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EVALUATION

USAID/LIBYA: LIBYA ELECTIONS AND GOVERNANCE SUPPORT ACTIVITY AND THE SUPPORTING CONSENSUS BUILDING FOR THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE, CONSTITUTION DRAFTING AND GOVERNING PROCESS IN LIBYA ACTIVITY FINAL PERFORMANCE EVALUATION REPORT

July 2018

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MONITORING AND EVALUATION IN TUNISIA AND LIBYA (METAL) ACTIVITY

USAID/LIBYA: LIBYA ELECTIONS AND GOVERNANCE SUPPORT ACTIVITY AND THE SUPPORTING CONSENSUS BUILDING FOR THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE, CONSTITUTION DRAFTING AND GOVERNING PROCESS IN LIBYA ACTIVITY FINAL PERFORMANCE EVALUATION REPORT

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On cover: Civil society organizations that are members of the Libyan Network for Democracy Development supported by the USAID Libya Elections and Governance Support activity, monitored local elections in Azzawya on May 12, 2018. PHOTO CREDIT: TAREK MSHAYEKH, BEDAYA MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc. conducted a final performance evaluation of two USAID activities: Libya Elections and Governance Support, implemented by the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening since October 2012, and Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya, implemented by the American Bar Association since August 2014. The purpose of the evaluation was to capture information from the inception of the activities through May 2018 on the diverse areas in which the two activities were able to achieve real impact and promote meaningful change despite the challenging operating environment. The evaluation questions addressed the following: a) progress made toward the activity objectives; b) achievements that were not part of the work plans; and c) program design for effectively adapting to local challenges.

The evaluation used a non-experimental design that employed both qualitative and quantitative methods, including 64 semi-structured key informant interviews; 4 focus group discussions; and a face-to-face survey of 1192 households.

The key conclusions were:

- Relatively high public confidence in elections, in large part due to the capacity built by USAID of the High National Election Commission
- Willingness among national and municipal legislators receiving USAID assistance to factor citizen input into their work
- Although the concept of advocacy is still new, women's and marginalized groups supported by USAID successfully advocated issues
- Citizens effectively informed and engaged in the constitution drafting process
- Dialogue fostered by USAID was used as an effective tool for forming recommendations on the draft constitution

ACRONYMS

| | |
|----------|--|
| ABA | American Bar Association |
| ABA ROLI | American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative |
| AOR | Agreement Officer Representative |
| CDA | Constitution Drafting Assembly |
| CEPPS | Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening |
| CL | Community Liaison |
| COP | Chief of Party |
| CSO | Civil society organization |
| DRC | Democracy Resource Center |
| DRG | Democracy, Human Rights and Governance Office |
| EMB | Electoral management body |
| EQ | Evaluation question |
| ET | Evaluation team |
| FGD | Focus group discussion |
| GNC | General National Congress |
| HNEC | High National Election Commission |
| HoR | House of Representatives |
| HSC | High State Council |
| IFES | International Foundation for Electoral Systems |
| iNGO | International non-governmental organization |
| IP | Implementing partner |
| IRI | International Republican Institute |
| KII | Key informant interviews |
| LCB | Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya activity |
| LEGS | Libya Elections and Governance Support activity |
| LNDD | Libyan Network for Democracy Development |
| MC | Municipal council |
| M&E | Monitoring and evaluation |
| MoLG | Ministry of Local Government |
| NDI | National Democratic Institute |
| NDPC | National Dialogue Preparatory Commission |
| PMP | Performance Management Plan |
| PWD | Persons with disabilities |
| TCN | Third-country national |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNSMIL | United Nations Support Mission in Libya |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EVALUATION PURPOSE

The purpose of this final performance evaluation was to capture information on the diverse areas in which the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Libya Elections and Governance Support (LEGS) activity and the Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya (LCB) activity were able to achieve real impact and promote meaningful change despite the challenging operating environment. USAID sought to gain a better understanding of what activities were successful, how and why they were successful, and most importantly, where USAID should put future resources to aid the transition process and build democratic governance in Libya.

ACTIVITY BACKGROUND

For more than 40 years, Muammar Gaddafi rejected the principles of representative democracy, presiding over an idiosyncratic and personalized political system in Libya. After his overthrow, USAID awarded a cooperative agreement in October 2012 for LEGS, which is implemented by International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), National Democratic Institute (NDI), and International Republican Institute (IRI). The agreement, which extends through October 2019 with a budget of \$34,773,802, is intended to strengthen confidence in Libya's elected government during a key political transition. The implementing partners (IPs) worked: (1) in collaboration with the High National Election Commission (HNEC) to improve the professionalism of HNEC and other institutions with election-related responsibilities to enhance the credibility of elections and to increase public confidence in elections as a vehicle for peacefully selecting leaders; (2) in collaboration with national and municipal legislative bodies to establish good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement; and (3) to increase women's and marginalized groups' inclusion in governing processes.

By 2014, there was great uncertainty about the status and timing of the constitutional reform process. In August 2014, USAID awarded a cooperative agreement for LCB, which is implemented by American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative (ABA ROLI). The agreement, which extends through August 2019 with a budget of \$11,493,426, is intended to contribute to the reconstruction of the social contract in Libya by providing all Libyans, including women, youth and other marginalized groups, with the opportunity to participate in the creation of a revised constitutional framework. The IP worked in collaboration with the Constitution Drafting Assembly (CDA) to: (1) inform citizens on key constitution issues, so that they can effectively inform the CDA; (2) build consensus through national dialogue; and (3) create consensus processes to inform Libya's governing processes beyond passing the constitutional referendum.

EVALUATION DESIGN, METHODS, AND LIMITATIONS

The evaluation used a non-experimental, mixed methods approach. Both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used concurrently, which included: (1) a systematic review of LEGS and LCB program documents and other relevant literature; (2) 64 semi-structured key informant interviews (KIIs); (3) four focus group discussions (FGDs); and (4) a face-to-face survey of 1192 households in three cities – one in the east, one in the south, and one in the west. Data limitations include recall bias, response bias, and selection bias, which were mitigated by triangulating information from multiple sources and by asking respondents for specific examples to demonstrate knowledge of the LEGS and LCB interventions.

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

EVALUATION QUESTION (EQ) 1. WHAT PROGRESS WAS MADE TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVES STATED IN THE LEGS AND LCB PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS?

Snapshot of EQ1 Conclusions

| LEGS | LCB |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">•HNEC has better capacity to conduct elections•Targeted efforts to engage citizens with national and local legislatures were effective•Advocacy by women’s and marginalized groups was successful | <ul style="list-style-type: none">•Outreach to the public on the draft constitution was effective•Citizens provided recommendations for the draft constitution•The draft constitution passed by the CDA but a national referendum was not yet held |

LEGS OBJECTIVE 1 - INCREASING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN ELECTIONS

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: HNEC officials credited IFES for the consistent assistance it provided in building capacity to manage outreach to citizens, voter registration, and electoral dispute resolution and in funding some of HNEC’s outreach. Ninety-five percent of those surveyed had seen or heard messages about possible upcoming elections, and seventy-two percent consider HNEC to be doing a good job preparing for upcoming elections. Less progress was noted by those interviewed in HNEC’s capability to implement campaign finance regulations. HNEC officials and others noted external challenges, such as the lack of Libyan government budget allocations to HNEC and political conflict within Libya.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS: LEGS played an important role in building HNEC’s capacity. This is reflected in the high level of optimism expressed by Libyan citizens that they can elect leaders peacefully and democratically. While HNEC’s progress since its inception is impressive, it is not yet able to manage electoral processes independently of donor assistance.

