching the office. If this is the case, corrective measures should be made. If this view prevails, it might adversely affect the operation of those organizations.

AAFLI impressed the team as doing a vigorous and competent job in Thailand, but its lack of transparency is affecting its relations with the Thai government. The Bangkok mission should take steps to address this condition. Consideration should also be given to extending funding to AAFLI and to PACT beyond their respective expiration dates. The latter is making a significant contribution of family and child welfare services.

Nepal: Attention should be given by the responsible officer in the mission to increasing the self-sustaining capability of some of the NGOs that are being funded. SCOPE, HCAER, LEADERS, CART should be encouraged to look for alternative funding opportunities and the possibilities for selling their services and other products commercially.

Are there possibilities for SCOPE's future funding coming out of the budget for the parliamentary secretariat?

The question of donor coordination has been a sensitive issue in Nepal. However, closer donor coordination and program collaboration in the area of decentralization and strengthening of local government should be examined. This is a critical activity in the democratization process and requires a major cooperative effort. There are potential benefits for this being perceived as a multinational effort.

Collaborative planning should take place in the provision of facilities for the parliamentary secretariat. Since expensive equipment and software are projected, consistency and compatibility are essential.

Nepalese and expatriate specialists emphasized that to institutionalize democratic processes, particularly at the local level, attitudes of officials of the line ministries had to change in anticipation of new roles and functions. Preparation through training, workshops, visits abroad should be planned.

Sri Lanka: A number of the legal assistance projects, Nadesan Center, Law and Society Trust, Center for the Study of Human Rights, and the Sri Lanka Bar Association all have problems of library acquisition, storage and access. Their cataloging capabilities need updating to provide better access by potential users and to allow for a more efficient system of interlibrary loans. More reference materials need to be made available to borrowers from out of town. The possibility of a mobile basic reference collection should be considered.

The question of establishing a public opinion research center should be reassessed. An independent entity for surveying public opinion provides a valuable service to both advocacy NGOs and to a active press. The free flow of information is to become a core component of ADP strategy and public opinion sampling is central to this issue.

Philippines: With the promulgation of the new local government codes there is a special provision for NGOs to be represented in local councils. This would provide them with a major entree into local decision-making and resource allocation. Haribon, SALIGAN, and FREELAVA should be encouraged to take advantage of this opportunity.

Regional: The team may have received the wrong impression, but it seems that due to the shortage of funds, many of the grantees appear to be in a competitive rather than a collaborative mode. Each has to impress the

donor of its own superior capabilities which lessens the desire to work together. Cooperation should be encouraged.

In certain areas, such as contributing to legislative support services in Nepal, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines, in training paralegals, in promoting informal dispute settlement structures, NGOs and consultants in each country are encountering many similar problems and successes. A better exchange of information on these experiences, visits to each other's country, or workshops would be profitable.

**Regional
Bureau:**

The team concludes that the Asia Democracy Program is well conceived and implemented. It does serve the purposes for which it was designed: to stimulate interest in the missions for democracy initiatives, and to provide funding for innovative and pilot projects. These motives are accepted and respected by the relevant officers in the field, who recommended that the program be retained. The ADP in no way discourages the incorporation of democracy initiatives into the remainder of the missions' portfolios. Quite the contrary, it promotes dialogue within the mission and with recipients. Officers in the Sri Lanka mission charged with the promotion of private enterprise were quite familiar with the increasing synergy between business and NGOs which stimulates participation in policy making on the part of private interests. More people show more concern about the business of government; this constitutes involvement and participation.

These arguments convince the team that the program should be maintained. The small grants competition is an integral part of the ADP and should be continued. Without the competition, the ADP loses much of its personality, and might be overwhelmed by other priorities and obligations of the missions. Notice of the competition must be sent to the missions as early and as conspicuously as possible, as existing and potential grantees must be informed in a timely fashion. The extra work required in the submission of the proposals was not considered onerous by mission staff.

The greater the critical mass in favor of reform, the greater the likelihood of the reform succeeding. The energy to create this critical mass can't be provided by a single donor, or even a collection of donors. The necessary energy must come from the society itself, but a collaborative donor effort is more likely to stimulate it. From what the team heard, this would not be a difficult accomplishment in the case of Nepal, and even possible elsewhere. The UNDP and the World Bank are both interested in funding decentralization and local government strengthening programs. The initiative probably should come from headquarters where agreement to collaborate, and then transmitted to the field.

