Constituent Assembly Member Election 2013

ELECTION OBSERVATION REPORT



General Election Observation Committee, Nepal

Executive Committee



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Publishers' Note

The Constituent Assembly formed in June 7, 2008 with the objective of fulfilling the long-held aspiration of the Nepalese people to elect their own assembly to write their constitution, was dissolved without fulfilling the objective. Even as the CA was involved in the process of constitution drafting, it was dissolved because of a few unresolved issues. However, as per the resolve of the people to have their constitution drafted by an elected assembly alone, election for the second constituent assembly was held on November 19, 2013. The election witnessed enthusiastic participation of voters and was held in a largely free and fair manner. As in the past, the General Election Observation Committee (GEOC) took part in the observation of the second CA election. The GEOC undertook the observation with the objective of monitoring whether the election conducted by the Election Commission took place in a free and fair manner and without incidents of rigging and vote fraud so that it can come up with an unbiased observation report. The GEOC is an alliance of 10 different organizations including the Nepal Law Society (NLS). It has been involved in programs to support the institutionalization of democracy for the past 20 years. GEOC's members are independent intellectuals, legal luminaries, jurists, former government officials, social activists, human rights workers, professors, senior media persons and so on. The organization has been active in fields such as good governance, human rights, rule of law, and inclusion.

The observation was undertaken in 55 districts, 40 municipalities and 2000 VDCs covering all three regions – mountains, hills and plains – in order to ensure that the observation was comprehensive and based on reality.

This observation report prepared on the basis of information provided by 2300 GEOC observers has six different chapters. At the end, it lists the conclusions and recommendations. Earlier, the GEOC had published separate preliminary reports on the poll preparations, poll environment and state of law and order.

We would like to express our gratitude to the chief editor and coordinator of this report, Mr. Gobinda Das Shrestha and his team of contributors including Mr. Shashi Kumar Upadhyaya, Mr. Milan Shrestha, Ms. Sunita Regmi, Ms. Amita Rana Thapa, Ms. Babita Basnet and Mr. Hasta Bahadur Gurung. There were almost 25,000 respondents who replied to several set questionnaires. The writers were able to turn them around and give it a shape of this report. Likewise, thanks are due to Mr. Ashwothama Pokharel who tabulated the data and Mr. Madhav Ghimire who copy edited the report. Dr. Dwarika Dhungel and members of his team also deserve thanks for their efforts in designing the questionnaires and preparing the framework of the contents of this report.

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Additionally, thanks are due to staff who have been involved in the election observation from the beginning. They include Mr. Tirtha Narayan Subedi, Ms. Sudha Kafle, Mr. Milan Shrestha, Mr. Ganesh Man Pradhan, Ms. Alina Shrestha, Mr. Sanju Pathak, Mr. Bhawani Kayastha, Mr. Nile Shrestha, Mr. Prakash Koirala, and Ms. Sumitra Gurung.

We are also indebted to the Election Commission, Home Administration, District Election Officers, political parties, candidates, voters, observers, journalists, and representatives of civil society for their help and cooperation in the election observation.

Finally, GEOC would like to express sincere thanks to His Excellency Norwegian Ambassador and the Norwegian Embassy in Nepal for reposing faith in us and financially supporting our endeavor in election observation and publication of this report.

Himalaya Shumsher Rana

Chairperson
General Election Observation Committee

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Executive Summary of the Observation of Election

After the first Constituent Assembly (CA), elected initially with two years' term in April, 2008, got dissolved after failing to draft the constitution in its extended term of four years, the election for the second CA was held on November 19, 2013. In a complicated political vacuum created in the wake of the demise of both the CA and the parliament, the political parties agreed to ask the president to issue an order to remove constitutional obstacles to pave the way for second election of CA. The president issued such an order in March, 2013.

With the objective of helping to ensure that the election is held in a free, fair and credible manner, the General Election Observation Committee Nepal (GEOC) became involved in the observation of 2013 election just like it had done in the previous elections. As an alliance of ten different organizations involved in various sectors, the GEOC had observed all the general elections of 1991, 1994 and 1999 apart from the local elections of 1992 and 1997. The GEOC also had the opportunity to observe the 2008 CA election. Norwegian government has provided generous support for this year's observation and report publication.

On May 28, 2008 the first meeting of the now dissolved first CA had declared Nepal as a federal democratic republic. During its four years, the first CA was able to outline a preliminary draft of the constitutional issues apart from the disputed ones related to forms of federalism and governance. After its dissolution, there emerged a total absence of legislative body to guide the day-to-day administration and the unfortunate action pushed the country towards an unprecedented political and the constitutional crisis. In this background, the second election of the CA was announced. Initially, there were delays in fixing the date of the election and in the formulation of required election laws. Subsequently, 33 parties led by breakaway Maoist faction under Mohan Baidya's leadership declared to boycott the polls. Attempts were made till the last minute to bring these parties on board but in vain. As a result, there was a lot of anxiety and apprehension among the people regarding the holding of election till the last minute. However, the resolve of the people to take part in the voting combined with the adequate security arrangement helped in successful holding of the election in a largely independent and peaceful atmosphere.

The GEOC selected 55 districts for observation. For the sake of maximum coverage, the GEOC selected districts for observation in such a manner that it could cover 56.1 percent of the voters of high hilly districts, 86 percent of voters in the hill districts and 90.8 percent of voters in the Terai districts. A total of 2300 observers were mobilized for the purpose.

The apprehensions of voters whether the polls would be held or not were fanned by the increasing tempo of violent activities including bomb explosions by the parties opposed to the polls. However, such misgivings started waning after the enforcement of integrated security arrangement and subsequent reduction in the poll-boycott activities in the wake of positive election euphoria. This led to the unprecedented level of voters turn out. The Election Commission was successful to portray that, barring few exceptions, it was determined to hold the election in a free and fair manner. The Commission had faced race against time to prepare for the election

due to several obstructions raised by the parties opposed to the polls. The Commission was able to overcome such obstacles. There were, however, few confusions in some constituencies due to discrepancies seen in the name, address, and photos of voters in the voters' list.

The Election Commission was not fully successful in enforcing the election code of conduct, especially the ceiling for election expenditure. Also the Commission was not seen as effectively dealing with the instances of code breaches. It was largely left to the political parties to abide by the code. The parties, on their part, paid only lip service to abiding by the codes. Perhaps, the Commission adopted somewhat lax attitude towards such breaches since it was holding the election in an abnormal situation.

In the course of transporting the ballot boxes to the vote counting venue in district headquarters, several shortcomings such as breaking of seals, discrepancies in the number of votes cast in a ballot box etc appeared in some places. These lapses took place due to carelessness, time constraints and lack of proper training of the concerned staff. Suspicions, perhaps, were natural given the distance between polling centers and counting venue as it took time to transport the ballot boxes. In many rural regions, helicopters were used to transport the ballot boxes.

In the 2008 election, we saw encouraging representation of women and marginalized groups. In 2013, however, women candidates were fielded under FPTP just to fulfill the quota requirements. The three main parties, Nepali Congress, CPN-UML and UCPN-Maoists, fielded only 11 percent women candidates. Apart from candidacy, the participation of women in the election process and voting, however, was highly encouraging. The election campaigns and polling centers were mostly women-friendly. There was a proper gender balance in the management of the polls. The participation and presence of women staff in the polling centers were less, though. In fact, only 11 percent of government work force consisted of women. This percentage is even less in the Nepal Police, where it stands at 5.65 percent.

In the run up to the election, the mass media availed of their independent reporting. They provided the political parties with forum to disseminate their message. Although mass media was focused on covering the issues related to the three big parties, they also attempted to give adequate space to smaller parties. At the local level, FM radio stations allowed candidates to give their message on their programs. Nepal Television aired a public debate program organized by the Federation of Nepalese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FNCCI) and NDI in which representatives of nine parties were invited. The Commission also made available some free air time in national television and radio to disseminate educational messages. During the silent period, the Commission gave an interim order to suspend the airing of ABC television channel. But the channel did not abide by the order.

Re-polling had to be announced only in two places. Re-polling have been conducted in these two places and their results declared. The Election Commission has settled 19 complaints received via election officers regarding booth capture, and disqualified votes. Likewise, 22 cases were filed at the Constituent Assembly court. They are in the various stages of legal proceedings.

There were altogether 12,147,865 voters registered for the second CA election including 5,980,881 men; 6,166,829 women and 155 third gender. Under the FPTP category, there were altogether 6126 candidates belonging to 120 different political parties and few independents. The candidates included 5,457 men, 668 women and 1 representing third gender. Under PR category, there were 10,709 candidates from 122 parties.

In order to properly manage the election, the Commission erected 18,438 permanent and 337 temporary polling centers. Including volunteers, the Commission mobilized a total of 217,456 staffs including 214,760 for permanent and 2,696 for the temporary polling centers.

During the 2008 election, there were a total of 17,611,832 registered voters including 8,881,359 men and 8,730,473 women. Out of them 61.7 and 63.29 percent of voters turned out to participate in FPTP and PR election, respectively. Compared with that, the voter turn out stood at 78.34 and 79.82 percent, respectively, in the FPTP and PR categories, in 2013. The percentage of votes disqualified stood at 4.96 for FPTP and 3.2 for PR. In 2008 election the percentage of votes disqualified had been 5.15 for FPTP and 3.66 in PR. Thus, there was only a marginal improvement in this area. In the FPTP category, out of 122 parties only 10 could win seats. In the PR category, 30 parties won seats. The number of parties that won minimum of one percent votes stood at 11.

Recommendations

At the end of the observation report, few recommendations have been presented for the consideration of concerned agencies in order to improve the existing election system. The recommendations have been listed for the Election Commission, Government of Nepal, political parties, election system, election spending and observation:

Election Commission

- The number of cancelled votes were fewer in 2013 compared to 2008 election. But there were lots of cancelled votes still under FPTP as well as PR system. Therefore the voters' education should be made more effective. Media, civil society and political parties should be active to educate voters. Meanwhile, the Commission should play the role of coordinator and work in partnership with these actors for the purpose.
- The capacity of district election offices should be enhanced to ensure structures to avoid flaws in collection of voters' name. This matter has been consistently raised in all of the observation reports of the elections held after the restoration of democracy in 1990.
- The number of polling booths, particularly in remote regions, should be increased to ease the access of voters. In remote areas, the number of polling booth should depend not on number of voters but on distance.
- The concerned agencies should be provided with adequate budget to enable them to take immediate action on the breach of election code of conduct; the district agencies should be enabled to take effective action against culprits and monitor the situation. The Commission should be active in taking immediate action against code violations.
- The coordination between the office of election officer and district election office must be improved. There should be provision ensure all election materials are provided from one place.
- All staffs deployed for election should be given adequate training on the process and procedures. Although this matter has been raised since 1990, the Commission is not found to have paid enough attention towards it.
- Necessary steps should be taken to introduce 'pre-ink' or electronic voting because most
 of the votes disqualified or cancelled were caused by the voters placing thumbprints on

- ballot paper, and the possibility of inks spreading since the existing ink in use does not dry auickly.
- The provision of voters' ID cards has helped to reduce the cases of vote-rigging and better manage the polling. The issuance of voters' ID, therefore, must be carried out with priority. There is a need to improve the current situation where people were stopped from voting because they did not have their names in the voters' roll even though they carried voters' ID.
- Election commission should put its decisions in its website for the purpose of transparency.

Government of Nepal

- In order to prevent incidents like booth capturing, security arrangements must be made further stringent, thereby safeguarding the interests of the voters to participate in polling in a free, fair and fearless environment.
- The matter of transporting and storing ballot boxes is highly sensitive. We recommend improvements in the existing system of transportation of ballot boxes from polling centers to the counting venue so that there will be no doubt or suspicion regarding this process. Ensure high level of transparency in this process. We also recommend that the presence of representatives of parties could be ensured, if they want, while transporting the ballot boxes.
- Home Ministry and police administration should promptly carry out orders delivered by the Commission or the concerned agencies related to instances of breaches of election code of conduct.

Political Parties

- Political parties should adopt develop appropriate controlling mechanism and process since it is their primary duty to ensure that their candidates and workers do not breach the election code of conduct.
- Parties must effectively abide by the Political Parties' Act and subject their incomes and expenditures to proper auditing. Audited accounts must be made public, and the parties must develop mechanism to monitor their incomes and expenditures.
- Parties must democratize their internal organizational structures, decision making processes and management.
- In order to reduce election related violence, the parties should create their networks at central, district and local level and help enforce code of conduct.

Election System

 Proportional Representation system has been adopted to help ensure that there is regional/ ethnic balance and reflect social diversity in the country's system of governance. If the parties want to adopt this system in future as well, they should prepare separate closed lists of candidates belonging to women/Dalit/Janajati/Muslim/backward communities. The parties must also hold discussion to find out ways to respect the order of candidates listed in the closed-lists.

- Threshold must be put in place. It does not bode well for the democracy to let the parties that carry less than one percent of popular votes, mushroom. There are 111 such parties in this election.
- There is another aspect of threshold as well. Some parties have influence in certain geographic regions. For example, the Nepal Workers and Peasants Party bagged 54,323 votes and Terai Madhes Sadbhavana Party bagged 65.041 votes. Both won one seats each. But a party bagging a lot more votes than them could not win any. Therefore, there should be discussion over the concept of regional parties.
- Presently, there are 335 members elected under PR and 26 nominated by the cabinet. A debate should be initiated to reduce this number since there will be no direct public control over them so that proper provisions of election system can be made in the new constitution.

Election Expenditure

Extensive discussions are required to discourage corrupting expenditure over the ceilings. Discussion is also needed to formulate the appropriate process for election funding by the government on the basis of the volume of votes bagged by parties in the previous election.

Observation

Since observation helps in ensuring the independence and impartiality of election leading to its credibility, observers must keep abreast of all election activities in the polling centers. Therefore, it is essential that observers are involved for a longer period of time so that they can get to know about the activities. Roaming observers may not fit the bill. Duplication should be avoided by forging effective coordination among observer agencies.

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CHAPTER

1

General Election Observation Committee Nepal and Election Observation

1.1 Introduction

Democracy was ushered in Nepal for the first time in 1951 after toppling the 104-year-old Rana oligarchy. On the day of its announcement on February 18, 1951, then King Tribhuwan had declared, 'Let our people, hereafter, be ruled under a republican statute formulated by a legitimate assembly elected by them.' (Devkota 1959:54).

From the declaration of King Tribhuwan to make constitution through a 'legitimate assembly,' to the Interim Statute of 1951 to the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007, Nepal has gone through lots of changes. But the people's aspirations to have the elected Constituent Assembly to write a republican constitution could materialize only after the election of CA in April 10, 2008 that was formed following the success of 2006 people's movement. Incidentally, both the times, King Gyanendra emerged as the key factor behind the political transformations. In 1951, the ruling Rana oligarchs had installed minor Gyanendra in the throne after Tribhuwan left for India with his family. He saw the future of the country in republic in the face of Rana's wish to perpetuate their rule in the name of minor King Gyanendra. Later in history, when then King Gyanendra snatched all executive powers in February 1, 2005, it propelled the second people's movement to see the future of the country in republic.

The first meeting of the elected Constituent Assembly, on May 28, 2008, passed a resolution to implement the declaration of Republic in Nepal. The people of Nepal embarked on a new era. However, despite repeated extension of its terms, the assembly failed to draft a constitution. It was, subsequently, dissolved on May 27, 2012. It was a great setback to the aspirations of the people of Nepal. It pushed Nepal's politics towards confusion. It was one of the most difficult periods for the people.

In order to carry the political development forward, the people of Nepal took part in the second election of the Constituent Assembly on November 19, 2013. Breaking past records, there was 78 percent voters turn-out in the FPTP and 79 percent in PR election system. Like in previous elections, General Election Observation Committee (GEOC) took part in the observation of the election to ensure that it is held in a free and fair atmosphere.

A network of 10 different organizations, the GEOC has engaged in observations of general elections in 1991, 1994, and 1999 apart from local elections in 1992 and 1997 and constituent assembly election in 2008. The GEOC has also submitted its observation reports on these elections. In fact, the Election Commission has incorporated many of its past recommendations in order to make the 2013 election effective.

1.2 Objectives of the Network

The GEOC is a network established in order to observe whether the election conducted by the Election Commission is held in the independent, fair, fearless and rigging-free environment. It tests each and every phase of election programs published by the Election Commission such as Registration of Voters, Voting, Vote Counting, and declaration of results. Based on its observations and data it collects, the GEOC presents its report.

1.3 Form of Network

The institutional members of the network include Nepal Law Society, Nepal Citizens' Forum, Council of Former Pubic Servants, Nepal, International Commission of Jurists, Nepal Section, Nepal Press Institute, Rural Development Foundation, Nepal Civil Society, Madheshi Civil Society, Center for Investigative Journalism and Media Advocacy Group. Independent experts, legal experts, social workers, human rights activists, professors, and journalists are associated with these 10 organizations. The network is active across the country through these professionals.

1.4 Duty of the Network

The GEOC has the duty to ensure that it conducts the observation by mobilizing independent, fair and neutral observers to ensure the success of the 2013 Constituent Assembly member election. The GEOC operates a secretariat in order to support the activities of the observation. The secretariat coordinates with the member organizations of the network and selects observers at the national, district, constituency, municipal and village levels. Following the observation, the GEOC will prepare report and submit the same to the Election Commission, political parties and other related stakeholders. The report is also made public. It carries out its operation in a transparent manner. The GEOC will also make public its financial report as well as pre-election, during election and post-election reports via a press conference.

1.5 Secretariat of the Network

The central office of Nepal Law Society in Babarmahal, Kathmandu hosts the secretariat of the GEOC for the purpose of day-to-day administration and other related support. The secretariat has provisioned for required manpower to support the observation. It also has a council of 55 national observers. A working committee under Himalaya Shumsher Rana has been formed with the representation of all member organizations.

1.6 Observation Program and Coordination

The GEOC had divided the observation program into three phases – pre-election, during election and post-election. The pre-election phase covered the period from the start of the election process to the day before the actual voting. The post-election phase covered the period after election up to the publication of results.

In the pre-election phase, the GEOC had formed a Secretariat to manage human resources and material and gather financial support. It determined constituencies, municipalities and VDCs for observation. The observers were appointed and trained. Likewise, it produced questionnaire to collect information related to election. The Secretariat was also involved in the coordination of observers and also with other observer organizations. During this period, the GEOC had made public the updated information on the state of observation in districts in the pre-election period.

Observers were mobilized in order to collect information based on questionnaire on the day of election to measure the level of independence and fairness of the polls. Detailed observations were made about the voting process and its management. The Secretariat also sought updated information from the observers on the voting day itself.

After the completion of election, observation was carried out on the venue of vote-counting, the vote-counting itself, participation of political representatives, and declaration of winning candidates. During the same period, observation was carried out about the declaration of election results, disputes at political level, complaints filed at Election Commission and CA Court, and declaration of final result of the election under proportional representation. The observation reports were discussed with stakeholders.

