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EVALUATION

Somalia Legislative Strengthening Program Evaluation: 2010-2013 Somalia Legislative Strengthening, Elections and Political Process Program

December 2013

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SOMALIA LEGISLATIVE STRENGTHENING PROGRAM EVALUATION

**EVALUATION OF THE 2010-2013 SOMALIA LEGISLATIVE
STRENGTHENING, ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PROCESS
PROGRAM**

December 2013

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

CONTENTS

- Acronyms i
- Executive Summary..... ii
- Evaluation Purpose & Project Background 1
 - Evaluation Purpose 1
 - Evaluation Questions 1
 - Project Background 3
- Evaluation methods & limitations..... 5
 - Evaluation Methodology 5
 - Evaluation Limitations 7
- Findings, conclusions & Recommendations 9
 - Findings 9
 - Conclusions 20
 - Recommendations 22
- Annex I: Evaluation Statement of Work..... 25
- Annex II: Data Collection Instruments..... 36
- Annex III: Sources of Information..... 39
- Annex IV: Disclosure of any Conflicts of Interest..... 40
- Annex V: Summary OF Activities - CEPPS/SOMALIA 2010-2013 42
- Annex VI: CEPPS Statement of Differences 59

ACRONYMS

| | |
|--------|--|
| AMISOM | African Union Mission in Somalia |
| AOR | Agreement Officer's Representative |
| CDCS | Country Development Cooperation Strategy |
| CEPPS | Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening |
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| DFID | United Kingdom Department for International Development |
| DO | Development Objective |
| EU | European Union |
| IBTCI | International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc. |
| IFCC | Independent Federal Constitution Commission |
| IPU | Inter-Parliamentary Union |
| IQC | Indefinite Quantity Contract |
| IRI | International Republican Institute |
| IRIN | Integrated Regional Information Networks |
| KII | Key Informant Interview |
| M&E | Monitoring & Evaluation |
| MEPS | Monitoring & Evaluation Program for Somalia |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| NDI | National Democratic Institute |
| OTI | Office of Transition Initiatives |
| PIPS | Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services |
| QR | Quarterly Report |
| SIRIP | Somalia Interactive Radio Instruction Program |
| SNDF | Somaliland National Disability Forum |
| SONYO | Somaliland National Youth Organization |
| SOW | Scope of Work |
| SOWPA | Somalia Women's' Parliamentarians Association |
| SYLP | Somali Youth Livelihood Program |
| TFC | Transitional Federal Charter of the Somali Republic |
| TFG | Transitional Federal Government |
| TFP | Transitional Federal Parliament |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| USG | United States Government |
| USIP | United States Institute of Peace |

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SUMMARY OF EVALUATION PURPOSE AND PROGRAM BACKGROUND

This evaluation assesses the performance of the **“Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program.”**¹ This three-year cooperative agreement is implemented by the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening III (CEPPS III); the two implementing organizations for the CEPPS/Somalia award are the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI).² The original agreement was for 36 months, from September 1, 2010 to September 30, 2013. The project was subsequently extended by one year, with an additional \$1.2 million in funding.

This evaluation was designed and implemented under the close supervision of USAID Somalia, and the CEPPS Agreement Officer’s Representative (AOR). USAID provided significant input into the evaluation focus and level of rigor, methodology, instruments, and work plan. The purpose of this evaluation was to identify program achievements and challenges in program design, activities and operations, and to make recommendations that would make the program more effective in achieving specific program objectives as well as place the project in the context of broader USG and USAID objectives in Somalia and the East Africa region. There were three specific key evaluation questions that USAID wished to have addressed, and they are provided below.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section summarizes the evaluators’ findings and recommendations in response to the three key evaluation questions. Responses to the second question on objectives and achievements are divided into categories: Overall Program Results; Gender; IRI-Somaliland; NDI-Somalia; and Other.

A) Were the development hypotheses that shaped the CEPPS/Somalia program design clearly articulated and justified, and do they remain valid for the current Somalia context and objectives?

- The evaluators found during the course of the document review that the CEPPS program description and proposal do not include meaningful development hypotheses. They also found that the program objectives were frequently vague and without reference to the specific context. Interviews with implementers suggest that this is the product of the fluid political context in Somalia, changes in funding levels and shifts in USAID priorities. Nevertheless, evaluators concluded that clear hypothesis and objectives are not just a formal requirement, they contribute to a program’s effectiveness, its focus and its ability to evaluate and communicate impact. Evaluators recommend that for any future programs, USAID and CEPPS implementers work together to more clearly articulate the underlying logic and rationale for their activities.

¹ Associate Cooperative Agreement No: AID-623-LA-11-00001

² CEPPS is a joint legal venture of three organizations in the field of elections and political party process strengthening: the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), IRI and NDI.

B) Has CEPPS/Somalia achieved the objectives described in the 2010 Cooperative Agreement and subsequent modifications? Have there been other notable achievements not anticipated in program objectives and design?

Overall Program Accomplishments

- Interview respondents consistently expressed positive opinions of both CEPPS implementing organizations. Evaluators found that respondents viewed the implementers as responsive and flexible. They expressed what evaluators judged to be sincere appreciation for USAID’s support for implementers’ continuous engagement with Somalia.³ Evaluators also found that respondents were consistent in expressing the need for continued support and assistance like that provided by NDI and IRI. These findings are consistent with evaluators’ review of key program documents, which found that design and implementation of program activities generally reflected best practices and sound principles established by USAID guidelines for analogous programs in post-conflict and fragile states⁴.
- On the basis of these findings, evaluators concluded that NDI and IRI have established good will and strong relationships with Somali counterparts and had notable accomplishments in a very fluid and complex environment. Activities identified as most successful were: IRI’s work with parliamentary caucuses and political parties and NDI’s work with the Transitional and Federal parliaments.
- Evaluators concluded that other activities were less successful or were difficult to assess within the constraints of the evaluation, such as NDI’s support for constitutional outreach and civic education. A third group of activities had limited results. These include the IRI public opinion surveys, NDI focus group research, the grant to Freedom House⁵ and support for women’s political engagement.
- Overall, evaluators concluded that – while not all activities achieved their intended objectives – overall the CEPPS program had a notable positive effect on democracy and governance in Somalia. **Evaluators recommend that future USAID democracy and governance programs in Somalia take into consideration CEPPS implementers’ accomplishments and successes, but also remedy program shortcomings and weaknesses.**

Gender

- Interviews and document review found that implementers made efforts to target women’s political participation or other gender-related objectives, those efforts were hampered by USAID modifications to CEPPS award budget and program description and had little substantive results. Evaluators concluded that this was a significant shortcoming in program design and implementation and **recommend that any future programs include a focus on gender that is consistent with USAID global policy and best practice.**

³ Both NDI and IRI have been active in Somalia and Somaliland with USAID, NED and other donor funding since 2002

⁴ Documents reviewed are listed in the body of the report and annexes. Best practices identified are described in greater detail in body of report.

⁵ Freedom House received a subgrant to support civil society organizations in Somaliland and Puntland. Based on discussions with USAID on priorities given the changing political context, it was decided that unspent funds would be reprogrammed. These funds were reallocated to support both CEPPS implementers’ activities.

IRI Programs in Somaliland

- Political party leaders and others who had participated in IRI programs to strengthen political parties and train party poll agents⁶ were uniformly positive about the effect of those programs. They stated that the poll-watching activities were an educating and stabilizing force in the 2012 local elections and that the party organization activities were helping to improve the functions and regional structures of the activities. Many respondents interviewed also expressed a concern about the possibility of political instability and possibly even violence in the periods leading up to, during and after the nation-wide elections in 2015, and noted that political parties were one of the few institutions in Somaliland that transcended clan and regional affiliations. Evaluators' document review reached similar findings: both party programs were well-designed and effectively implemented. Evaluators concluded that these programs were achieving their targeted objective of building political party capacity and structure. Evaluators also concluded that these programs contributed to greater political stability, which will be increasingly important in the coming election cycle. Evaluators concluded that while these programs cannot entirely prevent negative consequences, they can be part of a strategy to contain them. Reflecting these conclusions about the success of IRI political party activities and the concerns about instability, **evaluators recommend that USAID build on the accomplishments of these activities, including both party strengthening and party poll-watcher trainings, and integrate similar activities into any future election-related programs.**
- Respondents provided similarly positive evaluations of IRI's work to establish and strengthen issue-based parliamentary caucuses around health and environmental issues. CSOs stated that they had achieved greater connections to parliament and were advancing important policy issues. MPs who had participated in these activities reported that they had achieved their objective of bringing MPs and civil society closer together, encouraging a greater focus on substantive issues, increasing MP contact with distant constituencies, and improving the quality of legislation. The environmental caucus had been more active, but health caucus activities appear to be expanding. These positive interview findings were confirmed in document review: the activities were focused on concrete issues; they were responsive to local concerns and culture; they provided tangible assistance, not abstract training or capacity building.⁷ MPs interviewed emphasized that these activities were not explicitly political or partisan, but the CSOs who participated stated that these activities increased citizen awareness of government and the parliament and their positive impression of government capacity. Evaluators concluded that increased citizen awareness of the functions of government and evidence that their representatives were working on their behalf would lead to increased participation and turnout during elections, and reduce the level of potentially de-stabilizing anti-government (or just anti-state) sentiment. On the basis of the past results of these activities in engaging MPs, CSOs and citizens, as well as their potential positive effect on stability in the election period, **evaluators recommend that future programs build on the work being done by the caucuses, and consider their extension into legislative drafting and greater outreach to media as described in the body of the report.**

⁶ IRI poll-watcher activities were funded by DFID, not USAID.

⁷ Further details about program design and sustainability, as well as issues in measuring results related to citizen perception, are provided in the body of the report.

- Evaluators found that the first round of IRI polls conducted in Somaliland provoked controversy and negative responses, with some political leaders publicly expressing concerns that the results were misleading and biased. In subsequent polls IRI modified methodology and data released. These have not provoked similar public controversy, though some interview subjects expressed lingering suspicions about the validity of their methodology and purpose, and expressed concern that the results of future polls could be intentionally or unintentionally misinterpreted and used to manipulate voters in the potentially volatile pre-election period. Evaluators did not examine IRI polling methodology and have no opinion about the validity of that methodology, but concluded that there was some validity to those concerns, regardless of the rigor of the methodology. Evaluators were able to confirm that MPs and political leaders were aware of the polls, but were not able to establish any significant direct impact on policy or policymakers. However, IRI's emphasis on polling was directly responsible for the establishment of a local company that now provides research services to USAID and other donors. The most recent IRI poll in Somaliland was funded by DFID, not USAID. **Evaluators recommend that any future USAID support for polling in Somaliland be predicated on evidence of impact on policy and policymakers, and incorporate lessons learned from earlier controversies.**
- The 2010 CEPPS cooperative agreement included a \$1.5 million grant to Freedom House to support civil society organizations in Somaliland and Puntland. Evaluators' review of documents found that only a handful of activities – mostly assessments and strategic planning retreats – had taken place. Based on discussions with USAID on priorities given the changing political context, it was decided that unspent funds would be reprogrammed. Evaluators concluded that this was a correct decision.

NDI Programs in Somalia

- Evaluators found that interview subjects identified support to Somalia's parliament as NDI's most effective group of activities. In particular, respondents cited NDI's work to develop and introduce rules of procedure, support on the size and structure of the transitional parliament, and assistance in developing a legislative agenda. Evaluators also found that respondents mentioned the need for future support to the parliament more frequently than any other perceived future need. This finding is based on interviews with approximately 20 individuals who had direct or indirect knowledge of NDI's activities to strengthen Somalia's parliament. This was often an unprompted response to an open-ended question about NDI programs in Somalia. Respondents were able to provide detailed descriptions of the trainings and concrete examples of how the programs had improved the legislative process. The most frequently cited activities were NDI's work over an extended period to develop and introduce rules of procedure to the parliament, and NDI's work to "reform" the parliament when it had to be brought down to its current size of 275 members. Review of program descriptions, quarterly reports and other material found that parliamentary programs were designed and implemented consistent with international best practices. As with the interviews, evaluators found that the reports made credible links between activities and results. Based on those findings, evaluators concluded that NDI's work with parliament has been effective and that there is a need for continued support. Specific best practices from those activities are identified in the body of the report. **Evaluators recommend that future DG programs continue to make strengthening parliamentary capacity a priority, that they incorporate lessons and best practices from the current NDI activities, and that they be expanded in line with those practices.**

- Evaluators found it difficult to provide a meaningful objective assessment of NDI’s support to constitutional outreach and civic education. Many of the individuals who were involved with NDI in that work were not available to interview. Those who were interviewed were generally positive about NDI’s contributions but could not be more specific. Evaluators found that interview subjects agreed that the civic education materials – DVDs, booklets, radio programs, etc. – were all of very high quality. However, evaluators were not able to assess the reach of these programs or their effect. Interview responses ranged from “everyone” has heard these programs to “there were no civic education programs” on the radio. There was a clear consensus in KIIs that civic education was very badly needed. However, respondents overwhelmingly emphasized that it was MPs and political leaders who were ignorant about constitutional issues and federalism and that they needed to be educated before the general public. **Evaluators were not able to reach a definitive conclusion about the effect of these activities in the time and resources available, and recommend that more intensive evaluation be conducted before they are continued or expanded.**
- Evaluators found little evidence that NDI’s focus group research had any effect on policy discussions, constitutional outreach or improving citizen understanding of the political process. The only exceptions were individuals who worked very closely with NDI, and they gave only a lukewarm endorsement. Document review suggests that most of the briefings were done in Nairobi or Washington DC for the international community. **Evaluators concluded that this activity had little or no effect and recommend that USAID not support it in the future.**⁸
- Evaluators found that respondents who participated in NDI’s parliamentary and political party activities in Puntland reported a positive effect on their capacity, but that those activities had little effect on broader political development in Puntland or Somalia. The evaluation took place as the US government was announcing changes in the “dual track” policy that was a primary basis for support to Puntland’s anomalous autonomous institutions. Evaluators anticipate that USAID and CEPPS will re-evaluate their approach in Puntland in light of those USG policy changes.

Other Findings and Recommendations

- Evaluators found Somalia’s parliament building in ruins and **concluded that reconstruction of the building is a necessary – though not sufficient – condition for more effective parliament. Reconstruction of the parliament building would be a highly visible and much appreciated signal of support for democracy and government in Somalia.**
- C) Were the operational structures and implementation practices of the CEPPS/Somalia partner organizations effectively and efficiently contributing to achieving the project objectives?*
- NDI staff has had a limited presence in Mogadishu. NDI describes its approach as “an incremental and phased approach to re-establishing an on-the-ground presence in Somalia that

⁸ The last round of focus group research was supported by DFID.

prioritizes the safety and security of its staff and partners.” NDI staff has visited Mogadishu for meetings and to assess security context in March, May and October 2013. There is currently no NDI office in Mogadishu and no NDI contact person in Mogadishu. NDI trainings and seminars are conducted outside of Somalia. Interview respondents, even those who were otherwise very positive about NDI, said that this was a significant handicap to NDI’s capacity. “Imagine,” said one, “imagine how effective they could be if they were here.” Respondents noted that: this policy reduced NDI grasp of on-the-ground political and contextual nuances; it limited the number of MPs they could train; created incentives for MPs to participate only for the per diems and comfortable hotels. Evaluators concluded that a substantive presence in Mogadishu is a requirement for effective NDI operations in the future. They also noted a significant divergence between NDI’s assessment of the security situation in Mogadishu and the costs of sufficient security and the assessments of USAID and other organizations active in Somalia. **Evaluators recommend that USAID make full-time presence in Mogadishu a requirement for future programs.**

- Evaluators found implementers’ Quarterly Reports lengthy, confusing and poorly-organized. The CEPPS mechanism contributes to the unwieldiness of the reports, since no single organization is responsible for their content. The lack of user-friendly reports in turn contributes to occasional difficulties with USAID oversight and communication between USAID and the implementers. **Evaluators recommend that USAID and implementers work together to establish a more user-friendly and useful structure for these reports.**⁹

SUMMARY OF EVALUATION METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

As directed in the final USAID SOW, the evaluation followed the guidelines for a performance evaluation established by USAID in the 2011 Evaluation Policy.

The primary source of data for the evaluation was derived from key informant interviews (KIIs). These interviews took place in five locations: Washington, D.C.; Nairobi, Kenya; Hargeisa, Somalia/Somaliland; Mogadishu, Somalia; Garowe, Somali/Puntland. Interviews in Washington DC with the CEPPS implementers took place from October 8 - October 11; and with NDI in Nairobi on October 18 and November 4. Fieldwork in Hargeisa was conducted on October 20-23, Mogadishu October 24-October 31 and Garowe November 1-November 3.

Evaluators were limited by several factors in the KIIs. There are inherent difficulties in gathering objective data about governance programs, since the pool of individuals targeted by the activities is generally quite small. It is difficult or impossible to reach a truly random sample population. Evaluators were also concerned that many of the interview subjects were suggested by the USAID and the implementers themselves, but this did not turn out to be a significant limitation. Evaluators concluded that subjects were frank and open and expressed themselves freely about the activities they participated in or observed.

Evaluators reviewed available documents related to the programs. The primary documents reviewed were the 2010 cooperative agreement and program description between USAID and CEPPS; the

⁹ A summary of implementer activities in the form of a table is attached as an appendix.

2012 modification to the cooperative agreement; Quarterly Reports from the evaluation period; information provided on the implementers' websites; and other public materials related to the program. As noted in the findings and elsewhere, the program descriptions and objectives that are part of the cooperative agreement and the modification are not clear and do not always provide a good guide to what the program was actually trying to achieve. Quarterly reports followed the same pattern, which made it more difficult to tease out a clear narrative of which activities had been conducted and their results.

EVALUATION PURPOSE & PROJECT BACKGROUND

EVALUATION PURPOSE

This evaluation assesses the performance of the **“Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program.”**¹⁰ This three-year cooperative agreement is implemented by the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening III (CEPPS III), which is a joint legal venture of three organizations in the field of elections and political party process strengthening. For the CEPPS/Somalia associate award, National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) are the two implementing partners.¹¹ The original agreement was for 36 months, from September 1, 2010 to September 30, 2013. The total program budget of \$11 million was divided roughly evenly between the two implementers, but has been re-allocated to reflect evolving needs on the ground and program activities. The project was recently extended by one year, with an additional \$1.2 million in funding. The program seeks to strengthen local and national capacity to promote good governance, a core component of USAID’s strategy in the region.

This evaluation was designed and implemented under the close supervision of USAID Somalia, and the CEPPS Agreement Officer’s Representative (AOR). USAID provided significant input into the evaluation focus and level of rigor, methodology, instruments, and work plan. The purpose of this evaluation was to identify program achievements and challenges in program design, activities and operations, and to make recommendations that would make the program more effective in achieving specific program objectives as well as place the project in the context of broader USG and USAID objectives in Somalia and the East Africa region. The findings of this evaluation will be used to inform USAID decisions regarding future Somalia governance programs. The primary, specific audience for this evaluation is the USAID/East Africa mission, USAID Somalia and officials who will shape USAID policy assistance.

EVALUATION QUESTIONS

As per the evaluation Scope of Work (SOW) (Annex I) the key evaluation questions and illustrative sub-questions were:

- A) *Were the development hypotheses that shaped the CEPPS/Somalia program design clearly articulated and justified, and do they remain valid for the current Somalia context and objectives?*
- Was the underlying development hypothesis clearly defined in the program documents including the cooperative agreement and workplan? Were program managers, staff, partners aware of this hypothesis and did it guide their activities?

¹⁰ Associate Cooperative Agreement No: AID-623-LA-11-00001

¹¹ The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is the third member organization of the CEPPS joint venture.