LEGS OBJECTIVE 2 - ESTABLISHING GOOD PRECEDENTS FOR EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE, INCLUDING STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT, BY LEGISLATIVE BODIES

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: Five out of the seven national legislators interviewed named examples of citizen input they have used in their work. Five out of nine civil society organizations (CSOs) interviewed named eight examples of input they have provided to either the House of Representatives (HoR) or the High State Council (HSC), and in at least three cases, their input resulted in the change they advocated. On the municipal level, eight of nine MCs interviewed gave 12 examples of projects they implemented in response to citizen requests. In interviews and focus groups, CSOs named eight projects they proposed to MCs, and at least two were implemented. Legislators also expressed appreciation for the training provided under LEGS in areas such as communication skills, which they have found useful. Impediments to further input from citizens to legislative bodies include the political divide within the HoR and within the country, the existence of two competing legislative bodies, lack of clear legislation defining the role of MCs, and lack of transfer payments to municipal budgets.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS: CSOs that were supported by LEGS are actively engaging legislative bodies to advocate for issues of concern, and legislators who were supported by LEGS are acting upon these requests. However, the political divide in the country and the lack of legislation defining the role and authorities of MCs is hindering further advocacy efforts of CSOs.

LEGS OBJECTIVE 3 - INCREASING WOMEN’S AND MARGINALIZED GROUPS’ INCLUSION SUCH THAT THEIR INTERESTS ARE INCORPORATED INTO LIBYAN GOVERNING PROCESSES

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: CSOs interviewed reported advocating six women’s issues to legislators; five related to persons with disabilities (PWDs); and four related to youth. Legislators, donors, and other

organizations implementing projects in Libya noted that the lack of organizational capacity of CSOs is hindering further inclusion of women and marginalized groups in Libyan governing processes.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS: Although the practice of advocacy is new in Libya, CSOs supported by LEGS conducted successful campaigns advocating for women, PWDs, and youth. The LEGS approach to introduce the process of advocacy via non-controversial topics such as those related to PWDs and youth was effective in demonstrating the process and engaging both civil society and legislators. However, CSOs' lack of capacity is limiting the inclusion of women and marginalized groups.

LCB OBJECTIVE 1 - INFORMED CITIZENS ARE ABLE TO DEVELOP CONSENSUS ON CONSTITUTION ISSUES AND EFFECTIVELY INFORM THE CDA

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: Seventy-six percent of survey respondents had been informed about adopting a new constitution, and LCB was consistently cited as the most significant contributor to informing the public. Participants valued the community awareness events held by LCB, citing dialogue as more important than reaching consensus. All three LCB community liaisons (CL) interviewed confirmed sending community or CSO recommendations to the CDA.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS: LCB successfully informed many Libyans about the constitution. Community awareness events were effective in fostering dialogue as a tool to help people form recommendations on the constitution.

LCB OBJECTIVE 2 - THROUGH NATIONAL DIALOGUE, CITIZENS REPRESENTING MAJORITY AND MINORITY VIEWS ARE ABLE TO BUILD A CONSENSUS OF STATE, ECONOMY, AND SOCIETY

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: LCB assisted the National Dialogue Preparatory Commission and CDA; convened experts and advocates to analyze issues and make recommendations to the CDA; distributed copies of the draft constitution; held consensus-building workshops; assisted CDA to develop and implement a public outreach strategy; analyzed court decisions about constitutional drafts; and organized press roundtables and conferences. Two of the four CDA interviewees said that citizens and professionals were important sources of recommendations. However, CDA members did not convey a sophisticated understanding of communication strategies. Other respondents were critical of CDA for not acknowledging recommendations submitted. Twenty-five percent of survey respondents said that they felt engaged in national dialogue, and women, PWDs, and youth reported this at higher levels than average.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS: LCB assistance helped the CDA overcome a slow start and low capacity in raising public awareness about the draft constitution. Although the level of engagement reported by Libyans, and in particular women, PWDs, and youth, is encouraging, it probably would have increased if LCB assistance had been more strategic. Public trust in CDA likely would be higher if CDA had been more transparent in its public communications.

LCB OBJECTIVE 3 - CREATE CONSENSUS PROCESSES TO INFORM GOVERNING PROCESSES BEYOND PASSING THE CONSTITUTION REFERENDUM IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL TRANSITION

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: LCB trained municipal and Ministry of Local Government (MoLG) legal staff, but respondents reported wide-ranging capacity gaps in MCs.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS: Although the constitution has not yet been passed, much more could have been done to prepare for the democratic transition. Given the importance of municipal and local councils, strategic planning, with a thorough examination of capacity gaps, priorities and opportunities, should have been undertaken to provide a foundation for wider local government capacity building.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EQI:

- **HNEC:** With presidential and legislative elections scheduled to be held in December 2018, USAID should continue supporting HNEC, especially by training those who will be hired in the field offices.

- **HoR/HSC:** Until a legitimate and unified national legislature is in place, USAID should continue providing only very targeted support to HoR and HSC in order to sustain progress already achieved.
- **MCs AND LOCAL COUNCILS:** USAID should broaden and deepen capacity building for MCs. Given the low starting point, there is a large body of potential trainees. Once the local administration structure is clear, USAID should help orient and train council members to execute their new roles and duties.
- **MoLG:** USAID should coordinate and facilitate working groups of experts, MoLG, and legislators to analyze and define the legal framework for local administration. USAID should assist the groups with outlining transition strategies for ministries, MCs, and local councils.
- **CDA:** If the draft constitution is re-opened, USAID should re-engage with CDA, but with a more strategic approach.
- **CSOs:** USAID should consider starting up a broad program of support to strengthen CSOs.

EQ 2. WHAT ARE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PROGRAM WHICH WERE NOT PART OF THE WORK PLAN IN EACH OBJECTIVE/ACTIVITY?

Snapshot of EQ2 Conclusions

| LEGS | LCB |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The judiciary has minimally increased capacity to manage transparent and credible elections •Broad program objectives allowed activities to stay relevant despite Libya’s fluid political and institutional environment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Strategic shift of resources a more general national dialog helped Libyans to participate in drafting the new constitution •Flexible interpretation of program objectives allowed activities to be relevant despite the fluid environment in Libya |

SUMMARY OF EQ2 FINDINGS: As part of achieving LEGS Objective 1, IFES worked with the judicial sector to increase its capacity to handle electoral dispute resolution, developed and installed a platform for information sharing within the judiciary, and held workshops to bring together HNEC and the Supreme Judicial Council to review and codify the electoral legal framework.

Although LCB Objective 2 specifically addressed the National Dialogue, LCB shifted resources to a more general national dialogue and increased assistance to CDA when the National Dialogue Preparatory Commission failed.

SUMMARY OF EQ2 CONCLUSIONS: Judicial capacity to manage transparent and credible elections is an additional achievement of LEGS, but it was limited in scope.

LCB’s shift from National Dialogue to a general national dialogue was an appropriate tactic, in keeping with the larger program goal of contributing to the reconstruction of the social contract by providing all Libyans with the opportunity to participate in the creation of a new constitution.

Considering the fluidity of the situation in Libya, with political divisions and shifts in political bodies, the limited number of additional key achievements of LEGS and LCB is a testament to how broad the LEGS and LCB objectives were, and the flexibility with which USAID and the IPs interpreted them to enable activities to remain relevant.

SUMMARY OF EQ2 RECOMMENDATIONS: In future programs in Libya and other complex, fluid settings, USAID should design broad program objectives, and IPs should adapt their activities by periodically updating their work plans.

EQ 3. HOW CAN FUTURE PROGRAMMING BE DESIGNED TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN ADAPTING TO LOCAL CHALLENGES?

Snapshot of EQ3 Conclusions

| LEGS and LCB | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• IPs have maintained security through careful planning and staying vigilant about risks.• Challenges with travel to Libya have been resolved by third-country nationals (TCN) leading activities in Libya or holding events outside Libya.• Remote management of the program was facilitated through frequent communications using Skype, having staff meetings in Tunis, and reliance on TCNs traveling to Libya. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• IPs have made additional efforts to monitor activities.• IPs maintain good relationship with local officials to remain compliant with changing regulations. |

SUMMARY OF EQ3 FINDINGS: IPs recognized numerous operating challenges: security risks; difficulties with travel; compliance with regulations on non-governmental organizations; and lack of cash liquidity. In addition, with most senior management of LEGS and LCB based outside of Libya, local staff are left to run the project offices in-country and be the face of the project to beneficiaries and government counterparts. Remote management of activities and staff was a challenge that all IPs mentioned.