During the pre-election period, the GEOC carried out observation of activities of political parties, adherence to election code of conduct, security and political violence. A series of press meets were held on September 26, 2013, October 25, 2013, and November 15, 2013 to share the findings. Likewise, an election eve press meet was held on November 18, 2013 to share updated findings collected from on the spot observation and information from districts. On the day after the election, on November 20, 2013 another press meet was held to share the preliminary report based on details received from the district and national level observers. The preliminary report of CA Election Observation, 2013 has already been presented to the Election Commission. This report has been published amid a function along with recommendations for making future elections more effective.

CHAPTER 2

On Observation

2.1 Objectives of Observation

The objective of observation of election by domestic and international observer organizations is to conduct independent observation on whether the election process is free and fair. Observation aims to increase the credibility and legitimacy of election. Since democracy involves periodic election to gauge the aspirations and opinions of people, holding credible election is absolutely necessary. It strengthens democracy and helps win national and international recognition to the process. Observers play a key role in helping to stop rigging and irregularities in election.

Observers are guided by the objectives to support free and fair election for the second Constituent Assembly. The election process involves, pre, during and post phases. All of these processes must be free and fair, which alone will ensure that elections are held credibly.

2.2 Need for Observation

Although the Election Commission and the government is entrusted with managing all steps pertaining to the election, independent observation is necessary to establish that its performance has been credible and that the election has been held in a free and fair manner. Observation will ensure that the election is accepted as credible by the international community. For a country without long experience of holding periodic elections and for a country that is just emerging from armed conflict, the need of effective election observation is much more.

Every voter must get a chance to vote for a candidate of his/her choice in a free and fearless environment. Whether all the eligible voters are listed in the voters' list? Whether the political parties had the opportunity to register? Whether interested parties or candidates were able to stand in the election? Whether the government and the Election Commission were able to successfully hold the election? Observation is necessary to monitor these processes.

Were the voters able to fearlessly cast their votes in a well-managed process? Observation through independent, unbiased and capable persons is necessary to ensure an environment of credibility in which collection of voters' rolls and their counting would be done in a correct manner.

Election observation also encourages in adherence to relevant Acts and Regulations of the country apart from election rules. Adherence to election code of conduct leads

to reduction in election expenses. The code makes election officials accountable and promotes transparency.

2.3 Duty of Observers

The Election Commission and the concerned agencies are actively involved in making the process of voting easy and simple. Observers have significant duty in ensuring that the election process is trustworthy and credible. The Election Commission has issued a code of conduct, 2013, for observers to ensure that observation is well regulated. As per the code of conduct, licensed observers will have the right to independently observe the constituent assembly member election. The code also has listed duties for observers. They include reporting to Election Commission and its officials about the observation. The observers will have the duty to report to the GEOC based on their observation of the conduct of political parties, party cadres, candidate, voters, and officials in line with prepared questionnaires. The observers have the duty to prepare and submit the report on the election preparedness, and election management, along with recommendations.

2.4 Management of Observation by Election Commission

The Election Commission is engaged in the election process from the collection of voters' rolls, registration of political parties and filing of candidacies. It has to carry out these processes based on established rules. The voting and vote-counting also involve lots of processes. Therefore, the Commission has important role to play in the mobilization of commissioners and officials to oversee these processes. The government allocates necessary budget and arranges security for these processes. The Commission also has the authority to select observers and provide identity cards to thousands of them. Proper management of all these processes will ensure that elections are held in free, fair and credible manner.

For this purpose, Election Commission produced a code of conduct for national and international observers and also provided them with proper identity cards. In order to ensure that observation is of high quality and well-managed, the Commission also provided orientation and training to national and international observers. Likewise, government had mobilized secretaries and joint secretaries to monitor observers in the districts.

Observation Methodology

3.1 Selection of Observers

There were observers at municipal, VDC, constituency, district and national level. They were selected to represent all organizations of GEOC, various disciplines and gender balance. Priority was accorded to select observers in inclusive manner to include women, Dalit, Janajatis, Adivasis, Madhesis. Involvement of experienced and intellectual people was also ensured in the selection. There were Short Term Observers (STOs) and Long Term Observers (LTOs). There were 2040 STOs who observed the election process for one month and 260 LTOs who observed the election process for the entire election period. The GEOC picked LTOs (national, district and constituency level observers) from the central level. The STOs, on the other hand, were picked by respective district observers to be deployed to municipal, VDC level. Provisions were made to ensure that observers were selected in fair and inclusive manner with the consent of organizations affiliated to GEOC.

Since GEOC is committed to promote the right to vote, it took into account neutrality and capability while selecting observers. All levels of observers were given appointment letter. All of them were administered oath as prescribed by the Election Commission. They could work only after taking such oath.

3.2 Observation Questionnaire

With the objective of obtaining information whether election was free and fair, five kinds of questionnaires were produced to be asked to voters, political workers and election officials. The questionnaires were also pre-tested in few VDCs and municipalities of Kavrepalanchowk district. They were refined along with the feedbacks received during the pre-tests.

3.3 Observation Training

Training-orientation programs were held in order to help observers carry out their tasks efficiently and effectively. Issues such as constituent assembly and its legal provisions, objectives of observation, fairness, code of conduct etc were discussed during such programs. National and district level observers received such training in Kathmandu. Other observers received the training in one-day training programs held in districts.

3.4 Size of Sample Observation

The GEOC has chosen sample districts and polling centers ensuring representation of the country's diverse geographical areas including municipalities and villages for the purpose of election observation. Such selection provided realistic information about all election processes from voting to vote-counting in the country. The methods of interview as well as direct observation were applied in order to seek information. Out of the total 75 districts, the GEOC carried out observation in 7 districts in high hills, 30 in hills and 18 in Terai – 55 districts altogether. Polling centers were selected to represent both rural and urban areas.

The total number of voters in these 55 districts stood at 10,480,819 – which is 86.3 percent of total voters in the entire country. The 7 high hill districts represent 56.1 percent of the total population of the mountainous region. Likewise, the 30 hill districts covered 86 percent of the total population of the region and the 18 Terai districts covered 90.8 percent of the total population of Terai.

Information and data were collected from all three groups of people – voters, political workers and election officials – through the use of questionnaires. Balanced information was expected due to the inclusive use of both male and female observers, in both rural and urban areas. Apart from these three questionnaires, two others were also produced – which were to be filled by the observers themselves regarding their perspective on the entire election process. The details were transformed into various tables and analyzed thereof with the help of coder.

In order to ensure that the data are useful and reliable, trained manpower was used. The GEOC observers have directly observed the process in the field. The report presented here is a synthesis of information received from 2216 observers of 55 districts. The sample observation by GEOC conducted in 6,652 polling centers comprise of over one-third of the total 18,456 polling centers in the country.

CHAPTER

4

Review of Nepal Laws related to CA and Local Election

4.1 International Norms on Election

International norms on election are mentioned in the international human rights instruments. Nepal is fully committed towards these norms, and values prescribed in those instruments to which it is a signatory state. These norms include the exercise of adult franchise, the right of every citizen to elect government of his/her choice, the right of every citizen to take part in governance through his/her elected representatives and so on. Likewise, the period in holding of election in free and fair manner is an important aspect of these norms. Nepal's laws are guided by these very cardinal principles.

4.2 Nepal Laws Related to CA Election

4.2.1 Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007

The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 has provisions related to election and CA. Based on geographic and demographic specificities, the country is divided into 240 electoral constituencies from which 240 representatives are elected under First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) process. Likewise, for the purpose of election under Proportional Representation system, the whole country is treated as a single constituency and 335 representatives elected on the basis of vote percentage won by parties. Additional 26 members will be nominated by the cabinet on the basis of political understanding. As such, the constitution specifies there will be 601 members in the CA.

4.2.2 Order to Remove Obstacles

After the dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly due to its failure to draft constitution in four years, Nepal found itself in complicated political and constitutional crises. Since some of the provisions of the interim constitution were deemed to be obstacles to hold fresh election and end the political deadlock, the President issued 25-point order to remove constitutional obstacles on March 14 2013 on the basis of 11-point understanding among the political parties, and, in accordance with the Article 158 of the Interim Constitution. The order cleared the path for holding second election of CA. Since the newly elected CA has endorsed the presidential order, all legal questions raised against it have now been settled.

4.2.3 Election Commission Act, 2007

Chief Commissioner and four other commissioners of the Election Commission are appointed on the basis of their expertise and experience. The Election Commission is

independent to carry out its duties, as laid down by the Constitution, including the holding of CA election, referendum or local elections and appoint/deploy election officials and other necessary manpower. A few amendments were made in the Act in 2013 in order to ensure that the election is held in free, fair and unbiased manner and in conformation with international standards.

4.2.4 Ordinance on CA Member Election, 2013

The ordinance was introduced as per the Article 88(1) of the Interim Constitution in order to create the necessary legal framework to hold the second CA election in November, 2013. The ordinance stated that 240 members will be elected under FPTP method from 240 constituencies; 335 members will be elected under PR method based on the closed list of candidates submitted by the political parties as per the principle of inclusion; and 26 members will be nominated by the cabinet to include people who have made important contributions to national life, and from deprived and under-represented communities. The ordinance also lays down the method of appointment of election officers, returning officers and other staff, apart from determining their duties, rights and responsibilities. The ordinance empowers the Election Commission to carry out the entire election processes covering from governing qualification of candidates, nomination process, complaints system, polling centers, voters' rolls, ballot papers, vote-counting and announcement of results.

4.2.5 Political Parties Act. 2001

Article 12 (2) (C) of the present Constitution provides right to every Nepalese citizen to register political parties. Article 141 prohibits banning of political parties. However, for the purpose of their registration for election, the parties must fulfill a number of conditions laid down by the Constitution and Act – Parties that undermine religious harmony, and territorial integrity of the country cannot be registered. The parties have to fulfill 13 parameters laid down by the Act. This time, out of 138 political parties that applied for registration, 130 were registered. Eight applicants were refused registration.

4.2.6 Political Parties Registration (Election) Regulations 2008

There is a provision that prohibits the registration of parties that are expressly against the preamble of the constitution; that seek members based on specific religion, caste, lingual group or gender; that undermine communal unity and territorial integrity; that promote party-less systems and so on. The Election Commission can issue a notice in national daily giving a maximum of one month to the prospective parties to apply in prescribed manner for their registration. Apart from parties represented in the first CA, the new parties are required to present signatures of 10,000 voters along with their application for registration, and verify the same through the EC. The Commission had issued a notice on April 26, 2013 listing all the parties registered for the purpose of election.

4.2.7 Election (Crime and Punishment) Act, 2008

Keeping the possible crime and punishment related to elections in mind, this Act has been formulated by integrating crimes and punishments stipulated in various Acts and

by defining them. Its provisions include barring unauthorized persons from voting; exerting undue influence; breaking secrecy; exhibiting or using arms or explosions; character assassination of candidates or their family members; and spending on campaigning beyond the ceiling fixed by the Commission, among others. The Act also has provisions about prosecution, trial, hearing and dispute settlements. The Act hands over the jurisdiction regarding crimes covered by Clause 21 and punishment covered by Part 5 to the Constituent Assembly Court. The government will have to prosecute the crimes related to Clause 21 whereas in case of complaints filed under Clause 27, 28 and 31, they can be withdrawn with the permission of the CA court.

4.2.8 Act Related to Voters' List 2007

The voters' list is a foundation for any election. This Act was formulated in order to bring about necessary amendment in the existing laws and to integrate all aspects related to it. Every Nepali citizen reaching the age of 18 years by mid-April will be eligible to cast vote in the election held in the following year. Their names are collected from people with permanent residence in each ward under the direct supervision and monitoring of the Election Commission. The Act authorizes the Commission and its offices to register the name of qualified citizens as voters. The Act provides for the registration of people with permanent domicile, and those who have shifted by migration or marriage; and to remove names of voters who have been registered twice, or who have passed away. There are special provisions whereby voters can re-register, in special circumstances, if their names have been left out. Likewise, Commission can mobilize its officers to provide temporary registration to inmates of jails, senior citizens living in shelter houses and civil servants deployed out of station for election purposes. This time, voters had to present themselves and give fingerprints and had their photos taken for their registration. As such, many people who had gone abroad could not register and, therefore, the number of voters was less this time. Temporary voters are allowed to cast vote only under proportional representation system.

4.2.9 Constituent Assembly Court Act, 2008

This Act has been formulated in order to hear complaints and make decisions regarding election of the CA member. The Act provides for a chairperson and two members of the court to be appointed as per the recommendation of Judicial Council. Issues like disqualification of candidates, cancellation of election and punishments fall under this court. All three members of the court shall exercise the jurisdiction of this court. Majority opinion will prevail. Decision by chairperson or the senior member (in absence of chairperson) will count. If majority could not be reached in some decision, then the member who is not present will be briefed about the issue and his/her opinion will be taken into consideration for the final decision. The decisions by CA court will be final. There can be no appeal.

4.2.10 Directives for CA Member Election, 2013

This Directive has been formulated by integrating all essential legal and procedural provisions about CA election.

4.2.11 CA Member Election Observation Policy, 2013

The Election Commission has formulated and enforced the CA Member Election Observation Policy 2013 with the objective of ensuring that election is properly observed and monitored by experienced observers from national and international agencies and, in accordance with, the established norms of election observation so that the election earns national and international recognition and credibility. The policy expects that the observation of the voters, political parties, the access of voters to the mass media, level of political violence, implementation of election code of conduct, security situation and psyche of voters can be properly undertaken so that it can also provide an appropriate roadmap for future elections. The policy expects that observers, government, mass media become more accountable and responsible towards their duties.

4.2.12 CA Member Election Code of Conduct, 2013

The Commission issued the Code of Conduct in accordance with the Clause 28 of the Election Commission Act, 2007 with the objective of guiding the performance of election officials, government offices and employees, political parties, candidates, government and private media and national/international observers in order to ensure that the election is held in free, fair, and fearless environment. The code of conduct makes all the stakeholders accountable and answerable for their actions that could affect the election environment in any manner. It allows the Commission to seek clarifications from any candidate/party accused of indulging in action that can affect the fairness of election. If such clarification is not satisfactory, the code allows the Commission to even cancel his/ her candidacy. Anyone found breaching the order of the Commission could be fined up to Rs 100,000. Breach of election code is recognized as an offense punishable by law.

4.2.13 Regulations on Voters' List and First Amendment, 2011

The first amendment in this rule was made on April 23 2013. According to the amendment, voters' list is collected and updated through chief registration officer, deputy registration officer or compiler. Unlike in the past, this time the updating of voters' details include entering their name, name of their parents, citizenship number, spouse details, and fingerprints into the computer. In case of people who were registered as voters in the previous 2008 election but who had obtained citizenship only later on, special provision was introduced to allow them to register. Deadline was also relaxed to facilitate their registration. As such, time was extended from October 18 2013 to October 25 2013. But not many people used this extended period for registration. The new regulation embraces international standard of barring registration for anyone without national identity card.

4.3 Election in Local Bodies and Required Reforms

Adoption of Principle of Inclusion 4.3.1

The Local Self Governance Act (LSGA), 1998 lays down the process of formation of Village Council, VDCs and each ward committees, District Council, DDCs and municipalities. Though the Act covers representation of women and socio-economically backward section of people, Janajatis, Dalit and Adivasis, it is silent on representation of Madheshi community. Following the second people's movement, the concept of inclusive democracy has been embraced. Therefore, in order to strengthen inclusion from the local levels itself, there is a need to introduce wide reforms in the Acts and rules related to local bodies. Since the next election is going to be the election for local bodies, separate provisions should be inserted to ensure representation of both Madheshis and non-Madheshi community living in Madhesh, and by segregating the Adivasis, Janajatis and Dalits within Madheshi community. It will ensure intersectional representation. Likewise, the LSGA fixes number for women representatives but not for other communities. Therefore, it is necessary to amend Clauses 7, 8, 12, 30, 75, 76, 80, 98, 172, 176, 192 and 241 of the Act to ensure representation of all communities as per the principle of inclusion.

4.3.2 Proportional Representation

Special provisions will be required in order to ensure proportional representation of women and socio-economically backward community, Janajati, Dalit and Adivasis in the election of District Development Committees (DDCs). It calls for immediate reforms in the Local Self Governance Act 1998.

4.3.3 Procedural Provisions

Like in the CA election, the Local Elections will also require formulation of election code of conduct, observation policy and election procedural. To ensure uniformity amid proposed reforms in its structure and election system, the Local Bodies Election Procedural 1992 must be amended.

4.4 Registration of Political Parties for the Local Bodies Election

Since the Election Commission had registered political parties for the CA member election, it should also give certain time to the parties to register for the local polls. The Commission should do away with complicated requirements such as signatures of voters and so on when calling for applications for registration.

CHAPTER

5

Election Observation, Monitoring and Analysis

In course of its observation program, the GEOC held pre-election press meets on September 26, October 25, November 15 and November 18 to share its findings about the pre-election atmosphere. After the election of November 19, the GEOC organized a press meet on the following day to make its preliminary report public. In a bid to ensure maximum coverage, the GEOC mobilized its observers to observe elections in 150 constituencies covering 40 municipal and 2000 village centers. The observation covered 7 districts of high hill region; 30 districts of hilly region and 18 districts of Terai. A total of 2300 observers were deployed to 6652 polling centers. The information gathered from these trained observers have been analyzed below under five different titles, namely election management, election campaign and voting, vote-counting, women participation and role of mass media.

5.1 Election Management

Election management has been divided into three subtitles: establishment and operation of polling centers, registration of voters and distribution of identity cards, and voters' education.

5.1.1 Establishment and operation of polling centers

Though the time allotted for collection and transportation of logistics necessary for election was short, the Election Commission managed to complete them within time. The printing of ballot papers and their transportation across the nooks and corners of the country was one of the most challenging aspects. The Election Commission printed a total of 29,004,000 ballot papers – including 14,952,000 for the FPTP and 14,952,000 for the PR system. Under the FPTP system, the Commission had printed different ballot papers for 240 constituencies. Likewise, under PR system, the Commission had printed 241 different types of ballot papers.

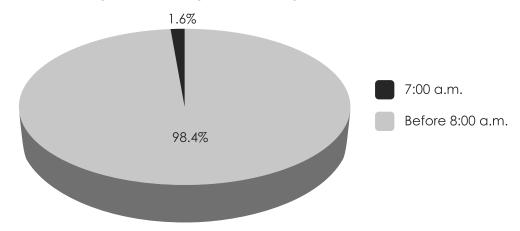
The Election Commission had set up 18,438 permanent polling centers and 337 temporary polling centers – altogether 18,774 polling centers across the country.