- What assessment and analysis shaped this hypothesis and the ultimate program design and activities? How involved were Somali citizens and organizations in those assessments and design of programs and activities?
 - Did this development hypothesis evolve in response to changes in context?
 - Do the assumptions that shaped that hypothesis continue to be valid for 2013 and forward?
- B) *Has CEPPS/Somalia achieved the objectives described in the 2010 cooperative agreement and subsequent modifications? Have there been other notable achievements not anticipated in program objectives and design?*
- How have the parliament and other targeted government beneficiaries in Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland changed as a result of the program? Do they engage in more substantive policy debates? Are they more aware of and use the legislative process? Do they engage more with citizens and civil society? Did CEPPS/Somalia accomplish the change they intended on the entities within the parliament such as the Somali Women’s Parliamentary Association (SOWPA), the Somaliland Legislative Modernization Group, and targeted committees and caucuses?
 - Similarly, how have targeted civil society organizations and academic institutions changed as a result of the program? Are they now more capable and effective in advocacy? Do they engage more effectively with parliament?
 - Were the efforts to inform leaders and citizens about the constitutional process and how it should be monitored and implemented effective and meaningful? Did CEPPS/Somalia help government officials and CSOs “understand the constitution in order to uphold and comply with it themselves.”
 - Did CEPPS/Somalia succeed in its capacity-building objectives with civil society, think tanks, academics and government officials?
 - How rigorous and reliable is the information generated by the IRI surveys and NDI focus groups, how was that information used by Somali institutions, how was it integrated into other program activities? What was the rationale for using quantitative vs. qualitative M&E approaches? Was one more effective than the other?
 - How effective was implementers’ use of radio as a medium for communication with citizens? How did those activities interact with other programs that supported radio and media such as IRIN and Somalia Interactive Radio Instruction Program (SIRIP) and the Somali Youth Livelihood Program?
 - Was the program able to target and meet objectives related to gender, youth, refugees and other special populations?
- C) *Were the operational structures and implementation practices of the CEPPS/Somalia partner organization effectively and efficiently contributing to achieving the project objectives?*
- Were there management challenges associated with this operational structure for USAID or for the implementers? Was the geographic and functional division of labor clear to managers, program staff and beneficiaries? Would consolidation of similar objectives and activities have brought any cost or management efficiencies?
 - What role did IRI sub-grantee Freedom House play in program implementation? The agreement emphasizes a commitment by Freedom House and NDI to cooperate and coordinate activities, particularly in Puntland. How did that work in practice?
 - How did NDI and IRI deal with the security challenges of operating in Somalia? What consequences, if any, did those security measures have on program implementation? What were the drawbacks and advantages of operating from an office in Nairobi?

- How effectively did IRI and NDI employ international consultants and study tours, as well as their broader institutional resources and networks?
- How did CEPPS/Somalia coordinate and interact with other international organizations and donors in Somalia?
- The program was largely conceived before USAID adopted the FORWARD strategy and related program directives but has CEPPS/Somalia taken any steps towards complying with those policies?

PROJECT BACKGROUND

The Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program (CEPPS/Somalia) is an \$11 million, 36-month program from September 1, 2010 - September 30, 2013, with a 12-month, \$1.5 million extension. The original program budget is divided almost evenly between NDI (\$5,270,000) and IRI (\$5,730,000). The program seeks to strengthen local and national capacity to promote good governance, a core component of USAID’s strategy in the region. The Cooperative Agreement lays out a total of seven objectives - three for Somaliland to be implemented by IRI and four for South-Central Somalia and Puntland to be implemented by NDI.

Somaliland:

Objective 1: Somaliland’s national governing institutions develop mechanisms for effective and informed public policies that address top national issues.

Objective 2: Somaliland’s political parties use expert analysis and public opinion research in platforms, message development, and outreach efforts.

Objective 3: Civil society influences decision-making and political processes.

South Central Somalia and Puntland:

Objective 1: Support the development and implementation of Somali legal frameworks for political processes

Objective 2: Promote peaceful, broad-based participation in determining, defining and negotiating governing structures

Objective 3: Strengthen the capacity of Somali institutions to approve and oversee implementation of legislation on critical processes that promote democratic principles

Objective 4: Strengthen civil society organization ability to participate in political processes and enable them to initiate civic actions and involve citizens in political processes

The Cooperative Agreement established a “division of labor” between the two implementing organizations based on “specific expertise... geographic presence, existing relationships with local groups and the comparative advantages of the respective Partners.” Under the geographic terms of this division, IRI and Freedom House are to focus their efforts on Somaliland, while NDI works primarily in South-Central Somalia. NDI and Freedom House both planned activities in Puntland. This geographic focus is reflected in different operational approaches. Because of security concerns about work in Mogadishu, NDI based operations in Nairobi. IRI and Freedom House worked out of shared office space in the Somaliland capital.

Reflecting different needs and stages of development in the different regions, the implementing partners took different approaches to accomplishing very similar objectives. For example, in Somaliland, IRI’s proposal emphasized quantitative surveys and public polling, building public policy

analysis capacity and partnering with academic institutions and think tanks. Building on that, IRI's proposal emphasized work with committees and caucuses of Somaliland's legislature around policy analysis. This was complemented by Freedom House's work to build civil society advocacy capacity. NDI's proposal emphasized qualitative research, development and implementation of the constitution and other legal frameworks, and strengthening the TFI and TFP. Both implementers adapted their program focus and activities in response to the referendum, elections and other political developments.

EVALUATION METHODS & LIMITATIONS

EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

Evaluation Framework

As directed in the evaluation SOW, the evaluation followed the guidelines for a performance evaluation established by USAID in the 2011 policy on evaluation.

Performance evaluations focus on descriptive and normative questions: what a particular project or program has achieved (either at an intermediate point in execution or at the conclusion of an implementation period); how it is being implemented; how it is perceived and valued; whether expected results are occurring; and other questions that are pertinent to program design, management and operational decision-making. Performance evaluations often incorporate before-after comparisons, but generally lack a rigorously defined counterfactual.

Because the program being evaluated was implemented under the CEPPS¹² mechanism followed USAID Evaluation Policy that the “project” in this case is “a set of planned and then executed interventions identified through a design process, which are together intended to achieve a defined development result, generally by solving an associated problem or challenge.” For the purposes of this evaluation, the “project” is the work of the two implementing organizations, NDI and IRI, working under the auspices of the CEPPS III consortium, as defined primarily but not exclusively by the 2010 co-operative agreement.

As is common practice for governance programs, particularly in post-conflict settings, the evaluation relied primarily on qualitative methods for data collection and data analysis. A qualitative approach is appropriate for governance objectives, the short timeframe available, the difficulties associated with reliable data collection in unstable and insecure operating environments and the need to consider major external events – i.e. elections, conflicts, international agreements – that had significant consequences on the program and its ability to achieve results.

Keeping with USAID evaluation policy guidelines, USAID and the implementing partners played an active role in shaping the terms of the evaluation design and work plan. USAID shared the terms of the scope with the partners and modified some aspects of the evaluation in response to their concerns about whether the evaluation would include assessment of CEPPS as a mechanism, security issues, time available for analysis and other concerns. At USAID’s request, the evaluation was also modified to place greater emphasis on gender-related objectives.

Key Informant Interviews

¹² The CEPPS is a joint legal venture of three organizations in the field of elections and political party process strengthening: the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), IRI and NDI. CEPPS, as a partnership of three equals, is structured to allow each partner organization to use its institutional expertise and networks to support different components of the political process in a coordinated, yet separate, manner. For the CEPPS/Somalia associate award, IRI and NDI are the two implementing partners.

The primary source of data for the evaluation was key informant interviews. These interviews took place in five locations: Washington, D.C.; Nairobi, Kenya; Hargeisa, Somalia/Somaliland; Mogadishu, Somalia; Garowe, Somali/Puntland. Interviews in Washington DC with the CEPPS implementers took place from October 8 - October 11; and with NDI in Nairobi on October 18 and November 4. Fieldwork in Hargeisa was conducted on October 20-23, Mogadishu October 24-October 31 and Garowe November 1-November 3.

Key informants were identified from two pools. Implementers suggested useful interview subjects and evaluators choose from among those suggested; also, evaluators used their own contacts and resources to identify individuals and organizations who they believed could offer additional perspectives or opinions about the programs. Approximately two-thirds of subjects were suggested by implementers; one-third identified independently. Key informants were roughly divided into three groups: implementers; members of parliament and parliamentary staff; civil society and media. There were a total of 54 KIIs in the field. A complete list of those interviewed is in Annex III.

Evaluators typically began interviews with an open-ended question about the respondent's familiarity with the implementers' activities and their general opinion of those activities. This open-ended question served as an indicator of what respondents viewed as most memorable or important among the implementers' activities. Interviews then proceeded to discuss specific topics relevant to the interview subject's engagement or knowledge of the implementers' activities. Whenever possible and appropriate, when respondents provided vague or general responses like activities were "helpful" or "useful", evaluators pushed for more concrete details about the activities and their effect. This took a number of forms, such as: asking respondents to provide concrete examples of how their work had changed as a result of the activities; exactly what details from trainings were most memorable; if they remembered specific individuals who had provided the training; how their practices or institutions were different before and after the activities; which approaches or intervention designs had been most effective or not effective, etc. The interview question matrix is provided in the attached appendix. Evaluators tried at the end of each interview to summarize the main points that had been made by the interview subject to ensure that they had captured those accurately.

Where possible, evaluators met with respondents in their place of work or business. The majority of interviews were conducted in English; some were conducted in Somali, with translation. All of the interviews were conducted in person, except for one, which was conducted by phone. Evaluators were struck by the openness and frankness of the vast majority of interview subjects. There were few limits to what could be discussed. Respondents responded with what appeared to be frankness and honesty to even the most sensitive political questions.¹³

Program Document Review

In addition to the KIIs, evaluators conducted a detailed review of available documents related to the programs. The primary documents reviewed were:

- 2010 cooperative agreement and program description between USAID and CEPPS;
- 2012 modification to the cooperative agreement;

¹³ As noted below, interviews in Puntland were a notable exception to this open atmosphere.

- Quarterly Reports from the evaluation period;
- Information provided on the implementers' websites and other public materials related to the program.

Evaluators cut and paste each of the 104 individual activities in the available CEPPS QRs into a spreadsheet and coded each activity according to the time-period implemented, implementer, geography and primary and secondary type of activity. This table was a helpful summary of activities conducted under a complex program with two implementers in three geographies and numerous partners. Evaluators initially hoped that this table would also be the basis for some quantification of the type or number of activities conducted. Unfortunately the activity reporting was not sufficiently standardized to make this possible. The table and some very basic aggregation of the results are included as an annex to this report as a convenience to readers.

EVALUATION LIMITATIONS

Limitations on KIIs

Evaluators were limited by several factors in the KIIs. There are inherent difficulties in gathering objective data about governance programs, since the pool of individuals targeted by the activities is generally quite small. It is difficult or impossible to reach a truly random sample population. There were also issues specific to work in Somalia. It was more difficult to schedule and conduct interviews, especially in Mogadishu. For example, evaluators' first efforts to meet with the speaker and with a group of MPs in Mogadishu were stymied because paperwork was not in order and AMISOM soldiers manning checkpoints at the parliament building and the government offices at Villa Somalia did not allow the evaluators to enter the premises. Evaluators were forced to conduct the majority of their meetings in Mogadishu either at their guest house or in a meeting room at the Jazeera Hotel. Many of the meetings were rushed by events beyond evaluators' control. A meeting with the Speaker of Parliament was cut short because he had to mediate a conflict between rival MPs. MPs in general have many demands on their time; most meetings with MPs had to take place over lunch or in the evening because the parliament was in session in the morning. By contrast the majority of meetings in Hargeisa and to a lesser extent Garowe took place in the morning to accommodate the traditional afternoon lull in business activity.

Political turnover and the availability of interview subjects, also limited the availability of some activity participants and beneficiaries, particularly in relation with NDI's support to public consultation and civic education on the provisional constitution, and around the impact of focus group research. Evaluators requested NDI assistance with identifying individuals who could speak to those activities, but NDI staff in Nairobi and evaluators jointly concluded that many desirable interlocutors were either no longer in politics or not available in Mogadishu during the period of the fieldwork. NDI noted similar constraints to meetings with individuals who had benefited from focus group research.¹⁴

Evaluators were also somewhat limited by the fact that many of the interview subjects were suggested by USAID and the implementers themselves. However, as noted above, evaluators felt that subjects were frank and open and expressed themselves freely about the activities they

¹⁴ Evaluators have made emails between evaluators and NDI on this subject available to USAID.

participated in or observed. There was no significant pattern of difference between the comments of interview subjects suggested by implementers and those independently sought out by evaluators. Evaluators noted that many interview subjects, especially those suggested by NDI, came to their meetings with a set of notes that appeared to be talking points for the interview, but few stayed on message for very long.

The exception noted to frankness and openness in interviews was that interview subjects were notably less open in Garowe. In contrast to interviews conducted elsewhere, respondents (especially those within parliament) were more likely to decline to answer questions related to broader political environment, questions about the openness of the political process, and questions about the tension between Puntland and the Federal government in Mogadishu. The other, less glaring exception to the openness in interviews was in Somaliland, where there was awkwardness around any discussion of Somaliland's independence and the future of the drive for sovereignty. There is a taboo against any suggestion that anything other than full independence is an option.

Limitations on Program Documents

As noted in the findings and elsewhere, the program descriptions and objectives that are part of the cooperative agreement and the modification are not clear and do not always provide a good guide to what the program was actually trying to or supposed to achieve. Evaluators grew frustrated by having to get through lengthy, wordy sections of political analysis and context - often interesting and insightful but not always relevant to program activities - in order to arrive at concise statements of objectives and activities. This is aggravated by the CEPPS mechanism, which allows NDI and IRI to submit entirely separate program descriptions that are then cut and pasted together with an attached cover memo and summary.

Quarterly reports followed the same pattern. Each quarterly report includes a combined summary of activities conducted by IRI and NDI, then a separate summary of IRI activities and NDI activities, then a report from IRI that begins with a summary of IRI's activities, then summary evaluation of the impact of those activities, then a detailed report on IRI's activities, then a detailed report on the evaluation of those activities, then a summary of NDI activities, then a detailed report on NDI's activities, then a detailed evaluation of those activities. Many reports include voluminous appendixes of documents produced by those activities. In the end, each individual activity is described multiple times in one report. There are also extensive analyses of political context. Evaluators commend implementers for their thoroughness, but found that this emphasis on quantity comes at the expense of quality and ultimately made it more difficult to tease out a clear narrative of which activities had actually been conducted and their effect. This is also discussed as one of the report findings and recommendations.

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS

A) Were the development hypotheses that shaped the CEPPS/Somalia program design clearly articulated and justified, and do they remain valid for the current Somalia context and objectives?

The evaluators' document review found that the CEPPS program description and proposal do not include meaningful development hypotheses. They also found that the program objectives were frequently vague and without reference to the specific context. USAID defines "development hypothesis" as a statement that:

"...describes the theory of change, logic and causal relationships between the building blocks needed to achieve a long-term result. The development hypothesis is based on development theory, practice, literature, and experience, is country-specific, and explains why and how the proposed investments from USAID and others collectively lead to achieving the Development Objectives (DOs) and ultimately the CDCS Goal."¹⁵

CEPPS cannot be held too rigorously to this standard, since the program was designed and implementation began at the same time that this USAID policy was being promulgated. However, the evaluators' review of the program descriptions, program proposals and other documents found a striking lack of meaningful effort in this direction. The efforts that were made appeared to be perfunctory and pro-forma, such, a section in NDI's portion of the 2010 cooperative agreement titled "Program Rationale"¹⁶ that makes a statement that is not a program rationale:

"Somali officials have made little progress to-date and there is an urgency to strengthen the transitional institutions to fulfill their tasks as set forth in the TFC, specifically drafting, passing and implementing laws set out in the Charter. Based on a needs assessment of the TFP conducted by NDI in 2007 and of the TFG in 2008, as well as NDI's ongoing work with the TFIs, the Institute found..."

The section then lists six findings from these assessments, but does not connect them to activities. The "Program Objectives and Strategies"¹⁷ section in the same document begins, "To assist in creating and implementing stable and legitimate governing institutions in Somalia and to support the country's reconciliation, NDI's proposed program seeks to..." and then restates NDI's four program objectives. It continues, "In an effort to harmonize its progress with different donors and find linkages among their various components, NDI developed six over-arching themes to guide programming in Somalia." These themes are listed (and then presented in a one-page table) but then

¹⁵ http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1870/CDCS_Guidance_V3.pdf

¹⁶ Cooperate Agreement, 2010 p. 30

¹⁷ Cooperative Agreement 2010, p. 32

never mentioned again. They are not linked to the objectives and activities of the proposed USAID-funded program.

Evaluators also noted that many of the stated program objectives are vague and almost generic. The USAID guidelines call for development hypotheses that are “country-specific”; program objectives should be even more so. For example, NDI objective 4 - “Strengthen the ability of civil society to participate in political processes and enable it to initiate civic actions and involve citizens in political processes” – is certainly a valid goal, but it could be part of any program description in any country around the world. It does not reflect the specific reality that this program aims to help Somalia rebuild institutions of government from scratch after 20 years of conflict and anarchy. This vagueness does not apply to the descriptions of proposed program activities. These are much more specific and reflective of the reality of the context and objectives. It should be noted that evaluators found that the quality of IRI’s program documents have improved since the 2012 modification, and that IRI has been more responsive to concerns about evaluation since 2012. Some of this was attributed to the increased coordination between USAID Implementing Partners and the Monitoring & Evaluation Program for Somalia (MEPS). For example, IRI evaluation specialists traveled to Hargeisa to meet with the IRI team there and Somaliland counterparts, as well as with MEPS staff in Nairobi. These meetings helped to clarify USAID expectations about evaluation. Evaluators did not find any evidence in field interviews or documents that there had been similar engagement from NDI’s DC-based evaluation specialists.

Finally, evaluators noted that program descriptions include a number of the activities that were not implemented. Programs in fluid and challenging environment like Somalia inevitably need to change direction and focus. However, even by those standards, the number of activities not implemented is high. Evaluators counted 52¹⁸ distinct activities in the 2010 and 2012 program descriptions. (Activities that were clear continuations in 2012 were not counted separately.) Out of those 52, evaluators concluded that at least 19 should be considered as less than 50% implemented.¹⁹

NDI and IRI staff in Nairobi and Washington noted in response that their proposals respond to program descriptions and objectives laid out by USAID, and that these were subject to frequent changes in the fluid environment.

B) Has CEPPS/Somalia achieved the objectives described in the 2010 Cooperative Agreement and subsequent modifications? Have there been other notable achievements not anticipated in program objectives and design?

Overall

Evaluators found that respondents in Mogadishu, Garowe and Hargeisa consistently expressed the opinion that the CEPPS programs were beneficial and helpful to Somalia, though there were some caveats and concerns.²⁰ This overall finding is based on key informant interviews with both

¹⁸ Evaluators also note that this is an unusually high number of activities for a program with such a short duration.

¹⁹ Conclusions about the extent to which individual activities were implemented are necessarily subjective. These percentages are based on evaluators’ best judgment and the information provided.

²⁰ Other sections of the report enumerate these concerns, most notably NDI’s lack of presence in Mogadishu, the difficulty assessing results related to civic education and constitutional activities; the public opinion and focus group research; the absence of gender programs.

individuals directly involved with the CEPPS programs and those aware of the programs but not directly involved. This finding is also consistent with the evaluators' review of CEPPS program descriptions, quarterly reports and other programs materials. Interview subjects consistently praised both NDI and IRI for their responsiveness and adaptability. For example, in regard to NDI, respondents stated: "90% of the time they came to us with a blank slate and asked what we needed. We appreciated that... NDI doesn't boss us around... they are small but they deliver what they promise... I can rely on them for a quick response to questions."²¹ Respondents expressed what appeared to be genuine gratitude for NDI's long commitment to Somalia. Several respondents had been consistently engaged with NDI since the early 2000s. IRI was similarly praised for its responsiveness to their needs. In Somaliland respondents frequently noted that IRI was one of – perhaps the only – donor who operated exclusively in Somaliland and not in Somalia. Respondents saw this as a sign of IRI's "loyalty" to Somaliland and its beleaguered struggle for international recognition.²² Respondents (who are from Somalia's political elite and more likely to know about USAID than others) clearly recognized and appreciated that this was American assistance.