SUMMARY OF EQ 3 CONCLUSIONS: IPs have successfully maintained security by carefully planning the location of events and staying vigilant about risks. Travel challenges have been met by relying on TCNs to travel to Libya and by holding events outside of Libya. Remote management has been managed through frequent communication via Skype, by holding all-staff meetings in Tunis, and by reliance on TCNs intermittently working in Libya. As well, IPs have taken extra measures to monitor project activities. IPs have remained compliant with changing regulations by maintaining good relationships with officials in the Commission for Civil Society. Due to the lack of cash, IPs are holding events outside of Libya, and Libyan staff are coming to Tunisia to collect their salaries. However, the volume of work has been reduced because IPs cannot access adequate cash in Libya to pay vendors.

SUMMARY OF EQ3 RECOMMENDATIONS: Future USAID activities planned for Libya should include adequate budget for travel and operational staff. Timelines should be flexible to allow for known factors that can delay activities, as well as unanticipated factors.

USAID should write agreements to allow flexibility and reduce the need for formal budget or contract modifications that would add to the delays.

IPs should develop robust and creative monitoring plans to ensure the quality of events that they are not able to attend in person.

II. EVALUATION PURPOSE & EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID)/Libya commissioned the Monitoring and Evaluation in Tunisia and Libya (METAL) activity, implemented by International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc., to conduct an independent final evaluation of two USAID/Libya democracy and governance programs, the Libya Elections and Governance Support activity (LEGS) and the Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya activity (LCB). The evaluation was designed in March - April 2018.

This section explains the purpose of the evaluation and the evaluation questions that were answered. Following this section is the Activity Background, which describes the two activities that were evaluated. The evaluation methodology is then presented. Finally, a section is devoted to each evaluation question, laying out the findings, conclusions, and recommendations. Each objective of the two projects is addressed separately under evaluation question 1.

EVALUATION PURPOSE

Through this evaluation, USAID is seeking to capture information on the diverse areas in which LEGS and LCB were able to achieve real impact and promote meaningful change despite the challenging operating environment. A key factor in USAID-funded programming in Libya has been flexibility and dynamism as activities had to be adjusted due to security concerns and changing political contexts and opportunities. USAID seeks to understand how these programs evolved and to gain a better understanding of what activities were successful, how and why they were successful, what hasn't worked and why, and most importantly, where USAID should put future resources to aid the transition process and build democratic governance in Libya. Given the dynamic nature of the work environment, the evaluation is also intended to document what work has actually occurred to provide grounded recommendations for future work.

EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The evaluation answers the following questions:

- 1) **What progress was made towards achieving the objectives stated in the LEGS and LCB program descriptions?** Review, analyze and evaluate the performance of LEGS and LCB against the assumptions and results throughout their implementation. Identify and characterize factors (anticipated and unanticipated) that promoted or impeded the success of LEGS and LCB activities, including attention to both intended and unintended outcomes.

Determine whether changes were made to achieving objectives, taking into consideration any changes in the work plans with a focus on LEGS's work on legislative bodies and capacity-building support provided to municipal councils (MCs), as well as the support LEGS and LCB programs are providing to civil society and other elected bodies. Specific recommendations on priority areas for future programming should be provided.

- 2) **What are achievements of the program which were not part of the work plan in each objective/activity?** Determine additional key achievements. It is understood that the changing Libyan context often led to shifts in planned activities and work plans. The evaluation will identify and document these unanticipated achievements.
- 3) **How can future programming be designed to be most effective in adapting to local challenges?** What were specific management and operational design factors which facilitated program adaptation to the local context? How can these critical factors be designed into a follow-on activity?

III. ACTIVITY BACKGROUND

LIBYA ELECTIONS AND GOVERNANCE SUPPORT ACTIVITY

DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM

For more than 40 years, Muammar Gaddafi presided over an idiosyncratic and personalized political system in Libya. On July 7, 2012 following his overthrow in 2011, Libyans elected members to the General National Congress (GNC). However, the High National Election Commission (HNEC) had been formed only shortly before the elections, and regulations for electoral dispute resolution, campaigning, and campaign finance had been formulated shortly before the elections. HNEC and the judiciary had little capacity to manage these aspects of the elections. There was widespread confusion amongst the public regarding the electoral systems, distribution of GNC seats, and the actual exercise of voting. Newly-elected political party representatives and individual members began serving in the GNC with no prior experience in leadership or forming decision-making bodies such as caucuses or developing internal communication and coordination structures and protocols. While the number of independent news outlets rapidly increased after the end of the Gaddafi regime, the media sector had an extremely low understanding of the mechanics of political processes, and journalists lacked the requisite skills and knowledge to build audiences, produce reliable reporting and analyses, or operate and manage financially sustainable organizations.

USAID'S RESPONSE

LEGS, under the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) Leader with Associates Cooperative Agreement No. DFD-A-00-08-00350-00, was awarded by USAID/Libya on October 1, 2012 and was modified twice to extend the agreement to October 31, 2019, with a budget of \$34,773,801.50. It is implemented by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), National Democratic Institute (NDI), and International Republican Institute (IRI). Table 1 below shows the theory of change, intended outcomes, and assumptions of LEGS.

Table 1: LEGS Theory of Change and Intended Results

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Program Theory of Change | <p>Improving the professionalism of the election management body and institutions with election-related responsibilities will enhance the credibility of elections as a vehicle to affect change. Additionally, instituting best practices for national legislative bodies to better represent their constituencies will establish good precedents for effective governance in Libya. Further, as municipal councilors are equipped with tools that enable them to meet the challenge of their new offices, they will be better positioned to fulfill their duties as democratically elected officials, and effectively identify and respond to citizen concerns. Through the conduct of citizen outreach, MCs will gain legitimacy among constituents as their representatives, which will help to rebuild citizen confidence in government. This increased confidence will restore good governance, and stabilize Libya while allowing the national government time to consolidate state institutions.</p> <p>The genuine inclusion of underrepresented groups will ensure their interests and rights are incorporated into the political system. This includes the empowerment and integration of women as leaders, increased access for persons with disabilities, and engagement of the youth population in formal, rather than informal, political and economic structures. If women, youth groups, and persons with disabilities are given the skills to advocate for their interests in their communities and to communicate and coordinate on their advocacy, then they will engage community leaders on issues relevant to these marginalized populations. This will enhance transparency and legitimacy of a political process in which more citizens can confidently participate. This will in turn reduce the risk of violence as a means to air grievances, and allow the Libyan government to control and mediate security conditions on the ground.</p> |
| Program Goal | To strengthen citizen confidence in Libya's elected government during a key political transition in the country. |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <p>Program Objectives</p> | <p><u>USAID Objective 1: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEPPS Objective 1.1 (IFES): Professionalism and transparency of government institutions with election-related responsibilities are increased through technical advice and support • CEPPS Objective 1.2 (IFES): Civic engagement is increased through higher levels of public understanding of processes related to Libya’s political transition <p><u>USAID Objective 2: Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by legislative bodies</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEPPS Objective 2.1 (NDI): The House of Representatives (HoR) or National Legislature’s understanding and implementation of best practices in legislative functioning and procedure is enhanced • CEPPS Objective 2.2 (NDI): Representative political caucuses form and engage in informed, consultative policy discussions • CEPPS Objective 2.3 (NDI): Assist the HoR or National Legislature to improve transparency and external communication • CEPPS Objective 2.4 (IRI): Subnational level legislative decision-making processes are informed by, and are more inclusive of, grassroots citizen concerns • CEPPS Objective 2.5 (IRI): Libyan local councilors fulfill their roles and responsibilities and engage in representative policy making • CEPPS Objective 2.6 (IRI): Ministry of Local Government (MoLG) establishes and utilizes structures for intra-governmental communication, administrative functions and service delivery <p><u>USAID Objective 3: Increase women’s and marginalized groups’ genuine inclusion and participation such that their views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEPPS Objective 3.1 (IFES): Increase women’s and marginalized group’s genuine inclusion and participation such that their views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes • CEPPS Objective 3.2 (NDI): Assist organizations representing women and other marginalized groups to contribute to national policy-making • CEPPS Objective 3.3 (IRI): Libyan youth engage local leaders to advocate for issues of interest to their communities |
| <p>Program Assumptions</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The HNEC is willing to exercise its full authority and responsibilities in accordance with the Constitutional Declaration and/or a new peace agreement; • The HNEC continues to be willing to work with international assistance providers; • MCs continue to be the basis of local governance in Libya and provide public service to constituencies; • MoLG unifies and begins to operate under a sole entity; • Tunisian authorities continue to allow international implementers to conduct activities in Tunisia; • Restrictive regulations on international non-governmental organizations (iNGOs) are not promulgated and iNGOs are able to continue program activity; • The security environment remains permissive for carrying out activities in Libya and/or allows for travel of program beneficiaries, particularly civil society participants from eastern Libya; • While there is still no clear electoral timeline, the new United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General has just launched a new “action plan” for Libya, which might result in a series of elections within the next 12-18months; • Sufficient political space exists for civil society to conduct advocacy. The announcement of elections or progress toward ratifying a constitution will greatly impact the focus of |