In most of the cases, the staff deployed for election reached their designated polling centers on time after getting necessary training and orientation. However, in few cases, the preparations for polling centers could be completed only in the last minute – which prevented the prior observation of the preparations of the polling centers. Most of the voters responded favorably toward the deployment of election staffs when they were asked through questionnaire. They responded that temporary staffs deployed for election had largely worked in a fair and independent manner. The Table 1 shows the major issues related to the management of polling centers.

Table 1: Technical Management Indicator of Polling Centers

S.N.	Indicator	Total Respondents	Respondents in Number	Respondents in Percentage
1.	Accessibility of polling centers (good/so-so)	2216	2072	93.5
2.	System of queue of voters (good)	2216	2109	95.2
3.	Management of polling booth (good)	2216	2118	95.6
4.	Polling centers opened at 7 am or shortly after	2195	2159	98.4
5.	Behavior of staff deployed for election (good/so-so)	6989	6839	97.9
6.	Separate line/queue for women voters (good/so-so)	6989	6614	94.6
7.	Minimum ten percent of staff were women	2216	2054	92.7
8.	Presence of complaint system for violence against women	2216	909	41.0

Figure 1: Opening time of polling centers/respondents



When looked at from the viewpoint of the development region, the establishment and operation of polling centers were comparatively poorly managed in Midwestern region (Table 2). In the Midwestern region, matters such as accessibility of polling centers, system of arranging voters in a queue, presence of women staff were not duly taken care of.

Table 2: Development Region-wise state of establishment and operation of polling centers

SN	Indicator	Development Region (Average Percentage)	Midwestern region (Percentage)
1.	Inaccessible polling centers	6.0	9.3
2.	Ineffective arrangement of voters in a queue	3.5	8.6
3.	Low percentage of women among election staffs	3.9	5.9
4.	Lack of complaint system for violence against women	33.7	43.2

When 6652 polling officers were asked about their experience of organizing the voting, 4 percent of them or 269 officers said they felt it very tough. The 269 officials who said it was tough were asked to clarify reasons for saying so. In response, 18.6 percent of them pointed to the lack of adequate staffs whereas 17.8 percent pointed to the lack of training. Around 9.7 percent of them said there were inadequate ballot boxes whereas 2.6 percent said they did not get ballot papers on time. Likewise, 17.8 percent of them complained about the discrepancies in names, and ages of voters in the list.

5.1.2 Voters' Registration and Distribution of Identity Cards

The matter of voters' registration and distribution of identity cards to registered voters had been marked as a major management challenge for the Election Commission from the outset. The Commission had to deploy registration teams twice at the request of parties and the government. Though less than 200,000 additional voters were registered in the extended campaign, the final list of voters, too, generated confusion in some districts.

Apart from registration, another challenge was about the production of voters' identity cards and their proper distribution. In order to produce the cards, the Election Commission set up a printing facility within its office premises and printed them just on the eve of election. In course of observation, the GEOC had expressed concerns about successful production and distribution of identity cards. It was only days before the election that the Commission made a new decision allowing the use of other official identity cards to vote. This avoided what could have been a big complication for voters.

It can be safely assumed that very few proxy votes were cast in this election due to the usage of identity cards. However, 269 polling officers did complain about various problems they faced. About 48 (17.8 percent) of them complained that there were several discrepancies in the name, age and photo of voters listed in the registers. Thanks to the declaration of boycott of the poll by a group of political parties, the Commission ran into some difficulties in completing its preparations for the polls. The process of voters' registration also had to be done in stages. Although the voters' roll did not become a major issue, there were some weaknesses that demanded improvement. This matter was raised in a large number of polling centers but since the problem was faced by a handful of voters only, it did not go out of control. But incidents of voters returning without voting due to flaws in rolls were witnessed in a large number of polling centers. In 44.9 percent of the 6652 polling centers, incidents of voters returning due to such reasons took place. It affected the right of citizens to vote.

5.1.3 Voters' Education

Several programs were held and mass media mobilized in order to disseminate the importance of voting, the significance of constituent assembly and the process of voting to the general voters by organizing door-to-door campaigns.

Hand books, radio dramas were also used to ensure widest possible reach of those campaigns. They were aimed at increasing voters' participation and their awareness about voting process. Despite these campaigns, the total percent of votes that had to be disqualified for various technical reasons touched 4.96 under FPTP and 3.2 under PR. Compared to the election of 2008, it marked a slight improvement by 0.19 percent under

FPTP and 0.46 percent under PR system. This minimal improvement raises question about the efficacy of voter's education programs.

In many cases, the voters put their thumbprint instead of using the Swastik sign to cast their vote. This also points at the low level of literacy and awareness among the general public. Few voters were adequately aware that the voting was for constituent assembly and not a regular parliament. Most voters raised concerns for development during the door-todoor campaigns by candidates.

5.2 **Election Campaign and Voting**

Despite the failure of the first constituent assembly to draft the constitution, the election for the second constituent assembly became possible because of long held aspirations of the people of Nepal to formulate their constitution themselves via elected assembly. Due to this very reason, the election of the assembly was held largely peacefully barring few sporadic incidents of disruptions. The election was called as per the understanding among the political parties. The process got initiated with the collection of voters' list. The role of Election Commission, government agencies, political parties and other stakeholders were important in the holding of the election.

5.2.1 **Filing of Nomination Papers**

For the second election of CA, there were altogether 6126 candidates belonging to 120 different political parties and few independents contesting for 240 seats under FPTP. The candidates included 5457 men, 668 women and 1 representing the third gender. Likewise, under PR category, there were 10,709 candidates from 122 parties fighting for 335 seats.

In most of the constituencies, the candidates were allowed to peacefully file their nomination papers notwithstanding a few problems faced due to bandh imposed by the parties opposed to the polls. A candidate from constituency number 4 of Bara district, Mahmud Alam was killed by criminal groups after the filing of his nomination. In Kapilbastu constituency 1, the election process had to be put off after one of the candidates passed away. Although the terms of eligibility for candidates under FPTP and PR were not very tough, few of them were disqualified due to carelessness on the part of the political parties. There were no complaints against candidates under FPTP. However, the Election Commission found 20 of them ineligible because of them being minor and lacking formal nomination letters from their parties. There were nine complaints duly filed against candidates listed under PR category. One was a person who had been convicted by the Supreme Court on murder charges and other two were found holding public positions. That apart, additional 294 candidates were found ineligible under Commission's investigation.

5.2.2 State of Enforcement of Election Code of Conduct

The Election Commission enforced the Election Code of Conduct 2013 from July 22 to November 24, 2013. Overall, the Commission and other stakeholders were found to be alert about abiding by the code of conduct. But its effective implementation on the ground was lacking. In Siraha, even the representatives of civil society could not be seen as unbiased in the enforcement of the code. The Code barred the parties and the

candidates from using multi-color pamphlets, posters and megaphones in the campaign. But many of them indulged in using all of those. Such flagrant violation of the code was witnessed even within the capital Kathmandu. Incidents of attempts to lure voters by money were reported from Sunsari, Jhapa, Rupandehi and other districts. In Baglung, incidents of picnicking, partying, exchange of cash and payment of bills after the election were reported. The election expenditure ceiling was not observed. Candidates were found to lack seriousness about this provision since they could get away by filing their expenditure account within 35 days of the date of election. All in all, the Election Commission did appear a bit more effective compared with past elections. There were 187 complaints of code of conduct violations, out of which the Commission investigated 144 incidents and took actions thereof. In district level, chief election officers and election officers took action against 261 such complaints.

In the viewpoint of voters regarding the adherence of code of conduct by candidates and parties, 68.9 percent of the 6694 respondents said they abided by the code completely; while 31.1 percent said they did not abide by the code.

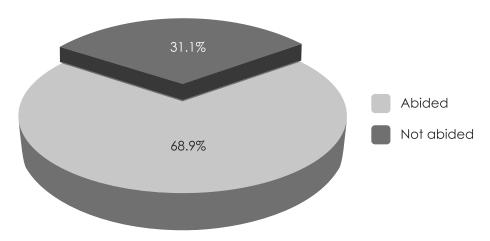


Figure 2: Enforcement of code of conduct (In the eyes of voters)

The viewpoint of election officers were a bit different regarding the adherence to the code of conduct. There were 96.4 percent (6624) respondents who felt they abided by the code and 3.6 percent (231) who felt they did not.

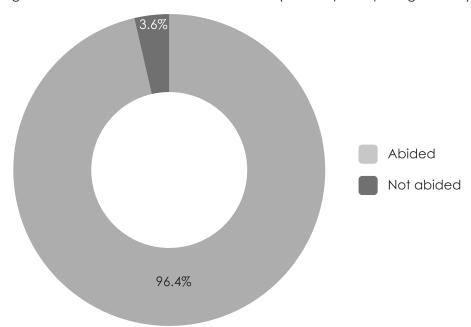


Figure 3: Enforcement of code of conduct (In the eyes of polling officers)

When those four percent of the respondents 4 percent (231) who felt code of conduct was not abided by, were asked, through multiple options questionnaires, to name the perpetrators, most pointed at political parties while very few pointed at observers.

Likewise, the data about state of enforcement of code of conduct by political parties and candidates, show that more women voters compared to men voters have felt that they have abided by the code. In terms of age of voters, compared to those under 25 years, more voters over the age of 61 years have felt that they have abided by the code. And more literate and educated voters compared to illiterate ones felt that codes were violated by the parties and the candidates.

5.2.3 Campaigning by Political Parties

Compared with the past elections, the parties were able to effectively organize their campaigns. However, on November 11, in Ramechhap district the CPN-Maoist cadres confiscated election documents belonging to Nepali Congress; and the workers of NC and UML clashed on the pretext that the latter had torn off the posters of Congress in Namadi; in Gelu the cadres of UCPN-Maoists attacked Congress workers; and a few were injured when clashes broke out between cadres of CPN-Maoist and UCPN-Maoist. In Makwanpur, there were attempts to scare off voters by placing explosives in several places on the eve of election day. But it was not found to have intimidated the voters, who came out in large numbers to exercise their democratic right. In all the districts where observation was carried out, the political parties were found to have coordinated with each other well in their campaigns and door-to-door programs.

On November 1, CPN-UML's party office in Dharan was ransacked at night and posters hailing Federal Socialist Party were pasted in the shutters. It led to counter attack by UMLaffiliated Youth Association. Shots were fired at district vice chairman and secretary of Federal Socialist Party – which led to the filing of charges for attempt to murder against city chief of the Youth Association. Workers of CPN-Maoists raised obstacles in most of the election programs of UCPN-Maoist chairman Prachanda. On November 11, bombs were found to have been placed at the residence of UML candidate of Sunsari constituency number 6, Bhim Acharya, and also at the UML office in Inaruwa. The same day, a vehicle belonging to District Administration Office was torched in Dharan. In Rukum district, there were clashes among cadres of UCPN-Maoists, NC and UML. In Rukum constituency number 2, Congress candidate Gopalji Jung Shah complained of continuous attacks by cadres of UCPN-Maoists, which, he said, compelled him to suspend campaigning and return to district headquarters on November 14. The case related to this incident is currently sub judice at the Constituent Assembly court.

5.2.4 Use of Voters' ID

Though the exercise of voters' ID made the voting job easy, in some instances it caused problems due to errors in voters' personal details. In some places, people who had registered and had their photos taken were not able to get their IDs on time. They were compelled to use other official identity cards to cast their vote. Likewise, there were also incidents where name, age or photos of voters were wrongly placed in the ID cards. The distribution of ID card suffered due to delayed decision to print and distribute the cards.

5.2.5 Election Campaign and Security Situation

The security arrangement by the government was largely satisfactory. It must be considered the success of the government to be able to cast aside the 10-day-long bandh imposed by parties opposed to the polls in the run up to the election date. The security forces were on high alert. As such, the parties campaigning the poll boycott were unable to intimidate the voters. Despite fears, there were no major disruptions in the filing of nomination papers. However, in spite of high security alert, vehicles belonging to some candidates and parties were torched and ransacked. In Gulmi, cadres of UCPN-Maoists and UML resorted to fisticuffs in Ghurkot Rajasthal and Phurkot VDCs. In Kaski, there were sporadic incidents of attack on vehicles. In Sindhupalchowk, there were 3 incidents of clashes between party cadres; 1 incident of arson, and 1 incident of discovery of cylinder bomb. Similar incidents were also reported from Chitwan, Gorkha, Sunsari, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Dolakha, Dhading, Nuwakot, Palpa, Jumla, Ilam, Khotang, Baglung, Pyuthan, Dang, Kailali, Dadeldhura, and Kathmandu districts.

5.2.6 Voting

For the total of 12,249,062 registered voters for the second election of the Constituent Assembly, the Election Commission had established 18,775 polling centers. Staff were deployed from a week prior to the election date to manage the logistics of the polling centers. In the 240 election constituencies, staff of judicial bodies including courts, government lawyers and senior officials of law ministry were deployed as chief election officers and election officers. Around 217,456 government employees were deployed as polling officers and support staff.

The second election of the Constituent Assembly was held in a comparatively peaceful atmosphere. The polling was scheduled from 7 am till 5 pm. Since the commission had

distributed voters' ID card, the voting was well-managed and smooth. Since such ID cards could not be delivered everywhere, citizenship cards were also recognized for the purpose of voting. Voters took part enthusiastically. There were separate queues for men and women voters in most of the polling centers. Disabled people and senior citizens were given priority.

On the polling day, there were a few incidents of clashes and explosions. In Kathmandu constituency number 1, a bomb exploded nearby a polling center in Arniko boarding school in Bhotebahal injuring three persons. One kid Sameer Khadka lost fingers of his right hand. Several hoax bombs were also planted around the area. It created tension for a period of time. In course of delivering ballot boxes, a vehicle carrying polling officer met with an accident in Tripureshwore. But this vehicle did not have ballot boxes. In Rampur polling center in Ramechhap constituency 1, shots were fired amid clash between parties. The polling there resumed after two hours. In Khimti VDC, an incident of attempt to seize the ballot papers was reported. There were reports of booth capturing by UCPN-Maoists in Gaushwara, Lakhanpur, Gunsi 'Kha', Thapagaun, and booths in Dahu, Gelu, Chisapani and Dimipokhari of Bethan. In Doramba 'kha' polling center the cadres of Federal Socialist Party resorted to obstructions in the polling whereas in Pakarwas polling center, similar obstruction was raised by Shiva Sena party – which led to delay in voting by 2 hours.

In Thulopokhari polling center of Parbat, UML and Maoists clashed triggering blank fires. In Khurkot VDC, Jagadamba primary school polling center, UML cadres thrashed election staff Janakraj Subedi and resorted to manhandling during distribution of ID cards. After the Maoists threw away two ballot boxes into Khosi river, re-polling had to be conducted (on November 22) at the Tribhuwan high school Jhaukhola polling center in Jumla district. Likewise, it was observed that in Dolakha district constituency 1, the UCPN-Maoists captured booths in polling centers of Nilkantheshwore higher secondary school Jungu and in Yarsa and Kalika high school Thulo Patal. Similarly, UML captured booths in Hanumanteshwore higher secondary school Kavre, Janajyoti higher secondary school Gairimudi and Janajagriti high school Shahare polling centers. In the polling center of Gairimudi VDC building, NC resorted to similar booth capturing.

5.2.7 Polling in the eyes of voters

Most of the voters responded that despite threats, bandhs, explosions and intimidation by the parties that boycotted the polls, they were not scared to come out and participate in the voting. They said they did not feel frightened or intimidated by the political parties. They said they found election staffs deployed for polling as cooperative and supportive. Some of them also complained about instances of non-cooperation by some staff. They were happy with the security arrangement, enforcement of code of conduct and lack of violence against women. In most polling centers, there were separate queues for men and women voters. Volunteers were present and temporary toilets were also put up at polling centers.

5.2.8 Polling in the eyes of election officers

In the eyes of election officers, the holding of election was easier than they had anticipated. They were happy to receive positive cooperation from political parties and

election observers. They found that election codes of conduct were largely followed. They were pleased with the coordination with related stakeholders. They found the voter turn-out to be impressive. They said they did as much as they could to involve women in election management and said that they abided by gender guidelines for election. They said that the election was, overall, held in a gender-friendly atmosphere.

5.2.9 Polling in the eyes of party workers

Leaders and workers of political parties said they found the polling day to be peaceful. Of the total 6920 respondent, around 95.9 percent of party workers responded that the election was held in a free, fair and fearless environment. Only 4.1 percent said it was not held in free and fair environment. The 282 such respondents who felt it was not held in free and fair environment pointed at incidents such as violation of code of conduct during campaigning, excessive spending and incomplete voters' rolls as reasons.

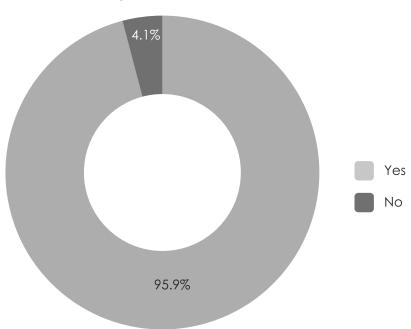


Figure 4: Free and fair election

Likewise, of the 6826 respondents who responded to the question, 39.6 percent responded that security arrangement on the polling day was highly effective, 32.7 percent responded it was effective, 26.6 percent responded that it was satisfactory, and 1.1 percent responded it was weak.

45 40 39.6% 35 32.7% 30 26.6% 25 20 15 10 5 1.1% 0 Very Effective Effective Generally Good Weak

Figure 5: Security Situation

Most party workers responded that polling officers carried out their duty impartially.

5.2.10 Polling in the eyes of observers

Most observers responded that most of the polling centers were set up in accessible areas and most of them had well-managed queue system for voters. Most informants said arrangements inside the polling center were up to the mark. Though election code of conduct could not be strictly enforced everywhere, they were satisfied with the level of enforcement. They expressed satisfaction over the security arrangement for the polling day. They said they did not face any problem in carrying out observation. They were content over the management of logistics. When the polling process began, adequate staffs, security personnel, representatives of political parties and representatives of national and international election observers were present. All the observers present were allowed to participate in the process. In order to maintain the secrecy of polling, voters were allowed to cast vote in a booth where others couldn't see them. But there were handful of incidents of proxy voting. In most of the places where observers were mobilized, the polling process was not obstructed once it started. Around 83 percent of observers responded that after the polling finished, they along with representatives of political parties were allowed to observe the ballot boxes and were provided with code number of seals put in them.

5.2.11 Re-polling

Re-polling were conducted in 'Ka' and 'Kha' polling centers of Barsain VDC of constituency number 2 of Saptari district. Likewise, after the cadres of CPN-Maoist threw away ballot boxes into the river, re-polling had to be conducted in 'Ka' and 'Kha' polling centers of Tribhuwan higher secondary school of Jumla district.