Gender

Based on a review of program documents and interviews with individuals familiar with the CEPPS programs, evaluators found that the most substantial USAID-funded activity specifically related to gender, was NDI's support for the Somalia Women Parliamentarians Association (SOWPA). SOWPA was established by NDI in 2009 (under CEPPS II). Support for SOWPA was affected by the funding available to NDI subsequent to a USAID modification of the award budget and the overall program description. NDI notes that, in spite of funding constraints, NDI "retained and applied limited resources to supporting SOWPA, which made it possible to re-establish the organization when funds became available."²³ SOWPA's operations were revived at a seminar sponsored by NDI in Nairobi in Month, 2013.

Evaluators met with three MPs who were active in SOWPA²⁴. One of those MPs described SOWPA's main benefit as "bringing women MPs together to coordinate their issues and present them to parliament." Also, she said that the parliament now includes at least one woman on all of the international delegations and meetings such as IPU, and various African and Arab parliamentary associations. Evaluators recognized these as positive steps, but noted that the MP only provided these comments after prompting, and was not specific in her description of the trainings and other activities.²⁵ In contrast with these comments, evaluators heard strong statements suggesting that the

²¹ The favorable view of NDI's approach was frequently, consistently and without prompting, contrasted with the opinions about other donors. Respondents said: UNDP "always knows what's best for us" One MP said about UNDP, "they tried to help with hearings, but they are very very slow." A CSO used a Somali saying to describe UNDP programs: "you can't give a donkey medicine meant for a horse." In Garowe and Hargeisa respondents were grateful for AWEPA support to infrastructure projects but dismissed their technical assistance as "insignificant." By contrast, respondents were grateful for support from the Oslo Center (a frequent NDI partner) and some other smaller European programs.

²² Benefits of IRI's exclusive focus on Somaliland are noted in the "conclusions" and "recommendations" sections, and should be contrasted with findings for Puntland.

²³ NDI also encouraged SOWPA outside of USAID funding. According to NDI's website, an NDI staff member, Hodan Ahmed, was awarded the 2013 Andi Parhamovich Fellowship. "In her capacity as senior program officer she has worked closely with Somali women parliamentarians and has contributed to the establishment of the Somali Women Parliamentary Association (SOWPA), the first women's caucus in the Somali parliament.

²⁴ Asked but did not get other names from NDI.

²⁵ This interview was primarily conducted by a Somali-British woman on the evaluation team.

caucus was of limited value. One of the most senior and most influential women in the Parliament (who was generally very supportive of NDI) responded to an open-ended question about NDI's trainings with the immediate comment that "the women went to Nairobi recently; they learned nothing." Senior parliamentary officials gave similarly negative appraisal.

CEPPS/Somalia also notes that their program takes a gender mainstreaming approach, and actively supports women's political participation as a component of other activities such as IRI Somaliland's political party trainings and the Health Caucus' focus on gender sensitive legislation on prevention of rape and female genital mutilation. Evaluators met with CSOs in Somaliland who are active in anti-rape, FGM, HIV prevention and other gender-related issues; as noted in the section on parliamentary caucuses, they very highly evaluated IRI's support for their work in these areas. Evaluators concurred that these activities were effective and had broadly advanced gender-related issues.

IRI-Somaliland

Parliament. The primary focus of IRI's work with Somaliland parliament was to establish and support the work of two issue-based parliamentary caucuses – environment and health – that brought MPs and civil society representatives together. Evaluators interviewed both MPs and civil society representatives (7MPs and 8 CSO members) who were active in these groups, as well as MPs who were not active but knew of their work. Of the two caucuses established, the environmental caucus was more advanced and operational, but respondents in the interviews consistently praised the conception, operation and effect of activities of both caucuses.

Typical comments from the CSOs included: "This initiative opened up new vision for us... it changed MP's perception of their role... MPs now understand that it's not just 'I'm the lawmaker and it's not your business to interfere'... MPs who participated in these activities are much better informed than they used to be and they are educating other MPs... These activities were the first opportunity for people in rural areas to see their MPs... Now people will have the opportunity and possibility of monitoring the impact of what the government does." MPs were similarly effusive in their praise: "Before IRI, MPs only cared about the issues related to power and elections, through the caucus they understood better the importance of issues like the environment... we see that it is more important to introduce ideas and legislation ourselves, not just wait for the government to send it to us... In the past we had no relationship with civil society, but now they bring us ideas and expertise... Previously all our laws had many mistakes but this is improving the technical and legal quality." One MP described as rare and "very valuable" the opportunity to see what is happening outside of Hargeisa and meet with distant villages.

MPs said that their engagement with IRI – importantly, they never described this as "training" – encouraged them to successfully push the government for an increase in the budget for maternal health care, which they described as a "very big achievement" to mobilize funds from their own budget and not donor funding. MPs and civil society said that the environmental caucus will soon introduce an act on wildlife protection; other bills on the environment and women's issues are being prepared. They appreciated IRI's willingness to support continuing work by providing outside legal counsel to help draft laws and provide training to the parliament's one legal advisor. Interview subjects identified one obstacle to the effectiveness of this activity: Somaliland's media outlets demand payment for coverage of any event or activity. IRI has not been willing to pay the journalists' "fees". IRI staff, CSOs, MPs and the Speaker of Parliament stated that this was preventing them from reaching a wider audience and having a broader impact.

The Evaluators' review of these activities in IRI's quarterly reports was also very positive. Evaluators found that the high level of praise and results recorded in the interviews corresponded to their document review and exceeded their expectations based on what they had observed in similar CSO-parliament engagement programs in other countries.

IRI also supported development of the parliament's website. The secretary general and speaker both praised IRI's efforts in this area and requested this help be continued, and had collected data, which were provided to the Evaluators about the number of page views and users to demonstrate its value. Evaluators were not able to find anyone in Hargeisa who had ever consulted the web site and it was not working when evaluators went to look at it.

Political Parties. IRI conducted USAID-funded training for national and regional political party organizers in 2013. IRI also conducted trainings and supported deployment of party poll-watching agents prior to the 2012 local council elections with funding from DFID.²⁶

Evaluators interviewed a total of six representatives from the three of the parties that participated in the past election and found that all had very positive assessment of the party organizer trainings. One party organizer said he went to all the IRI trainings and reported that as a result, "people began to see themselves more as the owners of the party, not employees... The regional leaders no longer just look to Hargeisa for direction; they know they have to get members and raise money... The IRI work has helped to show the local councilors what their work is and that they are connected to the party and should work with the party to find out what their city needs... Before the party people didn't care what happened in the councils, but now they do." His comments were echoed by a second party organizer: "The trainings were from the grassroots to the top... they were very well-structured and planned and based on specific needs." A third identified IRI's biggest contribution as that it helped both councilors and MPs to better understand their jobs, their relationships to constituents and their relationship to the party. He also noted that IRI helped to activate the regional and local organizations. "Members didn't know what to do in elections. They waited for someone from Hargeisa to come and did nothing on their own to spread the party message. This has become to change." All three parties said that they were embarking on programs to evaluate the capacity of their regional organizations (and implicitly the effect or impact of IRI programs). This positive assessment is consistent with evaluators' review of IRI's description of these activities in the quarterly reports.

Public Opinion Polling: IRI conducted three rounds of public opinion polling in Somaliland. The primary objective of these polls was "to help set national priorities." The first two polls were funded by USAID; DFID funded the 2013 poll. IRI stated that the polling results will "help MPs gain a greater understanding of the population and craft issues accordingly." The polling was designed to determine which political parties were considered popular; the public perception of the government; and which issues people were most concerned about.

²⁶ Evaluators reference these DFID-funded activities in this report though it is beyond the SOW because they were frequently cited by respondents as valuable and closely related to other IRI activities funded by USAID. They were described by one activist who was involved in the trainings as "100% good," a positive evaluation which evaluators found was consistent with reviews of IRI trainings implemented with USAID funding.

IRI acknowledges that the first round of polling provoked some negative responses. The Oct-Dec 2011 QR notes that “some Hargeisa residents and diaspora members took offense, arguing that the numbers were inaccurate, and that IRI was bent on reigniting clan warfare and adjusted the numbers to promote one clan over another” and “Both opposition parties were quick to attack the poll in the media, accusing IRI of being pro-government and intent on re-electing KULMIYE in the upcoming elections, and vowing never to work with IRI again.”²⁷ In subsequent rounds of polling IRI modified methodology and type of data in response to these concerns, and their release has not provoked similar public controversy. Interview subjects - even those otherwise very positive about IRI’s work – confirmed that the first round of polls provoked controversy and some expressed lingering suspicions about the validity of their methodology and purpose. Evaluators did not examine IRI polling methodology and have no opinion about that methodology or the validity of those suspicions.

IRI QRs state that the polls have improved understanding of research methods and their use: “IRI’s parliamentary partners have demonstrated an understanding of polling data and appear somewhat willing to consider changing behavior or strategies as a result of the poll’s findings.” Evaluators were able to confirm that MPs and political parties were aware of the polls, but were not able to establish they had had a significant direct impact on policy or policymakers.²⁸ However, IRI’s emphasis on polling was directly responsible for the establishment of a local company that now provides research services to USAID and other donors.

Freedom House: In addition to the two primary implementers, NDI and IRI, the 2010 CEPPS agreement also included activities to strengthen civil society to be conducted under a \$1.5 million grant to Freedom House. That grant was terminated in 2012. During this period Freedom House spent \$500,000. Based on discussions with USAID on priorities given the changing political context, it was decided that unspent funds would be reprogrammed. These funds were reallocated to support both CEPPS implementers’ activities. The CEPPS Quarterly Reports describe only one significant activity by Freedom House during this period:

From April 6 to 8, 2011, Freedom House conducted a strategic retreat for the Somaliland National Youth Organization (SONYO), and included participants from the Secretariat and National Council. From April 9 – 11, Freedom House conducted a strategic retreat for the board and secretariat of the Somaliland National Disability Forum (SNDF) facilitated by Freedom House consultant Owen Kirby.²⁹

There were no reports that this activity had any specific results. Evaluators were only able to interview one CSO activist who participated in the FH activities. IRI was unable to provide contact with others. This activist had only vague recollection of the activity and gave it a lukewarm evaluation. He also commented that participants’ perception was that the program was pro-government and intended to discourage NGO criticism, and that trainers implied that it was “bad for the media to criticize the government.”

²⁷ QR FY12 Q1, page 22.

²⁸ There is also a notable gap between the overall impression of political restlessness and the rosy picture painted by the poll results. A November 2013 press release headlined “Somalilanders feel safe, optimistic about direction of their country” reports that in the two districts where IRI polled, “97 percent... reported feeling very or somewhat safe in the area in which they live” and “92% and 86%, respectively expect their economic situation to improve within the next year”. www.IRI.org. Accessed November 12, 2013.

²⁹ FY11 Q3, p. 21

NDI-Somalia

Parliament: NDI conducted a number of activities intended to support the establishment and functioning of Somalia's parliament. The focus of these activities shifted with fluid political circumstances and the evolution of the institution from its transitional status.

Evaluators found that these activities were consistently cited by respondents as having had tangible positive effect and generally described as the most valuable among NDI activities. In particular, respondents frequently referred to NDI's assistance drafting and adopting the parliament's rules of procedures. One MP said, "The Rules of Procedure introduced by NDI made it possible and legitimate for us to hold hearings and to ask questions of ministers. Without those Rules we would have nothing." When evaluators summarized an MP's comments by saying that the work on rules was good, he emphasized, "No, excellent." The Speaker of Parliament was generous with his praise for NDI: "They were one of the first implementing partners and they were one of the most flexible and timely... They always tried to respond to our needs, especially in emergencies. For example in our first session we needed everything. We were starting from scratch... The first draft of the Rules was written in NDI's office in Nairobi..."

Evaluators also found that MPs had very positive views of NDI's work to reform the parliament at the end of the transition. One said, "NDI helped a great deal. They were the only ones who did. They were always there to facilitate and to interject ideas. [NDI staff] would say what if you did this or that. It was all extremely relevant especially on issues related to parliamentary strengthening and capacity." This positive evaluation is consistent with evaluators' assessment of NDI's activity design of activities and results in the program description, the quarterly reports and other program documents, and a comparison with similar programs in other countries.

Evaluators also found that there was a high degree of consistency in what interview respondents identified as priority areas for further assistance related to parliamentary strengthening. These included:

- MPs, the Secretary General and representatives from civil society organizations all expressed concern about the schedule for elections in 2016. The government is already falling behind its timeline to pass laws and establish some key institutions like the Independent Constitutional Review Commission, the Federation and Boundaries Commission, and the Election Commission. In addition, the EU's "New Deal" assistance package requires that the government establish a number of other commissions to shape assistance priorities. Respondents noted that establishing these institutions will require close coordination between the parliament, government and civil society and suggested that this was a possible role for NDI.
- Respondents also described the need for a shift from assistance activities focused on the parliamentary process and parliamentary procedures to one that provides assistance to parliament, committees and the executive on specific legislative topics. Some of those mentioned were related to organic laws deriving from the constitution such as the political party law, the election law and local administration; others were substantive issues related to economic governance, procurements and control over natural resources. Debate has already begun on some of these issues and NDI is already providing some support (for example on the political party law).

Constitution and Civic Education: NDI had a number of roles in connection with the

constitution. The 2010 cooperative agreement emphasized technical assistance in implementing the constitution as part of the UNDP-led Constitutional Consortium. Evaluators found that the majority of respondents interviewed generally believed that NDI had provided support to the process of constitutional drafting.³⁰ They also had positive perceptions of the process. A smaller number of interviewees who had direct knowledge of these activities also reported that NDI's support was helpful and important. For example, the parliament's Secretary General, who had previously been one of the key government officials responsible for development of the constitution, was clear that "the constitution would not be possible without NDI". However - while respondents were very specific about how NDI had engaged with the parliament and described concrete results from those activities - comments about what NDI did to support constitutional process were more general in nature, and less prominent in the interviews. Evaluators' findings based on a review of the quarterly reports and other documents present a similar picture: activities related to this objective are relatively few in number and not described in detail.³¹ Evaluators emphasize that this does not necessarily reflect that the programs were not effective. The section on limitations in the evaluation methodology describes some of the challenges to evaluation of these activities in more detail.

Beginning in 2012, at USAID's direction, NDI's focus shifted from technical assistance to civic education. NDI supported the production of civic education materials for use in media and other settings. Evaluators found almost universal praise for the quality of those materials in both Mogadishu and Garowe. It was described as relevant and effective. They were rooted in Somali tradition and culture; for their use of dramatic subjects, for skillfully addressing sensitive issues about the compatibility of the constitution with Islam. One key MP who reviewed the material said she was "very impressed" by the way that the materials integrated Somali songs, poetry and culture to educate about the constitution. "NDI understood what we need and put it into practical ways." Evaluators reviewed some of the material and concur with that positive assessment.

Evaluators also found that NDI's media partners were able to provide detailed descriptions of the programs they were producing with NDI support in which they bring MPs and other guests on media programs to discuss specific issues related to the constitution and government. The programs also touched on other topics such as illegal construction, IDPs, rape, etc. They expressed confidence that these programs were important tools of dialogue and education (with one important caveat described below). Evaluators reviewed the program documents that describe these activities and agree with respondents that these programs are an important source of information and education.

On the other hand, evaluators found it difficult to establish the distribution and reach of those activities. NDI's website³² says, "NDI's radio programs have reached over 12 million listeners, and television programs have been seen by over 14.5 million viewers."³³ NDI provided contact

³⁰ CEPPS clarifies that it did not in fact have a mandate to work on "drafting", only on public consultation and education on the provisional constitution, as USAID directed that drafting support be undertaken by UNDP. However, many respondents and observers did not recognize this distinction. Evaluators saw no evidence that NDI was willfully ignoring USAID's directive on its mandate.

³¹ A more detailed analysis of activities in the quarterly reports is being finalized.

³² <http://www.ndi.org/somalia>

³³ Somalia's population is estimated at 10.8 million.

information for one media partner in Mogadishu and one in Garowe.³⁴ NDI includes programs for Somalis living in Kenya and other diaspora in that number, but evaluators find that these figures do not present a meaningful, realistic picture of the reach of these programs. Evaluators noted that respondents who had not been personally involved in these activities were generally not aware that there had been much discussion of constitutional or other civic educations in the media.³⁵

NDI also initiated a community-based series of civic education activities. Evaluators found that the program documents and quarterly reports are not clear about how many of these community-based events took place and how many people they reached. Interviews with the CSOs who were implementing the activities were also not able to provide many specific details.

NDI placed great emphasis on outreach to the Somali diaspora in its constitutional and civic education activities. The Institute organized four trips for members of the IFCC to meet with members of the diaspora in Oslo, London, Ohio and Minneapolis. (Some of these activities were co-financed by other donors.) NDI explains that this focus was justified by the large influence that the diaspora play in Somalia's political life. Evaluators asked many of the interview subjects about this and found that even those who came out of the diaspora were less convinced about the merit and value of these activities.

Focus Groups: NDI conducted three rounds of focus group research; two funded by USAID, the third being released in Nov 2013 by DFID. Focus groups were designed to facilitate citizen inputs to MPs for the constitutional drafting process, and other issues. Somali NGOs were trained in Djibouti on how to conduct the research and code the data.

However, evaluators found that few individuals interviewed – other than those who worked most closely with NDI – were aware that the focus group research had been conducted. Evaluators pressed respondents on this point, but even those who were aware of the research were very vague about the results it achieved. Those were most favorable to NDI overall described it as “helpful,” but were not able to provide details. Evaluators asked specific questions about the existence of any public opinion or focus group research and the majority of respondents said that they knew of none. When evaluators showed subjects who were very familiar with the political process, journalism and civil society the titles of reports, they expressed interest but did not know of their existence.

The CSOs who conducted the focus groups were unable to say anything about how the research was distributed or used. “Sharing the report findings was NDI’s responsibility, not ours... we thought the results would be shared with participants... we don’t know if they were shared with politicians and MPs...” They said that they enjoyed conducting these focus groups and learned something from them, but that they did not contribute significantly to their broader institutional capacity. Several of the CSOs interviewed, such as PDRC and KAALO in Garowe, and SOYDEN and HIPS in Mogadishu, had conducted similar research on their own with external funding, and seemed to have the capacity to do this kind of research on their own.

³⁴ NDI requested that the report not identify their partners for security reasons and evaluators are honoring that request. The media partners themselves were not concerned. Asked if being associated with NDI or foreign assistance increased the risk to their security, one said “I am beyond that now.” The other group just laughed.

³⁵ Evaluators pressed this point very specifically in interviews, asking not only about NDI or USAID-sponsored programs, but any programs aimed at civic education. However, evaluators emphasize again the limitations of their ability to objectively assess the effect of these programs on the broader population and that this should be treated as an anecdotal finding.

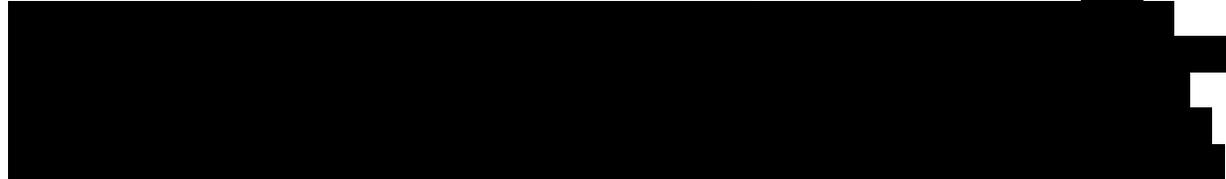
Evaluators' review of these activities in the program documents and QRs also suggests that the international community in Nairobi or Washington DC was a more important audience than Mogadishu. In response to evaluators' question about the effect or impact of focus groups, NDI responded that they shared the FGR findings with the IFCC and used the findings to "inform civic education activities of both the IFCC and NDI. For example, the findings of the FGR informed the civic education booklet, which NDI designed and a Somali version of which was published and distributed in Somali."³⁶ As described in the section on evaluation limitations, NDI and evaluators jointly made efforts to identify additional individuals who would be able to speak to how the government and others used the FGRs without success.