The Asia Bureau might undertake to reformulate its future democratization strategy. It is suggested that activities be clustered around a new set of initiatives which the Bureau within the context of the ADP would support and strengthen:

- * **Civil Society**
participatory development groups
advocacy NGOs
government accountability
trade unions

- * **Governance**
public administration
national legislatures
local government/decentralization
institutional accountability and transparency
electoral support

- * **Rule of Law**
legal awareness
judicial independence
administration of justice
informal dispute resolution
human rights

- * **Information**
public policy reporting
citizen access
independent media
journalistic accountability

Lessons Learned

For the ADP to have maximum impact, there needs to be an integrated effort amongst State, USAID, and USIS, along with the pertinent NGOs to devise a collaborative program. The Nepal program represents an excellent example of this effort.

Projects that enhance constitutional structures have the capability of strengthening democratic processes.

Projects funded by bilateral agencies have a better chance of success if implemented by an indigenous NGO. This is particularly true in a sensitive area such as judicial, administrative, and structural reform.

No single strategy for implementing democratic initiatives is suitable for all countries, or even for a group of neighboring countries. Project specifics must be designed by experienced area specialists.

NGOs have and will continue to have a vital role to play in instigating political change. In the area of decentralization advocacy NGOs will be especially prominent.

Democratization and NGO development are inexorably linked.

There is too much preoccupation with identifying and promoting the American role in democratization efforts. It is possible that this may produce a backlash in the long run. The final communique from the March 1993 Bangkok conference decrying the linkage between development assistance and human rights/ democratization may well be a harbinger of this attitude.

ANNEX E

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Washington:

Agency For International Development

- ASIA/DAA
 - George Laudato
- ASIA/DR
 - Phyllis Forbes, Director
- ASIA/DR/TR
 - Thomas Nicastro, Chief, Technical Resources
 - Richard Whitaker, Chief, DAPVC
 - Illona Countryman, Democracy Officer
 - Ravi Aulka, Private Sector Officer
 - Toby Pierce, Environmental Officer
- ASIA/FPM
 - Peter Davis, Director
 - Art Silver, Financial Analyst
 - Kathleen Horkan, Research and Reference Services
 - Jay Nussbaum, Program Officer
- ASIA/EA
 - Linda Morse, Director (Acting Thai Desk Officer)
 - Dominic D'Antonio, Philippines Desk Officer
 - David Masters, Philippines Desk Officer
- ASIA/SA
 - Barry MacDonald, Nepal and Sri Lanka Desk Officer
 - John Gunning (former Nepal and Sri Lanka Desk Officer)
- AF/ONI/ONI
 - Jennifer Windsor, Democracy Officer
 - Robert Shoemaker
 - Warren Wienstine
 - Robert Charlick, Consultant

- NE/DR/DPI
 - William Cole, Director
 - Kristin Loken, Project Officer
- LAC/DI
 - William Shoux, Director
 - Peter Sellar, Deputy Director
- NIS
 - Bryant George, NIS Task Force
 - Jeanne Bourgault, Democracy Officer
- EUR
 - Susan Kosinski, Democracy Officer
- R&D Bureau
 - Travis Horel, R&D, Democracy Program
 - Tulin Pulley, R&D/WID/Asia Liaison Officer
 - David Hirshman, Consultant
- POL/CDIE/E/SS/S
 - Sharon Benoliel
- CDIE
 - Gary Hansen, POL/CDIE/E/POA Democracy Analyst
 - Harry Blair Social Science Analyst
- FHA/PVC
 - Sally Montgomery, Deputy Assistant Administrator
 - Louis Stamberg, Deputy Director
- POL/SP
 - Michael Morfit, Director
- STATE/HA
 - Carol Glunt, Senior Foreign Policy Manager
- Asian American Free Labor Institute
 - Mark Hankin, Assistant Executive Director
 - Timothy Ryan, Program Officer
 - Lynda Sigelakis, Program Officer
 - Nikkom Chandravithun (President, Institute of Promotion and Development of Labor Organizations, Bangkok, Thailand)

- Asia Foundation/Washington Office
 - Allen Choate (Executive Vice President/San Francisco Office)
 - John Brandon, Program Office
- World Bank
 - Coralie Bryant
 - Paul Isenman
 - Jerry Silverman
- International Republican Institute
 - Edward B. Stewart, Regional Program Officer
- The American University
 - Laird Anderson, Professor, School of Communication
 - Susan Hammond, Professor, School of Public Affairs
- Georgetown University
 - David Steinberg, Adjunct Professor
- WORDS, McLean, Virginia
 - Margaret Sullivan, Freelance Journalist
- Development Associates, Inc.
 - Peter Davis, President
 - Jack Sullivan, Vice President