5.3 Vote Counting and Election Results

Following the completion of voting in the evening of November 19, they started transporting the ballot boxes to the district headquarters where the counting began, in most places, from November 20. There is a legal provision whereby the election officer sets time, date and venue for the vote-counting once he/she receives all the ballot boxes from the district sent by polling officers. The CA member election Act 2013 and its rules and guidelines stipulate the procedures for vote counting according to which political parties or their representatives should be present when the counting starts, with proper authentication. The procedure aims to ensure fair and transparent counting.

There were a few problems that emerged among political parties regarding the vote counting. However, the observers reported that in most cases the venue for vote counting was properly arranged even as in some places the rooms were dark and narrow. Likewise, it was conformed which polling center the box belonged to and the seal numbers of the boxes, too, were verified before the start of counting. They informed that the process of counting was transparent, the results were made available in due time and had also been updated at regular intervals.

Regarding the smooth conduct of vote-counting, observers reported that out of the total observed districts, the counting went on smoothly in 32 districts, and were disrupted in 11 districts for various reasons. According to observers, in 2 districts the counting was suspended under special order, and in 2 districts the counting was suspended due to differences over qualified and disqualified votes. Likewise, counting was suspended in 1 district each due to verbal complaint and boycott by UCPN-Maoist. The reasons for suspension of counting in 5 districts were unknown. Most of the observers noted that security arrangement in counting venue was satisfactory. In fact, they found the security arrangement to be satisfactory in 90.7 percent of districts, and only so-so in 9.3 percent of districts. All of them informed that the role of representatives present at the counting venue was supportive.

5.3.1 Vote Counting

It is obvious that the venue for vote-counting must be appropriate. It must be wide and brightly-lit in order to ensure the enforcement of all procedural guidelines. Information about the state of counting venue was gathered through questionnaire. The information so gathered has been given below.

Table 4: Counting Venue, Counting Process and Security Arrangement

S.N	Indicator	Respondent Percent
1	Counting could be observed clearly	97.7
2	Information about which polling center/booth the ballot boxes belonged to were given before counting	95.3
3	Seal number of ballot boxes were verified	95.3
4	Ballot boxes received in proper state for counting	97.7
5	Arrangement for keeping the counted ballot papers was appropriate	95.3
6	Representatives of parties/candidates were allowed to see ballot papers that were disqualified	95.3
7	Security arrangement was satisfactory	100.0
8	Counting staffs played supportive role	100.0
9	Presence of women representatives in counting	81.4

In order to ensure that the vote counting is transparent and credible, the election laws have laid down provisions for complaints. In the areas under observation, such complaints were received in three places (8.3 percent). According to the information received, the complaints were related to discovery of higher number of ballot papers than mentioned during verification, and other technical matters.

The election law also stipulates that the election officer must continue the process of counting once it is initiated. However, in 11 places in districts of Kathmandu, Jhapa, Sunsari, Morang, Siraha, Mahottari, Sindhuli, Rautahat, Surkhet, Pyuthan, counting was stopped midway. Reasons given were: dispute over disqualified votes, verbal complaint, special order, absence of candidate or boycott by UCPN-Maoists. Among the reasons given, verbal complaint and boycott by UCPN-Maoists were not sufficient reasons enough to merit suspension of counting. Rules clearly stipulate that complaints need to be written and counting cannot be stopped in the absence of representative of any one political party. In most of the districts under observation, an all party meeting had been held prior to the vote counting where the parties agreed that they would resolve petty issues in the counting venue itself and would follow the process if they have any major issue. In fact, in most districts the disputes were mainly about which votes to be counted and which ones to be disqualified.

In the 55 districts under observation the percentage of cancelled/ disqualified votes stood at 4.3 and 3.06 percent for FPTP and PR categories, respectively, compared to 4.96 and 3.2 percent of national average. In other words, the situation in these 55 districts was slightly better than national average. In terms of geographic region, there was higher percentage of cancelled votes under FPTP in Terai region compared to hills and mountains. In mountains and hilly regions, the percentage stood at 3.9 and 4.1 whereas the same for Terai stood at 5.6. The situation is equally bad in Terai if one compares the percentage of disqualified votes under PR. In this category, the percentage for mountains and hilly regions stood at 3.1 and 2.5 respectively, whereas the same for Terai stood at 3.6. The percentage is even higher in five Terai districts including Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari,

Saptari and Siraha. One reason for this could be the low level of literacy among women in the region. According to 2001 census, the literacy level in these five Terai districts of eastern region stood at 66.5 percent for men and 44.7 percent for women. In case of Saptari and Siraha districts, the literacy level for women is even worse at 35.5 percent and 27.1 percent, respectively. Except Chitwan, other Terai districts in central region also suffer from low women literacy rate. However, in Terai districts of western, Midwestern and far western, the level of women literacy is higher. The percentage of disqualified/cancelled votes is lower in these regions. It shows direct link between level of literacy and percentage of disqualified votes.

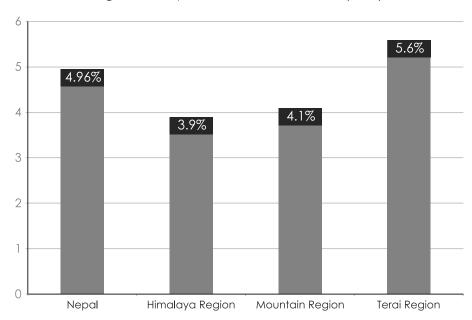
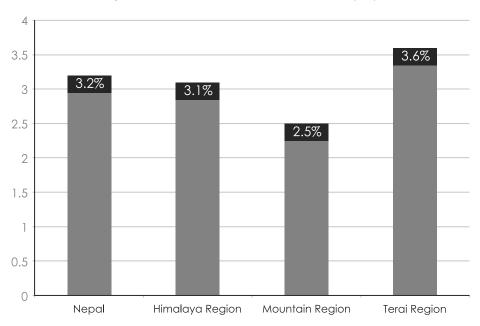


Figure 6: Disqualified/Cancelled Votes (FPTP)





5.3.2 Transportation of Ballot Boxes

Due to rush to transport the ballot boxes to district headquarters, in some places it was found that maximum care was not given in verifying the number of votes cast in a ballot box, and putting seal on them. As such, there were discoveries of discrepancies in the actual number of ballot papers inside the box and the number given. Careless stamping of seals were also discovered. For example in constituency 5 of Nawalparasi district, Madhesi Janadhikar Forum protested when there were 10 more ballot papers inside the box than the number given. The party had received substantially lower number of votes in this election compared to 2008 election. Although the counting was disrupted for some time, it was later resumed after consultation took place among election officer, chief district officer and other officials. Suspicions can generate due to the time gap between the sealing of ballot boxes and their transportation to the counting venue. One can understand the reasons for transporting ballot boxes to district headquarters for counting due to poor security and other arrangements in rural villages. Likewise, it can also be understood that for reasons of protecting the secrecy of voters' choice, the process calls for mixing up ballot papers received from two or more than two polling centers of a constituency before they are counted.

5.3.3 Entry into Vote Counting Venue

The law stipulates that representatives of political parties or candidates, and observers are allowed to enter into vote counting venue. However, in some places for example in Mustang district, only 2 observers and journalists, each, were allowed inside the venue for 5-10 minutes due to narrow room.

5.3.4 Vote Results

Out of the 55 districts in which GEOC observers were present, in 97.7 percent of the places the results were made available on time.

Under the FPTP system, there were 6126 candidates of 120 political parties in the fray. The results showed that only 10 political parties were able to win seats under this system. They included Nepali Congress (105), CPN-UML (91), UCPN-Maoists (26), Madhesi Janadhikar Forum – Loktantrik (4), Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party (4), Rastriya Prajatantra Party (3), Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Nepal (2), Nepal Majdoor Kisan Party (1), Sadbhavana Party (1), Terai Madhes Sadbhavana Party (1) and independent (2) 240 in total.

Likewise, under the PR system, a total of 10,709 candidates of 112 parties were in the fray for 335 seats. A total of 30 parties were able to win seat under this system.

Table 4: Parties represented at the CA and the number of their seats

SN	Dalitiani Davisa	FPTP		PR		Toto	1
21/1	Political Parties	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	NC	105	43.8	91	27.2	196	34.1
2.	CPN-UML	91	37.9	84	24.1	175	30.4
3.	UCPN-Maoists	26	10.8	54	16.1	80	13.9
4.	RPP Nepal	-	-	24	7.2	24	4.2
5.	Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Loktantrik	4	1.7	10	3.0	14	2.4
6.	RPP	3	1.3	10	3.0	13	2.3
7.	Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party	4	1.7	7	2.1	11	1.9
8.	Madhesi Janadhikar Forum Nepal	2	0.8	8	2.4	10	1.7
9.	Other parties and independents	5	-	47	14.0	52	9.0
10.	CA Seats	240		335		575	

The parties that have been successful to win more than 10 seats (including both FPTP and PR) included Nepali Congress, CPN-UML, UCPN-Maoists, RPP-Nepal, MJF (Loktantrik), RPP, TMLP and MJF (Nepal). There were two independent candidates who were elected.

5.4 Women Participation and Gender Sensitivity

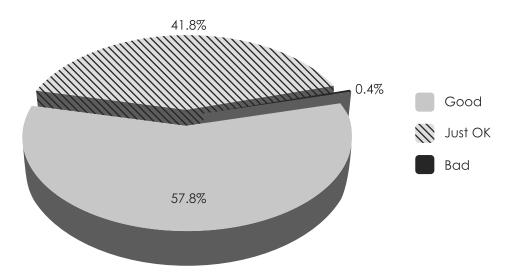
Though there was enthusiastic representation of women in 2008 CA, this time they were fielded as candidates under FPTP just to fulfill the quota obligations. The three main parties fielded just 11 percent women candidates. Including those who won under PR system, the total number of women representatives in the CA this time has come down to 172 – from 197 in 2008.

Apart from candidacy, women participation in other aspects of election in 2013 was remarkable. There were efforts made to ensure that campaigns and polling centers were women-friendly. There was good gender balance observed in election management and staff deployment. There were separate queues as well as toilet facilities for men and women in polling centers. All necessary attempts were made to ensure polling centers were gender friendly. In places where Muslims were in majority, polling centers had a large number of women staffs. In other places as well, the staff were as inclusive as possible. Upon analysis of data received from observers, 57.8 percent responded that CA election was good in terms of gender sensitivity whereas 41.8 percent said it was just okay. About 0.4 percent said it was bad.

Table 5: Gender Sensitivity

SN	State	Number	Percent
1.	Good	3880	57.8
2.	Just Okay	2809	41.8
3.	Bad	29	0.4
	Total	6718	100.0

Figure 8: Gender Sensitivity



When asked about the participation of women security personnel at the polling centers, among the 1500 respondent, 91.1 percent said there were less than 5 women security personnel in a polling center; 7.2 percent said the number was between 5 and 10; 1.2 percent said it was between 10 and 15; whereas 0.5 percent said the number was over 15.

Likewise, in 94.4 percent of polling centers, no incident of violence against women was reported. But in 1.3 percent of polling centers some such incidents were reported. Such incidents included physical assault, verbal reprimand and threats. Regarding the separate queues, toilets and volunteers for women, the arrangement was found to be good in 59.9 percent polling centers; okay in 34.8 percent and bad in 1.7 percent. About 93.5 percent respondents said they were able to abide by gender guidelines of Election Commission whereas 5.1 percent said they were not able to do so.

In comparison, the environment for proper election campaigning was much better for women candidates in the 2013 election. This becomes clearer from the following data:

Table 6: State of election campaigning and behavior toward women candidates

SN	State	Number	Percent
1.	Good	3585	51.6
2.	Just Okay	3011	44.2
3.	Bad	219	3.2
	Total	6815	100.0

Apart from a few, there were no major incidents of violence against women targeted as women candidates or women voters. The few incidents included mental/psychological violence, physical violence and sexual violence. In overall, the election process was found to be gender sensitive. In most places, women candidates were provided adequate security. Same was true for women voters.

In terms of women staff deployment, there were a minimum of 10 percent women staff in 52.7 percent of polling centers.

The GEOC has prepared a special report on women and gender violence in course of the CA election.

5.5 Mass Media

For the purpose of holding CA election in free, fair, independent and credible manner, the election laws have also stipulated certain code of ethics for the mass media. The code urges the mass media to report fact-based materials without bias and in an objective manner. Likewise, the mass media also is required to give priority to news and reports related to voters' education.

During the whole period of election, the mass media made use of their independent reporting. Political parties were provided various forum by the media to disseminate their message. Although mass media was focused on covering the issues related to three big parties, they also attempted to give adequate space to smaller parties. At local level, FM radio stations allowed candidates to give their message on their programs. Nepal Television aired a public debate program organized by Federation of Nepalese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FNCCI) and NDI in which representatives of nine parties had been invited. The Commission also made available some free air time in national television and radio to disseminate educational messages.

During the silent period, the Commission gave an interim order to suspend the airing of ABC television channel. But the channel did not abide by the order.

Questionnaire was used regarding the role of mass media (in course of election observation.) Out of 6955 respondents from 6652 polling centers under observation, 65.7 percent replied that they came to know about the significance of voting in the CA election through mass media. The GEOC had applied similar method to seek public opinion back in 2008 election as well. In 2008, around 49.2 percent people had said they received such information from media. It sheds light on the expansion of reach and coverage of

media between 2008 and 2013. It also portrays the opening up of society in the wake of debilitating conflict. Similarly, replying to question on what prompted them to cast vote, 54.3 percent pointed to media. The number was 34.5 percent in 2008.

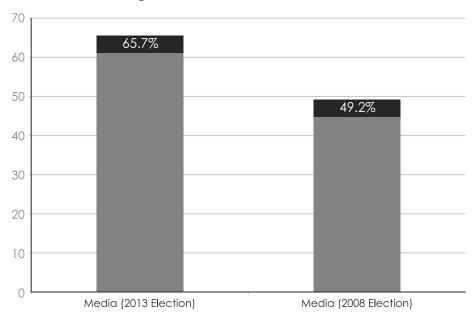


Figure 9: Mass media and election

5.6 Election Complaints System

Candidates dissatisfied with the election process could, in the first phase, register their complaints with the chief election officer or at the Election Commission. If they are again dissatisfied with the process or if there are legal questions involved, they can file case at the Constituent Assembly Court.

5.6.1 Disputes under the jurisdiction of the Election Commission

The Election Commission had issued code of ethics 2013 to ensure that the CA election is free, fair, independent and credible. In course of its enforcement, 261 different actions were taken at the level of chief election officers and election officers against various candidates and political parties for flouting the code. Compared to 2008, the Election Commission was much more proactive in taking action against breach of code of conduct in 2013 election. The Election Commission received around 1456 applications for various permissions – out of which it gave permission for 841 of them. In the 187 complaints of breach of code, 144 were acted upon.

The complaints involved a lot of different matters. For example in Morang-6, Sarlahi-6, Saptari-2, Sindhuli-1, Dhanusha-5, Siraha-5 and all constituencies of Mahottari there were complaints made by parties other than Madhesi ones. Complaints were also made in Ramechhap-2, Dolakha-1&2, and Nuwakot-1&3. In all of three constituencies of Gorkha, complaints were made by non-Maoist parties. In the Mansuri secondary school polling center of Dharapani, Manang, a complaint was made about discrepancy in the security

seal number. Similar complaints were made in Syangja-3, Doti-1, and Jumla. In Thabang of Rolpa, there were zero voting under FPTP in the polling centers 'Ka,' 'Kha,' and 'Ga' of Birbhadra secondary school due to boycott call by CPN-Maoist. The staff deployed at those centers, however, cast their votes under PR. In Myagdi, there were complaints that proxy votes had been cast in the name of those voters who were abroad. The Commission received some complaints from a single district and had to decide on them repeatedly. In all of such complaints, the Commission decided in favor of opinion given by concerned chief election officer or election officer. Most complaints raised such matters as breach of legalities, rigging in voting, actual voters not getting to vote, polling officer and security personnel flouting the rules, rigging in counting and irregularities in transport of ballot boxes.

5.6.2 Cases filed at Constituent Assembly Court

In order to settle the legal disputes surrounding the election process, the Constituent Assembly Court had been formed with chairperson and members as recommended by the Judicial Council. Honorable Justice of Supreme Court Kalyan Shrestha chaired the court with honorable justice Girish Chandra Lal and honorable justice Sushila Karki as members. Between December 1, 2013 and January 12, 2014, 22 cases were filed at the court. In 18 cases out of them, there were written statements along with court's orders whereas the hearing for remaining 4 cases are underway. Three of the cases are related to PR and the rest related to FPTP system. In relation to case filed about the polling in the Rajaji national primary school Banarjhula (Ka) polling center of Barsain VDC of Saptari-2, the CA court delivered an interim order on January 24, 2014 asking the winning candidate Ashok Kumar Mandal to refrain from taking part in meetings of CA and parliament. The Act states that cases have to be settled within three months. In the case Gopalji Jung Shah Vs Janardan Sharma (Prabhakar), the court has stated that there will be no interim order.