Puntland: NDI has been active in Puntland, with an assessment of parliamentary capacity, a number of trainings for MPs, a lengthy study mission in Uganda and political party trainings in advance of the local council elections that were canceled at the last minute. Evaluators' effort to quantify program activities found that NDI conducted 11 separate activities with the Federal (or Provisional) parliament, and 13 activities with the Puntland Parliament.

At the request of Puntland's minister of education, NDI supported a special civic education program for secondary schools in which students were exposed to poetry and stories about the constitution. NDI has also provided support to the Puntland executive with support from other donors.

Evaluators found that these programs were all very well received by participants and technically competent. Participants were able to cite specific benefits and concrete impact on the workings of the parliament's committees and how it had changed their understanding of the role of parliament. Evaluators only spoke to one participant in those trainings, who similarly provided concrete and credible descriptions of the positive effect of the training and expressed regret that the election was cancelled. Evaluators also reviewed the materials and discussed the trainings with NDI staff. That assessment also found that the programs were well-designed and conducted.

However, evaluators also found that these activities ultimately had little broader effect,



Furthermore, evaluators also noted concerns expressed by respondents in Mogadishu – and hinted at in Garowe – that Puntland's drive for some indeterminate form of autonomy was increasingly becoming an obstacle to stability and progress in Somalia. Evaluators also noted that respondents were less open about discussing politics and power in Puntland than in other parts of Somalia.

³⁶ Evaluators made a number of efforts to reach senior officials who had been briefed on or used the reports in some way. For example, in an Oct 28 email, evaluators asked if NDI could "suggest anyone in the government or parliament who received the report[s] and can say something about how they used that research?" NDI responded that, "Two governments came after that FGR. It will be difficult to find anyone from those governments who used the report...."

Other Findings

Parliament building: Evaluators found that Somalia’s parliament is a bombed-out ruin. The plenary hall and speaker’s office are in what used to be the building’s underground parking garage. There are no rooms for committees or other meetings. The only room that has been restored is devoted to parliamentary staff. The Turkish government said they would provide funds to demolish the existing structure and build a new one, but that plan was abandoned.

C) Were the operational structures and implementation practices of the CEPPS/Somalia partner organizations effectively and efficiently contributing to achieving the project objectives?

Nairobi vs. Mogadishu: NDI’s Somalia program office is located in Nairobi. All training programs for Federal (south-central) Somalia have been conducted outside of Mogadishu, primarily Nairobi but also Djibouti and Kampala. Until November, when the NDI country director spent several days in Mogadishu, no NDI staff – ex-pat or Somali – went to Mogadishu. There were some activities conducted in Garowe starting in 2012. NDI’s lack of a presence in Mogadishu has been a bone of contention between NDI and USAID. As security has improved in Mogadishu, USAID has emphasized the importance of conducting activities in Mogadishu; NDI is currently assessing security needs and costs.

Evaluators found little doubt among respondents that NDI would be more effective if they were based in Mogadishu. One respondent, who was generally very positive about NDI’s work, said, “Imagine, imagine how much they could do if they were here.” The most significant negative effect cited by respondents was that it distorted MP’s incentives for participating in the activities. Comments included: *they only go for the money; they want to get out of town and spend a few days in a nice hotel; and they take the per diem and then stay with relatives.* One committee chair who is very familiar with the trainings bemoaned the conflicts that were created by the international trips and said that her MPs were threatening to remove her from the chairmanship if she didn’t deliver more trips. Other negative effects identified included: the difficulty of selecting which MPs go on these very desirable trips; NDI not knowing the situation on the ground; the small number of MPs who can participate. NDI recognizes that this is a problem. NDI staff in Nairobi said, “This is our biggest difficulty.” They are assessing how to move into Mogadishu.

Reporting and Evaluation: Evaluators’ review of program documents found that the CEPPS quarterly reports are cumbersome, wordy, dense, repetitive and poorly-organized as described in the limitations section. Evaluators struggled to extract meaningful information. This finding is consistent with the finding that the development hypotheses are not defined and program objectives are not specific. It is hard to report clearly when there is not a clear objective against which to report. Evaluators also found that IRI was making a sincere effort to improve the quality of its reporting and evaluation. IRI M&E program experts had travelled to Hargeisa to consult with the team on how to provide meaningful evaluation. NDI has been slower to respond, and there has been no significant engagement by NDI’s M&E experts.³⁷

³⁷ NDI’s 2010 cooperative agreement includes approval for 16 trips for “headquarters visits and program monitoring.”

CONCLUSIONS

A) Were the development hypotheses that shaped the CEPPS/Somalia program design clearly articulated and justified, and do they remain valid for the current Somalia context and objectives?

- On the basis of the findings from the program documents reviewed, evaluators concluded that the absence of a clear hypothesis and the vagueness of the program objectives made it more difficult for program implementers to identify their high priority activities and focus on strengths. Change in program priorities and activities are inevitable in a fluid political and diplomatic environment. Like all USAID implementing partners, CEPPS is inevitably faced with program modifications based on changes in budget and factors outside of their control. This reality only makes it more important to have a clear statement of what the program is trying to accomplish with individual activities. A strong clear statement of hypothesis and objectives gives the program a solid core around which it can modify and adapt individual activities and priorities.

B) Has CEPPS/Somalia achieved the objectives described in the 2010 Cooperative Agreement and subsequent modifications? Have there been other notable achievements not anticipated in program objectives and design?

Overall

- Evaluators concluded that NDI and IRI have established good will and strong relationships with Somali counterparts and had notable positive effect on democracy and state-building in a very fluid and complex environment. The programs are achieving their broader objectives but those objectives are vaguely defined. Actual program activities have diverged widely from even the 2012 modification of the 2010 agreement.³⁸ Activities identified as most successful were: IRI's work with parliamentary caucuses and political parties and NDI's work with the Transitional and Federal parliaments. Evaluators also concluded that other activities were less successful or were difficult to assess within the constraints of the evaluation, such as NDI's support for constitutional outreach and civic education. A third group of activities had very limited results. These include the IRI public opinion surveys, NDI focus group research, the grant to Freedom House³⁹ and support for women's political engagement. NDI's lack of presence in Mogadishu undermined CEPPS effectiveness. Overall, evaluators concluded that in spite of these shortcomings, CEPPS had a notable positive effect on democracy and governance in Somalia.

Gender

- On the basis of the findings in the program documents and the field interviews, evaluators concluded that implementers made efforts to support women's engagement in political process, but reductions in USAID funding levels resulted in inconsistency and a lack of continuity in

³⁸ This is discussed in more detail in the section on evaluation limitations.

³⁹ The grant to Freedom House was terminated after only one year and unspent funds were allocated to NDI activities.

those efforts, and that ultimately those activities had only limited results. NDI's support for the SOWPA parliamentary women's' caucus was the highest profile gender activity. CEPPS points out that the establishment and re-establishment of SOWPA and basic capacity training provided are themselves noteworthy, as is the increase in the number of women on international delegations. These positive signs are overshadowed by negative evaluations of SOWPA from MPs and senior parliamentary staff with direct knowledge of the level of women's' engagement in parliament.

IRI-Somaliland

- Evaluators concluded that IRI's political party trainings were effective in building party organizations and communication structures, and that these structures can help build and maintain political stability before, during and after elections. IRI's programs with parties and party poll watchers cannot entirely prevent that, but can make things better, especially if they are effectively coordinated with other election-support programs.
- Evaluators concluded that IRI's parliamentary caucus programs have been effective. They are not directly related to the election – MPs involved are adamant that they do not use them as campaign events – but they do contribute to a general sense that the government and parliament are doing something useful and constructive.
- Evaluators concluded that IRI polls had mixed results. The first round of polls provoked significant controversy and negative responses; IRI subsequently modified its approach and there was no similar controversy associated with other polls. Evaluators did not examine IRI polling methodology, but concluded that there was some validity to the concerns expressed by interview subjects that – especially in a volatile pre-election period where familiarity with polls is very limited - even the most rigorous poll could be intentionally or unintentionally misinterpreted and used to manipulate voters. Evaluators concluded that there was not enough evidence to establish that the polls were having their intended effect on policy or policymakers. However, IRI's work supported establishment of a local organization with research capacity.
- Evaluators concluded that CEPPS acted appropriately in reprogramming the Freedom House grant funds.

NDI-Somalia

- On the basis of field interviews and document review, evaluators concluded that NDI's parliamentary programs have had a positive effect on the development of the parliamentary process in Somalia.
- Findings were less consistent around NDI's constitutional outreach support and civic education programs. Respondents were positive but vague. The educational materials are impressive but their distribution and results achieved are not clear. Evaluators concluded that these programs had some positive effect but were not able to be more confident about its extent.
- Evaluators found little evidence that the NDI focus groups had any significant effect within Somalia and concluded that that they had not had any significant effect on the political process or civic education in Somalia.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ NDI has stated that it limited dissemination and utilization of the reports due to the sensitive nature of the research findings. Evaluators did not see any security justification for limiting distribution of the research findings. Evaluators concede that

- Evaluators found that NDI’s activities with political parties and parliament in Puntland were technically effective, but concluded that the arguments are weak for providing significant support that would encourage Puntland’s semi-autonomous status.⁴¹ These activities will need to be re-considered in light of the evolution of the “dual-track” policy.

Other Conclusions:

- Evaluators concluded that lack of any viable infrastructure for the parliament is a serious problem. Having an operational building will not automatically make the parliament more effective, but the parliament will not be effective unless there are at least very basic facilities. Evaluators note that in other similar situations, USAID has found resources to support construction of permanent or temporary parliamentary facilities. In Haiti after the earthquake, an OTI program built temporary parliament meeting space. In Liberia, a parliament was constructed under the BRIDGE IQC. In Pakistan, USAID financed construction of the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS) as a complement to USAID technical assistance to parliament.
- C) Were the operational structures and implementation practices of the CEPPS/Somalia partner organizations effectively and efficiently contributing to achieving the project objectives?*
- Evaluators concluded that NDI would be more effective if there was a consistent presence in Mogadishu and if NDI conducted trainings and other program activities in Mogadishu.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A) Were the development hypotheses that shaped the CEPPS/Somalia program design clearly articulated and justified, and do they remain valid for the current Somalia context and objectives?

- Evaluators recommend that USAID and the CEPPS partners work together to ensure that program descriptions, proposals and other documents that shape program activities have clear underlying development hypotheses and more specific and actionable program objectives.

B) Has CEPPS/Somalia achieved the objectives described in the 2010 Cooperative Agreement and subsequent modifications? Have there been other notable achievements not anticipated in program objectives and design?

Overall

- Evaluators recommend that USAID continue to support and in some areas expand activities like those implemented by CEPPS, and that USAID take into consideration CEPPS implementers’ accomplishments and successes in designing those programs and in decisions about

the reports may have been very valuable to other donors and the international community, and that this may have secondary benefits for Somalia, but did not find that there was a direct effect.

implementing mechanisms and partners. Those accomplishments include establishing a valuable foundation of goodwill and constructive relationships in all three of the entities where they work; a reputation for effectiveness and responsiveness; and counterparts' perception that support in these areas is necessary for Somalia's stability and development. Evaluators also note shortcomings in implementers approach and activities described below and urge USAID to work with implementers to correct those in future programs.

Gender and Youth

- Evaluators recommend that gender be a higher priority for USAID and implementers in future programs. This may include establishing a separate objective or category of activities for gender, or it may be a matter of more aggressively incorporating gender into other activities. NDI's work with the women's caucus probably has some value, but evaluators urge USAID to also explore other mechanisms for supporting women's political participation. USAID should also consider greater focus on activities aimed at youth political participation.⁴²

IRI-Somaliland

- Evaluators recommend that USAID continue to support political party programs into the 2015 elections,⁴³ and ensure that these activities are an active part of other anticipated donor-funded election-related programs. However, evaluators recommend that the implementer meet with counterparts and opinion leaders in Somaliland to emphasize its political neutrality in the period before, during and after the elections, and that future support should be predicated on the implementer's commitment to be – and be perceived as – a neutral force in the coming elections.⁴⁴
- Evaluators recommend that USAID continue to support work with parliamentary caucuses and CSOs. Evaluators concur with implementer and counterparts that more media attention would be beneficial, and suggest that implementers and USAID to find ways to finance media coverage (for example by buying a regular time slot for programming related to parliament on one or more TV and/or radio stations). Support for the parliament website should be reevaluated in light of evolving priorities.
- Evaluators note that the most recent IRI poll in Somaliland was funded by DFID, not USAID, but recommend that any future USAID support for polling in Somaliland be predicated on evidence of impact on policy and policymakers, and incorporate lessons learned from earlier controversies.

NDI-Somalia

⁴² Evaluators note that many programs seek to establish “a youth parliament” to encourage youth participation and urge USAID to work with implementers to identify activities that are more creative and have a better track record of success.

⁴³ Party programs can strengthen party organizational structure and communication, which improves communication and linkages across regional and clan lines, which can be a stabilizing factor and reduce tensions during election campaigns and when election results are announced.

⁴⁴ The perception of partisan neutrality is important, but IRI has also benefited from the perception that it is more committed to Somaliland than other donors. While many political elite in Somaliland will very tacitly and privately admit that independence may not be a realistic goal for Somaliland, and that the President's participation in international conferences with Somalia are a step in this direction, open discussion of these possibility remains taboo in Somaliland political discourse.

- Evaluators recommend that USAID continue to support parliamentary strengthening programs in Somalia and work with the implementer to identify areas where these programs should expand in the future. These areas for expansion can include support to the parliament in drafting specific pieces of legislation, especially those related to the political process, such as the political party law and election laws. Decisions about future program direction and implementation should consider the current implementer’s strong relationships and goodwill established with counterparts in this area.
- Evaluators recommend that USAID evaluate the desired objectives and results of support for civic education and support for constitutional outreach. Decisions on implementing mechanisms and partner for those activities should take into consideration the current implementer’s past successes (in particular in the design and production of culturally-appropriate materials), as well as weaknesses and concerns.
- Evaluators recommend that USAID not support future focus group research in Somalia.
- Evaluators recommend that USAID re-evaluate further activities in Puntland in light of changes in USG dual-track policy, and consider including Puntland in programs to support local and regional government or some other programming mechanism. This approach to Puntland should be coordinated with other donors.

C) Were the operational structures and implementation practices of the CEPPS/Somalia partner organizations effectively and efficiently contributing to achieving the project objectives?

- Evaluators recommend that USAID require any implementer to establish a substantive presence in Mogadishu and begin to conduct activities in Mogadishu as soon as possible. A substantive presence means a technical expert is on the ground on a regular (though not necessarily full-time) basis, not just a logistical coordinator. Evaluators also recommend that USAID request an independent evaluation of security requirements in Mogadishu, together with a competitive analysis of security costs and options.
- Evaluators recommend that USAID and CEPPS implementers work together to implement a more user-friendly reporting format and ensure that CEPPS implementers – particularly NDI – continue to improve their monitoring and evaluation efforts.

ANNEX I: EVALUATION STATEMENT OF WORK

I. Evaluation Purpose and Audience

This evaluation will assess the performance of the **“Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program”**⁴⁵. This three-year cooperative agreement between the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening III (CEPPS) is being implemented by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) from September 1, 2010 to September 30, 2013. Total program budget of \$11 million is divided roughly evenly between the two implementers.

The January 2011 USAID Evaluation Policy emphasizes consistency in the use of key concepts, terms and classifications and discourages the use of other evaluation terminology. To ensure that evaluators and the USAID/Somalia mission are in compliance with that policy, this Scope of Work uses the definition and guidelines for a “performance evaluation”. Evaluators should also follow this practice in their reporting. Specifically:

Performance evaluations focus on descriptive and normative questions: what a particular project or program has achieved (either at an intermediate point in execution or at the conclusion of an implementation period); how it is being implemented; how it is perceived and valued; whether expected results are occurring; and other questions that are pertinent to program design, management and operational decision-making. Performance evaluations often incorporate before-after comparisons, but generally lack a rigorously defined counterfactual.

Also, USAID Evaluation Policy notes that the term “project”

...is used to mean a set of planned and then executed interventions identified through a design process, which are together intended to achieve a defined development result, generally by solving an associated problem or challenge. The term project does not refer only or primarily to an implementing mechanism, such as a contract or grant.

For the purposes of this evaluation, the “project” is the work of two organizations, NDI and IRI, under the auspices of the CEPPS III consortium, as defined primarily but not exclusively by the 2010 co-operative agreement. Evaluators should consider the activities and performance of those two organizations separately. Evaluators should be clear about the distinction between those two organizations in their report conclusions and recommendations. Because CEPPS defines many operational aspects of the project and is the contractual partner to USAID in the project, the evaluation must also consider whether the CEPPS structure and processes had effect on project performance and results. This is not an evaluation of the CEPPS mechanism per se. This scope of work does not define any criteria for evaluation of the CEPPS mechanism other than those that will be used to assess performance of the project as a whole.

⁴⁵ Associate Cooperative Agreement No: AID-623-LA-11-00001

USAID also recognizes the specific challenges associated with programs and evaluations in post-conflict areas where security is a concern for projects and their local counterparts. Evaluators will consult closely with CEPPS partners to take measures to maintain the confidentiality and security of local staff and counterpart organizations.

The primary questions that this evaluation will answer are:

- A) *Were the development hypotheses that shaped the CEPPS/Somalia program design clearly articulated and justified, and do they remain valid for the current Somalia context and objectives?*
- B) *Has CEPPS/Somalia achieved the objectives described in the 2010 Cooperative Agreement and subsequent modifications? Have there been other notable achievements not anticipated in program objectives and design?*
- C) *Were the operational structures and implementation practices of the CEPPS/Somalia partner organizations effectively and efficiently contributing to achieving the project objectives?*

In its conclusions and recommendations the evaluators' report should place the project in the context of broader USG and USAID objectives in Somalia and the East Africa region; identify lessons learned and best practices; and make recommendations for future USAID approaches to governance programming in Somalia and other countries. The findings of this evaluation will be used to inform USAID decisions regarding future Somalia governance programs, including a possible follow-on to the CEPPS program. The primary, specific audience for this evaluation is the USAID/East Africa mission, USAID Somalia and officials who will shape USAID programming in Somalia.

II. Program Context, Hypothesis and Description

A. Program Context

The Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program implemented by the CEPPS seeks to strengthen local and national capacity to promote good governance, a core component of USAID's strategy in the region.

B. Program Description and Objectives

The Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program (*CEPPS/Somalia*) is an \$11 million, 36-month program from September 1, 2010 - September 30, 2013. The program budget is divided almost evenly between NDI (\$5,270,000) and IRI (\$5,730,000), with Freedom House identified in the original agreement as a sub-grantee to IRI.

The Cooperative Agreement lays out a total of seven objectives - three for Somaliland and four for South-Central Somalia and Puntland:

Somaliland:

Objective 1: Somaliland’s national governing institutions develop mechanisms for effective and informed public policies that address top national issues.

Objective 2: Somaliland’s political parties use expert analysis and public opinion research in platforms, message development, and outreach efforts.

Objective 3: Civil society influences decision-making and political processes.

South Central Somalia and Puntland:

Objective 1: Support the development and implementation of Somali legal frameworks for political processes

Objective 2: Promote peaceful, broad-based participation in determining, defining and negotiating governing structures

Objective 3: Strengthen the capacity of Somali institutions to approve and oversee implementation of legislation on critical processes that promote democratic principles

Objective 4: Strengthen civil society organization ability to participate in political processes and enable them to initiate civic actions and involve citizens in political processes

The Cooperative Agreement establishes a “division of labor” between the two implementing organizations based on “specific expertise... geographic presence, existing relationships with local groups and the comparative advantages of the respective Partners.” Under the geographic terms of this division, IRI and Freedom House are to focus their efforts on Somaliland, while NDI works primarily in South-Central Somalia. NDI and Freedom House both planned activities in Puntland. This geographic focus is reflected in different operational approaches. Because of security concerns about work in Mogadishu, NDI based operations in Nairobi. IRI and Freedom House worked out of shared office space in the Somaliland capital.