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| | <p>civil society advocacy efforts; however the groups should still be able to conduct national or sub-national advocacy without either;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The political and security situation remains stable enough to provide technical assistance to members and staff of the HoR and High State Council (HSC) so as not to jeopardize the safety of CEPPS/NDI national staff and balance CEPPS/NDI’s relationships across the political spectrum; • CEPPS/NDI is able to identify suitable HoR staff members to engage with, given that the HoR is split between its seat in Tobruk and members who are working out of Tripoli. Participant selection will require careful navigation through internal HoR disputes and dynamics. It should also be noted that the Egyptian government’s support of the eastern administration also raises issues about to what extent CEPPS/NDI will be able to positively engage with HoR staff. Initial concerns have been raised by HoR staff regarding international organizations work with the institution, but these have, so far, been overcome by HoR members whom have been trained. |
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The target populations for LEGS’s interventions are the HNEC, HoR, HSC, MoLG, MCs, and civil society organizations (CSOs).

SUPPORTING CONSENSUS BUILDING FOR THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE, CONSTITUTION DRAFTING AND GOVERNING PROCESS IN LIBYA ACTIVITY

DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM

Surveys of the Libyan people conducted by NDI in 2013 revealed that Libyans were concerned about their country’s deteriorating situation. Security was declining, and there was great uncertainty about national leadership, as well as the status and timing of the constitutional reform process and the National Dialogue. The “Operation Dignity” campaign launched by General Khalifa Haftar in May 2014 had created further volatility. Libyans were at a critical point in the development of their political and social governance when they had to make vitally important decisions about the structure, authority, power, and resources of their national and local governments, and the treatment of and protections for citizens.

USAID’S RESPONSE

LCB, under Cooperative Agreement No. AID-OAA-LA-14-00009, was awarded to Freedom House by USAID/Libya on August 27, 2014 and was extended to August 26, 2019 with a budget of \$11,493,426. It is implemented by the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative (ABA or ABA ROLI). Table 2 below shows the intended outcomes of LCB.

Table 2: LCB Intended Results

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Program Goal | Contribute to the reconstruction of the social contract in Libya by providing all Libyans, including women, youth and other marginalized groups, with the opportunity to participate in the creation of a revised constitutional framework, effective national institutions, and the social, economic and security conditions necessary for Libyans’ well-being. |
| Program Objectives | <p><u>USAID Objective 1: Informed citizens are able to develop consensus on key constitution issues and effectively inform the constitution drafting body</u></p> <p><u>USAID Objective 2: Through National Dialogue, citizens who fairly represent majority and minority views of groups including but not limited to women, ethnic groups, and youth from across Libya, are able to build a consensus of state, economy, and society and the relationship between them</u></p> <p><u>USAID Objective 3: Create consensus processes that will incorporate outputs from the National Dialogue processes and constitution drafting to inform Libya’s governing processes beyond passing the constitution referendum in order to strengthen the political transition</u></p> |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Program Assumptions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A political and security environment that permits Libyans to freely travel, assemble, and express viewpoints without consequence. |
|---------------------|---|

The target populations for LCB’s interventions are the Constitution Drafting Assembly (CDA), MoLG, Ministry of Justice, Supreme Judicial Council, citizens, and civil society organizations.

OTHER DONOR-FUNDED ACTIVITIES

Several other donor-funded democracy and governance activities are being implemented in Libya.

The USAID Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI)-funded activity implemented since 2011 fosters stability and public confidence in public institutions, aiming to reinforce Libyan resilience and prevent further political fragmentation. The intent is to help move development funding from conflict resolution to longer-term programs promoting democracy and governance. This activity builds on the training provided under LEGS by assisting local governing bodies to improve service delivery. The activity also works to counter violent extremism in select communities.

The Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI)-funded Community-Driven Grants Program II supports local good governance through small grants and training focused on strategies for using advocacy and government partnerships to increase government accountability at the national and local levels. It also encourages linkages and coalition-building among regionally disparate CSOs.

The United Nations Support Mission in Libya’s (UNSMIL’s) Electoral Support Team has been providing support and advice to Libyan authorities on organizing elections since 2011. Efforts have focused on technical and operational advice to HNEC during the GNC elections of July 7, 2012, CDA elections on February 20, 2014, and the HoR elections on June 25, 2014. In between, and following these elections, the UNSMIL electoral team focused on consolidating capacity and raising awareness of the HNEC on electoral matters and systems; participation of women, youth, and minorities; and voter registration systems. UNSMIL has the lead in coordinating electoral support provided by other international organizations.

Another implementing partner works with the Ministry of Planning to implement the Stabilization Facility for Libya and the Support to the Resilience of Local Communities, which support local communities in resilience and recovery, especially for communities hosting large numbers of migrants. The stabilization activities aim to connect central government with municipalities and both levels of government with citizens. The stabilization and resilience activities also assist municipalities to optimize the use of capital investments through a consultation process. This IP also works on national dialogue processes, mostly by funding travel.

IV. EVALUATION METHODS & LIMITATIONS

The evaluation methodology was designed using a non-experimental, mixed-methods approach to answer the three evaluation questions (EQ). Both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used concurrently. Quantitative data was enriched and contextualized by qualitative information from key informant interviews (KII) and focus group discussions (FGD) with open-ended questions to probe for the story behind the numbers.

FOCUSED OUTCOME HARVESTING

A focused approach to Outcome Harvesting was developed to answer EQ1 and EQ2. The evaluation team (ET) condensed the Outcome Harvesting process because conducting wide-ranging, iterative interviews was deemed infeasible owing to limitations in the timeframe of this evaluation, security risks, and the difficulty of meeting with informants in dispersed locations. Annex 2 contains more details on the methodology used for this evaluation.

The initial document review was used to identify a set of outcomes deemed to represent the purpose and objectives of each project. These proposed outcomes helped focus the team's enquiries on the important high-level results and the implementing partners' (IPs') contributions to them.

Various methods, as described below, were selected to validate and substantiate each identified outcome, estimate IP contributions, dig into cause and effect relationships, understand the significance of outcomes, and explore consequences. Specific questions were developed to generate evidence or to test the results reported. Additional questions were developed to prompt for outcomes that were not part of the work plans, missed opportunities, and misplaced priorities.