Table 6: Cases filed at the CA Court, Kathmandu

SN	Date of case filed	Complainant	Defendant	State of Action
_	2013/12/1	Gombu Sherpa (Solukhumbu)	Bal Bahadur KC and 4 others	10-day notice served with written replies furnished, verdict delivered on 2014/03/19, case dismissed
2	2013/12/3	Lilanath Shrestha	Pushpa Kamal Dahal and 9 others	Notice served, written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/05/21
က	2013/12/4	Bhagwafi Chaudhary (Sunsari)	Bijaya Kumar Gachhadar and 7 others	Notice served, written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/05/21
4	2013/12/4	Jip Chhiring Lama (Dolakha)	Parbati Gurung and 7 others	Notice served with written replies furnished
5	2013/12/5	Gayananda Mandal Gagai (Morang 4)	Shiva Kumar Mandal and 4 others	Notice served, written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/04/30
9	2013/12/5	Nanda Kishore Pun (Kathmandu 4)	Gagan Thapa and 5 others	Notice served, written replies furnished
_	2013/12/5	Nawal Kishore Shaha Sudi (Saptari 2)	Ashok Kumar Mandal and 10 others	Interlocutory order issued, on 2014/1/21, in the name of defendants as per Clause 7(1) of CA Court Act 2013; order issued for delivery of original documents
∞	2013/12/5	Surina Kumari Shah (Mahottari 4)	Chandra Kuber Jha and 10 others	Notice served, written replies furnished
6	2013/12/5	Janaki Sharan Shah (Mahottari)	Kiran Yadav and 10 others	Notice served, written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/05/28
10	2013/12/5	Ramrijhan Yadav (Siraha 3)	Sitadevi Yadav and 8 others	Notice served, written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/05/28
Ξ	2013/12/6	Pramila Rai (Udayapur 2)	Manju Kumari Chaudhary and 4 others	10-day notice served, written replies furnished and hearing set for 2014/05/07
12	2013/12/6	Rabikala Sharma Neupane (Gorkha 2)	Hifraj Pandey	10-day notice served, written replies furnished and hearing set for 2014/05/07
13	2013/12/8	Bishal Khadka (Dolakha)	Parbat Gurung	10-day notice served, written replies furnished
14	2013/12/8	Ajaya Kumar Gupta (Rautahat 1)	Madhav Kumar Nepal and 10 others	10-day notice served, written replies furnished, order issued to find out the circumstances leading to firing
15	2013/12/8	Md. Idris Rahan (Mahottari)	Kiran Yadav and 9 others	10-day notice served, written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/05/28

16	16 2013/12/9	Shiva Pujan Raya Yadav (Sarlahi)	Amaresh Kumar Singh and 8 others	10-day notice served, written replies furnished
17	17 2013/12/10	Gafar Ansari Miya	Upendra Yadav and 4 others	10-day notice served, written replies furnished
18	18 2013/	Shamili Lama (in PR category)	Election Commission	Written replies furnished, interlocutory order not issued
19	19 2014/1/3	Gopalji Jung Shah	Janardan Sharma Prabhakar and others	Written replies furnished, interlocutory order not issued, hearing to be set
20	20 2014/1/6	Mohammad Istiyam Raya (Banke)	Dinesh Chandra Yadav and others	Written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/04/23
21	21 2014/1/6	Bal Krishna Neupane (PR)	Kamal Thapa and others	Written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/2/30
22	22 2014/1/12	Sumitra Devi Kalwar (PR)	Shambhu Paswan Hazara and others	Written replies furnished, hearing set for 2014/2/30

5.7 Coordination of Election Observation

In order to ensure transparency in election observation and ensure that observation is carried out by skilled persons, the Election Commission had given permission to 54 national and 3 international agencies for observation of 2013 CA election. As per this permission, the commission had allowed 74,274 domestic observers but only 30,667 of them obtained necessary identity cards. During the first CA election in 2008, around 70,000 domestic observers of 139 agencies were allowed for observation. Similarly, 249 international observers affiliated to European Union, Carter Center, and ANFREL were mobilized.

In order to ensure the effectiveness and improve the quality of observation, a monthly coordination meeting was organized at the initiative of NEOC, GEOC and DEW Nepal and with the partnership of Carter Center, EU, NDI, UNDP and The Asia Foundation. During the meeting, each agency updated their activities. The sharing and updating process had continued since a year.

There were 2300 observers mobilized by GEOC; 10,000 by NEOC; 6,000 by DEW Nepal; and 300 by Election Observation Committee. Likewise, in terms of international observers, 100 were mobilized by The Asia Foundation; 112 by EU; 100 by The Carter Center; and 100 by ANFREL. Special honorable invitees from abroad as well as diplomats based in Kathmandu also took part in observation.

Compared to 2008 election, there were some improvements in the 2013 election observation. There was good coordination on the training material, training questionnaires and report-writing. However, there was lack of total coordination, which resulted in the concentration of several observers in some constituencies while there were fewer observers in others. Although 54 agencies got the permission for observation only 10 took part in the actual observation in this election. In the past, there used to be several negative comments about the observers. But this time, the observers were qualitatively better due to proper training and orientation. However, there still were some instances that raised questions about observation. For example, on the eve of election, some observers were found to have taken part in the all party meeting in New Baneshwore polling center of Kathmandu as if they were representatives of political parties. In some villages of Saptari, some observers were found to have supported the voting in favor of certain candidates. There were crowds of observers in cities and accessible places whereas their number was very low in remote areas.



Conclusions and Recommendations

Compared with the election of 2008, the second election of Constituent Assembly on November 19, 2013 passed off notably peacefully. The government staffs deployed for the election carried out their duties with remarkable efficiency. Besides, the successful enforcement of integrated security management enabled the people to overcome their apprehensions about the polls and fears about the violent activities by the parties opposed to the polls. The people came out in large numbers to vote despite few incidents of violence, explosions and bandhs by the alliance of 33 parties led by Mohan Baidya's CPN-Maoist and Federal Limbuwan State Council. There was, in fact, unprecedented level of voters turn out. Various political parties and their workers were engaged in healthy competition barring a few incidents of clashes during the campaigning. Likewise, apart from very few exceptions, polling was conducted in free, fair and fearless manner in 6652 polling centers of 55 districts where GEOC observers were mobilized. The Election Commission was able to win public trust by successfully holding the election.

Election Management

The Election Commission was given a very short time to prepare for the election such as printing of ballot papers because till the very last minute the government and the parties tried to negotiate with the parties opposed to the polls to bring them on board. Likewise, the Commission was compelled to engage in collection of voters' name for a long time with the parties demanding that the drive be extended. It also gave little time for the Commission to publish the final voters' list. However, the Commission fulfilled these duties just in time. There were concerns about the dearth of election material among the observers. But that concern turned out to be unfounded. Since the guideline called for the management of election materials 10 to 25 percent in excess than normally required, there was no such dearth anywhere. In some places the vote-counting venue turned out to be narrow and dark. And some avoidable weaknesses emerged like discrepancies in number of ballot papers in the box, poorly sealed boxes and so on, which was due to the poor training of the election staff. In one district, it was found that observers were also compelled to work like staff.

The temporary staff deployed for the election also carried out their duties impartially and independently. However, in some districts, observers have reported irregularities. For example, in Sisne VDC of Rukum where polling officer himself was found to have evicted representatives of other parties to allow only one party; and in one polling center of Achham district, polling officer remained silent even when proxy votes were cast. A recommendation received from Accham district indicated that the impartiality of staff should be taken up as a matter of high priority. It said that in the future election, staff affiliated to various unions, which are politically inclined to various parties, should be mixed so as to have a balanced set. This question has become significant because in recent years, staff have tended to affiliate themselves in separate unions that are affiliated to separate parties. Meanwhile, the provision allowing temporary staff to cast vote under PR honored their right to vote.

In every election, voters have complained about the huge distance they have to travel simply to vote. Therefore, it is essential to lay down criteria to have polling centers to reach which, voters do not have to travel beyond certain distance/time. Likewise, there is a rule that polling centers need to close after 5 pm. But the rule should be such that voters who have joined the queue by 5 pm are allowed to cast their votes.

Though the percentage of votes cancelled have come down in 2013 compared to 2008 election, the campaigns of voters' education must be stepped up since the number of such votes are still significant under both FPTP and PR system. In 1992, 1994 and 1999, the percentage of cancelled votes stood at 4.42, 3.16 and 2.75 respectively. The huge increase in the percentage in 2008 and 2013 election is a matter of concern. Mass media, civil society and political parties should themselves be active in educating the voters. The Commission should work in partnership with these stakeholders to carry out voters' education and awareness programs.

Voters' Registration and Identity Cards

The registration of voters was problematic because not all Nepalese have obtained their citizenship certificate. However, the Election Commission was firm in its assertion that citizenship card be a must for registration as a voter. As such, teams distributing citizenship cards and voters' ID cards were deployed frequently. This campaign led to some increase in the number of voters. But the number of voters in 2013 was lower than that of 2008 mainly perhaps due to lack of enthusiasm among the voters to register their names in the face of what they perceived as depressing political deadlock.

Apart from registration of voters, the distribution of voters' ID cards, too, was equally challenging. As the distribution was initiated in the last minute just days before the election date, there were concerns whether all voters will obtain their cards on time. However, the Commission, in the last minute, decided that other official ID cards would also be permissible for voting. This prevented any large scale problems. Observers noted that the decision by the Commission to even mobilize helicopters to transport the voters' ID cards helped a lot. However, questions like why the Commission printed the ID cards in the very last moment and whether this decision led to unnecessary spending in terms of transportation by helicopters have been raised.

Election Code of Conduct

The Election Code of Conduct 2013 lays down codes for political parties, candidates and all other stakeholders to ensure that the election is held in free, fair, impartial, transparent and credible manner. The Election Commission, election officers, district election offices can issue necessary orders when confronted with the breach of election codes upon investigation. The local administration and police are bound to carry out these orders. The Commission is also empowered to impose fines if its orders are not implemented and it can even cancel the candidacy if it is sufficiently concerned.

The election code of conduct aimed at ensuring healthy competition among the parties and maintaining a decent level of election spending. But the codes were followed only in its guidelines on sizes of pamphlets, public assemblies, rallies, size of party flags and so on. Parties that had deep pockets breached the code by using helicopters. Some candidates were found to have

organized parties and picnics and indulged in luring voters with money. No actions were taken against them. They ended up repeating that they will abide by the code. Observers noted that codes will be strictly followed only if there are visible actions against culprits. It requires proactive approach from the authorities responsible for enforcement of the code.

Election Violence

The candidates in the election campaigning did not face major obstructions. Competitive parties were found to have respected the freedom of expression and right to assembly of each other. With the intensification of election campaign, there were sporadic incidents of violence. There were few clashes among party workers. There were complaints that the assembly by the UCPN-Maoist from November 6-13 from east to west of the country had violated the code of conduct. But there were no actions. Some such complaints are currently sub judice.

Security Arrangement

The security arrangement by the government was largely satisfactory. The ten-day strike by CPN-Maoist was not strictly enforced by the parties opposed to the polls. The security forces were able to keep the situation under control. Despite psychological fears and misgivings, voters did not face any obstacle in going to the polling centers. There was no reduction in enthusiasm and commitment of voters. As a result, the 2013 election was unprecedented in terms of large voter turn out in the history of Nepalese elections.

Basis for candidates' victory

In the current elections, candidates win mostly on the basis of the contributions they have made and support they have provided in local areas rather than their capacity to deliver and undertake the responsibility as a member of the country's supreme legislature. It can be seen from observation that this is because of lack of priority given to the issues of local development, local legislature and local bodies. It is necessary to impart education to voters to address this problem.

Proportional votes and psychology of voters

Top three political parties have received fewer votes under PR compared to what they got under FPTP. However, the fourth largest party RPP-Nepal got more votes under PR. The Nepali Congress, CPN-UML and UCPN-Maoists received 698,513 fewer votes under PR than FPTP. The RPP-Nepal, on the other hand, bagged 630,697 votes under PR – most of which came from urban areas such as Kathmandu. Out of 10 constituencies in Kathmandu, RPP-Nepal came out first in 6 and second in 3 constituencies under PR category. The RPP-Nepal had expressed objections over decisions taken on national issues such as Hindu state and form of governance without adequate discussion and without public suggestion. Although one cannot say that the result shows urban voters fully support RPP-Nepal on these issues but one can safely state that lots of people have reservations about the decision-making style. It is necessary to give considerations to the causes behind this kind of psychology of voters in the election.

Election through Non Political Mechanism

In the history of elections in Nepal, for the first time an experiment was carried out in which a non political government undertook the election of the second Constituent Assembly in 2013. The reports of observers have shown that the election was held in largely free and fair manner. In the past years, there used to be numerous incidents of election code violations through the government misusing funds, especially through the use of vehicles and materials. This time, such incidents came down to zero. There is a concept that an election held under the leadership of a political party may not be able to hold election in unbiased manner. This is an important topic, which calls for further discussions and debates.

General Election and Political Parties

Some trends have evolved in the democratic election exercises since the restoration of democracy in 1990. Firstly, voters tend to go for political ideology and institutional aspect rather than on individual. In the past elections for parliament, the vote share won by independent candidates have ranged from 4.2 percent in 1991 to 6.2 in 1994, and 2.8 percent in 1999. In the first and second CA elections, their share came further down to 1.20 and 1.13 percent, respectively.

Secondly, the number of political parties is on the rise. On one hand it shows increasing political consciousness. On the other hand, few of those parties have miserable public base. In 1991, the number of political parties stood at 20, which increased to 24 in 1994 and to 39 in 1999. Their number increased to 54 in 2008, and 120 in 2013 CA elections (under FPTP). In 2013, 15 parties bagged less than 100 votes and 62 parties got less than 1000 votes. Under PR category, there was competition among 122 parties. Under FPTP category, the number of parties that bagged less than 10,000 votes stood at 96 - which calls for further debates regarding the provisions for registration of political parties. In a country with over ten million voters, allowing parties that get less than 10 votes would not contribute to strengthen democracy. In 2013 election, out of 120 parties in the fray, only 11 managed to win one or more seats. In 1991 election, the number of parties that obtained less than one percent of votes stood at 12. In 2013, this number increased to 108.

Thirdly, in the three subsequent elections after the restoration of democracy in 1990, the country witnessed the development of basically two-party contest. However, in the two elections since the political change of 2006, one could see the development of three-party contest. This shows that ensuring the possibility of majority government is reducing. Huge number of members under PR category is also responsible for this situation.

Table 12: State of the Political Parties as per their ranking under the FPTP

Details	1991 (205 Seats)	1994 (205 Seats)	1999 (205 Seats)	2008 (240 Seats)	2013 (240 Seats)
Nepali Congress					
Seats Secured (Percent)	110 (53.7)	83 (40.49)	111 (54.15)	37 (15.42)	105 (43.75)
Votes Received (Percent)	27,52,452 (37.75)	25,45,287 (33.38)	32,14,786 (36.14)	23,48,890 (22.79)	26,94,983 (29.80)
CPN-UML					
Seats Secured (Percent)	69 (33.66)	88 (42.93)	71 (34.63)	33 (13.75)	91 (37.92)
Votes Received (Percent)	20,40,102 (27.98)	23,52,601 (30.85)	27,34,568 (30.74)	22,29,064 (21.63)	24,92,090 (27.55)
UCPN-Maoist					
Seats Secured (Percent)	1	1	1	120 (40.42)	26 (10.83)
Votes Received (Percent)	1	1	1	31,45,519 (30.52)	16,09,145 (17.79)
Rastriya Prajatantra Party (both group)					
Seats Secured (Percent)	4 (1.95)	20 (9.76)	11 (5.37)	(0) 0	3 (1.25)
Votes Received (Percent)	8,71,103 (11.94)	13,67,148 (17.93)	11,98,140 (13.47)	3,90,139 (3.79)	2,38,393 (2.64)
Madheshi Party					
Seats Secured (Percent)	6 (2.92)	3 (1.46)	5 (2.44)	43 (17.92)	12 (5.00)
Votes Received (Percent)	2,98,610 (4.10)	2,65,847 (3.49)	2,78,435 (3.13)	11,99,081 (11.63)	8,67,446 (9.60)
Seats Secured by Independent candidate (Percent)	3 (1.46)	7 (3.41)	0 (2.83)	2 (1.20)	2 (1.13)
Number of Voters	777,19,11,1	122,96,219	1,35,18,839	1,76,11,832	1,21,47,865
Total Votes Cast (Percent)	72,91,084 (65.15)	76,25,348 (62.0)	88,94,566 (64.79)	1,03,06,120 (58.52)	95,16,724 (78.34)
Votes Disqualified/Cancelled (Percent)	4.42	3.16	2.75	5.15	4.96
Political Party securing minimum of one seat	8	5	7	6	10
Political Party securing minimum of one percent of votes	8	9	8	6	12
Political Party not securing minimum of one percent of votes	12	18	31	45	108
Political Party participating in elections	20	24	39	45	120

Recommendations

Following are the feedbacks related to election process and surrounding issues that the Election Commission, government of Nepal, political parties and international community would need to take into their considerations for future improvement:

Election Commission

- Although there was a slight improvement in the percentage of cancelled/disqualified votes in 2013 compared to 2008 election, the voters' education programs need to be made further effective. Media, political parties and civil society themselves should also actively work to educate the voters whereas the Commission should work in partnership with them for the purpose
- Enhance the capacity of district election offices to perfect the art of collecting voters' names. This matter has been consistently raised in all the observation reports of elections held after the restoration of democracy
- All polling centers must be easily accessible for voters even if calls for increasing their numbers, especially in remote areas. In remote areas, the number of polling centers should depend on distance and accessibility rather than number of voters
- Since district election offices, local administration and police have a major role to play in taking action against the violators of election code as per the order of election officer and district election office, these agencies must be provide with adequate budget and resources. The Commission must be active in taking immediate lawful actions against those found to have violated the code of conduct.
- There should be a one window system for making available all election materials by improving coordination among election officer's office and district election office
- Staffs deployed to polling centers must be adequately trained on all processes and procedures of polling. The Commission has not been able to pay attention to this matter although it has been raised in the observation reports of all elections since 1990
- Time to consider employing 'pre-ink' seals or electronic voting because in many instances votes were disqualified because the inks used to stamp swastika on preferred election symbol did not dry soon enough and led to messing up of the ballot paper
- The provision of voters' ID cards is found to have improved the management of election process and reduce the cases of rigging. The issuing of voters' ID cards must be given priority and conducted on time. In some places it was seen that people had no names in the voters' rolls even though they were provided with ID cards. The Commission needs to step up its effective monitoring so that the voters' rolls is improved
- Election Commission should inform about its decision through its website.

Government of Nepal

 Security arrangements must be further tuned to prevent chances for booth capturing and intimidations of voters

- Make necessary arrangement to avoid any room for doubts or suspicions during the transportation of ballot boxes from polling center to the counting venue. Demonstrate high level of transparency in this process. We also recommend that the presence of representatives of parties should be ensured while transporting the ballot boxes.
- Home Ministry and police administration must provide maximum support in enforcing orders that have been issued in relation to violation of election code of conduct

Political Parties

- Since it is the duty of the political parties to ensure that election code of conduct is fully abided by their candidates and workers, they must develop proper party mechanism for the purpose
- Parties must make the auditing of their incomes and expenditures effective on the basis of existing act about political parties. Audited accounts must be made public. They must develop mechanism to monitor incomes and expenditures
- Democratize the internal organizational structure, decision making process and management
- In order to minimize election violence, the parties should create joint networks at central, district and local level to ensure the adherence of code of conduct

Election System

- The Proportional Representation system was adopted with the noble objective of ensuring proper inclusion to reflect the social diversity and regional/ethnic balance so that the votes are not wasted. If this system is to be adopted in future elections as well, the parties should prepare separate closed lists of candidates belonging to women/ Dalit/ Janajati/ Muslims/ backward community. Parties should hold discussions to find out ways of respecting the order in which the names of candidates are placed in their closed lists.
- The provision of threshold must be made compulsory. It does not bode well for democracy to have increasing number of parties that bag less than one percent of popular cotes. In present election, the number of such parties reached 108.
- There is another aspect of threshold as well. Some parties have influence in certain geographic regions. For example, the Nepal Workers and Peasants Party bagged 54,323 votes and Terai Madhes Sadbhavana Party bagged 65.041 votes. Both won one seats each. But a party bagging a lot more votes than them could not win any. Therefore, there should be discussion over the concept of regional parties
- Presently, there are 335 members elected under PR and 26 nominated by the cabinet. A debate should be initiated to reduce this number since there will be no direct public control over them so that proper provisions of election system can be made in the new constitution.