Reflecting different needs and stages of development in the different regions, the implementing partners took different approaches to accomplishing very similar objectives. For example, in Somaliland, IRI’s proposal emphasized quantitative surveys and public polling, building public policy analysis capacity and partnering with academic institutions and think tanks. Building on that, IRI’s proposal emphasized work with committees and caucuses of Somaliland’s legislature around policy analysis. This was complemented by Freedom House’s work to build civil society advocacy capacity. NDI’s proposal emphasized qualitative research, development and implementation of the constitution and other legal frameworks, and strengthening the TFI and TFP. Both implementers adapted their program focus and activities in response to the referendum, elections and other political developments.

III. Evaluation Key Questions

As mentioned above, the evaluation report will answer the three primary evaluation questions, A, B and C. The sub-questions listed here are illustrative and included as suggestions, not requirements.

A) Were the development hypotheses that shaped the CEPPS/Somalia program design clearly articulated and justified, and do they remain valid for the current Somalia context and objectives?

- Was the underlying development hypothesis clearly defined in the program documents including the cooperative agreement and workplan? Were program managers, staff, partners aware of this hypothesis and did it guide their activities?
- What assessment and analysis shaped this hypothesis and the ultimate program design and activities? How involved were Somali citizens and organizations in those assessments and design of programs and activities?
- Did this development hypothesis evolve in response to changes in context?
- Do the assumptions that shaped that hypothesis continue to be valid for 2013 and forward?

B) Has CEPPS/Somalia achieved the objectives described in the 2010 cooperative agreement and subsequent modifications? Have there been other notable achievements not anticipated in program objectives and design?

- How have the parliament and other targeted government beneficiaries in Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland changed as a result of the program? Do they engage in more substantive policy debates? Are they more aware of and use the legislative process? Do they engage more with citizens and civil society? Did CEPPS/Somalia accomplish the change they intended on the entities within the parliament such as the Somali Women’s Parliamentary Association (SOWPA), the Somaliland Legislative Modernization Group, and targeted committees and caucuses?
- Similarly, how have targeted civil society organizations and academic institutions changed as a result of the program? Are they now more capable and effective in advocacy? Do they engage more effectively with parliament?
- Were the efforts to inform leaders and citizens about the constitutional process and how it should be monitored and implemented effective and meaningful? Did CEPPS/Somalia help government officials and CSOs “understand the constitution in order to uphold and comply with it themselves.”
- Did CEPPS/Somalia succeed in its capacity-building objectives with civil society, think tanks, academics and government officials?
- How rigorous and reliable is the information generated by the IRI surveys and NDI focus groups, how was that information used by Somali institutions, how was it integrated into other program activities? What was the rationale for using quantitative vs. qualitative M&E approaches? Was one more effective than the other?
- How effective was implementers’ use of radio as a medium for communication with citizens? How did those activities interact with other programs that supported radio and media such as IRIN and Somalia Interactive Radio Instruction Program (SIRIP) and the Somali Youth Livelihood Program?
- Was the program able to target and meet objectives related to gender, youth, refugees and other special populations?

C) Were the operational structures and implementation practices of the CEPPS/Somalia partner organization effectively and efficiently contributing to achieving the project objectives?

- Were there management challenges associated with this operational structure for USAID or for the implementers? Was the geographic and functional division of labor clear to managers, program staff and beneficiaries? Would consolidation of similar objectives and activities have brought any cost or management efficiencies?

- What role did IRI sub-grantee Freedom House play in program implementation? The agreement emphasizes a commitment by Freedom House and NDI to cooperate and coordinate activities, particularly in Puntland. How did that work in practice?
- How did NDI and IRI deal with the security challenges of operating in Somalia? What consequences, if any, did those security measures have on program implementation? What were the drawbacks and advantages of operating from an office in Nairobi?
- How effectively did IRI and NDI employ international consultants and study tours, as well as their broader institutional resources and networks?
- How did CEPPS/Somalia coordinate and interact with other international organizations and donors in Somalia?
- The program was largely conceived before USAID adopted the FORWARD strategy and related program directives but has CEPPS/Somalia taken any steps towards complying with those policies?

IV. Data Collection and Methodology

During the planning and implementation of this evaluation, the team will use primarily qualitative methods for data collection and data analysis. A qualitative approach is appropriate for governance objectives, the short timeframe available, the difficulties associated with reliable data collection in unstable and insecure operating environments and the need to consider major external events – i.e. elections, conflicts, international agreements – that had significant consequences on the program and its ability to achieve results. To ensure that the evaluation report makes a clear conceptual and practical distinction between different sources of data and information, the evaluation will proceed in four stages:

- *Program Document evaluation:* The team will use CEPPS/Somalia program documents, implementer monitoring and evaluation results to produce a descriptive narrative history of the program;
- *Key Informant Interviews:* The team will use purposive key informant interviews with program personnel and intended program beneficiaries and independent sources to establish program achievements and performance;
- *Research Using Other tools:* The team will use other tools such as research from sources outside of CEPPS to supplement and triangulate information collected; and
- *Analysis:* The team will synthesize the information collected to produce overall findings, analysis and actionable recommendations.

Following the three stages above, data will be used to synthesize that information to produce overall findings, analysis and recommendations. Each of these four stages is described in greater detail below.

A. *Program documents*

The evaluation will use CEPPS program documents and other materials to develop a descriptive narrative history. A descriptive narrative is particularly important in complex environments such as Somalia where USAID and its implementers must modify program objectives, activities and operations during the course of the program to adapt to rapidly changing environment. Furthermore, CEPPS/Somalia's partner institutions were being built almost from scratch at the

initiation of the program, and there is little meaningful objective data to use as a baseline against which to measure development over the life of the program. In this situation, the narrative helps to establish the conditions against which to measure performance and achievements.

This narrative will be as descriptive and objective as possible and include the implementers' perspective on program performance and achievements, including data generated by the implementers' own M&E systems, implementer reports, "success stories" and other material produced by implementers that described program performance and achievements and successes. This narrative may also include (as illustrative examples) descriptions of:

- Assessment(s) and other analyses conducted that shaped program design and development hypothesis.
- Development hypothesis and other assumptions underlying the program design.
- Program objectives and proposed activities, and a timeline of modifications to program objectives and activities.
- Operational structure of the program, including the relationships between the implementing partners and their sub-grantees, between home and field offices.
- Program security procedures and measures taken to minimize consequences of security constraints on program implementation.

Program documents and written materials consulted should, at a minimum, include:

- Cooperative Agreement September 2010.
- Modifications to the cooperative agreement after 2010.
- NDI and IRI CEPPS/Somalia quarterly reports.⁴⁶
- Periodic reports produced by implementers and their partners, such as NDI focus group reports, IRI polling and surveys, and IRI-partner legislative monitoring.

B. Key informant interviews (KIIs)

Key informant interviews will provide a primary source of information and data about the program, and in particular the descriptive narrative. These interviews will be structured around the questions specified in Section III of this SOW. These individuals and organizations are provided to evaluators as illustrative example, not requirements, but generally interviews should be conducted with individuals and institutions drawn from the following populations:

Implementer and USAID personnel:

- Relevant USAID personnel from the East Africa mission and Democracy and Governance teams.
- Local and expat NDI, IRI and Freedom House program managers and staff in field offices and headquarters.

⁴⁶ CEPPS notes that "per its cooperative agreement and the reporting requirements in 22 CFR 226.51, it is only required to submit quarterly reports. Accordingly, CEPPS reports on a quarterly basis..."

- Managers and staff of other international organizations with direct knowledge of the CEPPS/Somalia program such as DfID, Noraid and UNDP.

Somaliland:

- Somaliland MPs, government officials and political party leaders, in particular those who participated in IRI sponsored activities trainings such as: the Joint Committee on Executive Relations and its mirror office in the executive branch; the Office of Parliamentary Affairs; the Legislative Modernization Group; communications trainings; committees and caucuses that received IRI training and support, training and briefings on IRI polling and surveys.
- CSOs identified in the cooperative agreement such as the Independent Scholars Group (ISG), Agency for Peace and Development-Somalia (APD) and Social Research & Development Institute (SORADI).
- The Somaliland Center for Public Policy and other academic and university partners that IRI proposed to support.
- Organizations and experts who worked with IRI to conduct polling – to determine extent and success of capacity building on survey and polling data analysis.
- Journalists and media experts with awareness of IRI-sponsored radio programs – to gauge effectiveness and reach of those programs.
- Freedom House civil society partners (these are not identified by name in the cooperative agreement due to security concerns) in Somaliland and Puntland.

South Central Somalia:

- Representatives from the local organizations NDI worked with in South Central Somalia and Puntland to “increase understanding and awareness of the published draft constitution with senior Somali officials and civil society actors; identify Somalis to train parliamentary members, staff and interns on basic parliamentary functions and committee activities; and initiate civil society monitoring by local organizations of government entities”.
- MPs, government officials and civil society leaders who participated in CEPPS/Somalia activities such as the Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution, the parliamentary “Group for Peace and Reform”, the 2013 trip to Norway, MPs using the technology and training provided by NDI.
- Individuals from the Somali Law Society, Somali Women’s Lawyers’ Association, that comprised proposed NDI’s Somalia Legal Resource Team (SLRT).
- Participants in the institutional assessment NDI proposed to conduct in Puntland.

C. Other research and analysis of Somalia

The evaluation team will integrate into their data conclusions from previously conducted research and analysis sources. These are provided only as illustrative examples, not requirements:

- BBC World Service Trust Analysis of the Somali Media Environment, 2011
- Mapping the Somali media: an overview, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2012
- VOA Somalia Constitution Survey, 2012-2013
- Youth Behavioral Survey Report: Somalia IOM 2012

- NDI focus group reports
- IRI surveys
- Previous IBTCI and USAID Somalia program evaluations.

The evaluation should be informed by international frameworks and concepts for measuring institutional capacity and effectiveness of both civil society and legislatures. Where necessary these will be adapted for the specific post-conflict conditions in Somalia and Somaliland. These may include: the International Standards for Democratic Legislatures developed by NDI and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; the International Parliamentary Union’s Self-Assessment Toolkit for Parliaments; and the 2013 AusAID Civil Society Organisations Effectiveness Assessment Methodology.

D. Analysis of Program Performance and Achievements

The fourth and final stage in the evaluation process will be synthesis and analysis of the data collected from program documents, from program implementers, and from other sources to suggest overall program performance and achievements. The team will look in turn at each of the CEPPS/Somalia objectives and activities and use the information collected to determine how the activities were actually carried out, and to what extent the objectives were achieved. Evaluators shall seek to identify internal shortcomings or exogenous obstacles that prevented CEPPS/Somalia from achieving its intended objectives, or – if appropriate – what objectives were achieved that were not intended or initially identified.

V. Deliverables, Evaluation Report, Personnel, Period of Performance/LOE, Somalia Flight Schedule

A. Deliverables

| CEPPS Review - Schedule & Deliverables | | |
|---|--|---|
| Date | Activities/Tasks | Deliverables & Key activities |
| Wednesday, October 09, 2013 | DC Meetings/Desk Study | Meeting with CEPPS in DC |
| Friday, October 11, 2013 | DC Meetings/Desk Study | Draft Design due |
| Wednesday, October 16, 2013 | NBO kick off prep and meetings | Meeting with CEPPS-NDI in Nairobi |
| Thursday, October 17, 2013 | Kick off Meeting - USAID | KICK OFF Presentation |
| Tuesday, November 05, 2013 | Out Brief - USAID and CEPPS | OUTBRIEF Presentation |
| Wednesday, November 13, 2013 | Report writing & submission | DRAFT 1- REPORT Due |
| Friday, November 15, 2013 | <i>USAID review & DC meeting</i> | DC based Presentations to USAID/CEPPS |
| Monday, November 18, 2013 | <i>USAID review</i> | |
| Tuesday, November 19, 2013 | <i>USAID review</i> | |
| Wednesday, November 20, 2013 | USAID review & feedback due | USAID Feedback Due |
| Friday, November 22, 2013 | Report editing | DRAFT 2 - FINAL REPORT Submitted back to USAID & shared with CEPPS |
| Monday, November 25, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | |
| Tuesday, November 26, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | |
| Wednesday, November 27, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | |
| Monday, December 02, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | |
| Tuesday, December 03, 2013 | CEPPS review & feedback due | CEPPS Feedback Due |
| Wednesday, December 04, 2013 | <i>Report editing</i> | |
| Thursday, December 05, 2013 | <i>proof reading (HO staff)</i> | |
| Friday, December 06, 2013 | <i>proof reading (HO staff)</i> | |
| Monday, December 09, 2013 | Final submission | FINAL REPORT Submitted to USAID |

USAID may alter timeline and deliverables to reflect situation on the ground and evolving needs.

B. Evaluation report content and format

The consultant shall submit a draft report within 7 working days of completing the out brief with USAID. This document should explicitly respond to the requirements of the SOW, should answer the three primary evaluation questions, be logically structured, and adhere to the standards of the USAID Evaluation Policy of January 2011 and other USAID guidelines, as suggested by IBTCI and USAID, to ensure the quality of the evaluation report. Final report should include an executive summary, introduction, background of the local context and the projects being assessed, major findings, conclusions and recommendations. The report should not exceed 25 pages, excluding executive summary and annexes. Summary, Draft and final report should substantively follow the three main sections outline and format established in TIPS 17: Constructing an Evaluation Report. The consultant shall submit a final report within 7 days of the draft report.

1. Findings
2. Conclusions
3. Recommendations & Lessons learned

C. Team

Team Leader

The Team Leader must have experience with and understanding of USAID programs to strengthen political processes and government institutions in complex, post-conflict environments. He/she must have strong team management skills, and sufficient experience with evaluation standards and practices to ensure a credible, actionable, insightful product. The appropriate team leader is a person with whom the SoW manager can develop a working partnership as the team moves through the evaluation research design and planning process. He/she must also be a person who can deal effectively with senior U.S. and host country officials and other leaders. Experience with USAID is an important factor, particularly for management focused evaluations, and in formative evaluations designed to establish the basis for a future USAID program or the redesign of an existing program.

Local Subject Matter Expert

The Local Subject Matter Expert must be a Somali speaker with experience in qualitative and quantitative research methodology. They must have field experience in Somalia and demonstrate expertise in the areas of interviewing, data collection and data management.

Home Office Support

The IBTCI Home Office will provide quality assurance support by providing a team member with credentials and expertise in evaluation design and methods in the democracy and governance sector. Additionally, IBTCI Home Office will provide publication support in finalizing the evaluation report.

D. Period of Performance and LOE

This is illustrative assuming USAID approval to conduct the evaluation between late September and end of November 2013

| CEPPS Review - Schedule & Deliverables | | | | | |
|--|--|------|------|---|------------------------------|
| Date | Activities/Tasks | LoE | | Deliverables (Bold)/Notes | |
| | | TB | FL | | |
| Tuesday, October 08, 2013 | DC Meetings/Desk Study | 1.00 | | Start Meeting with CEPPS in DC | |
| Wednesday, October 09, 2013 | DC Meetings/Desk Study | 1.00 | | | |
| Thursday, October 10, 2013 | DC Meetings/Desk Study | 1.00 | | Draft Design | |
| Friday, October 11, 2013 | DC Meetings/Desk Study | 1.00 | | | |
| Saturday, October 12, 2013 | DAY OFF | | | | |
| Sunday, October 13, 2013 | DAY OFF | | | | |
| Monday, October 14, 2013 | Travel | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Tuesday, October 15, 2013 | Travel | 1.00 | 1.00 | Meeting with CEPPS-NDI in Nairobi | |
| Wednesday, October 16, 2013 | NBO kick off prep and meetings | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Thursday, October 17, 2013 | Kick off Meeting - USAID | 1.00 | 1.00 | KICK OFF Presentation | |
| Friday, October 18, 2013 | DAY OFF | | | | |
| Saturday, October 19, 2013 | Travel Nairobi - Hargeisa | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Sunday, October 20, 2013 | Hargeisa | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Monday, October 21, 2013 | Hargeisa | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Tuesday, October 22, 2013 | Hargeisa | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Wednesday, October 23, 2013 | Travel Berbera - Mogadishu | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Thursday, October 24, 2013 | Mogadishu | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Friday, October 25, 2013 | DAY OFF | | | | |
| Saturday, October 26, 2013 | Mogadishu | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Sunday, October 27, 2013 | Mogadishu | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Monday, October 28, 2013 | Travel Mogadishu - Garowe | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Tuesday, October 29, 2013 | Garowe | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Wednesday, October 30, 2013 | Garowe | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Thursday, October 31, 2013 | Travel Garowe - Nairobi | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Friday, November 01, 2013 | DAY OFF | | | | |
| Saturday, November 02, 2013 | NBO out brief prep and meetings | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Sunday, November 03, 2013 | NBO out brief prep and meetings | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Monday, November 04, 2013 | NBO out brief prep and meetings | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Tuesday, November 05, 2013 | Out Brief - USAID and CEPPS | 1.00 | 1.00 | | OUTBRIEF Presentation |
| Wednesday, November 06, 2013 | Travel | 1.00 | | | |
| Thursday, November 07, 2013 | Travel | 1.00 | | | |
| Friday, November 08, 2013 | DAY OFF | | | | |
| Saturday, November 09, 2013 | Report writing | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Sunday, November 10, 2013 | Report writing | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Monday, November 11, 2013 | Report writing | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Tuesday, November 12, 2013 | Presentation Preparation | 1.00 | | | |
| Wednesday, November 13, 2013 | Report writing & submission | 1.00 | | DRAFT 1- REPORT Due | |
| Thursday, November 14, 2013 | <i>USAID review</i> | | | DC based Presentations to USAID/CEPPS | |
| Friday, November 15, 2013 | <i>USAID review & DC meeting</i> | 1.00 | | | |
| Saturday, November 16, 2013 | | | | | |
| Sunday, November 17, 2013 | | | | | |
| Monday, November 18, 2013 | <i>USAID review</i> | | | | |
| Tuesday, November 19, 2013 | <i>USAID review</i> | | | | |
| Wednesday, November 20, 2013 | USAID review & feedback due | | | USAID Feedback Due | |
| Thursday, November 21, 2013 | Report editing | 1.00 | 1.00 | DRAFT 2 - FINAL REPORT Submitted back to USAID & shared with CEPPS | |
| Friday, November 22, 2013 | Report editing | 1.00 | 1.00 | | |
| Saturday, November 23, 2013 | | | | | |
| Sunday, November 24, 2013 | | | | | |
| Monday, November 25, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | | | | |
| Tuesday, November 26, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | | | | |
| Wednesday, November 27, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | | | | |
| Thursday, November 28, 2013 | <i>Thanksgiving</i> | | | | |
| Friday, November 29, 2013 | | | | | |
| Saturday, November 30, 2013 | | | | | |
| Sunday, December 01, 2013 | | | | | |
| Monday, December 02, 2013 | <i>CEPPS review</i> | | | | |
| Tuesday, December 03, 2013 | CEPPS review & feedback due | | | CEPPS Feedback Due | |
| Wednesday, December 04, 2013 | Report editing | 1.00 | | | |
| Thursday, December 05, 2013 | proof reading (HO staff) | | | | |
| Friday, December 06, 2013 | proof reading (HO staff) | | | | |
| Saturday, December 07, 2013 | | | | | |
| Sunday, December 08, 2013 | | | | | |
| Monday, December 09, 2013 | Final submission | | | FINAL REPORT Submitted to USAID | |
| | (contingency LoE) | 2.00 | 1.00 | | |
| | | 37 | 26 | | |

E. Tentative Somalia Travel Schedule:

| Date | Description | Carrier | Departure | Arrival | Notes |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|---------|---|
| Saturday, 10/19/13 | Nairobi - Hargeisa | East African Airlines | 700AM | TBD | This allows for 3 full work days in Hargeisa |
| Wednesday, 10/23/13 | Berbera - Mogadishu | African Express | 1000AM | TBD | Airport is 2 hours from Hargeisa |
| Monday, 10/28/13 | Mogadishu - Garowe | UNHAS | 800AM | 1130AM | This allows for 3 full work days in Mogadishu (Friday off) |
| Thursday, 10/31/13 | Garowe - Nairobi | UNHAS | 1200PM | TBD | This allows for 2 full work days in Garowe |