DATA COLLECTION

The ET collected data for the three EQs using the methods described below.

DOCUMENT REVIEW

The ET conducted a desk review of existing documents and data sources, including LEGS and LCB work plans, monitoring and evaluation plans, and programmatic reports from start-up through the first quarter of fiscal year 2018. The "Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey" and other background documentation relevant to understanding the specifics of the projects were also reviewed. A list of the documents reviewed can be found in Annex 3. Additionally, the ET relied on USAID evaluation policy and guidance.

SEMI-STRUCTURED KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The ET drew informants from a range of stakeholder types to conduct KIIs, including USAID staff, IP staff, LCB Community Liaisons (CL), HNEC staff; HoR elected members; HSC elected members and staff; MoLG staff; CDA elected members; LEGS Democracy Resource Centers (DRC); partner CSOs; MC elected members and staff; LCB legal training participants; and other donors and implementers operating in Libya. The ET used purposive sampling to prioritize interviewees with the most information about LEGS and LCB activities combined with stratified random sampling to maximize representativeness. The ET conducted a total of 64 (36 men, 28 women) KIIs in the three major regions of Libya (east, south, and west), where LEGS and LCB implemented activities.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The ET conducted FGDs in three locations (Awal, Ghadamis, and Tripoli) with three target groups (MC members, CLs, and CSOs). Four FGDs were held in total including 30 participants (23 men, 7 women). The ET selected the sites based on USAID and IP recommendations regarding where IPs could identify an adequate number of participants based on where their activities were concentrated and also based on logistics, considering the insecurity in Libya. Eight MC members (six men; two women) participated in a focus group in Tripoli to discuss and provide input on the training they received from IRI. A second focus group was held with eight male Arab community dialogue participants in Ghadamis. A third focus group was held with eight (five men, three women) Touareg community dialogue participants in Awal. These two groups of participants in outreach events that Community Liaisons had organized provided insight into the effectiveness of those events and how they used the information and skills they received. A fourth FGD was held with six (four men, two women) CSO staff in Tripoli to draw out information on how they engaged with the HoR, HSC, and MCs and to learn about their advocacy for issues, including for disability rights and women's rights.

SURVEY

The ET conducted a face-to-face household survey to obtain evidence of HNEC capacity to manage transparent elections, to determine the effectiveness of LCB efforts to inform citizens about key constitutional issues, and to better understand the level of public confidence in government. The survey

was conducted in one city in the east, one in the south, and one in the west. In the east, the survey was conducted in Tobruk because it is a mid-sized city where IRI engaged with the MC and where the HoR meets. In the south, the survey was conducted in Ghat because it is a mid-sized city in which CL activities took place; also, it allows for an understanding of how messaging about elections and the draft constitution is penetrating less populated locations outside of the capital. In the west, Suq Aljumaa was selected because, as part of the Tripoli metropolitan area, it was considered to be more representative of the population as a whole in order to allow for an understanding of whether messages about elections and the draft constitution stand out in places with more congested media space.

A random sample of about 400 households was taken within each area based on population sizes of each city, which ensured representativeness with a 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error. Starting from a randomly-selected household in each mahalat, Libyan administrative unit, of the three cities, a skip pattern was used to select subsequent households. The Kish method was used to select a respondent within each household, which ensured that each household member above the age of 17 had an equal chance of being selected. Each selected household was visited up to three times to attempt to interview the member of the household selected. If after three attempts the individual within the household was not available, the selected household was replaced with another.

DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative analytical techniques were used to code, collate, and interpret data captured through interviews and discussion groups. The ET used response themes and relational content analysis to identify response categories and patterns as well as to elucidate emergent themes, contextual factors, and trends. The ET analyzed quantitative data, including responses to Likert scale questions, with Microsoft Excel.

The ET compared data from the document review, KIIs, FGDs, and survey against one another to determine whether findings were divergent or convergent. When multiple informational streams provided consistent information, these were included as findings. The ET drew conclusions by reflecting on the key findings for each EQ. Analysis accounted for gender and geographic regions wherever relevant.

LIMITATIONS

The ET encountered several risks and limitations during data collection detailed below.

RECALL BIAS

Informants may have had difficulty accurately recalling changes, improvements, or sources of assistance, especially for those LEGS and LCB activities that were completed some time ago, since the evaluation covered a six-year period. Respondents possibly attributed results incorrectly to the programs, confounding them with results from other interventions. Alternatively, respondents may have been unaware that LEGS or LCB conducted some interventions leading to results.

Data was not collected from two stakeholder groups: the GNC and the National Dialogue Preparatory Commission (NDPC). Because the GNC was replaced by the HoR in August 2014, the ET did not believe that reliable data could be collected for analysis. The NDPC became dysfunctional during the first year of LCB, and no longer exists.

RESPONSE BIAS

Informants may have formed their responses based on personal motivation rather than the most accurate information. For example, informants may have given the ET positive remarks about the program because they would like to receive more assistance in the future. In some cases, informants may have thought that a negative evaluation could mean the end of future program opportunities.

SELECTION BIAS

People available for interviews, focus groups, and the survey may not necessarily have been representative of the population because they had more free time, higher social status, or have been better connected.

Due to time constraints, purposive sampling was used to select respondents from several stakeholder groups for KIIs in order to prioritize those who were most directly involved in the LEGS and LCB activities, and thus able to provide the most in-depth information to the ET. The IPs may have been more likely to guide the evaluators to those people who had positive experiences with the activities. Likewise, focus groups were held in sites where the volume of activity interventions was higher. Details on specific incidents of potential selection bias encountered in conducting this evaluation can be found in Annex 2.

To mitigate these potential biases, the ET relied on multiple sources of data to triangulate information relevant to EQs. Combining information from multiple sources found in documents, interviews, focus groups, and the survey reduced the risk that any one piece of biased data would significantly skew the analysis. Another approach that the ET used was to ask respondents for specific examples to demonstrate knowledge of the LEGS and LCB interventions. When drawing conclusions and recommendations, the team took into consideration the sampling methodology used for data collection.

A more detailed breakdown of informants by type, geography, and sex can be found in Annex 3, although their names have been withheld to maintain confidentiality, especially important considering the security risks in Libya. See Annex 4 for the data collection tools and interview protocols used during this evaluation.

V. EVALUATION QUESTION I: PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS LEGS AND LCB OBJECTIVES

In approaching EQI, the ET used a focused outcome harvesting approach to preliminarily identify outcomes under the three objectives of LEGS and the three objectives of LCB. The ET then tested the hypothesized outcomes for each objective. Following are the findings and conclusions for each objective. Recommendations for EQI are based on the consolidated findings and conclusions of all the objective of both activities.

LEGS Objective I: *Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders*

FINDINGS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LEGS OBJECTIVE I

KEY FINDINGS OF LEGS OBJECTIVE I

Those interviewed credited IFES support for increased HNEC capability, especially in:

- *Outreach and awareness campaigns*
- *Voter registration*
- *Election dispute resolution*

HNEC was considered to be lacking in its capacity to implement campaign finance regulations and needs additional assistance in all areas

Citizens surveyed said they think HNEC is doing a good job and expressed trust in HNEC

Most citizens surveyed have seen election-related messages, which has made them more likely to vote

Those interviewed cited external factors preventing transparent, credible elections:

- *Lack of budget allocations*
- *Political conflict*
- *Lack of a constitution*

The ET looked for progress along two main factors: HNEC capacity to manage transparent and credible elections, and public confidence in elections. Utilizing the outcome harvesting approach, the ET supposed that if HNEC exhibited capability in managing electoral events, it would increase public trust. An IFES staff member interviewed confirmed this connection, stating that, “HNEC has been relatively successful in being transparent, which has built trust.” As well, the ET directly measured public confidence through a household survey and queried stakeholders about their views on the level of public confidence in elections.