Election Expenditure

Extensive discussions are required to discourage corrupting expenditure over the ceilings. Discussion is also needed to formulate the appropriate process for election funding by the government on the basis of the volume of votes bagged by parties in the previous election

Observation

Since observation helps in ensuring the independence and impartiality of election leading to its credibility, observers must keep abreast of all election activities in the polling centers. Therefore, it is essential that observers are involved for a longer period of time so that they can get to know about the activities. Roaming observers may not fit the bill. Duplication should be avoided by forging effective coordination among observer agencies.

Annexes

Manifestoes of Political Parties

Political Parties	Restructuring of the State	Forms of Governance	Election system	Inclusion
Nepali Congress	To set up three main structures including federal, provincial and local level. Where necessary, autonomous region, protected area or special area can be set up along with the special cultural characteristics in geographic areas that have dense presence of particular ethnic, language or specific community (Page 16) Identity and capacity to be made main bases for setting up provinces. Provinces to be formed on the basis of identity and capacity. Seven provinces proposed. To present a proposal of provinces at the CA that is acceptable to all	Parliamentary system with bicameral legislature. Three levels of governance in federal model. Constitutional president and executive prime minister	Mixed election system. Adoption of inclusive election system. President to be elected by both Houses of parliament as well as members of all provincial assemblies. Prime Minister to be elected by the House of Representatives and to be accountable to the House of Representatives	Inclusive and proportional representation at all levels. Establish equal access of all to the state mechanism. Adoption of inclusive election system
CPN-UML	There will be seven provinces with multiple- identities. Each province will ensure common and mixed population and the right of the people to equality. Center (federal government), province and local governments will have clearly defined power. List of rights will be as agreed upon in the previous CA. Names of provinces will be as decided upon by respective provincial assemblies	A mixed system of directly elected executive prime minister and constitutional president elected by parliament.	Not clear in manifesto	Adoption of the proportional inclusive principle for representation of women, Dalit, Adivasi, Janajati, Muslim, Madhesi, backward community, people with disability at all levels of the state

UCPN-Maoist	Federal Nepal will have three levels of government at federal, provincial and local level. Apart from three main structures, there can be autonomous region, special region or protected region under provinces. Restructuring the existing unitary structure of Nepal, the country will be divided into 11 autonomous provinces based on 'identity' of ethnic, language and regional groups and 'capacity' of economic inter-relations, state of infrastructure, natural resources and administrative access. They will be: 1) Limbuwan 2) Kirat 3) Tamsaling 4) Newa 5) Tamuwan 6) Magarat 7) Bheri-Karnali 8) Seti-Mahakali 9) Tharuwan 10) Madhes and 11) Kochila. The actual delineation of these provinces will be carried out as per the recommendation of State Restructuring	Directly elected executive president and prime minister elected by parliament at the center. President to shoulder executive duties whereas prime minister to shoulder day-to-day governance and administration. Provinces to have provincial chief (governor) and chief minister. President to appoint provincial chief (governor) with the consent of chief minister.	Federal parliament to be bicameral. Representatives to be elected on the basis of population at the lower House. Upper House to have equal representation of all provinces. Provinces to have unicameral legislatures. All levels of legislatures to be formed on the basis of multimember election system to ensure inclusive and proportional representation of various class, ethnicity, Janajati, women, Dalit community. There will be provision of right to recall	No separate provision
Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (Loktantrik)	First priority to the 10 province model proposed by State Restructuring High Level Recommendation Commission. Can compromise with the 14 province model proposed by thematic committee along with note of dissent regarding few places like Chitawan. There should be two provinces in Terai-Madhes including autonomous Madhes Pradesh and autonomous Tharuhat provinces. CA should reach agreement regarding names of eight provinces of Himal-Pahad regions or they can be settled by respective provincial assemblies	Reformed inclusive parliamentary democratic system will be appropriate. The parliament will elect prime minister and the central and provincial legislatures will elect president. Prime minister to be made executive chief but in order to ensure check and balance, some rights should be given to the president. Prime minister to be accountable to the parliament. Prime minister can be elected by 50 percent majority but there should be provision whereby a prime minister can be ousted only with over 60 percent majority. Central legislature to be bicameral	Mixed election system to be adopted in both central parliament and provincial assemblies. Concept of reserved electoral constituency to ensure FPTP system is inclusive	All levels of state should be made inclusive, proportional and participatory based on population. To lobby to pass inclusion bill for the purpose. Parliament as well as chief executive positions should be inclusive

Political Parties	Restructuring of the State	Forms of Governance	Election system	Inclusion
Rastriya Prajatantra Party	In recognition of the need to restructure the state in accordance with the principle of federalism, the capacity, identity, geography and historic background should be made the bases for federal restructuring. On those bases, there should be seven federal states – two in Terai/Madhes and five in hills/mountains. Name, demarcation and formation of other structures should be as decided by the all party consensus. Village level government and people should be empowered on the basis of identity and capacity	There should be provision for constitutional president and an executive prime minister elected by the parliament and accountable to the parliament. At the center, there should be bicameral legislature (Page 3). There should be competitive multi party system based on parliamentary system	Mixed election system	No separate provision
Madhesi Janadhikar Forum, Nepal	The future structure of Nepal should be of federal democratic republic which has autonomous and empowered provinces of Madhes, Limbuwan, Kirat, Tamsaling, Newa, Tamuwan, Magrat, Karnali and other special autonomous regions. In terms of state restructuring, there should be Autonomous Madhes Pradesh based on identify and right to self determination	Executive president as head of state and government. Popularly elected president to form a government with the support and participation of experts	President should be elected by the people on the basis of majority (Page 15). Vice president should be elected by majority of members of parliament and provincial legislatures. Provincial chief should be elected through direct election system. Central parliament and provincial legislature should be elected through proportional election system (Page 16)	Equal participation should be ensured with the participation of all communities of the country in political and all other positions of the state, in accordance with the principle of equality and positive discrimination, and based on proportion of population
Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party	In order to establish self rule of Tharu and Madhesi people in Terai Madhes, the whole of the region should become 'Autonomous Terai Madhes Pradesh. In order to respect the self rule of the people of Adivasi/Janajati of hill, provinces there should be based on identity. Federalism should be made the number one priority issue. There should be federalism with identity and constitution with federalism	Executive prime minister and ceremonial president	Mixed election system is mandatory to ensure diversity in all policy making level of the country	There should be inclusive judiciary, inclusive army, inclusive parliament and inclusive executive

Sadbhavana	Madhes should be autonomous province. Support to the demarcation and structure of 10 province model proposed by the State Restructuring Commission. If there is unanimity among people from Mechi to Mahakali, there should be a single Madhes Pradesh. If not, there should be one province east of Narayani and second province west of Narayani. Name of the provinces can be Madhes Pradesh and Tharuwan or Tharuhat, as per the agreement. Areas with majority of other ethnic groups or other communities within the province can be turned into empowered autonomous regions (Page 6)	There should be both prime minister and president. Executive prime minister to be elected by both Houses of the parliament. Government should be formed on the basis of inclusive and proportionality. Provincial chief or chief minister should also be elected on similar basis (Page 6)	Prime minister to be elected by federal parliament and provincial chief to be elected by provincial legislature. President and vice president to be elected by the representatives of federal as well as provincial legislatures. Proportional election system should be given priority	People from various ethnic groups, communities, classes and region should be provided opportunity in government and non government sector on the basis of proportional inclusion polity along with providing reservation as well as compensation to Dalit and other economically backward groups
Nepal Workers and Peasants Party	Local bodies should be given right of decentralization and autonomy. Since division of provinces on ethnic, lingual and regional basis and empowering them with right to self determination would invite social and communal discord and could lead to division of the country itself, it is hereby proposed to have 14 provinces based on geography and natural resources. They are aimed at ensuring quick economic development. To ensure each province will have portions of hills, mountains and Terai, they will be demarcated by geography or rivers. These 14 provinces will ensure provinces for all ethnic groups, lingual communities and regions.	No separate provision	No separate provision	No separate provision

Annex 2

CA Members elected under FPTP system

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
1	Taplejung	1	Bhupendra Thebe	CPN-UML	7434
2	Taplejung	2	Dambar Dhoj Tumbahamfe	CPN-UML	7134
3	Panchthar	1	Ganesh Kumar Kambang	CPN-UML	13182
4	Panchthar	2	Bhishmaraj Angdembe	Nepali Congress	11839
5	llam	1	Jhalnath Khanal	CPN-UML	17342
6	llam	2	Subas Chandra Nembang	CPN-UML	14931
7	llam	3	Keshab Thapa	Nepali Congress	15868
8	Jhapa	1	Rabin Koirala	CPN-UML	17229
9	Jhapa	2	Sudhir Kumar Shibakoti	Nepali Congress	13554
10	Jhapa	3	Krishna Prasad Sitaula	Nepali Congress	14355
11	Jhapa	4	Prem Bahadur Giri	CPN-UML	22159
12	Jhapa	5	Keshab Kumar Budhathoki	Nepali Congress	16587
13	Jhapa	6	Dipak Karki	CPN-UML	11326
14	Jhapa	7	K P Sharma Oli	CPN-UML	19287
15	Sankhuwasabha	1	Taraman Gurung	Nepali Congress	9415
16	Sankhuwasabha	2	Dipak Khadka	Nepali Congress	11552
17	Terahthum	1	Bhawani Prasad Khapung	CPN-UML	15111
18	Bhojpur	1	Kripasur Sherpa	CPN-UML	11451
19	Bhojpur	2	Sherdhan Rai	CPN-UML	11927
20	Dhankuta	1	Tikaram Chemjong Limbu	CPN-UML	11953
21	Dhankuta	2	Sunil Bahadur Thapa	RRPP	11193
22	Morang	1	Rishikesh Pokharel	CPN-UML	14111
23	Morang	2	Chandi Prasad Rai	CPN-UML	14516
24	Morang	3	Dilip Khabas Gachhadar	Nepali Congress	12984
25	Morang	4	Shiv Kumar Mandal Kewat	UCPN-Maoist	9361
26	Morang	5	Amrit Kumar Aryal	Nepali Congress	15254
27	Morang	6	Mahesh Acharya	Nepali Congress	12552
28	Morang	7	Dr.Shekhar Koirala	Nepali Congress	12982
29	Morang	8	Chandra Bahadur Gurung	CPN-UML	17411
30	Morang	9	Dig Bahadur Limbu	Nepali Congress	15212
31	Sunsari	1	Krishna Kumar Rai	CPN-UML	14384

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
32	Sunsari	2	Rewati Raman Bhandari	CPN-UML	18474
33	Sunsari	3	Bijaya Kumar Gachhadar	M J Forum Democratic)	17524
34	Sunsari	4	Sitaram Mahato	Nepali Congress	15218
35	Sunsari	5	Upendra Yadav	M J Forum Nepal	7264
36	Sunsari	6	Bhim Prasad Acharya	CPN-UML	14111
37	Solukhumbu	1	Bal Bahadur KC	Nepali Congress	12464
38	Khotang	1	Panchkarna Rai	CPN-UML	11824
39	Khotang	2	Bishal Bhattarai	CPN-UML	14137
40	Okhaldhunga	1	Yagyaraj Sunuwar	CPN-UML	12943
41	Okhaldhunga	2	Ramhari Khatiwada	Nepali Congress	13914
42	Udayapur	1	Dr.Narayan Khadka	Nepali Congress	15381
43	Udayapur	2	Manju Kumari Chaudhari	CPN-UML	7534
44	Udayapur	3	Narayan Bahadur Karki	Nepali Congress	12551
45	Saptari	1	Manpur Chaudhary	UCPN-Maoist	9844
46	Saptari	2	Ashok Kumar Mandal	UCPN-Maoist	6157
47	Saptari	3	Umesh Kumar Yadav	UCPN-Maoist	8746
48	Saptari	4	Tara Kant Chaudhry	CPN-UML	8217
49	Saptari	5	Tejulal Chaudhary	Nepali Congress	7959
50	Saptari	6	Surendra Prasad Yadav	Nepali Congress	5883
51	Siraha	1	Padam Narayan Chaudhary	Nepali Congress	12183
52	Siraha	2	Ramchandra Yadav	CPN-UML	9818
53	Siraha	3	Sita Devi Yadav	Nepali Congress	11142
54	Siraha	4	Ramchandra Yadav	Nepali Congress	8815
55	Siraha	5	Pushpa Kamal Dahal	UCPN-Maoist	15244
56	Siraha	6	Ganesh Kumar Mandal	Nepali Congress	6322
57	Dolakha	1	Parbat Gurung	CPN-UML	16281
58	Dolakha	2	Anand Prasad Pokhrel	CPN-UML	14712
59	Ramechhap	1	Angdawa Serpa	Nepali Congress	13615
60	Ramechhap	2	Shyam Kumar Shrestha	UCPN-Maoist	14898
61	Sindhuli	1	Ganesh Kumar Pahadi	CPN-UML	11911
62	Sindhuli	2	Mohan Prasad Baral	Nepali Congress	13915
63	Sindhuli	3	Haribol Prasad Gajurel	UCPN-Maoist	12771
64	Dhanusha	1	Dinesh Prasad Parsaila Yadav	Nepali Congress	8827

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
65	Dhanusha	2	Ram Krishna Yadav	Nepali Congress	9378
66	Dhanusha	3	Bimalendra Nidhi	Nepali Congress	15131
67	Dhanusha	4	Sanjay Kumar Sah	Sadbhawana Party	12666
68	Dhanusha	5	Pro.Dr.Chandramohan Yadav	Nepali Congress	11715
69	Dhanusha	6	Prem Kishor Prasad Shah Teli	Nepali Congress	7725
70	Dhanusha	7	Satrudhan Mahato	CPN-UML	8827
71	Mahottari	1	Girirajmani Pokharel	UCPN-Maoist	11895
72	Mahottari	2	Kiran Yadav	Nepali Congress	7357
73	Mahottari	3	Ram Dayal Mandal	UCPN-Maoist	7849
74	Mahottari	4	Chandeshwor Jha	Indipendent	3162
75	Mahottari	5	Dip Narayan Shah	UCPN-Maoist	7276
76	Mahottari	6	Sitaram Bhandari	Nepali Congress	9481
77	Sarlahi	1	Sambhulal Shrestha	UCPN-Maoist	9476
78	Sarlahi	2	Ramchandra Chaudhary	Nepali Congress	6714
79	Sarlahi	3	Hari Prasad Upreti	CPN-UML	12818
80	Sarlahi	4	Mahendra Raya Yadav	Terai Madhesh Sadbhavana Party	11534
81	Sarlahi	5	Jangilal Raya	Terai Madhesh Loktantrik Party	9767
82	Sarlahi	6	Amaresh Kumar Singh	Nepali Congress	17411
83	Rasuwa	1	Janardan Dhakal	CPN-UML	6628
84	Dhading	1	Dhan Bahadur Ghale	CPN-UML	8663
85	Dhading	2	Guru Prasad Burlakoti	CPN-UML	21236
86	Dhading	3	Rajendra Prasad Pandey	CPN-UML	22196
87	Nuwakot	1	Arjun Narsingh K C	Nepali Congress	17346
88	Nuwakot	2	Dr. Ram Sharan Mahat	Nepali Congress	18831
89	Nuwakot	3	Bahadur Sigh Lama(Tamang)	Nepali Congress	17495
90	Kathmandu	1	Prakash Man Singh	Nepali Congress	15138
91	Kathmandu	2	Madhav Kumar Nepal	CPN-UML	21748
92	Kathmandu	3	Rameshwore Phuyal	CPN-UML	13114
93	Kathmandu	4	Gagan Kumar Thapa	Nepali Congress	22336
94	Kathmandu	5	Narahari Acharya	Nepali Congress	15364
95	Kathmandu	6	Bhimsen Das Pradhan	Nepali Congress	14151
96	Kathmandu	7	Rambir Manandhar	CPN-UML	13289

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
97	Kathmandu	8	Nabindra Raj Joshi	Nepali Congress	13774
98	Kathmandu	9	Dhyan Gobinda Ranjit	Nepali Congress	14483
99	Kathmandu	10	Rajendra Kumar K C	Nepali Congress	21392
100	Bhaktapur	1	Narayan Man Bijukchhe	Nepal Majdur Kisan Party	21446
101	Bhaktapur	2	Rameshwore Prasad Dhungel	Nepali Congress	21121
102	Lalitpur	1	Udaya Shumsher JB Rana	Nepali Congress	18561
103	Lalitpur	2	Chandra Maharjan	Nepali Congress	23231
104	Lalitpur	3	Madan Bahadur Amatya	Nepali Congress	23566
105	Kavrepalanchok	1	Tirtha Bahadur Lama	Nepali Congress	12271
106	Kavrepalanchok	2	Ramhari Subedi	CPN-UML	13511
107	Kavrepalanchok	3	Kanchan Chandra Bade	Nepali Congress	19391
108	Kavrepalanchok	4	Bidur Prasad Sapkota	CPN-UML	16754
109	Sindhupalchok	1	Mohan Bahadur Basnet	Nepali Congress	15121
110	Sindhupalchok	2	Agni Prasad Sapkota	UCPN-Maoist	12818
111	Sindhupalchok	3	Sher Bahadur Tamang	CPN-UML	14527
112	Makwanpur	1	Indra Bahadur Baniya	Nepali Congress	11888
113	Makwanpur	2	Subash Chandra Shah Thakuri	CPN-UML	11711
114	Makwanpur	3	Ananta Prasad Poudel	CPN-UML	14268
115	Makwanpur	4	Rajaram Syangtan	CPN-UML	11914
116	Rautahat	1	Madhav Kumar Nepal	CPN-UML	8361
117	Rautahat	2	Mo. Mustak Alam	M J Forum (Democratic)	13451
118	Rautahat	3	Prabhu Shah	UCPN-Maoist	13119
119	Rautahat	4	Satya Narayan Bhagat Bin	UCPN-Maoist	11118
120	Rautahat	5	Sunil Kumar Yadav	Nepali Congress	11261
121	Rautahat	6	Ram Kumar Bhattarai	CPN-UML	14398
122	Bara	1	Ram Ayodhya Prasad Yadav	Nepali Congress	8337
123	Bara	2	Radhe Chandra Yadav	Nepali Congress	8867
124	Bara	3	Farmulla Mansur	Nepali Congress	11456
125	Bara	4	Najma Khatun	CPN-UML	12361
126	Bara	5	Balbir Prasad Chaudhary	CPN-UML	15811
127	Bara	6	Purushottam Poudel	CPN-UML	16511
128	Parsa	1	Rajendra Amatya	Nepali Congress	12463