ANNEX II: DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

CEPPS SOMALIA Evaluation Key Information Interview Structure IRI - SOMALILAND

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Interviewee: Organization: Contact Info: Time and Date:</i> | |
| <i>Context: respondent position, relevant bio, organizational history.</i> | |
| <i>Open-ended: Overall familiarity with IRI programs? Personal direct engagement? Overall impression?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with parliamentary caucus activities? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with other support to parliament? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with political party trainings or party polling agent trainings? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with public opinion surveys? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with gender-related programs? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with Freedom House programs? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Overall impression of IRI approach, programs and their effect?</i> | |
| <i>General discussion views of political context.</i> | |
| <i>Summary of statements.</i> | |
| <i>Follow-up?</i> | |

CEPPS SOMALIA Evaluation
Key Information Interview Structure
NDI - MOGADISHU

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Interviewee: Organization: Contact Info: Time and Date:</i> | |
| <i>Context: respondent position, relevant bio, organizational history.</i> | |
| <i>Open-ended: Overall familiarity with NDI programs? Personal direct engagement? Overall impression?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with NDI parliamentary activities? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with other support to parliament? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with constitutional outreach or drafting? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with civic education or media? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with civil society capacity building? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with focus group research? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with gender-related programs? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Effectiveness of NDI office and trainings in Nairobi vs Mogadishu?</i> | |
| <i>Overall impression of NDI approach, programs and their effect?</i> | |
| <i>General discussion views of political context.</i> | |
| <i>Summary of statements.</i> | |
| <i>Follow-up?</i> | |

CEPPS SOMALIA Evaluation
Key Information Interview Structure
NDI - GAROWE

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Interviewee: Organization: Contact Info: Time and Date:</i> | |
| <i>Context: respondent position, relevant bio, organizational history.</i> | |
| <i>Open-ended: Overall familiarity with NDI programs? Personal direct engagement? Overall impression?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with NDI parliamentary activities? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with other support to parliament? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with political party trainings? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with civic education or media? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with civil society capacity building? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with focus group research? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Engagement with gender-related programs? Effect of those activities?</i> | |
| <i>Effectiveness of NDI office and trainings in Nairobi vs Mogadishu?</i> | |
| <i>Overall impression of NDI approach, programs and their effect?</i> | |
| <i>General discussion views of political context.</i> | |
| <i>Summary of statements.</i> | |
| <i>Follow-up?</i> | |

ANNEX III: SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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ANNEX IV: DISCLOSURE OF ANY CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

DISCLOSURE OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST FORM

| | |
|--|---|
| Name | Tomas Bridle |
| Title | Consultant |
| Organization | IBTCI |
| Evaluation Position? | Evaluation Team Lead |
| Evaluation Award Number (contract or other instrument, if applicable) | AID-RAN-I-00-09-00016; AID-623-TO-11-00002 |
| USAID Project(s) Evaluated (Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable) | Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program |
| I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose. | Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <p>If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation. | <p>I have worked for NDI from 2002 to 2009. From 2009-2012, I worked for DAI, a contractor that competes with NDI for projects similar to the one being evaluated. I consult for other companies and organizations that compete with NDI for projects similar to the one being evaluated. I was contacted by other organizations about a potential role on an anticipated project to replace CEPPS. I never had a role in any organization's efforts in connection to Somalia, but discussed the anticipated project with colleagues engaged in this field, including those at NDI. I have opinions and preconceived ideas about this field, but they are not biased in favor of or against any organization.</p> |

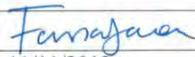
I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Signature: |  |
| Date: | November 14, 2013 |

DISCLOSURE OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST FORM

| | |
|--|---|
| Name | Faisa Abdi Loyaan |
| Title | Ms |
| Organization | IBTCI |
| Evaluation Position? | Local Subject Matter Expert |
| Evaluation Award Number (contract or other instrument, if applicable) | AID-RAN-1-00-09-00016; AID-623-TO-11-00002 |
| USAID Project(s) Evaluated (Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable) | Somalia Legislative Strengthening and Elections and Political Processes Program |
| I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.* | Yes ___ No <u>x</u> |
| <p>If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation. | |

I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Signature: |  |
| Date: | 11/11/2013 |

ANNEX V: SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES - CEPPS/SOMALIA 2010-2013

| FY | CY | LOC | OBJ | PRIMARY | SECOND | Description |
|---------|--------------|------|-------|---------------|--------|--|
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | INTERNATIONAL | | <i>Presidential Visit to Washington, DC</i> - This quarter IRI began logistical preparations to host a week-long visit to Washington, DC for Somaliland President Silanyo, the First Lady and four of his ministers. |
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Public Opinion Survey</i> - IRI made headway on its pilot survey research project this quarter by identifying a group of experienced interviewers and establishing the type of training and preparation that will be necessary to carry out the poll. |
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-2 | PARTY | | <i>Political Party Manifesto Development</i> - With the goal of enhancing issue-based discussions between political party leaders and their respective members of parliament, IRI conducted workshops on February 23, March 2 and March 8 to foster the establishment of priority issues for each of the three political parties. |
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-3 | CSO | | <i>Somaliland: Strategic Retreat Curriculum Development</i> - This quarter, Freedom House developed a curriculum to be used in a series of organizational strategic retreats with the following groups: the Somaliland National Youth Organization (SONYO), the Somaliland National Disability Forum (SNDF), the Somaliland Non-State Actors Forum (SONSAF), the Committee for Concerned Somalis (CCS), the Activist Network for Disabled Peoples (ANDP), and Nagaad. |
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-3 | CSO | | <i>Civil Society Advocacy Index</i> - During the quarter, Freedom House also customized the USAID Civil Society Advocacy Index to identify the weaknesses of partner organizations, tailor workshop content accordingly and to establish a baseline of current capacity in order to monitor the progress over the course of the project. |
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | PUNT | NDI-1 | PARL | | <i>Puntland Institutional Assessment</i> - From January 16 to 20 NDI staff and a security consultant traveled to Garowe, Puntland, marking the Institute's first return to Somalia since its work in Baidoa in 2008. At the time of the initial assessment, NDI was unable to arrange meetings with civil society, the business community, the media and women MPs as initially planned due to limited availability; the team returned in February to complete these meetings. |
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | PUNT | NDI-3 | PARL | | <i>Training on the Function of Parliamentary Committees</i> - On February 7 and 8, NDI conducted a workshop with the several committees of the Puntland Parliament. The workshop, facilitated by NDI Legislative Program Manager, Edmond Efendija, focused on the functions of the parliamentary bodies and invited various committee members to discuss opportunities to engage with NDI. |
| FY11-Q2 | 2011-Jan-Mar | FED | NDI-4 | CSO | | <i>Building Consensus among Somali Women</i> - During the reporting period, NDI initiated a subgrant agreement with Mogadishu-based WEAVE to facilitate civic education on the constitution with women representatives of civil society and business groups. |

| | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------|------|-------|------|---------|--|
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Legislative Modernization Strategy</i> - IRI staff worked directly with the SG office to design a new parliamentary attendance and voting records form. In contrast with previous forms, this form allows for the tracking of members' attendance and voting by party affiliation. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Public Opinion Survey</i> - IRI continued to make headway on its pilot survey research project this quarter by further developing its relationship with two local partners. In partnership with EDC, the Institute held a market research conference at Mansoor Hotel, bringing together various stakeholders such as academic researchers, government and elected officials, party representatives and CSOs. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-3 | CSO | FH | <i>Strategic Retreats</i> - From April 6 to 8, 2011, Freedom House conducted a strategic retreat for the Somaliland National Youth Organization (SONYO), and included participants from the Secretariat and National Council. From April 9 – 11, Freedom House conducted a strategic retreat for the board and secretariat of the Somaliland National Disability Forum (SNDF) facilitated by Freedom House consultant Owen Kirby. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-3 | CSO | FH | <i>Regional Civil Society Assessment</i> - From May 17-22, Freedom House conducted a regional civil society assessment in Somaliland. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | PUNT | NDI-1 | PARL | CONSTIT | <i>Engaging Puntland in the Constitution Development Process</i> On April 18, NDI staff met with regional President Abdirahman Mohamud Farole to introduce the Institute's work and provide a briefing on upcoming activities in the region, including public outreach on the Puntland Constitution, developing and analyzing legislation and engaging the Puntland administration in the federal constitution process. After the meeting with President Farole, NDI Technical Advisor Helen Lanctot worked in conjunction with Constitutional Consortium partner Interpeace to finalize the English translation of the Puntland Constitution, expected in the coming quarter. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | PUNT | NDI-3 | PARL | | <i>Supporting Members of Parliament and Staff (Puntland)</i> - NDI held a workshop on the basic functions of the parliament. The session focused on the legislative and lawmaking process, the inclusion of civil society input in the lawmaking process, and linking representation, oversight and lawmaking as the core responsibilities of the institution. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | PUNT | NDI-3 | PARL | | <i>Support to the Elections Committee</i> - From May 12 to 15, NDI organized a workshop with the speaker-appointed ad hoc elections committee to address roles and responsibilities in advance of and during the elections process, the candidate nomination process and the overseeing of voting procedures. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr- | FED | NDI-4 | FGR | | <i>Focus Group Research</i> - During the reporting period, NDI's eight local partners facilitating the Institute's public opinion research completed focus groups in South |

| | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------|------|-------|----------|---------|--|
| | Jun | | | | | Central and Puntland. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | FED | NDI-4 | CSO | WOMEN | <i>Building Consensus among Somali Women</i> - The Institute's subgrant to Women Education and Voicing Entrepreneurship (WEAVE) ended on May 31. During the two-month program, WEAVE held a workshop on the CDC with Somali businesswomen and civil society leaders from Al Shabab-controlled areas in South Central, as well as Mogadishu. |
| FY11-Q3 | 2011-Apr-Jun | FED | NDI-4 | CIVED | CONSTIT | <i>Civic Education on Democracy and Governance</i> - During the reporting period, NDI developed a draft civic education booklet providing basic information on governance, democracy, constitutionalism, federalism, etc. In order to make the booklet relevant for and received by Somalis, the Institute began working to identify a story or poem to develop around the democratic governance themes. A final draft is anticipated during the next quarter |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Public Opinion Research</i> - On September 28, IRI began fielding a public opinion poll of Hargeisa utilizing the Data and Research Business and Opinion Research Solutions as partners. |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Committees and Caucuses</i> - IRI began providing introductory training to Members of Parliament and parliamentary staff on issue-based caucuses and began brainstorming with committee leadership to identify important issues around which caucuses should be formed. |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Legislative Modernization Group</i> - This quarter, IRI began working with the Somaliland House of Representatives to develop a website that will enable Somalilanders to access information about passed and pending legislation, session minutes, the House of Representatives schedule, etc. |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | INTERNAT | | <i>Executive Branch</i> - Visit to US In September, the Foreign Minister of Somaliland visited Washington, DC. IRI set up a number of meetings for the Foreign Minister on Capitol Hill and with other USG and NGO key stakeholders. IRI also hosted a public event for the Foreign Minister on September 12 at its office, which was moderated by Dr. J. Peter Pham. |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | CSO | FH | <i>Advocacy Training</i> - RI's sub grantee Freedom House convened a "Public Forum Dialogue on Women's Political Participation" in Hargeisa on July 21 with its local partner, the NAGAAD Network. Civil society activists, government officials, political party leadership and traditional and religious leaders attended the event, which generated a lively debate amongst participants about the current challenges that women face in achieving effective political participation in Somaliland. |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | PUNT | NDI-3 | PARL | | <i>Support to the Puntland Economy and Development Committee</i> - During its June-July session, the Puntland parliament generally reviews and adopts the final fiscal year report (known as a "closing of accounts of the financial year report"), which is submitted by |

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| | | | | | | the minister of Finance to parliament and outlines the previous fiscal year's expenses. To support these efforts, NDI hired two consultants with specialized expertise in this area. |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | PUNT | NDI-3 | CONSTIT | | <i>Support to the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission</i> - As part of its support to the constitution development process in Puntland, NDI was invited by Constitutional Consortium partner Interpeace to contribute to a workshop providing technical training to the nine-member Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC). |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | FED | NDI-4 | FGR | INTERNATIONAL | <i>Supporting Public Opinion Research towards the Constitutional Process</i> - NDI hosted two briefings on the findings of its second round of public opinion research for the international community at its regional office in Nairobi. |
| FY11-Q4 | 2011-Jul-Sep | FED | NDI-4 | CIVED | | <i>Civic Education on Democracy and Governance</i> - NDI began the development of a civic education publication by developing topics and contracting a Somali poet, Idaja, to incorporate principles of democracy and governance into Somali poems and folklore. During the reporting period, three of the four sections of the civic education publication were completed. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>House of Representatives</i> - Website IRI and the House of Representatives (HoR) made headway on the development of a House website this quarter by identifying a Somaliland-based IT company as the developer. The website, in both Somali and English, will serve as a tool for accountability and transparency, providing a public portal through which Somalilanders will be able to access information about passed and pending legislation, session minutes, and upcoming HoR events and sessions. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Parliament Membership</i> - Directory IRI continued to develop a membership directory for both houses of the Somaliland Parliament this quarter, with continued input from USAID. Also this quarter, IRI continued to revise the Somali version of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) procedures manual for use by Parliament. I |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Hargeisa District GPS Mapping</i> - In November, IRI shared the results of its mapping exercise for with the National Electoral Commission (NEC), handing over the GPS data collected for all polling stations in Hargeisa District as well as printed maps of the five urban sub-districts in Hargeisa. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Hargeisa Public Opinion Poll</i> - Fielding and Analysis-During this quarter, IRI completed the fielding of a public opinion poll in Hargeisa District. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Partner Pre-Launch Polling Consultations-Data-Driven Planning and Decision Making Seminar</i> - As a follow-up to a seminar held in May 2011 on the value of market research, IRI co-sponsored a second seminar in October with polling partner DARS, Synovate, and the USAID grantee, Education Development Center (EDC). Like the May 2011 event, the Data Driven Planning and Decision Making Seminar brought together a |

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| | | | | | | variety of stakeholders including academic researchers, government and elected officials, party representatives and CSOs, in an effort to inform them of the uses for public opinion polling in planning and decision making. Ministry of National Planning and Development Consultation: On November 8, IRI met with the Minister of National Planning and Development, Dr. Sa'ad Ali Shire, in advance of the release of IRI's Hargeisa public opinion poll. Parliament Leadership Consultation: Throughout the polling process, IRI kept Parliamentary leadership informed of the survey's status. Having agreed to issue opening remarks at the government presentation of the poll, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Abdirahman Abdillahi Irro, met with IRI Africa Division Deputy Director, Jamie Tronnes, and IRI Hargeisa staff. In looking forward to the release of the poll's results, the Speaker informed IRI that he had suspended the next day's (November 16) plenary session to allow for and encourage more MPs to attend the official poll briefing. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | INTERNATIONAL | <i>Briefings on IRI's Hargeisa Survey of Public Opinion Findings</i> - On November 13, 2011, IRI, along with representatives from its partner polling firm ORB, presented the findings of the Hargeisa poll to USAID in Nairobi. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Briefings on IRI's Hargeisa Survey of Public Opinion Findings</i> - On November 16, IRI briefed Somaliland government officials and MPs on the findings of its public opinion survey. On November 17, 2011, IRI briefed an audience of Somaliland political parties and activists, civil society members, and media representatives on the findings of the survey. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Public Opinion Polling Training – Ministry of Planning and Development</i> - Per the request of the Minister of Planning and Development, Dr. Sa'ad Ali Shire (see Partner Pre-Launch Polling Consultations above), IRI conducted an introductory training on public opinion research for 18 statistics and research staff at the Ministry's office. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | PARL | <i>Issue Identification and Public Opinion Research Training</i> - On October 12, 2011, IRI conducted a training on issue identification and public opinion research for 13 MPs (including 12 males and one female) in Hargeisa. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Green Caucus Meeting</i> - Last quarter, IRI conducted programming aimed at familiarizing MPs with issue-based caucuses. By the conclusion of the quarter, two caucuses had begun to take shape – a Green Caucus and a Health Caucus. This quarter, IRI continued its work with the Green Caucus. On October 19, 2011, IRI facilitated a discussion session on the government's ongoing efforts in developing an environmental policy as well as existing and pending environmental legislation with eight MPs (seven males and one female) from the Green Caucus. |

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| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-1 | INTERNAT | | <i>Presidential Delegation Visit to Washington, DC</i> - This quarter, IRI began making preparations for a Somaliland presidential delegation to visit Washington, DC. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | SOMI | IRI-2 | POLL | | <i>Polling Consultations</i> - Though IRI has paused its work with the three traditional political parties until the formation or reformation of parties following local elections (in 2012) is complete, this quarter IRI held consultations with the three main parties to discuss the findings of IRI's Hargeisa District public opinion surveys. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | FED | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Assisting the Reform of the Transitional Federal Parliament</i> - From November 10 through 14, 2011, NDI held a workshop for members of the TFP committee and technical subcommittee on reform to develop recommendations for reform as well as modalities for establishing a new federal parliament under a federal constitution. Hon. Sarmite Bulte, former member of the Canadian House of Commons, facilitated the session with the participation of representatives from the United Nations Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS) who provided background on the Kampala process and the roadmap for ending the transition. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | PUNT | NDI-3 | PARL | | <i>Analyzing Legislation in the Puntland Parliament</i> - From October 10 to 12, NDI facilitated a session on analyzing legislation with the Puntland parliament (PLP) at the Somali Family Services center in Garowe. NDI staff reviewed with participants the process through which a bill becomes law. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | PUNT | NDI-3 | PARL | | <i>Assisting the Puntland Parliament to Revise its Rules of Procedure</i> - During a meeting with PLP Speaker Abdirashid Mohamed Hersi, NDI was asked to assist the PLP in revising its rules of procedure. To respond to this request, NDI again contracted Hon. Sarmite Bulte to prepare a report that contained analysis of the rules of procedure |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | FED | NDI-3 | PARL | | <i>Parliamentary Resource Center</i> - NDI signed an addendum to the original memorandum of understanding (MoU) to establish a parliamentary resource center within the TFP. After signing the addendum, NDI instructed the furniture manufacturer to finalize production and execute the order of items that were purchased in 2008 (e.g., chairs, desks, bookshelves). NDI is working to identify a reliable shipping company to deliver the goods to the resource center space in Mogadishu. |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | FED | NDI-4 | FGR | INTERNAT | <i>Supporting Public Opinion Research toward the Constitutional Process</i> In October, - NDI released its second report on Somali public opinion titled Searching for Peace: Views and Comments from Somalia on the Foundations of a New Government On October 5 and 6, NDI focus group expert and report author Andrea Levy was in Washington, D.C., to brief members of the donor and policy community on the report's findings |
| FY12-Q1 | 2011-Oct-Dec | FED | NDI-4 | CIVED | | <i>Civic Education on Democracy and Governance</i> - In December, NDI finalized its civic |