Bangkok, Thailand

- USAID, Bangkok
 - Thomas Reese, Mission Director
 - Eugene Morris, Deputy Mission Director
 - Susan Palmer
 - Robert Dakan
- The Asia Foundation (TAF)
 - Michael Kobori, Assistant Representative
 - Kim DeRidder, Assistant Representative, Director of Programs for Laos
 - Pam Tansa-Nguanwong, Program Officer
- Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI)
 - John V. Osolnick, Country Director
 - Ubon Kompipote, Local Program Officer
 - Somsak Kosaisok, Railway Workers' Union

- Private Agencies Collaborating Together (PACT)
 - Cheryl Urashima, Program Director
 - Daonoi Srikajan, Program Coordinator
- Royal Government of Thailand, Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation
 - Krisda Piampongsant, Director, External Cooperation Division

Nepal, Kathmandu

- Embassy
 - Julia Chang Bloch, Ambassador
 - Michael Malinowski, Deputy Mission Chief
 - Tod Greentree, Political Officer
- United States Information Service
 - Janey Cole, Director
 - Richard Brown, Public Affairs Officer
- United States Agency for International Development
 - Theodora Wood-Stervinou, Acting Mission Director
 - Richard Byess, Chief, Program and Project Development Office
 - Joanna Kirk, Democracy Program Manager
 - Siddhi Ranjitkar, Evaluation Officer
 - Tri Ratna Tuladhar, Assistant Program Officer
- Himalaya Institute for Development
 - Prakash Raj Sapkota, Secretary General
- Nepal Opinion Survey Center (NOSC)
 - Mangal Manandhar, Director
 - Champak Pokharel
- Women's Legal Services Project
 - Silu Singh, Executive Director
 - Manik Lal Shrestha, Professor, Tribuvan University
- United Nations Development Program
 - Paul Lundberg, Director, Decentralization Program
- Integrated Development Studies
 - Meena Acharya, Executive Director
- Center for Research and Development Analysis
 - Tulsi N. Shrestha, Director

- **FREEDeAL**
 - Bharat Raj Upreti, Advocate
 - Ishwari C. Sharma, Arbitrator and Commercial Law Consultant
 - Richard W Naimark, Consultant from American Arbitration Association
- **Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Exercise (SCOPE)**
 - Purna Man Shakya, Legal Consultant
 - Surya P. S. Dhungel, General Secretary
- **Parliamentary Secretariat**
 - Surya Kiran Gurung, Secretary to the House of Representatives
 - Ram Bahadur, K.C. Secretary to the National Assembly
 - A. B. Joshi, Additional Secretary
- **The Asia Foundation**
 - Anne Kaufman, Program Development Consultant
 - Parshuram Mishra, Management Information Systems Manager
- **National Planning Commission**
 - Ram S. Mahat, Vice Chairman
 - Sri Krishna Upadhyaya, Director for Decentralization
- **Center for Action Research and Training (CART)**
 - Mukti Kafli, Director
- **Service Extension and Action Research for Communities in the Hills (SEARCH)**
 - Deepak Tamang, Executive Director

Others:

- Prem Raj Gautam, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Trade and Commerce (formerly with the Ministry of Local Development)
- Bhekh Bahadur Thapa (former Ambassador to the United States and Resident Representative for UNDP in Sri Lanka)
- Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, President, Nepal Congress (Prime Minister in the Interim Government)
- Kuber Sharma, Member of Parliament, Nepali Congress
- P. L. Singh, Mayor of Kathmandu Municipality
- Binod Kumar Battarai, Adviser to the Minister for Local Development
- Indira Rana, Secretary, Judicial Council, Supreme Court
- Suprabha Ghimire, President, Nepal Teachers Association
- Kusum Shrestha, Senior Advocate
- Mangal Manandhar, Director NOSC

- Shankerman Pradhan, Director General, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Indira Shrestha, SHTRII/SHAKTI/SEARCH