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
129	Parsa	2	Bichari Prasad Yadav	CPN-UML	8714
130	Parsa	3	Raj Kumar Gupta	CPN-UML	16192
131	Parsa	4	Surendra Prasad Chaudhary	Nepali Congress	12963
132	Parsa	5	Jaya Prakash Tharu	CPN-UML	11451
133	Chitwan	1	Surendra Prasad Pandey	CPN-UML	18761
134	Chitwan	2	Sheshnath Adhikari	Nepali Congress	17811
135	Chitwan	3	Krishna Bhakta Pokharel	CPN-UML	15661
136	Chitwan	4	Sushil Koirala	Nepali Congress	21761
137	Chitwan	5	Bikram Pandey	RPP	11858
138	Gorkha	1	Dr. Baburam Bhattrai	UCPN-Maoist	22824
139	Gorkha	2	Hitraj Pandey	UCPN-Maoist	21761
140	Gorkha	3	Chham Bahadur Gurung	UCPN-Maoist	14441
141	Manang	1	Tek Bahadur Gurung	Nepali Congress	1527
142	Lamjung	1	Jamindraman Ghale	CPN-UML	11319
143	Lamjung	2	Chandra Bahadur Kunwar	Nepali Congress	14765
144	Kaski	1	Yagya Bahadur Thapa	Nepali Congress	15832
145	Kaski	2	Sharada Poudel	Nepali Congress	11662
146	Kaski	3	Rabindra Adhikari	CPN-UML	13111
147	Kaski	4	Sita Giri (Oli)	CPN-UML	15438
148	Tanahu	1	Shankar Bhandari	Nepali Congress	15713
149	Tanahu	2	Ramchandra Poudel	Nepali Congress	18149
150	Tanahu	3	Tukaraj Sigdel	CPN-UML	15974
151	Syangja	1	Raju Thapa	Nepali Congress	16699
152	Syangja	2	Kamal Prasd Pangeni	Nepali Congress	17791
153	Syangja	3	Mukti Prasad Pathak	CPN-UML	18717
154	Gulmi	1	Krishna Bahadur Chhantel Thapa	Nepali Congress	11592
155	Gulmi	2	Chandra Kant Bhandari	Nepali Congress	21189
156	Gulmi	3	Gokarna Raj Bista	CPN-UML	18432
157	Palpa	1	Radha Krishna Kandel	CPN-UML	17814
158	Palpa	2	Som Prasad Pandey	CPN-UML	13193
159	Palpa	3	Hari Prasad Nepal	Nepali Congress	13135
160	Arghakhanchi	1	Top Bahadur Rayamajhi	UCPN-Maoist	12286
161	Arghakhanchi	2	Dr. Duman Singh Thapa Kshetri	CPN-UML	16651

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
162	Nawalparasi	1	Shashank Koirala	Nepali Congress	18228
163	Nawalparasi	2	Jiwan Shrestha	CPN-UML	16221
164	Nawalparasi	3	Krishna Prasad Poudel	CPN-UML	14814
165	Nawalparasi	4	Baijnath Chaudhary Tharu	CPN-UML	11751
166	Nawalparasi	5	Bikram Khanal	Nepali Congress	9214
167	Nawalparasi	6	Devkaran Prasad Kalwar	Nepali Congress	1458
168	Rupandehi	1	Abdul Rajak Gaddi	Nepali Congress	14411
169	Rupandehi	2	Dipak Bohora	RPP	8152
170	Rupandehi	3	Balkrishna Khand	Nepali Congress	18481
171	Rupandehi	4	Bishnu Prasad Poudel	CPN-UML	19577
172	Rupandehi	5	Bharat Kumar Shah	Nepali Congress	14274
173	Rupandehi	6	Sarbendra Nath Shukla	Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party	14692
174	Rupandehi	7	Kamleshwore Puri Goswami	Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party	9263
175	Kapilbastu	1	Balram Adhikari	CPN-UML	16547
176	Kapilbastu	2	Atahar Kamal Musalman	Independent	4674
177	Kapilbastu	3	Brijesh Kumar Gupta	Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party	9225
178	Kapilbastu	4	Surendra Raj Acharya	Nepali Congress	7911
179	Kapilbastu	5	Avishek Pratap Shah	M J Forum Nepal	8939
180	Mustang	1	Romi Gauchan Thakali	Nepali Congress	1424
181	Myagdi	1	Nabaraj Sarma	CPN-UML	15955
182	Baglung	1	Hari Bahadur Khadka	Nepali Congress	13511
183	Baglung	2	Prakash Sarma Poudel	Nepali Congress	11253
184	Baglung	3	Gyan Kumari Chhantyal	Nepali Congress	11189
185	Parbat	1	Arjun Prasad Joshi	Nepali Congress	12838
186	Parbat	2	Bikash Lamsal	CPN-UML	11141
187	Rukum	1	Ganeshman Pun	UCPN-Maoist	18598
188	Rukum	2	Janardan Sharma	UCPN-Maoist	22575
189	Rolpa	1	Krishna Bahadur Mahara	UCPN-Maoist	11417
190	Rolpa	2	Onsari Gharti	UCPN-Maoist	14964
191	Pyuthan	1	Bamdev Gautam	CPN-UML	13962
192	Pyuthan	2	Hira Bahadur K C	CPN-UML	12798

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
193	Salyan	1	Tek Bahadur Basnet	UCPN-Maoist	15189
194	Salyan	2	Prakash Jwala	CPN-UML	14829
195	Dang	1	Parbati D C Chaudhary	Nepali Congress	8712
196	Dang	2	Sushila Caudhary	Nepali Congress	11431
197	Dang	3	Raju Khanal	Nepali Congress	15148
198	Dang	4	Budhiram Bhandari	Nepali Congress	14513
199	Dang	5	Dipak Giri	Nepali Congress	15358
200	Dolpa	1	Dhan Bahadur Budha	CPN-UML	6987
201	Mugu	1	Mohan Baniya	CPN-UML	8146
202	Jumla	1	Lalit Jung Shahi	Nepali Congress	11866
203	Kalikot	1	Mahendra Bahadur Shahi	UCPN-Maoist	12188
204	Humla	1	Jiban Bahadur Shahi	Nepali Congress	8332
205	Jajarkot	1	Shakti Bahadur Basnet	UCPN-Maoist	8173
206	Jajarkot	2	Rajib Bikram Shah	Nepali Congress	9357
207	Dailekh	1	Amar Bahadur Thapa	CPN-UML	15671
208	Dailekh	2	Laxmi Prasad Pokharel	CPN-UML	15619
209	Surkhet	1	Purna Bahadur Khadka	Nepali Congress	17311
210	Surkhet	2	Hriday Ram Thami	Nepali Congress	17419
211	Surkhet	3	Tapta Bahadur Bista	Nepali Congress	14758
212	Banke	1	Amar Sharma Devraj Bhar	CPN-UML	13972
213	Banke	2	Dinesh Chandra Yadav	CPN-UML	12586
214	Banke	3	Sushil Koirala	Nepali Congress	11753
215	Banke	4	Dal Bahadur Sunar	CPN-UML	15181
216	Bardiya	1	Bamdev Gautam	CPN-UML	18347
217	Bardiya	2	Sanjay Kumar Gautam	Nepali Congress	11618
218	Bardiya	3	Sant Kumar Tharu	UCPN-Maoist	14315
219	Bardiya	4	Man Bahadur Tharu	UCPN-Maoist	14574
220	Bajura	1	Karna Bahadur Thapa	CPN-UML	22458
221	Achham	1	Bhim Bahadur Rawal	CPN-UML	17725
222	Achham	2	Bharat Saud	CPN-UML	16664
223	Bajhang	1	Man Prasad Khatri	CPN-UML	11531
224	Bajhang	2	Laal Bahadur Rawal	CPN-UML	11594
225	Doti	1	Bir Bahadur Balayar	Nepali Congress	16957

S.N	District	Constituency No.	Name	Political Party	Votes Received
226	Doti	2	Prem Bahadur Ale	CPN-UML	12411
227	Kailali	1	Janak Raj Chaudhary	Madheshi Janadhikar Forum Nepal (Loktankrit)	11294
228	Kailali	2	Mohan Singh Rathor	CPN-UML	11932
229	Kailali	3	Ram Janam Chaudhary	Madheshi Janadhikar Forum Nepal (Loktankrit)	11127
230	Kailali	4	Gauri Shankhar Chaudhary	UCPN-Maoist	11968
231	Kailali	5	Dirgha Raj Bhatta	Nepali Congress	16346
232	Kailali	6	Sher Bahadur Deuba	Nepali Congress	16489
233	Darchula	1	Genesh Singh Thagunna	CPN-UML	21471
234	Baitadi	1	Damodar Bhandari	CPN-UML	11672
235	Baitadi	2	Nar Bahadur Chand	Nepali Congress	12466
236	Dadeldhura	1	Sher Bahadur Deuba	Nepali Congress	23921
237	Kanchanpur	1	Diwan Singh Bishta	Nepali Congress	11294
238	Kanchanpur	2	Narayan Prakash Saud	Nepali Congress	13415
239	Kanchanpur	3	Bahadur Singh Thapa	Nepali Congress	12836
240	Kanchanpur	4	Ramesh Lekhak	Nepali Congress	14123

Constituent Assembly Members elected under Proportional Representation System

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender
Nepali	Congress		
1	Chitra Lekha Yadav	48	F
2	Gopal Man Shrestha	66	М
3	Kul Bahadur Gurung	77	М
4	Leela Koirala	74	F
5	Dil Bahadur Gharti	61	М
6	Narendra Bikram Nembang	70	М
7	Pradip Giri	63	М
8	Gyanendra Bahadur Karki	56	М
9	Minendra Prasad Rijal	55	М
10	Prakash Rana Mahat	53	М
11	Man Bahadur Bishwakarma	65	М
12	Sujata Koirala	59	F
13	Manmohan Bhattarai	59	М
14	Maha Laxmi Upadhyay (Dina)	48	М
15	Ananda Prasad Dhungana	63	М
16	Surya Man Gurung	71	М
17	Kamala Pant	53	F
18	Ambika Basnet	64	F
19	Dhan Raj Gurung	43	М
20	Mahendra Yadav	51	М
21	Ratna Sherchan	53	М
22	Min Bahadur Bishwakarma	45	М
23	Badri Prasad Pandey	39	М
24	Jiwan Pariyar	37	М
25	Ishwari Neupane	53	М
26	Sita Gurung	37	F
27	Kabita Kumari Sardar	48	F
28	Minaxi Jha	55	F
29	Sujata Pariyar	40	F
30	Kumari Laxmi Rai	64	F
31	Chin Kaji Shrestha	63	М
32	Ram Chandra Pokharel	68	М
33	Ashok Koirala	64	М
34	Ganesh Prasad Bimali	64	М
35	Jagadishwar Narasingh KC	46	М
36	Tarini Dutta Chataut	64	М
37	Bharat Bahadur Khadka	55	М

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender
38	Dhruba Wagle	52	М
39	Bal Dev Bohora	61	М
40	Sarita Prasain	46	F
41	Madhu Shahi Thakuri	54	F
42	Anita Devkota	50	F
43	Rita Shahi	33	F
44	Mithu Malla	58	F
45	Chandra Devi Joshi	35	F
46	Dr Arju Rana Deuba	51	F
47	Dipshikha Sharma Dhakal	53	F
48	Sheela Sharma Khadka	57	F
49	Mukta Kumari Yadav	36	F
50	Sangeeta Mandal (Dhanuk)	41	F
51	Kaushar Shah	55	F
52	Rashmi Thakur	27	F
53	Sarwat Aara Khatun Halwai	49	F
54	Pramila Devi Das	41	F
55	Usha Gurung	45	F
56	Rajya Laxmi Shrestha	44	F
57	Saraswati Bajimaya	53	F
58	Pushpa Lata Lama	58	F
59	Binda Devi Ale (Rana)	48	F
60	Anjana Tamli	40	F
61	Suwarna Jwarchan	67	F
62	Anjani Shrestha Limbu	44	F
63	Mahendra Kumari	54	F
64	Om Devi Malla Joshi	41	F
65	Kalpana Sob	41	F
66	Asha B K	38	F
67	Bishnu Maya Pariyar	55	F
68	Sabitri Devi Chaudhary	64	F
69	Bhotani Devi Khawas	46	F
70	Laxmi Devi Bhandari	61	F
71	Mohan Kumar Rai	52	М
72	Dilman Pakhrin	52	М
73	Amar Singh Pun	44	М
74	Jhul Bahadur Ale	60	М
75	Manohar Narayan Shrestha	52	М
76	Lal Bahadur Ghale	73	М
77	Khadga Bahadur Basyal	61	М
78	Ranjit Karna	40	M
79	Amiya Kumar Yadav	67	M

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender
80	Lal Babu Singh Bhuihar	52	М
81	Badshah Kurmi	55	М
82	Abdul Hamid Siddhiqi	48	М
83	Amrit Lal Rajbanshi	46	М
84	Shanti Devi Chaudhary	37	F
85	Buddhi Sagar Chaudhary	54	М
86	Haresh Prasad Mahato	41	М
87	Mohammad Mokhtar Ahmad	40	М
88	Dilli Bahadur Chaudhary	44	М
89	Pyare Lal Rana	49	М
90	Mainku Lal Balmiki	53	М
91	Narbhan Kami	49	М
CPN-U	ML		
92	Ram Avatar Pashman	61	М
93	Dulari Devi	43	F
94	Chudamani B.K Jangali	59	М
95	Jit Bahadur (Darji) Gautam	63	М
96	Sharda Kumari Bishwakarma	38	F
97	Bhagwat Nepali	43	М
98	Ku. Teku Nepali	56	F
99	Gyanu Devi Gaire	57	F
100	Aphilal Ukheda	36	М
101	Shiv Kumari Gotame (Sharki) Nagarkoti	39	F
102	Kripa Ram Rana	34	М
103	Bishram Prasad Chaudhary	46	М
104	Nagendra Prasad Tharu	55	М
105	Ranjana Shrestha	40	F
106	Rabani Chaudary	32	F
107	Ambika Khawas Rajbanshi	47	F
108	Satya Narayan Mandal	62	М
109	Shital Jha	59	М
110	Dharmanath Prasad Shah	53	М
111	Dr. Banshidhar Mishra	55	М
112	Ram Chandra Shah Teli	60	М
113	Aditya Narayan Kashaudhan	61	M
114	Hari Bahadur Rajbanshi	54	М
115	Junaid Ansari	56	M
116	Kamala Devi Mahato	45	F
117	Ranju Kumari Jha	48	 F
118	Asha Yadav	36	' F

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender
119	Mina Devi Yadav	44	F
120	Sayiba Pravin	52	F
121	Anarkali Miya	40	F
122	Ranjana Kumari Sarkar	44	F
123	Rajlaxshmi Golcha	53	F
124	Gyan Bahadur Bhujel	61	М
125	Binod Shrestha	49	М
126	Siddhi Lal Singh	76	М
127	Ganga Lal Tuladhar	52	М
128	Gokul Prasad Gharti	40	М
129	Ganesh Man Gurung	65	М
130	Chewang Tenjen Tamang	52	М
131	Nar Bahadur Thapa Magar	53	М
132	Tul Bahadur Gurung	54	М
133	Harka Bol Rai	40	М
134	Ichhya Raj Tamang	45	М
135	Mahendra Sherchan	59	М
136	Mahin Limbu	56	F
137	Asta Laxshmi Shakya (Bohora)	59	F
138	Shreemaya Thakali	47	F
139	Jayanti Devi Rai	46	F
140	Leela Magar	48	F
141	Dil Sobha Pun (Khadka)	45	F
142	Sindhu Jalesha Budathoki	43	F
143	Nardevi Pun Magar	44	F
144	Prabha Devi Bajracharya	50	F
145	Tara Devi Rai	55	F
146	Shakuntala Rajbhandari (Karki)	44	F
147	Ratna Devi Gurung	46	F
148	Pemba Lama	43	F
149	Amrit Kumar Bohora	64	М
150	Yubaraj Gyawali	60	М
151	Bharat Mohan Adhikari	77	М
152	Pashupati Chaulagai	49	М
153	Kashinath Adhikari	54	М
154	Keshav Prasad Badal	60	М
155	Bhanubhakta Dhakal	51	М
156	Tularaj Bishta	61	М
157	Mankumar Gautam	63	М
158	Bal Bahadur Mahat	57	М

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender
159	Bhishmanath Adhikari	53	М
160	Dhan Bahadur Rayamajhi	49	М
161	Kedar Prasad Sanjel	57	М
162	Nirmal Prakash Subedi	60	М
163	Shanta Manawi	67	F
164	Gaura Prasai (Koirala)	54	F
165	Jeevan Kumari Ghimire	62	F
166	Sushila Nepal	45	F
167	Bidya Devi Bhandari	52	F
168	Kamala Kumari Ghimire	44	F
169	Tuka Bhadra Hamal	51	F
170	Kalpana Sharma Joshi	41	F
171	Madan Kumari Shah	44	F
172	Gauri Kumari Auli	40	F
173	Mamata Giri	48	F
174	Basundhara Rokaya	43	F
175	Rita Rawal	40	F
United	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)		
176	Bed Maya Bhandari (Shakya)	58	F
177	Surendra Kumar Karki	56	М
178	Bhesh Kumari Raut (Bhattarai)	31	F
179	Anita Kumari Pariyar	32	F
180	Rabindra Pratap Shah	56	М
181	Mohammad Jakir Hussain	43	М
182	Mohan Tudu	35	М
183	Aman Lal Modi	28	М
184	Ongdi Sherpa	42	М
185	Shree Prasad Jabegu	42	М
186	Surya Prakash Bala Rai	59	М
187	Santa Kumar Darai	47	М
188	Juth Bahadur Tuhure Khadgi	68	М
189	Yogendra Tama Ghising	34	М
190	Radhika Tamang	30	F
191	Kamal Dong	39	F
192	Krishna Dhital	53	М
193	Asha Koirala	43	F
194	Bhakti Prasad Pandey	58	М
195	Lal Bahadur Gurung	44	М
196	Tez Kumari Poudel	34	F
197	Daljit B.K. Shreepali	43	М
198	Shrijana Taramu Khatri	28	F