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| Q1 | Oct-Dec | | 4 | | | education publication in both Somali and English (see Annexes 6 and 7). With complementary funding support from its Norwegian-funded executive program, the Institute contracted Somali poet, Idaja, to incorporate principles of democracy and governance into Somali poems and folklore. |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>House of Representatives Website Launch</i> - This quarter, IRI worked with the Office of the Secretary General and House of Representatives (HoR) leadership to finalize the website for the House of Representatives. On March 31, the Speaker of House of Representatives officially launched the website during the March 31 parliamentary session. |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Parliament Membership Directory & Inter-Parliamentary Union Manual Launch</i> . - This quarter, IRI finalized, printed and distributed the Somaliland Parliament's first Membership Directory, as well as a Somali-language translation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) manual, entitled Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty First Century.- |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Public Opinion Research</i> - This quarter, IRI began initial preparations to field a Somaliland-wide public opinion survey, holding meetings with polling partners Data and Research Solutions (DARS) and Opinion Research Business (ORB), the National Electoral Commission and staff from the Ministry of Planning.- |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Health Caucus Meeting</i> - On February 8, the IRI-supported Health Caucus held its first meeting in 2012 with nine members (all men) in attendance. |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Green Caucus Meetings</i> - On February 23, IRI facilitated a Green Caucus discussion session, attended by nine participants (eight MPs and the Secretary General; all men), on the government's ongoing efforts to develop an environmental policy. |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Policy Development Regional Field Hearings</i> - This quarter marked the launch of the first Regional Environmental Field Hearing, held in Borama, covering Awdal region. March 19, 2012, IRI held a pre-trip briefing in preparation for the field hearing in Awdal region for six MPs and two parliamentary staff (all men). On March 20 and 21, 2012, four MPs from the Green Caucus and the Environmental Committee, accompanied by a parliament communications team staff member, travelled throughout Awdal, meeting with Somalilanders. On March 22, IRI supported the first Regional Environmental Field Hearing in Borama, the capital of Awdal Region, at Maana Guest House. |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | SOMI | IRI-3 | CSO | | <i>Awdal Region Environmental Field Hearing Regional Field Hearing Preparatory Workshop</i> - On March 21, 2012, IRI organized a workshop for local civil society organizations who work on environmental projects in Awdal. Environmental Field Hearing in Borama: On March 22, 26 civil society representatives representing 12 civil society |

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| | | | | | | organizations/universities (21 men and five women) attended the Awdal Region Environmental Field Hearing at Maana Guest House in Borama |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | FED | NDI-2 | CONSTIT | CIVED | <i>Support to the Committee of Experts</i> - During the quarter, NDI signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the CoE in order to delineate support to the committee's public consultation efforts on the CDC. USAID as well as members of the CoE requested that the Institute provide logistical and administrative support to these consultations as well as related civic education outreach by CoE members. the Institute signed terms of reference with two local consultants (one in Mogadishu; one in based in Garowe, working in Galkayo) to organize, film and transcribe the consultations. --The CoE/IFCC public consultations took place through hearings and town hall meetings, and encouraged discussion through a series of targeted questions on issues raised by the CDC. The process began in Mogadishu in early March and has, to date, collected feedback from a total of 2,040 (1381M, 659F) persons including CSOs, youth, elders, journalists, artists, academics, government officials, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and religious and traditional leaders - |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | FED | NDI-2 | CONSTIT | INTERNAT | <i>Diaspora Public Consultations</i> - Europe The London consultation took place on March 28; 96 (68M, 28F) community members attended. The Oslo consultation followed on March 31, 2012; 103 (90M, 13F) community members attended. Both consultations had broad clan, age and gender representation and provided a platform for traditionally excluded groups to speak including women and youth. The consultations generated significant discussion on the following topics: citizenship; the status of Mogadishu as a capital; devolution of power between the states; women's political participation; and youth in politics.- |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | FED | NDI-2 | CONSTIT | CIVED | <i>Civic Education on Democracy and Governance</i> - Last quarter, NDI finalized its civic education publication in both Somali and English. This quarter, the Institute finalized the printing of 3,000 copies of the publication and began negotiations with the poet, Idaja, and media outlets to support the Institute to communicate the content of the publications via radio broadcasts, during the remainder of the fiscal year.- |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | PUNT | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Support the PLP to Implement Changes to the Rules of Procedure</i> - From June 26 to 27, NDI facilitated a workshop on preparing public hearings with the PLP. It was discussed that, as part of the lawmaking function of parliament, the PLP's rules of procedure outline the need to consult relevant ministries and/or CSOs and citizens through public hearings. |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | FED | NDI-3 | CONSTIT | INTERNAT | <i>Supporting the Independent Federal Constitution Commission and Committee of Experts</i> - On April 21, the CoE and IFCC held a high-level briefing with members of the international community about the public outreach consultations on the Somali draft constitution that NDI supported during March and April. A draft version of the |

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| | | | | | | consultative report from the public consultations was shared with the attendees, which included an overview of revisions made to the CDC by IFCC and CoE as well as the rationale behind such revisions. The Institute also reviewed the latest draft constitution to list and prioritize legislation that would be required for implementation of the draft following its ratification.- |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | FED | NDI-4 | CONSTIT | CIVED | <i>Civic Education on Democracy and Governance</i> - NDI established a comprehensive civic education initiative during this quarter. This included hiring a civic education consultant/manager to lead this programming through the end of the transitional period. Of particular focus was the identification of partners to develop and broadcast civic education messages via radio and television; bids were competitively solicited through a request for proposals in order to identify media outlets with the necessary geographic coverage, listenership and viewership. - |
| FY12-Q2 | 2012-Jan-Mar | FED | NDI-4 | CONSTIT | CIVED | <i>Media Workshop on Constitution Building</i> - NDI held a workshop for 19 media partners (18 men and 1 woman) from June 11 to 14 in Djibouti to inform television and radio partners on the content of the draft constitution, devise strategies for covering the remaining steps in the adoption process, and use neutrality and non-partisanship when hosting/moderating participatory programs. - |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>House of Representatives Website</i> - Following the successful launch of the House of Representatives Website (www.somalilandparliament.net) last quarter, this quarter, IRI continued to work with parliamentary Information Technology/Communications and archival staff on using the website to its full potential. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Public Opinion Research</i> - This quarter, IRI fielded a Somaliland-wide public opinion poll, the second IRI poll to date. Data collection occurred from June 16 – 24, 2012. The overarching goal of IRI's survey research is to identify the top issues facing the citizens of Somaliland and to measure their perceptions of government. The research will inform Somaliland's leaders of citizen priorities and allow them to better inform the electorate of their progress in addressing priority areas. Additionally, the poll specifically featured questions relating to health, the environment and the economy, keeping in line with IRI's work with issue-based caucuses. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Regional GPS Mapping</i> - Prior to fielding the Somaliland-wide public opinion poll, IRI worked to map polling stations in the four accessible[1] regions of Somaliland (Awdal, Maroodi-Jeex, Togdheer and Sahil) with GPS coordinates. The purpose of this initiative was to assist IRI's poll data collection teams to accurately identify the randomly selected start points from which they will conduct interviews given the lack of census population data for Somaliland. Additionally, at the conclusion of the survey, IRI will share the GPS data for the regions with Somaliland's National |

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| | | | | | | Electoral Commission. The NEC has already expressed its appreciation for IRI's efforts at plotting polling centers and corresponding maps of Hargeisa District, and hopefully will be able to use the regions-wide data for planning purposes in advance of the upcoming local council elections. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | <i>Training of Poll Interviewers</i> - In advance of fielding the poll of Somaliland public opinion, IRI and its polling partners, the London-based polling firm Opinion Research Business (ORB) and Hargeisa-based Data and Research Solutions (DARS), trained 93 interviewers (including 45 females) and 10 data entry personnel (including one female). |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Health Caucus Meeting</i> - On June 19, the IRI-supported Health Caucus held a meeting with seven members (all male) in attendance. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Sool and Sanaag Regional Environmental Field Hearing</i> - On April 20-22, four MPs from the Green Caucus and the Environmental Committee, accompanied by a parliament communications team staff member, travelled throughout Sool Region, visiting 12 villages and meeting with Somalilanders--: On April 23, IRI supported a Regional Environmental Field Hearing in Oog, Sool Region. The field hearing session provided a rare opportunity for civil society (and the general public) to collectively identify environmental problems in the region and provide feedback on three potential environmental bills to MPs. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | FED | NDI-2 | CIVED | INTERNATIONAL | <i>Diaspora Public Consultations – United States</i> - This quarter, consultations in Minneapolis, Minnesota, took place on April 1, 2012; 86 (74 male, 12 female) community members attended. The Columbus, Ohio, consultation followed on April 3; 88 (76 male, 12 female) community members attended. Both consultations had broad clan, age and gender representation and provided a platform for traditionally excluded groups to speak including women and youth. The consultations generated significant discussion on the following topics: citizenship; the status of Mogadishu as a capital; devolution of power between the states; women's political participation; and youth in politics. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | PUNT | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Support the PLP to Implement Changes to the Rules of Procedure</i> - From June 26 to 27, NDI facilitated a workshop on preparing public hearings with the PLP. It was discussed that, as part of the lawmaking function of parliament, the PLP's rules of procedure outline the need to consult relevant ministries and/or CSOs and citizens through public hearings. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | FED | NDI-3 | CONSTIT | INTERNATIONAL | <i>Supporting the Independent Federal Constitution Commission and Committee of Experts</i> - On April 21, the CoE and IFCC held a high-level briefing with members of the international community about the public outreach consultations on the Somali draft |

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| | | | | | | constitution that NDI supported during March and April. A draft version of the consultative report from the public consultations was shared with the attendees, which included an overview of revisions made to the CDC by IFCC and CoE as well as the rationale behind such revisions. The Institute also reviewed the latest draft constitution to list and prioritize legislation that would be required for implementation of the draft following its ratification. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | FED | NDI-3 | CIVED | | <i>Civic Education on Democracy and Governance</i> - NDI established a comprehensive civic education initiative during this quarter. This included hiring a civic education consultant/manager to lead this programming through the end of the transitional period. Of particular focus was the identification of partners to develop and broadcast civic education messages via radio and television; bids were competitively solicited through a request for proposals in order to identify media outlets with the necessary geographic coverage, listenership and viewership. |
| FY12 Q3 | 2012 Apr-Jun | FED | NDI-3 | CONSTIT | CIVED | <i>Media Workshop on Constitution Building</i> - NDI held a workshop for 19 media partners (18 men and 1 woman) from June 11 to 14 in Djibouti to inform television and radio partners on the content of the draft constitution, devise strategies for covering the remaining steps in the adoption process, and use neutrality and non-partisanship when hosting/moderating participatory programs. |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>-Economic Regulatory</i> - Following up on an initial meeting in June, IRI continued to work with DAI's Partnership for Economic Growth to connect IRI-partner MPs with DAI's work on developing an Energy Regulatory Framework for Somaliland. On August 6, IRI organized an introductory meeting between DAI and the Chairman of the Environmental Committee, which is the committee that will have jurisdiction over the framework if and when it is introduced to Parliament. The meeting served as an opportunity for IRI and DAI to explore possible program intersections. During the meeting, the DAI representatives and their experts briefed the Chairman on the development and latest draft of the energy regulatory framework and shared the last draft of the energy bill. DAI and the chairman acknowledged that collaboration would be important for the bill's passage, and plan to maintain contact between the Ministry and DAI as the framework is reviewed and submitted to Parliament.- |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>House of Representatives Website</i> - This quarter, IRI continued to work with parliamentary IT/Communications and archival staff on use of the House of Representatives Website (www.somalilandparliament.net). Parliamentary staff has continued to be pro-active in developing web content, and traffic to the website has increased accordingly.- |
| FY12 | 2012 | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | CSO | <i>Green Caucus Session</i> - On July 10, the IRI-supported Green Caucus (GC) held a |

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| Q4 | Jul-Sep | | | | | session with five MPs and four parliamentary staff (one female MP).- |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | CSO | <i>Maroodi-Jeex Regional Environmental Field Hearing</i> - Over the course of the quarter, IRI continued to support a series of field hearings in all six regions of Somaliland on environmental issues. These Field Hearings, an initiative based on a proposal by Green Caucus member and environmental committee chair Hon. Saed Mohamed Elmi, is aimed at helping MPs gather feedback from Somaliland citizens regarding their priorities for environmental legislation. This quarter, Regional Environmental Field Hearings were held in the Maroodi-Jeex Region.- |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | CSO | <i>Health Caucus Session</i> - On July 11, the IRI-supported Health Caucus held a session with eight MPs and three parliamentary staff (all male) in attendance.- |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | FED | NDI-1 | CIVED | | <i>Civic Education and Information Campaign</i> NDI finalized contracts with local media partners to continue to develop and broadcast civic education messages via radio and television. New episodes of Barnaamijka Dastuurka (The Constitution Show), which debuted May 10, continued to broadcast on a weekly basis through the fourth quarter (see Annex 1). As of late August, two of the Institute's four radio partners also initiated the rebroadcast of radio dramas more frequently than required by NDI's contract in response to listener requests. |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | FED | NDI-1 | CIVED | | <i>Coverage of Political Transition Milestones</i> - With the aim of bridging the gap between the Somali people and the milestones in the roadmap, NDI supported a local media organization to provide coverage of the various deliberations and a series of media events. During the meeting of the NCA, NDI's partner provided a live-feed of the deliberations that were open to the public, converting the video into a digital file. The Information Services Team (IST) from UNPOS provided internet access via satellite, facilitating the live web stream. Somali National Television (SNTV) also was able to access the live stream to provide a real-time broadcast from the NCA. In addition, NDI's media partner also convened a series of media events during which members and officials from the NCA briefed journalists on the issues addressed in the daily deliberations and participated in a question and answer session. A total of 12 media events were convened.- |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | FED | NDI-1 | PARL | | <i>Technology and Administrative Support to the HoP</i> - When the HoP established the election committee, HoP officials asked NDI to provide technology and related supplies to that committee in order for it to fulfill its mandate. To respond to this immediate need, NDI delivered part of the inventory that was originally earmarked for the parliamentary resource center for the transitional parliament. UNDP facilitated the transport of goods to Mogadishu, which included five desktop |

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| | | | | | | computers, a photocopier and a printer. The remainder of the resource center inventory will be delivered at a later date to be determined with the speaker's office.- |
| FY12 Q4 | 2012 Jul-Sep | FED | NDI-3 | CIVED | CSO | <i>Workshop for Civic Educators and Citizen-Led Civic Education</i> - From September 29 through October 3, NDI hosted a workshop to prepare representatives from eight CSOs to implement a series of civic education activities in communities across Somalia.- |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>House of Representatives Website</i> - This quarter, parliamentary staff has continued to develop and publish content on the House of Representatives website developed by IRI (www.somalilandparliament.net). Traffic to the website also increased, with the website receiving 2,060 new, unique visitors to the site during the quarter. |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | SOMI | IRI-1 | POLL | | This quarter, IRI released the results of its nationwide Somaliland poll fielded in June, 2012. The poll was the second IRI survey conducted in Somaliland. Analysis, supervision and execution of the poll was performed by Opinion Research Business (ORB) and the poll was fielded by local polling firm Data and Research Solutions (DARS) under the supervision of ORB and IRI. On October 4, IRI presented the findings of the public opinion survey to members of Parliament's Green and Health Caucuses. On October 7, IRI briefed the staff of the Ministry of Planning on the results of the poll. Finally, on October 10, IRI presented the findings of the public opinion survey to USAID representatives in Nairobi. |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Sahil Region Environmental Field Hearing</i> - This quarter, IRI continued to support a series of environmental field hearings in all six regions of Somaliland. The purpose of the field hearings is to bring MPs into contact with constituents to gather feedback from Somaliland citizens regarding their environmental concerns and legislative priorities. This quarter, IRI organized the fifth Regional Environmental Field Hearing. Six Green Caucus MPs participated in the hearing and the event was held in Berbera, reaching constituents in the Sahil region.- |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | SOMI | IRI-3 | CSO | | <i>Sahil Region Environmental Field Hearing</i> - In order to encourage CSOs to contribute to issue-based policy discussions at the parliamentary level, IRI worked with environmentally-minded civil society organizations in the Sahil region, preparing them to participate in the Sahil Region Environmental Field Hearing in Berbera. The field hearing served as a means of encouraging communication and building relationships between CSOs and MPs. -- |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | FED | NDI-1 | CIVED | | <i>Media Coverage</i> - This quarter, NDI completed its media coverage of the post-transition political period. On October 31, the Institute and its television partners concluded the television program broadcasts with both television contractors re-airing a summary of the milestones in the transition with highlights of citizen views, expectations and participation.... In November, the radio partners produced five live |

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| | | | | | | call-in programs each regarding topics agreed upon between NDI and the respective radio stations, including the provisional constitution and religion, human rights, federal and regional government, the judiciary and peace and security. |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | FED | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Rules of Procedure Training</i> - From October 14 to 23, NDI facilitated a nine-day review of the Rules of Procedure for 16 members of the House of the People's (HoP or parliament) Ad Hoc Committee on Rules of Procedure (RoP or rules), including five returning members who had previously attended NDI parliamentary training. |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | PUNT | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Consultations with Puntland House of Representatives</i> - From October 7-11, NDI staff travelled to Garowe for consultations with the speaker of Puntland House of Representatives, Abdirashad Mohamed Hersi, on program implementations. The House of Representatives shared its prioritized activities and worked with NDI to develop an implementation plan, including a draft Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) based on an agreed set of activities. |
| FY13 Q1 | Oct-Dec 2012 | FED | NDI-3 | CIVED | CSO | <i>Civic Education and Information Campaign</i> - From September 29 through October 3, NDI facilitated a civic education information session in Kampala for 18 civil society members from eight organizations across Puntland and South Central Somalia. In addition to the civil society organization (CSO) members, NDI's media monitoring partners from the Institute's media information campaign sent three representatives to attend the session. The training aimed to provide the participants, already familiar with civic engagement in their respective organizations and companies, with materials and resources to become civic educators to share information about the transitional milestones and increase citizen engagement around the provisional constitution. |
| FY13 Q2 | Jan-Mar 2013 | FED | NDI-1 | PARL | | <i>Improve the Rules of Procedure of the House of the People of the Federal Parliament</i> - February 20 to 23, NDI hosted a skills-building session in Nairobi on implementation of the rules for 28 participants (three women), including 12 deputy chairs; nine committee secretaries; and one member each of the committees on rules of procedure, ethics, discipline, and immunity; foreign affairs; and natural resources. Facilitated by the Honorable Sarmite D. Bulte, a lawyer and former member of the Canadian House of Commons, with support from NDI staff, the session aimed to increase MPs' understanding of and familiarity with |
| FY13 Q2 | Jan-Mar 2013 | FED | NDI-1 | PARL | | <i>Empowering Women and Youth through Support to Issue-Based Parliamentary Caucuses</i> - This quarter, NDI continued its support to SOWPA through close consultations with former and potential future members. After a period of dormancy, seven women MPs approached NDI independently for assistance in reconstituting the informal caucus. this quarter, NDI- Somalia Senior Program Officer Hodan Ahmed became the fifth recipient of the Institute's Andi Parhamovich Fellowship. |
| FY13 | Jan- | FED | NDI- | PARL | | <i>Planning Session for the House of the People</i> - From February 21 to 24, NDI gathered 16 |

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| Q2 | Mar 2013 | | 2 | | | MPs and two senior staff members (in total, three women) to learn about and begin to put into practice the principles of establishing a legislative agenda. The speaker and deputy speaker requested that the planning session focus specifically on legislative agenda development. The speaker's participation also conferred legitimacy and import to the session, which was NDI's first opportunity to interact with many of the members in their new capacities as committee chairs. |
| FY13 Q2 | Jan-Mar 2013 | PUNT | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Fellowship for the PLP Secretary General and Study Mission for the PLP Standing Committee</i> - In March, NDI finalized the program and terms of reference (ToR) for a one-month fellowship by the secretary general of the PLP, that body's highest administrative official, at the parliament of Uganda. The Institute liaised with the host parliament to agree to a workplan that will see the PLP secretary general focusing on one aspect of the Ugandan legislature per week of his residency, which will begin in April 2013. |
| FY13 Q2 | Jan-Mar 2013 | FED | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Supporting Technical Staff in the House of the People</i> - This quarter, in close consultation with the HoP, the Institute recruited and selected from among 25 applications a legal advisor to serve as a seconded consultant to the Office of the Speaker for a six-month period, beginning in April. The advisor will provide technical assistance to both the speaker and MPs on parliament's internal practice and the substance of legislation before the HoP. Among the advisor's first tasks will be analyzing legislation already submitted to the HoP pertaining to the judiciary and regional administration. |
| FY13 Q2 | Jan-Mar 2013 | FED | NDI-3 | CSO | CIVED | <i>Civic Education and Information Campaign, and Civic Education Materials</i> - this quarter, NDI provided technical and financial assistance to eight CSOs, which are disseminating the materials and raising discussion of their contents throughout Somalia. on March 13, with assistance from the United Nations Humanitarian Air Service (UNHAS), NDI distributed more than 2,300 copies of the Provisional Constitution, 900 educational calendars, 850 audio compact discs (CDs), and 880 informational booklets to its eight partners in Mogadishu, Nairobi (including the Kakuma refugee camp), and Puntland (Bosaso and Garowe). Beginning on March 20 and continuing throughout the next quarter, the partners are using these materials to satisfy their activity plans before submitting final reports to the Institute, which will be included in NDI's next quarterly report. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Issue-Based Caucus Support</i> - On April 7 and 11, IRI worked with six male members of the parliamentary Green Caucus to finalize preparations for its upcoming cumulative public hearing in Hargeisa. • As planned, with support from IRI the Green Caucus cumulative public hearing came to fruition on April 13 in Hargeisa. • On June 20, IRI held a one-day workshop for five members of the Green Caucus and 19 civil society representatives, including 4 women, who are active environmentalists and are |