Colombo, Sri Lanka

- Embassy
 - Teresita Shaeffer, Ambassador
 - Robert Boggs, Political Counselor
 - Ted Andrews, Political Officer
- United States Agency for International Development
 - Richard Brown, Mission Director
 - David Garms, Deputy Mission Director
 - Pamela Baldwin, Democracy Officer and Acting Chief Officer of Projects
 - Thusitha Dharmawardena, Project Officer, NGO Grants Program
 - Avanthi Jayatilleke, Environmental Officer
 - Stan Stalla, Chief, Environment & Capital Projects Division
 - Jim Goggin, Project Officer, Agriculture and Natural Resources Office
 - Steve Hadley, Chief Office of Private Sector Development
 - Ronald Black Chief of Party, Policy Support Unit, Private Sector Support Project
- United States Information Service
 - Ann Driscoll, Public Affairs Officer
- The Asia Foundation
 - Richard Fuller, Representative
 - Stephen Claborne, Assistant Representative
 - Jennifer Thambaya, Program Officer
- University of Colombo, Faculty of Journalism
 - Romesh Fernando,
 - M.J.R. David
- Marga Institute
 - Victor Gunawardina, Director Inservice Media Program
- Bar Association of Sri Lanka, Continuing Legal Education Program
(Three members from whom we got no name cards)
- Open University, Faculty of Law
 - Savethi Gunesekara, Director, Clinical Legal Aid Program

- Nadesan Center
 - Suriya Wickremasinghe, Joint Secretary
 - V. Kanapathipillai
- Law Society Trust
 - Neelan Tiruchelvam
- University of Colombo, Faculty of Law, Center for the Study of Human Rights
 - Deepika Udagama, Director
 - Father Dias, Remand Prisoner Program
 - Srisneetha Gunasekera, Lecturer, Department of Sociology
 - Serovil Wijesiriwardena, Alternative Culture Program
 - Srinath Perera, Coordinator
 - I.V Edirisinghe, Human Rights Diploma Syllabus Coordinator

Others:

- G.L. Peiris, Vice Chancellor, University of Colombo
- Mervyn de Silva, Editor, Lanka Guardian
- Radhika Coomaraswamy, Center for Ethnic Studies
- Bertram Titiwella, Assistant Parliamentary Secretary General

Manila, Philippines

- Embassy
 - Richard Solomon, Ambassador
 - Simean Moats, Political Officer
- United States Agency for International Development
 - Richard Johnson, Acting Mission Director
 - John Heard, Chief, Private Voluntary Organizations
 - Lisa Chiles, Legal Adviser
 - David Nelson
 - Darleen Pridmore
 - Lisa Magno
 - Ima Verosa
 - Harry Dickherber, ONRAD
 - Leonardo Dayao, ONRAD
- The Asia Foundation
 - Erik Jensen, Acting Representative
- The Ford Foundation
 - Terrance George, Program Officer

- Haribun Foundation, Tanggol-Kalikasan
 - Hector Soliman
 - Ipat Luna
 - Christie Nozawa
- University of the Philippines Office of Legal Assistance (UPOLA)
 - Alfredo Tadiar, Director
- Alternative Legal Assistance Center (SALIGAN)
 - Joey Mendoza, Director
 - Lordes Dabao
 - Roberto Gana
- Urban Poor Associates
 - Dennis Murphy
 - Celia Santos
- Free Legal Assistance Volunteers Association (FREE LAVA), Cebu
 - Esperanza G. Valenzona, Chair of the Board
 - Rudolfo Acido, Vice Chair
 - Ildefonsa A. Ybanez, Secretary
 - Rolando Chiu, Director
 - Tony Auditor, Manager and Facilitator
- Asian American Free Labor Institute
 - Harry Kamberis, Representative
(female assistant)
- Workers Legal Counseling Service
 - Amorito Canete, Director
- National Arbitration and Conciliation Board
 - Eleuterio "Eliot" Cojielango, Deputy Executive Director
- Commission on Human Rights
 - Samuel Soriano, Acting Commissioner
 - Homero Matthew P. Rusiana, Secretary
- Congressional Research and Training Service
 - Sheila Espine, Training Program Director
 - Marianne P. Manzanan, Research Program Director
 - Vicky Varga, Special Projects Director

- Department of Agriculture, GOP
 - Rosalie R. Licauco, Chief, Information Management Service
- Department of Interior and Local Government, Local Government Academy
 - Nelda H. Loda, Chief, Research and Program Division

Others:

- Steve Golub, Member of 1991 Philippine DPI Assessment Team
- David Timberman, Asia Society Fellow researching the 1992 elections
- Leo M. Monisit, Deputy Warden, Cebu City Jail

California: San Francisco Bay Area

- Asia Foundation
 - William Fuller, President
 - Alan Choate, Executive Vice President
 - Gordon Hein
 - Edward Anderson
 - Carol Yost
 - Edith Colliver, former TAF Representative in Manila and Taipei
- University of California
 - Leo Rose, Department of Political Science, UC Berkeley
 - Judith Justice, UC San Francisco, Medical School

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ANNEX F

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