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender
199	Kesari Gharti Magar	26	F
200	Rekha Sharma	44	F
201	Goma Kuwar	30	F
202	Lalita Kumari Regmi	32	F
203	Janaki Kumari Saud Rawal	30	F
204	Karna Bahadur B.K	32	М
205	Dil Maya Dhami	42	F
206	Phooljhari Devi	44	F
207	Harilal Gyawali	50	М
208	Durga Khuna	43	F
209	Gopal Giri	65	М
210	Dhana Pahari	52	F
211	Ajay Shankar Nayal	36	М
212	Lalendra Kumar Mandal	34	М
213	Pratikshya Tiwari Mukhiya	31	F
214	Ram Singh Yadav	43	М
215	Nisha Kumari Shah	30	F
216	Dhani Ram Paudel	46	М
217	Shambhu Paswan Hajari	39	М
218	Dor Prasad Upadhaya	42	М
219	Ram Narayan Bidari	54	М
220	Surendra Prasad Jaisawal	33	М
221	Usha Kiran Ansari	31	F
222	Dulari Harijan	31	F
223	Soniya Yadav	35	F
224	Dhan Maya Bishwokarma (Khanal)	33	F
225	Sita Nepali	38	F
226	Tulsa Rana	34	F
227	Anjana Chaudhary	31	F
228	Rupa Maharjan	32	F
229	Punaram Thapa	47	М
Rastriy	a Prajatantra Party Nepal		
230	Kamal Thapa	58	М
231	Bikram Bahadur Thapa	60	М
232	Bhaskar Bhadra	56	М
233	Ram Kumar Subba	61	М
234	Sushil Kumar Shrestha	57	М
235	Sayendra Bantawa	55	F
236	Kunti Kumari Shahi	36	F
237	Dinesh Shrestha	58	М
238	Dil Nath Giri	51	М
239	Lila Devi Shrestha	51	F

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender
240	Resham Bahadur Lama	41	М
241	Ganga Prasad Yadav	62	М
242	Kamala Devi Sharma	55	F
243	Biraj Bista	36	М
244	Babina Moktan Lawati	38	F
245	Rajeshwori Devi	42	F
246	Dhano Mahara	40	F
247	Shyam Sundar Tudewala	69	М
248	Sita Luitel (Gyawali)	47	F
249	Shree Kanti Pasi	42	F
250	Kanta Bhattarai	56	F
251	Raj Kumar Agrawal	56	М
252	Ram Dulari Chaudhary	44	F
253	Bhakta Bahadur Bishwokarama (Khapangi)	57	М
Rastriy	a Prajantra Party		
254	Surya Bahadur Thapa	85	М
255	Jayanta Chand	51	М
256	Saroj Sharma	75	F
257	Ramesh Kumar Lama	57	М
258	Parshuram Tamang	34	М
259	Rajyalaxmi Shrestha	47	F
260	Ishtiyak Aahamd Khan	46	М
261	Gita Singh	51	F
262	Laxmi Thapa Paswan	29	F
263	Anandi Panta	63	F
Madhe	eshi Janadhikar Forum (Loktantrik)		
264	Yogendra Chaudhary	39	М
265	Sumitra Tharuni	45	F
266	Kalpana Chaudhary	47	F
267	Jitendra Narayan Dev	56	М
268	Pawan Kumar Sarda	54	М
269	Asha Chaturbedi	54	F
270	Ramani Ram	45	F
271	Dr. Baburam Pokharel	58	М
272	Dr. Subodh Kumar Pokharel	57	М
273	Gita Chhetri	60	F
Madhe	eshi Janadhikar Fourm, Nepal		
274	Lal Babu Rawat	47	М
275	Usha Yadav	50	F
276	Laxmi Kumari Chaudhary	31	F
277	Jannatun Nisha Dhuniya	44	F
278	Chhaya Sharma Panta	58	F

		Age	Gender
279	Shrawan Kumar Agrawal	66	М
280	Shibaji Yadav	55	М
281	Birendra Prasad Mahato	44	М
Terai A	Nadhesh Loktantrik Party		
282	Bijaya Kumar Singh	61	М
283	Akbal Ahmad Shah	54	М
284	Ramesh Prasad Kurmi	44	М
285	Kedar Nandan Chaudhary	49	М
286	Indra Jha	53	F
287	Mina Chaudhary	27	F
288	Raj Kumari Gaderiya	43	F
Comm	nunist Party of Nepal (M.L.)		
289	Chandra Prakash (CP) Mainali	62	М
290	Kalsa Devi Mahara	45	F
291	Aaindra Sundar Nemwang	35	М
292	Kamala BK	38	F
293	Shiva Chandra Chaudhary	64	М
Sadbh	awana Party		
294	Shail Kumari Yadav	48	F
295	Laxman Lal Karna	66	М
296	Narsingh Chaudhary	60	М
297	Bimal Kumar Kediya	50	М
298	Madhavi Rani Shah	56	F
Sangh	iya Samajwadi Party, Nepal		
299	Urmila Devi Shah	44	F
300	Dil Bahadur Nepali	39	М
301	Kasim Ali Siddiqui	62	М
302	Radha Timilsina	54	F
303	Ashok Kumar Rai	56	М
Rastriy	ra Janamorcha		
304	Chitra Bahadur K.C	71	М
305	Durga Poudel	42	F
306	Mina Pun	40	F
Nepal	Communist Party (United)		
307	Jay Dev Joshi	56	М
308	Mithila Chaudhary	47	F
309	Pramila Rana	49	F
Nepal	Workers and Peasants Party		
310	Prem Suwal	53	М
311	Dilli Prasad Kafle	54	М

S.N	Name of the Candidate	Age	Gender			
Rastriy	a Madhesh Janmukti Party					
313	Nirjala Rawat	44	F			
314	Dinesh Prasad Shah	47	М			
315	Dharmendra Kumar Shah Teli	43	М			
Nepal	Pariwar Dal					
316	Ek Nath Dhakal	39	М			
317	Milan Kumari Rajbanshi	31	F			
Rastriy	a Janmukti Party					
318	Shiva Lal Thapa	60	М			
319	Seema Kumari B.K	39	F			
Dalit Jo	anajati Party					
320	Bishwendra Pashwan	52	М			
321	Yasoda Kumari Lama	45	F			
Terai N	Nadhesh Sadbhawana Party, Nepal					
322	Narendra Shah Kalwar	41	М			
323	America Kumari	48	F			
Tharuh	at Terai Party Nepal					
324	Gopal Dahit	46	М			
325	Ganga Chaudhary (Satgauwa)	34	F			
Sanghi	ya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch (Tharuhat)					
326	Rukmini Chaudhary	36	F			
Samaj	wadi Janata Party					
327	Prem Bahadur Singh	60	М			
Nepali	Janata Dal					
328	Hari Charan Shah	56	М			
Madhe	esi Janadhikar Forum (Ganatantrik)					
329	Sarita Kumari Yadav	25	F			
Nepa-	Rastriya Party					
330	Laxshman Rajbanshi	78	М			
Sanghi	ya Sadbhawana Party					
331	Dimple Kumari Jha					
Khumb	ouwan Rastriya Morcha, Nepal					
332	Ram Kumar Rai	44	М			
Akhan	da Nepal Party					
333	Kumar Khadka	45	М			
Janjag	aran Party Nepal					
334	Lokmani Dhakal	54	М			
Madhe	Madhesh Samata Party Nepal					
335	Medhraj Nepali (Nishad)	52	М			

Districts where Election Observations were carried out

S.N	District
1.	Jhapa
2.	llam
3.	Morang
4.	Sunsari
5.	Dhunkuta
6.	Sankhuwasabha
7.	Saptari
8.	Siraha
9.	Udayapur
10.	Khotang
11.	Dhanusha
12.	Mahottari
13.	Ramechhap
14.	Sindhuli
15.	Dolakha
16.	Rautahat
17.	Bara
18.	Chitwan
19.	Makwanpur
20.	Kavre
21.	Bhaktapur
22.	Kathmandu
23.	Lalitpur
24.	Dhading
25.	Nuwakot
26.	Rasuwa
27.	Sindhupalchok
28.	Lamjung

S.N	District
29.	
	Syangja
30.	Kaski
31.	Tanahu
32.	Gorkha
33.	Nawalparasi
34.	Rupandehi
35.	Palpa
36.	Kapilbastu
37.	Arghakhanchi
38.	Gulmi
39.	Baglung
40.	Parbat
41.	Mustang
42.	Dang
43.	Pyuthan
44.	Rukum
45.	Banke
46.	Bardiya
47.	Surkhet
48.	Jajarkot
49.	Jumla
50.	Kalikot
51.	Kailali
52.	Achham
53.	Doti
54.	Kanchanpur
55.	Dadeldhura

General Election Observation Committee (GEOC)

National Observers

S.N	Name	Occupation	Address				
Nep	Nepal Law Society (NLS)						
1	Mr. Sajan Ram Bhandari	Advocate	General Secretary, NLS				
2	Mr. Som Pudasani	Conflict Management Expert	Gyaneshor, Kathmandu				
3	Mr. Matrika Niraula	Advocate	Member, NLS				
4	Mr. Sahshi Kumar Upadhaya	Senior Advocate	Member, NLS				
5	Mr. Sunil Pokhrel	Advocate	General Secretary,				
			Nepal Bar Association				
Nep	al Citizens Forum (NCF)						
6	Mr. Mahesh Kumar Upadhaya	Former Vice Chancellor, TU	Ekantakuna, Lalitpur				
7	Dr. Mohan Prasad Lohani	Former Ambassador	Bansbari, Kathmandu				
8	Dr. Mina Ojha	Professor	Chhetrapati, Kathmandu				
9	Dr. Bishnudev Pant	Executive Director (IIDS)	Palpa				
10	Dr. Madan Kumar Dahal	Professor	Sanepa, Kathmandu				
Rura	Il Development Foundation (RDF)						
11	Mr. Binaya Kumar Pandit	Advocate	Kathmandu				
12	Ms. Rajju Malla Dhakal	Expert, Election, Gender equality	Kathmandu				
13	Ms. Usha Malla Pathak	Advocate	Executive Member, RDF				
14	Ms. Sunita Regmi	Advocate	Treasurer, RDF				
15	Mr. Shiva Kumar Shrestha	Advocate	Secretary, RDF				
16	Mr. Udaya Nepali Shrestha	Former Secretary	Executive Member, ICJ				
Inter	rnational Commission of Jurists Nepo	al Section (ICJ Nepal)					
17	Ms. Sabita Baral	Senior Advocate, Supreme Court	Member, ICJ				
18	Mr. Sudheer Shrestha	Advocate, Supreme Court	Treasurer, ICJ				
19	Mr. Bimal Prasad Dhakal	Advocate, Supreme Court	Kathmandu				
20	Mr. Surendra Mahato	Advocate, Supreme Court	Member, ICJ				
Cou	ncil of Former Public Servants (CFPS						
21	Mr. Bharat Bahadur Thapa	Former Secretary, Chairperson, CFPS	Kathmandu				
22	Mr. Sushil Kanta Jha	Former Secretary, Member, CFPS	Kathmandu				
23	Mr. Ambika K.C	Former Official	Kathmandu				
24	Mr. Madhusudhan Poudel	Former Official	Kathmandu				
25	Mr. Madhav Prasad Ghimire	Former Secretary	Kathmandu				
Nep	al Press Institute (NPI)						
26	Mr. Gokul Pokharel	Former Chairperson, NPI	Kathmandu				
27	Mr. Sarad Chandra Wasti	Executive Member, NPI	Kathmandu				
28	Mr. Manteshwori Rajbhandari	Treasurer, NPI	Lalitpur				
29	Prof. Chiranjibi Khanal	Director, NPI	Kathmandu				
30	Mr. Govinda Das Shrestha	Expert, Election and Governance	Lalitpur				

Nep	pal Civil Society (NCS)		
31	Mr. Umesh Mainali	Former Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs	Kathmandu
32	Mr. Bhanubhakta Pokharel	Former Chief District Officer	Kathmandu
33	Mr. Anantaram Bhattarai	Former A.I.G.	Kathmandu
34	Mr. Subash Lamichhane	Advocate	Kathmandu
35	Dr. Hari Lamsal	Doctor, NCS	Kathmandu
Ma	dhesi Civil Society (MCS)		
36	Mr. Ganesh Kumar Mandal	Social Worker	Madhesi Civil Society
37	Prof. Dr. Sahadev Shah	Social Worker	Madhesi Civil Society
38	Prof. Dr. Jahid Parbej	Social Worker	Madhesi Civil Society
39	Prof. Dr. Radha Krishna Kherwar	Social Worker	Madhesi Civil Society
40	Prof. Binod Agrawal	Professor	Madhesi Civil Society
Cer	ntre for Investigative Journalism (CIJ)	
41	Mr. Hasta Bahadur Gurung	Senior Journalist	Centre for Investigative Journalism
42	Mr. Baburam Bishwokarma	Senior Journalist	Centre for Investigative Journalism
43	Mr. Sudarshan Ghimire	Senior Journalist	Centre for Investigative Journalism
44	Mr. Chandra Kishore Jha	Senior Journalist	Centre for Investigative Journalism
45	Mr. Pawan Acharya	Senior Journalist	Centre for Investigative Journalism
Med	dia Advocacy Group		
46	Ms. Aruna Rana Thapa	Expert, Women Issues	Kathmandu
47	Mr. Jaya Prakash Tripathi	Senior Journalist	Kathmandu
48	Mr. Pratik Pradhan	Senior Journalist, Editor	Nagarik Daily
49	Ms. Kalpana Acharya	Lecturer	Kathmandu
50	Ms. Babita Basnet	Reporter	Chairperson, Media Advocacy
GEC	OC .		
51	Mr. Himalaya Shumsher Rana	Chairperson, GEOC	Chairperson, NCF
52	Mr. Komal Prakash Ghimire	Senior Advocate, Supreme Court	Chairperson, Nepal Law Society
53	Dr. Bhimarjun Acharya	Advocate, Supreme Court	Member, Nepal Law Society
54	Mr. Krishna Man Pradhan	Executive Director, Nepal Law Society	Member Secretary, GEOC
55	Dr. Dwarika Dhungel	Expert, Governance	GEOC
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General Election Observation Committee

District Observers

S.N.	District	Name	Organization/Address		
1	Jhapa	Mr. Chinta Mani Dahal	Head, Radio, Nagarik FM, Principal		
2	llam	Mr. Bir Bahadur Khadka	Advocate, Chief, Constitution Information Center		
3	Morang	Mr. Suresh Lal Shrestha	Advocate, Biratnagar		
4	Sunsari	Mr. Mohan Koirala	Advocate, Inarwa-3, Sunsari		
5	Dhankuta	Mr. Naresh Prasad Shrestha	Head, Constitution Information Center		
6	Sankhuwasabha	Mr. Dambar Niraula	Member, Civil Society, HUDEP		
7	Saptari	Mr. Surendra Prasad Yadav	Advocate, Member, Nepal Law Society		
8	Siraha	Mr. Birendra Kumar Singh	Chairperson, HURCODEC		
9	Udayapur	Ms. Laxmi Kumari Chaudhary	Advocate, Member, Nepal Law Society		
10	Khotang	Mr. Narayan Das Shrestha	Chairperson, Nepal Bar Association		
11	Dhanusha	Ms. Rekha Jha	Advocate, Chief, Constitution Information Center		
12	Mahottari	Mr. Shyamsundar Prasad Shah	Social Worker		
13	Ramechhaap	Ms. Indrawati Moktan	Professor, Social Worker		
14	Sindhuli	Ms. Bhagwati Bishwokarma	Social Worker		
15	Dolakha	Mr. Ramji Prasad Chaulagai	Former teacher (Nepal Nagarik Manch)		
16	Rautahat	Mr. Sonelal Prasad Patel	Member, Rural Development Foundation		
17	Bara	Mr. Bhaiya Ram Yadav	Chairperson, Janjagaran Youth Club		
18	Chitwan	Mr. Sudeep Wasti	Advocate, Wasti's Legal Service		
19	Makwanpur	Mr. Suman Kumar Manandhar	Advocate, Member, District Bar Association		
20	Kavre	Mr. Padam Kumar Shrestha	Social Worker		
21	Bhaktapur	Ms. Sumitra Malla	Advocate, Bhaktapur		
22	Kathmandu	Ms. Saraswati Shrestha	Advocate, Member, Nepal Law Society		
23	Lalitpur	Mr. Dilli Raman Singh	Former Official		
24	Dhading	Mr. Bishwaraj Adhikari	Advocate, Dhading		
25	Nuwakot	Ms. Shree Ram Shrestha	Chief, Constitution Information Center		
26	Rasuwa	Mr. Uttam Thapa	Chairperson, Poverty Alleviation Fund		
27	Sindhupalchok	Mr. Gyanendra Timilsina	Senior Journalist		
28	Lamjung	Mr. Yagya Poudel	Advocate, Chairperson, Nepal Bar Association		
29	Syangja	Mr. Yugnarayan Shrestha	Advocate, Member, Nepal Law Society		
30	Kaski	Ms. Karunanidhi Sharma	Former Justice		
31	Tanahu	Mr. Sujan Khanal	Chairperson, Tanahu Development Society		
32	Gorkha	Mr. Hari Bahadur Devkota	Executive Director, Unification Nepal		
33	Nawalparasi	Mr. Kamal Raj Sharma	Social Worker, Member,		
			Rural Development Foundation		
34	Rupandehi	Ms. Pushpa Laxmi Shrestha	Advocate, Rupandehi		
35	Palpa	Mr. Baburam Sharma	Advocate, Chief, Constitution Information Center		
36	Kapilbastu	Mr. Rajesh Kumar Pandey	Gramin Samudayik Vikas Kendra		

S.N.	District	Name	Organization/Address	
37	Arghakhanchi	Mr. Durga Parshad Adhikari	Member, Nepal Citizens Forum	
38	Gulmi	Mr. Gunanidhi Sharma	Advocate, Professor	
39	Baglung	Mr. Kaji Gaule Shrestha	Senior Advocate, Baglung	
40	Parbat	Mr. Shiva Raj Sharma	FORWARD Nepal, Parbat	
41	Mustang	Ms. Sharmila Gurung	Executive member, NGO Federation	
42	Dang	Mr. Padam Prasad Baidik	Advocate, Vice Chair, NBA	
43	Pyuthan	Mr. Shiva Raj Pandit	Advocate, Vice Chair, District Bar Association	
44	Rukum	Mr. Bhuvaneshwore Sharma	Chairperson, District Bar Rukum	
45	Banke	Mr. Padam Pandey	Advocate, Upakar Law Forum	
46	Bardiya	Mr. Rishiram Kafle	Advocate, Member, NLS	
47	Surkhet	Mr. Om Prakash Lamichhane	Advocate, NLS, Surkhet	
48	Jajarkot	Mr. Chhabi Sharma	Advocate, Chairperson, District Bar Association	
49	Jumla	Mr. Padam Bahadur Shahi	Advocate, Chief, Constitution Information Center	
50	Kalikot	Mr. Daman Raj Bom	Advocate, Secretary, District Bar Association	
51	Kailali	Mr. Narendra Bahadur Shah	Advocate, Chief, Constitution Information Center	
52	Achham	Mr. Krishna Dhungana	Professor, Advocate,	
			Chairperson District Bar Association	
53	Doti	Mr. Rajendra Singh	Advocate, Professor	
54	Kanchanpur	Mr. Sudarshan Dev Bhatta	Advocate, Chief, Constitution Information Center	
55	Dadeldhura	Mr. Ganesh Bhatta	Advocate, Sahara Legal Service Center, Tuphaan Daanda	

GEOC Working Areas



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