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| | | | | | | interested in addressing Somaliland’s environmental issues. • IRI supported parliamentary Health Caucus leadership in organizing a similar meeting on June 25 with members of three different civil society organizations – Nagaad Network, Candlelight and the Network Against FGM in Somaliland - engaged in addressing pertinent healthcare issues in Somaliland. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | SOMI | IRI-1 | PARL | | <i>Parliamentary Committee Assessments</i> - From May 11 – June 3, IRI conducted interviews with the eight committee chairmen of the Somaliland House of Representatives. The purpose of the interviews was to assess the current capacity of each committee and its members, to understand which committees are the most active and are currently tabling legislation, and to determine which of the chairmen would be ideal candidates for a direct partnership with IRI. <i>Parliamentary Committee Support</i> IRI conducted a one-day workshop on the “Functions of a Legislative Committee” for 13 committee chairpersons, their deputies and committee staff (M=12; F=1) on May 30. • On June 27, IRI’s guest consultant, Tennessee State Senator Brian Kelsey, conducted the first of a series of trainings for members of parliamentary committees. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | SOMI | IRI-2 | PARTY | | <i>Political Party Capacity Building Program</i> - On April 24 – 25, IRI conducted a two-day workshop for 33 regional leaders (including six women) from each of Somaliland’s three political parties – Kulmiye, Waddani and UCID. • From May 13-15, 2013, IRI held two one-day trainings for political parties’ national leadership organizations, including women’s and youth wings. • On May 28-29, IRI conducted a two-day multi-party training in Hargeisa on ‘Decentralizing Political Parties’ with the national party leadership, regional chairpersons, women’s wing representatives, youth wing representatives and secretaries general from two political parties, Waddani and UCID. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | SOMI | IRI-2 | PARTY | | During the month of June, IRI successfully implemented the initial decentralization and internal organization training phase of its political party program with a series of 12 workshops in Hargeisa and Burao. During each workshop, IRI worked with participants to establish internal party organizational structures at the regional and district levels and to distinguish between variations in roles and responsibilities among party leaders at each level. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | SOMI | IRI-3 | CSO | PARL | <i>Civil Society Participation in the Legislative Drafting Processes</i> - On April 7, IRI met with two leading local environmental organizations, Candlelight and the Agricultural Development Organization (ADO), to discuss civil society’s involvement in the consideration of pending environmental legislation. • On May 8, IRI facilitated a follow-up meeting with Candlelight and ADO to assist them in coordinating with other civil society environmental expert candidates for partnerships with the parliamentary Green Caucus. • On June 23, IRI facilitated the first meeting with civil |

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| | | | | | | society experts who will comprise part of a newly-formed working group to improve the Waste Management Act. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | PUNT | NDI-1 | PARTY | | <i>Campaign Skills Assistance for Puntland Political Associations</i> - From May 22 to 27, NDI held a training workshop for 25 representatives (eight women) of five of the six political associations registered to compete in the local elections. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | FED | NDI-2 | PARL | WOMEN | <i>Empowering Women and Youth through Support to Issue-Based Parliamentary Caucuses</i> - NDI will conduct a comprehensive needs assessment of Somali women MPs prior to the event, based on which it will further hone the agenda. NDI staff Ahmed worked with NDI's in-house experts and a SOWPA assistance team that includes a local Somali-based partner, who has been involved throughout the Institute's work with SOWPA, as well as a consultant who has instrumental to the development of the Ugandan women's parliamentary caucus, to draft a survey that will be disseminated in Mogadishu in the next quarter. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | PUNT | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Study Mission for the PLP Standing Committee</i> - From May 4 to 10, NDI hosted a study visit to Kampala, Uganda, for all 10 chairs of the standing committees of the House of Representatives of the PLP, as well as the PLP speaker, deputy speaker, and the head of the PLP information and communications technology (ICT) department. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | FED | NDI-2 | PARL | | <i>Supporting Technical Staff in the House of the People</i> - Given the escalating violence in Mogadishu this past quarter, the Institute postponed secondment of a legal advisor to the HoP, while working with its network on-the-ground to ensure adequate provisions for her deployment, now scheduled for July. |
| FY13 Q3 | Apr-Jun 2013 | FED | NDI-3 | CIVED | CSO | <i>Civic Education and Information Campaign, and Civic Education Materials</i> - This quarter, NDI's eight partner CSOs completed their respective civic education campaigns aimed at promoting awareness of the provisional constitution, affording members of the public opportunities to engage with the political process, and encouraging citizens to take part in the public referendum on the constitution in 2015 |

ANNEX VI: CEPPS STATEMENT OF DIFFERENCES

CEPPS Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening



Statement of Differences/Memorandum of Response to the Evaluation of the 2010- 2013 Somalia Legislative Strengthening, Elections and Political Process Program

The CEPPS implementing partners, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI), appreciate the opportunity to respond formally to the evaluation report produced by International Business and Technical Consultants, Inc. (IBTCI) of the CEPPS Somalia Legislative Strengthening, Elections and Political Process Program. This memorandum outlines those responses.

CEPPS appreciates the value that external evaluations provide for both program accountability and learning, and looks forward to discussing with USAID and other stakeholders how this evaluation's findings can best inform CEPPS partners' ongoing efforts in Somalia.

Findings Related to the CEPPS Mechanism

CEPPS notes several instances in which the evaluators attribute potential program shortcomings to the CEPPS mechanism. As the evaluation report acknowledges, the evaluation scope did not include an examination of the CEPPS mechanism itself, but was focused exclusively on the performance of the CEPPS partners in implementing the Somalia Legislative Strengthening, Elections and Political Process Program. As such, CEPPS would like the reader to be that findings linking performance issues to the CEPPS mechanism itself are based on limited/anecdotal evidence that was tangential to the focus of the evaluation.

CEPPS' Theory of Change and Development Hypothesis

CEPPS acknowledges the evaluation team's finding that a problem analysis and responsive programmatic rationale/theory of change for Somalia could have been more clearly articulated in the proposal. However, the partners would like to take the opportunity to describe their joint theory of change and specific development hypothesis, as explained below.

CEPPS' development hypothesis rests on the belief that if the implementing partners can help strengthen Somali government institutions' ability to fulfill their constitutional mandates by promulgating policies that respond to citizens' most urgent needs, overseeing the effective

distribution of state resources, and engaging in conflict management and negotiation, then those institutions will be better able to stabilize the Somali conflict. Stabilization is believed to lead to a gradual accumulation of legitimacy over time. To retain and build upon this legitimacy, Somali officials must continue to address the pressing issues of democratic governance, human rights, civil society engagement, and peace building. Continued support is therefore paramount to help nascent institutions fulfill their core security and justice functions, which are essential to mobilize revenue, establish an enabling environment for basic service delivery, and contribute to the country's economic growth.

This premise is built upon CEPPS' understanding of the developmental challenges confronting South Central Somalia. Since the Djibouti Peace Process in 2008, the fifteenth such peace conference in 20 years, Somalia has had three presidents, three speakers of parliament, five prime ministers (the newest as recently as of November 12, 2013), and two parliamentary reformations. This fitful and erratic transition period has, as the report notes, compelled CEPPS to maintain a flexible developmental approach and align its resources and programming within the ever-changing Somali political and security dynamics. The end of the political transition in 2012, adoption of the provisional constitution through a constituent assembly, reform and reduction of parliament, and election of a new president and federal government signify the stabilization of CEPPS and other bilateral partners' development efforts. This relative political stabilization, albeit in a security and operational context that remains fluid and challenging, has led CEPPS to, in cooperation with USAID, pursue a phased approach to more continuous presence in Somalia. This approach rests on key assumptions of how the political and security environment will continue to develop, which are explicitly stated in CEPPS' workplans.

In addition to an indepth analysis of the specific context of Somalia, CEPPS' strategy in Somalia draws upon its significant institutional experience in comparable environments of active conflict. These include global and institutional lessons learned from other failed and fragile states, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, and South Sudan, and Kosovo. CEPPS' global experience in these environments has led to a recognition of the need to address serious citizen security issues as a part of sustainable democratic development.

CEPPS' Inclusion of Gender Element

On page 5, the report states that, "at the request of USAID, the evaluation was also modified to place greater emphasis on the program's relative impact on gender-related outcomes." CEPPS appreciates and shares the evaluators' assertion of women's political participation and other gender-related objectives as critically important to future democratic development programs in Somalia. However, the partners respectfully disagree with the finding, stated on page 22, that "there had been no meaningful effort to support women's engagement in the political process."

Even as funding for CEPPS programming diminished by a significant degree in 2012-2013, CEPPS-NDI retained and applied limited resources to supporting the reestablishment of SOWPA. It is as a direct result of CEPPS-NDI's interventions that the caucus exists now and, in the coming months, CEPPS-NDI will assist in convening leadership elections for and outreach by the group to women's civil society groups regarding the provisional constitution's provisions for gender rights. CEPPS respectfully seeks clarification regarding the finding that MPs' assessment of SOWPA's benefits were mixed. The evaluators cite only one MP's criticism of the caucus and it is unclear whether a

representative sample was consulted. CEPPS also looks forward to exploring with USAID additional strategies for including gender responsive elements in its programming.

Both CEPPS implementers also wish to clarify that they took measures to support the participation of women in its programming per a gender mainstreaming approach that is typical for programs that do not include a specific objective or heightened focus on increasing women's political participation. CEPPS-IRI would particularly like to highlight that the only female member of the Somaliland parliament is a regular participant in IRI programming and that women regularly participate in programs for civil society and political parties, as reported in the PMP and narrative Quarterly Reports. With regard to IRI's political party programming, there was an effort to always include the Women's Wing chairs in all training activities. It should also be noted that the IRI-supported Health Caucus has identified two gender-related issues on which to focus; IRI is specifically working with the Health Caucus to provide assistance in the ing of two pieces of gender-sensitive legislation on Prevention of Rape and Prevention of Female Genital Mutilation.

CEPPS-NDI's Presence in South Central Somalia

Given that the US Mission itself has not yet established presence in Mogadishu and that the evaluators noted their own travel constraints due to security reasons, NDI is concerned that the report recommends that USAID "require full-time presence in Mogadishu for future programs."

On page vii, the report states, "Evaluators are not security experts and this was not a security evaluation, but they noted a significant divergence between NDI's assessment of the security situation in Mogadishu and the costs of sufficient security and the assessments of USAID and other organizations active in Somalia." It is unclear to CEPPS-NDI what constitutes the stated divergence between NDI's and USAID's security assessment.

For clarity, NDI would like to take the opportunity to describe its approach to work within Somalia. Puntland authorities have maintained reasonable levels of security from 2009 to 2012, allowing NDI staff to travel to Garowe on a regular basis. To note, as part of its phased and incremental approach into Somalia, all staff must first travel to Garowe, which is categorized by the UN as a lower security threat than Mogadishu and where NDI visits regularly and has established consistent logistical and communication processes and procedures. The relocation of the former transitional federal institutions to Mogadishu in 2009 increased the level and focus of *al-Shabaab* attacks on international and domestic organizations and personnel. In south central, severe security conditions peaked in 2011 due to the occupation of Mogadishu by the *al-Shabaab*. Since 2012, the security environment has been gradually improving in the capital as African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and Somali national forces have expanded their control and influence. However, recent security incidents, demonstrate that prudent safety and security precautions are still required when considering a presence in Mogadishu. NDI had to cancel three additional planned trips to Mogadishu following several suicide attacks, including the *al-Shabaab* bombing of the Supreme Court on April 14 and the bombing and breach of the United Nations (UN) compound on June 19. More recent security incidents, including the suicide car bomb attack on the Turkish staff compound on July 27 and a two-stage suicide attack near the national theater on September 7, demonstrate ongoing safety and security challenges that need to be considered in establishing a presence in Mogadishu. As a result, NDI will continue to monitor and evaluate its ability to visit the Somali capital, utilizing regular reports from the UN, bilateral donors and programmatic partners on the ground.

Since November 2012, the Institute has had a local coordinator based in Garowe, Puntland. This local coordinator has supported program activities, liaised and communicated with political and civic

partners, monitored the fluid security and political environments and helped observe and evaluate the progress of political and civic actors. In particular, NDI's local coordinator provided valuable updates and analysis in the volatile pre-election period. As part of its phased approach to working in Mogadishu, and using its Puntland local coordination as a model, NDI also has identified a local coordinator in Mogadishu to advance and strengthen on-the-ground relationships with federal political and civic partners, as well as monitor the security and political environments in the Somali capital. NDI's increased on-the-ground presence via its local coordinators will allow the Institute to deepen its existing relationships and form new ties with political partners and civic actors in Garowe and Mogadishu. These daily interactions are particularly important as Somali government officials increasingly seek to exercise sovereign authority within the country's federal borders, negotiate regional state boundaries, and implement the provisional constitution.

CEPPS-NDI's Focus Group Research

With regards to the finding that its focus group research has had “little or no impact” (page iii), it is worth noting that NDI has recently received feedback from donors familiar with this research who have commended these activities and have reported greatly benefiting from NDI's work in this area. The Institute also notes that the detailed qualitative data from the focus groups was not among the documents reviewed by the evaluators, which would seem to make it difficult to assess the activity's value. Likewise, NDI suggested that the evaluators meet with members of the Independent Federal Constitutional Commission (IFCC) who were briefed on the focus group reports and subsequently adapted their citizen outreach strategies accordingly. NDI is disappointed that this did not occur, as these individuals would be well-placed to comment on the broader usage of the research.

In addition to informing the Institute's own program design, qualitative focus group research has been used as a means to provide Somalis a forum to freely voice opinions, concerns and attitudes. Especially useful in conflict, post-conflict and unstable environments, focus groups reveal not just what people think but also why they think that way, how they formulate opinions and how strongly these opinions are held. Although research is not a substitute for representative government or effective public consultation, it can help strengthen democratic institutions by taking the public into account – often for the first time. In fact, NDI's first round of focus groups indicated that it was the first time some Somalis had ever been asked their opinion about Somali political and government affairs.

Per CEPPS' 2010 proposal, the purpose of the focus group research was to “track trends regarding the constitution development and implementation as well as transitional processes.” NDI respectfully clarifies that its focus group research findings on these topic have informed the design and implementation of program activities in significant ways. For example, NDI modified its approach to civic education in 2010 when it discovered from focus groups that Somalis had little to no understanding of what a constitution was, what the provisional constitution entailed, or what purpose a constitution could serve. At the time, information on the degree of citizens' awareness and understanding of the constitution was not widely available, so the research was essential in defining the content and form of educational materials.

Likewise, in its second round of research, NDI identified a change in public awareness – at this time most Somalis had now heard about the constitutional process but were concerned about its alignment with *shari'a* law. NDI's civic education and outreach activities in 2012 and 2013 therefore included an assumption of a higher level of citizen awareness of the constitution and concentrated

on areas of controversy identified in the focus groups, including the relationship between religion and state or federalist structures, rather than more general constitutional education. In this way, the Institute believes the quality and responsiveness of its civic education were directly attributable to focus group research.

Evaluators' primary criticisms seem to relate to the lack of a dissemination and utilization strategy for research findings. Given the sensitive nature of the research findings, and especially in light of the post-conflict environment, the Institute purposely targeted its presentation of research findings in policy circles outside Mogadishu to mitigate impressions of bias or asymmetries of access by Somali leaders. NDI agrees that, given the evolving political context, its focus group research could be disseminated more widely in the future and utilized more explicitly in the Institute's broader program strategy. With support from DfID and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), both of which explicitly requested that the Institute continue conducting focus groups, NDI anticipates using its focus group research to conduct qualitative in-depth interviews with Somali public officials, working with Somali leaders in an ongoing process to translate citizen priorities into policy solutions.

CEPPS-NDI's Activities in Puntland

The draft report states that "NDI's activities in Puntland were technical effective, but that the arguments are weak for providing any support at all to Puntland." CEPPS respectfully clarifies that its program aims to strengthen the technical capacity of the regional legislature to fulfill its legislative, representative, and oversight functions. In this respect, NDI's approach is in line with US policy, as recently articulated by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Linda Thomas-Greenfield before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in October 2013: "The United States has underscored the importance of outreach and engagement with the regional administrations to form the federal framework...with an objective of improving regional collaboration towards federalism." The former 'dual track' policy toward the Puntland and federal legislature has therefore converged, with support to Puntland institutions recognized as an essential component of support to a federal Somalia.

CEPPS-NDI respectfully disagrees with evaluators' finding that "the arguments are weak for providing any support at all to Puntland." (page 22) To this point, it should also be noted that NDI amended its workplan in 2013 to include additional support to Puntland political associations at USAID's expressed request.

CEPPS-IRI's Public Opinion Polling

As noted in CEPPS' response to the evaluation report, CEPPS questions the validity of several key aspects of the findings related to its public opinion research. CEPPS still takes particular issue with the following statement: "IRI ignored warnings that their approach would be inflammatory." CEPPS/IRI maintains that no specific warnings were received from USAID or other local stakeholders or partners regarding the release of demographic data related to clan in advance of the release of its first public opinion poll in 2011. IRI did engage in discussions with its local polling partner DARS in the design of the questionnaire the sensitivity of asking respondents to identify themselves by clan; it was agreed by all parties (IRI, DARS and IRI's international polling firm ORB) that the question would be asked in a pilot testing of the questionnaire. The pilot test did not reveal an unwillingness or uneasiness of respondents to respond to the demographic question

on clan affiliation. Therefore, IRI proceeded with the question in the survey. CEPPS/IRI acknowledges that controversy surrounding the release of demographic data on clan did unfortunately ensue (IRI did not release cross-tabs of individual poll questions by clan at any point), however CEPPS/IRI disagrees with the notion that it was careless in its approach to the public opinion poll or “ignored warnings that their approach would be inflammatory.” Further, CEPPS/IRI took the lesson from the first poll and did not release clan demographic data in its subsequent polling projects, which have been received positively.

Further, CEPPS/IRI respectfully disagrees with the finding that “there is a risk that political factions will intentionally or unintentionally misinterpret survey research for partisan purposes, including misrepresenting the results as official USG positions, and that the surveys could become a distracting and inflammatory issue at a particularly sensitive time, and that this risk outweighs any potential benefit”. Public opinion polls serve to empower political parties, civil society, and government officials to make more informed policy decisions based on the needs and priorities of the population. Public opinion research provides a methodologically sound way to collect, analyze and present this information to various stakeholders. In the case of the IRI program in Somaliland, political parties used results of the public opinion polls, for example, to develop strategic plans and communication strategies. Further, the evaluators note that the polling activities “greatly enhanced the capacity of the local organization” with which IRI worked. With regard to the broader sentiments about the polls observed by the evaluators, IRI notes that it has experienced similar responses and reactions to the release of polls in places where scientific opinion research was introduced for the first time. It is common for local stakeholders to have these types of reactions of suspected bias, misunderstanding of the methodology, and misinterpretation of the results where scientific opinion research conflicts with the perceived priorities held by elites. In IRI’s experience of public opinion polling in developing countries around the world, the level of acceptance of public opinion research has been known to improve with the release of subsequent polls as a part of the learning process. This can be demonstrated in the changes seen in local stakeholder responses to IRI’s 2011, 2012, and 2013 public opinion polls. Additionally, IRI is not aware of any instances in which the polling results have been “misrepresent[ed]...as official USG positions.”

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