HNEC CAPACITY TO MANAGE TRANSPARENT AND CREDIBLE ELECTIONS

IFES provided direct support to increase HNEC capacity in many areas. In addition to the LEGS programmatic reports, interviewees from HNEC, IFES, and USAID informed the ET that IFES supported HNEC with long-term planning; assisted the HNEC Outreach Committee with outreach and awareness campaigns by holding workshops to develop and later refine its outreach strategy; supplemented HNEC’s budget with direct funding for advertising; provided technical assistance with procurement of a vendor to design campaign materials; conducted a citizen survey as a model for HNEC to understand how to obtain feedback and respond to citizens; and developed staff capacity to use both traditional and social media. IFES drafted regulations on elections and reviewed election legislation and the draft constitution. After the elections in 2012 and 2014, IFES worked closely with HNEC, in particular the Legal Department, on compliance with electoral dispute resolution and campaign finance regulations. HNEC reported that IFES also provided technical support and procured software for voter registration. IFES provided support through staff embedded in HNEC, through mentoring, and through training. IFES provided HNEC staff with comparative examples from other countries of how electoral processes are handled. An HNEC official commented in an interview that IFES remained in the background in its support to HNEC, so that the public was aware only of HNEC’s handling of electoral events; outreach, for instance, was branded in HNEC’s name.

Support for election processes was not limited to HNEC. An HNEC official interviewed also reported that IFES held workshops for judges and the High Judicial Institute and published a guide for courts.

Table 3 below shows the indicator data relevant to capacity to implement transparent and credible elections reported in the LEGS Performance Management Plan (PMP) for fiscal year 2018. This document includes targets and actual achievements for fiscal year 2017 but no prior years.

Table 3: LEGS Indicator data relevant to HNEC capacity to conduct transparent and credible elections

| INDICATOR | FYI (2016-17) | |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | TARGET | ACTUAL |
| CEPPS Objective 1: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders | | |
| Indicator 0.0.0.2: Number of civil or electoral stakeholders trained on formal or informal aspects of the electoral and/or political process | IFES: 75 NDI: 80 IRI: | IFES: 728 NDI: IRI: |
| Indicator 0.0.0.3: Number of civil or electoral stakeholders participating in formal or informal electoral and civic workshops, forums, or presentations | IFES: 100 NDI: 100 IRI: | IFES: 1138 NDI: IRI: |
| Indicator 1.1.1.1: HNEC produces strategic plan/vision through support provided by IFES | N/A | No strategic plan in place |

| | | |
|---|----|--|
| Indicator 1.1.1.3: Number of actionable recommendations adopted by HNEC to improve electoral processes | 3 | 11 total 3 on Internal Communication 7 on Public Outreach 1 on Social Media |
| Indicator 1.1.1.6: Number of election officials trained with USG assistance | 40 | 88 total 76 men 12 women |
| INTERMEDIATE RESULT 1.1.4: Improved gender integration in electoral processes and institutions | | |
| Indicator 1.1.4.1: Number of IFES-supported initiatives undertaken by electoral management bodies that work towards increased gender inclusion/integration | 3 | 2 |

In interviews with four USAID, four IFES, and five HNEC staff (in total 13), respondents credited IFES support for increased HNEC capability. Most often cited were HNEC capability to manage:

- Awareness and outreach to citizens,
- Voter registration, and
- Electoral dispute resolution.

Out of the 13 respondents asked about HNEC capability, 8 (62 percent) said that HNEC has demonstrated competence with outreach and awareness campaigns. An HNEC official said that there is now better awareness about elections on all levels of the community from youth to the elderly. HNEC officials and USAID both emphasized the neutrality of the messages.

Seven interviewees (54 percent) cited voter registration as an area in which HNEC has built capability. In late 2017, HNEC undertook a campaign to register voters, even though no elections were scheduled at that time, as a way to prepare in advance. One HNEC official said that after some past complaints about the difficulty in registering to vote, they tried to simplify the procedure for citizens by offering registration through SMS. This official said that when he questioned people about whether it was difficult, they replied that it had been easy, requiring just one text message. An IFES employee cited the large number of voters registered, over one million, as evidence that the outreach campaign was successful.

The third, most-commonly cited area in which HNEC was reported to have built capacity was in election dispute resolution, mentioned by 6 out of the 13 interviewees (46 percent). An HNEC official interviewed explained that after the elections in 2012 and 2014, HNEC resolved many of the complaints that were filed, such as a complaint that a certain city had no polling center. However, other complaints filed were outside of HNEC's purview, such as a complaint that security was inadequate at one polling center, so in accordance with procedures, HNEC submitted those to the judiciary for further action. An IFES staff member noted that over the three elections that HNEC has overseen, it has grown to understand the importance of this function. This was reflected in the statement of another HNEC official, who noted that as a result of its experience with electoral dispute resolution during the last elections, HNEC set up internal procedures for recounting votes in case of an appeal, to ensure that the process would be more expedient.

The most commonly-mentioned area in which HNEC lacks capability was in implementing campaign finance regulations, mentioned by three of the 13 interviewees (23 percent). An IFES staff member explained that these regulations are complex, and it would take more than just three election cycles for HNEC to master the procedures. He also noted that this area of HNEC's work is controversial so HNEC is resistant to implementing the regulations. But he nevertheless believes that IFES must continue to emphasize the importance of implementing campaign finance regulations.

The impediments to HNEC's ability to manage transparent, credible elections most often cited by interviewees (22 in total: four USAID, four IFES, five HNEC, three HoR, four HSC, and two DRCs) were:

- Lack of Libyan government budget allocations
- Political conflict
- Lack of a constitution
- Insecurity

All the major impediments noted by interviewees are factors external to HNEC.

The impediment most often cited (eight of the 22 interviewees or 36 percent) was the lack of operating funds. An HNEC official noted that, as of May 2018 when the interview took place, the 2018 budget allocations to HNEC had not yet been released. Another HNEC staff member reported that it does not have the electronic equipment it needs to perform its functions, and a third staff member noted that lack of funds has resulted in inadequate outreach to citizens. One USAID staff member noted that HNEC does not have the financial resources to meet staff payroll, and another USAID staff member mentioned the inability of HNEC to pay its electric bill.

The second, most-often cited impediment (seven interviewees or 31 percent) was the political conflict dividing the country. A member of the HSC explained that the political division in the government results in the lack of a quorum in Parliament. Thus legislation on election law has not been voted on.

Five of the 22 interviewees (23 percent) stated that a constitution should be in place first before transparent, credible elections can take place. One HoR member stated that a political agreement must be reached and reflected in the constitution to stipulate one unified parliamentary body before credible elections could take place.

An equal number of interviewees, five of the 22 (23 percent), said that insecurity is preventing credible elections. An HoR member noted the proliferation of weapons throughout the country.

The ET queried four USAID, four IFES, five HNEC, three HoR, four HSC, two DRCs, two other donors, and one other implementer (25 in total) about the remaining gaps in HNEC capacity to manage elections. The most common gap, cited by five interviewees, was outreach and awareness. Even though outreach and awareness were also cited as an area where HNEC capacity has developed the most, interviewees believe HNEC has not yet reached a point where it is able to conduct outreach independently without further training. One HNEC official stated that it still needs guidance to conduct events, organize conferences, and design campaigns. A USAID official explained that public outreach requires consistent and ongoing guidance, in particular because HNEC officials are not as skilled at this as politicians often are. As well, three interviewees (12 percent) cited the gap in outreach to certain regions of Libya. One DRC respondent said that the reason for this is that there are not enough CSOs in some regions through which to disseminate messages. The other DRC respondent reported that outreach efforts had been concentrated in Tripoli, Benghazi, and Sebha, to the exclusion of other areas of the country.

Four of the 25 interviewees (16 percent) identified training for a fairly large number of long-term and temporary field office staff as another need for further donor support for HNEC. A USAID staff member stated that HNEC would not have the capacity to train the cadre of temporary staff by the time of elections, currently scheduled for December 2018. An IFES staff member suggested that HNEC will need to develop an internal training program for this purpose. One of the DRC respondents emphasized the importance of competent staff to avoid the perception that election personnel are hired only because of their connections to a certain tribe or because they are related to city officials; he attributed a past attack in Sebha to such a situation, where an unqualified teacher was supervising an election center.

Although UNSMIL also has supported HNEC, an IFES staff member stated, "HNEC was able to rely on IFES's steady provision of assistance, even when there were gaps in UNSMIL support." Two USAID officials interviewed stated that HNEC has publicly stated that IFES is its prime partner, and that it has repeatedly

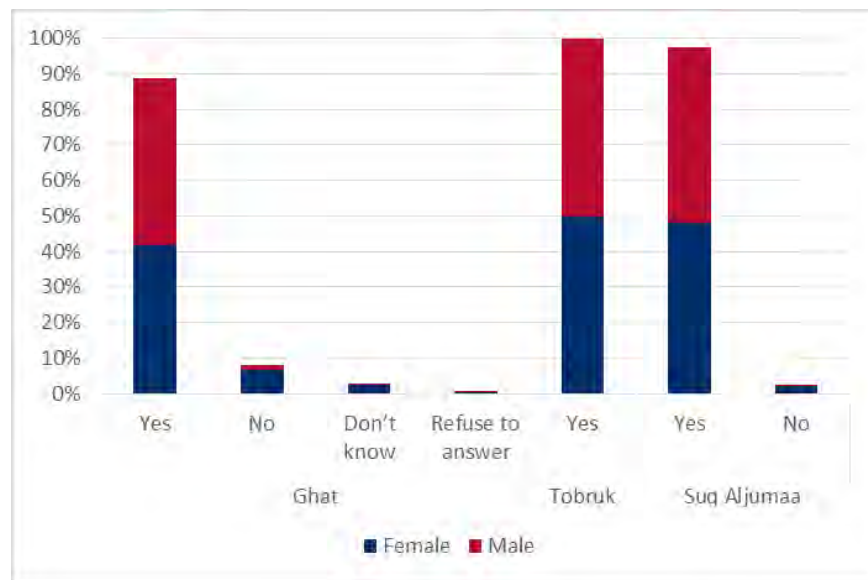
expressed a preference for working with IFES. Two HNEC officials corroborated USAID’s statements. An HNEC official interviewed stated, “IFES is our main partner. Since our very first steps with the GNC elections in 2012, they have been working very closely with us.” Another HNEC official stated, “IFES played the biggest role, and they are doing excellent work with us.”

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN ELECTIONS

Both IFES and NDI worked through CSOs to build public confidence in elections. Through a competitive bidding process, IFES awarded four sub-grants to CSOs to be designated as DRCs to partner with IFES in expanding public awareness and understanding of electoral issues. A USAID interviewee mentioned events held by DRCs to discuss topics such as voter registration. One DRC established a project called “Democratic Saturday,” which aims to build a network of CSOs to promote and carry out civic education with a focus on youth; the project works in close cooperation with HNEC. One of the DRC interviewees attributed IFES’s persistence and open communication to its success in overcoming the initial resistance and skepticism it received from CSOs in the south. In addition, one USAID staff member noted that NDI has been training CSOs to monitor elections. The ET found no data reported in the LEGS fiscal year 2018 PMP relevant to public confidence in elections.

A survey was conducted as part of the evaluation to measure the level of confidence in elections among the public. In Suq Aljumaa, 387 out of 397 citizens surveyed (97 percent) stated that they had seen or heard information about upcoming elections. All 401 citizens surveyed in Tobruk said they had. And 350 out of 394 people surveyed in Ghat (89 percent) had seen or heard messages. See Figure 1 below.

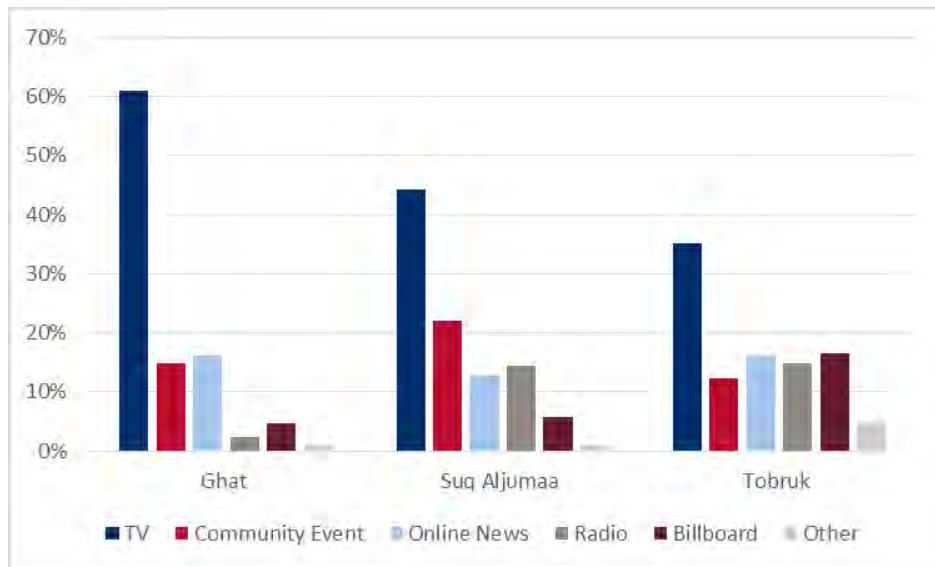
Figure 1: Responses to survey question, “Have you heard or seen information about upcoming elections?”



There were no significant differences in responses between the men and women, or in the responses of the persons with disabilities (PWDs) or youth compared to the wider group.

LEGS supported outreach on elections through events (workshops, dialogue sessions, forums, panel discussions, training); radio; printed information (flyers, guides); videos; and social media. Some of these outreach efforts were conducted directly by IFES, some through DRCs, and some by HNEC. In all three cities, the most-commonly cited source of information about elections was television. In Suq Aljumaa, 323 out of 397 citizens surveyed (81 percent) stated that they had seen or heard information about elections on television. In Tobruk, 397 out of 401 citizens (99 percent) surveyed said they had seen messages on television. And 305 out of 394 people surveyed in Ghat (77 percent) had seen or heard messages on television. See Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Responses to survey question, “Which sources of information about elections do you remember?”



There were some small differences in the sources of information cited by men and women in Tobruk. For instance, in Tobruk, 97 out of 202 men (48 percent) cited radio as a source of their information, while only 71 out of 199 women (36 percent) remembered receiving information from the radio. As well, 102 out of 202 men (50 percent) in Tobruk reported receiving information from online sources, while only 79 out of 199 women (40 percent) did.

The election topic most often remembered by those surveyed was voter registration, recalled by 1138 out of the 1192 people surveyed (95 percent). This is most likely because voter registration efforts took place in early 2018, while the last election event prior to this was in 2014. Only 40 out of 57 people with disabilities who were surveyed (70 percent) recalled receiving information about voter registration. Yet 30 of the 57 PWDs (52 percent) recalled receiving information about the accessibility of PWDs to the electoral process, versus 266 out of the total surveyed (22 percent) who remembered receiving such information. There were no significant differences regarding the topics of information recalled by those in different cities; by men and women; or by youth and those who are not young.

It cannot be confirmed if the information about elections recalled by those surveyed were messages disseminated by HNEC or IFES partner organizations as opposed to other sources unrelated to LEGS interventions.

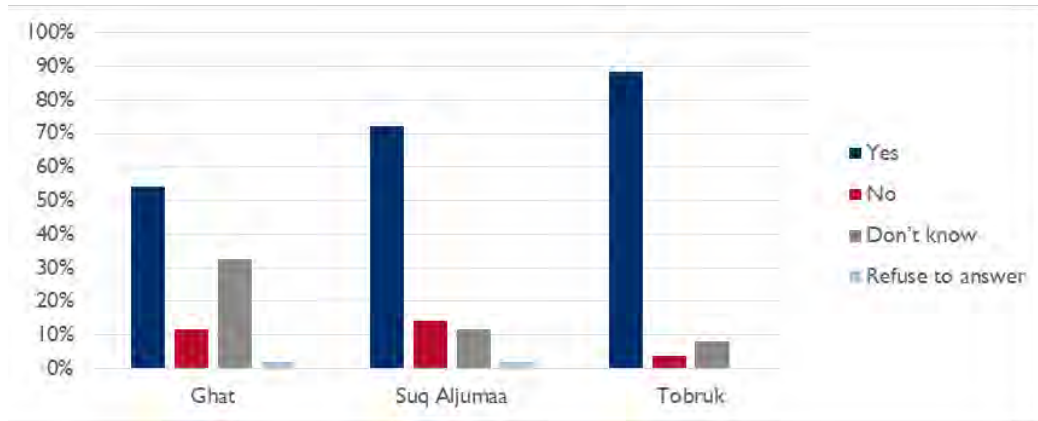
Out of the total of 1192 persons surveyed, 716 (60 percent) said that they were more likely to vote after having received the messages. In Ghat, 215 out of 394 (55 percent) reported that they were more likely to vote; 193 out of 397 (49 percent) of those in Suq Aljumaa said they were; and 308 out of 401 citizens (77 percent) surveyed in Tobruk said that they were more likely to vote after receiving the information. There were no significant differences in the responses of men and women, or PDWs or youth compared to the wider groups.

When asked if HNEC is doing a good job preparing for upcoming elections, a majority of survey respondents responded positively. The geographic breakdown is as follows:

- Ghat: 213 out of 394 (54 percent)
- Suq Aljumaa: 286 out of 397 (72 percent)
- Tobruk: 354 out of 401 (88 percent)

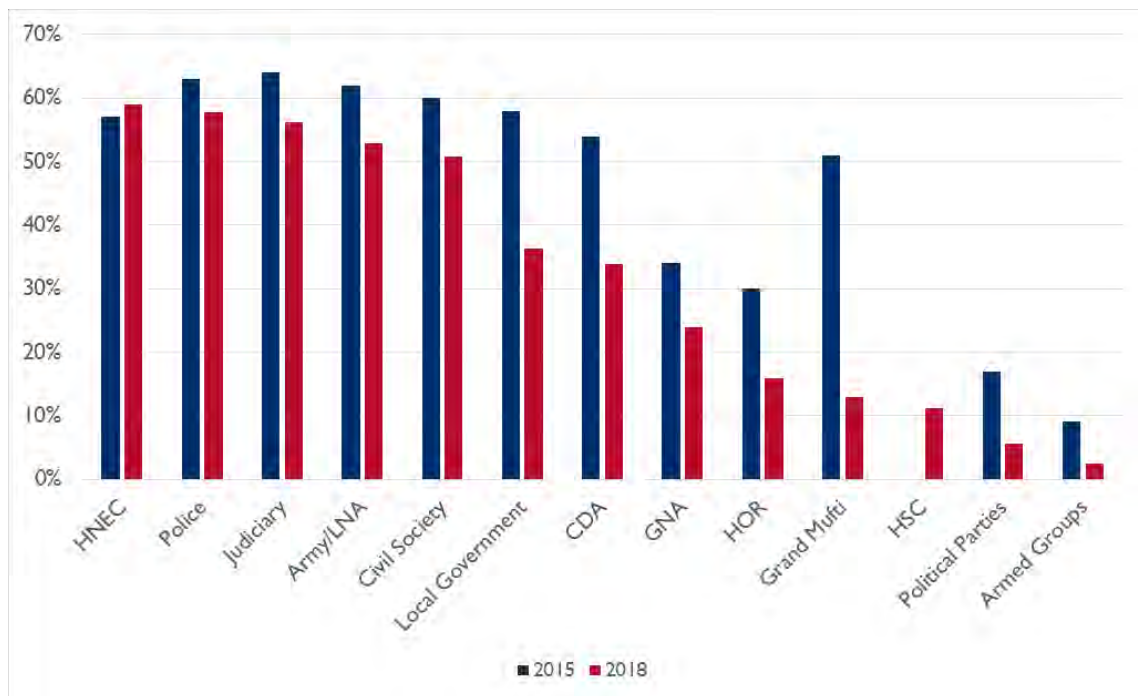
See Figure 3 below for all of the responses to the question. PWDs were more likely than average to agree that HNEC is doing a good job, with 47 out of 57 (82 percent) saying yes to this question.

Figure 3: Responses to survey question, “Do you think that the High National Elections Commission is doing a good job of preparing for the elections?”



In answer to the question, “To what extent do you trust the following institutions to improve Libya’s future?” 703 out of the 1192 (59 percent) survey respondents answered “highly” or “moderately” regarding HNEC. This compares with 57 percent in 2015 when the same question was asked in a USAID-funded DRG survey.¹ See Figure 4 below.

Figure 4: Responses of “highly” or “moderately” to survey question, “To what extent do you trust the following institutions to improve Libya’s future?”



¹ “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” USAID/Libya. January 2016.

HNEC was rated most highly among all the institutions, and is the only institution to have improved its popular trust since 2015. The geographic breakdown of those who said that they moderately or highly trust in HNEC is as follows:

- Ghat: 143 out of 394 people (36 percent)
- Suq Aljumaa: 267 out of 397 (67 percent)
- Tobruk: 293 out of 401 (73 percent)

Trust among youth was lower than average, with only 152 out of 287 (53 percent) placing a moderate or high level of trust in HNEC. There were no notable differences in the responses of men and women or in the responses of the disabled versus those not disabled.

Three out of four USAID staff and three of four IFES staff interviewed believe that the public perceives the planning for possible upcoming elections to be fair. Two respondents attributed this to HNEC’s capacity, especially with outreach and voter registration, which has helped to build credibility. Two others concluded this based on the success of the recent voter registration campaign. Reasons given – HNEC capacity and the success of the voter registration campaign - are both internal factors.

The two DRC respondents were considerably more negative in their assessment of public perception of the fairness of planning for elections. One explained that after the last elections, political divisions had split the country, insecurity had grown, and the economy had weakened. Therefore, he supposed that the public would not expect the executive or legislative branches to effect any improvement in the situation after the next elections, regardless of the outcome or fairness with which elections are conducted. He also cited the low turnout at recent municipal elections as an indicator of the public’s perception of upcoming national elections. He further said that people think that elections are just a way to attain power and money without any consequences or accountability. The other DRC respondent said that people are simply confused about which elections will be held. Considering the DRCs’ role to raise civic awareness and engagement, the ET is unclear as to why the perceptions voiced by the DRC representatives differ so much from those collected directly from the public.

CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE LEGS OBJECTIVE I

Table 4 below summarizes the changes in project activities made since the mid-term evaluation was conducted in order to achieve LEGS Objective I. The information in the first column of the table was taken from Figure 7 of the mid-term evaluation.² Changes noted in the middle column indicate whether an activity was *continued* from before the mid-term evaluation; *added* since the mid-term; or, *discontinued* since the mid-term.

Table 4: Changes in project activities conducted under LEGS Objective I

| MID-TERM EVALUATION: ACTIVITIES (ORIGINAL WORK PLAN) | CHANGES (IF ANY) MADE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES | NOTES |
|---|---|-------|
| Result I.1 Professionalism and transparency of government institutions with election-related responsibilities are increased through technical advice and support | | |
| Technical support to HNEC | Activities Continued | |
| Technical support to Judiciary | Activities Continued | |
| Capacity build gov. political finance bodies | Activities Continued | |

² “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” USAID/Libya. January 2016.

| Result 1.2 Civic engagement is increased through higher level of public understanding of processes related to Libya's political transition | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| Creation of Democracy Resource Centers | Activities Modified | Also maintain DRCs already created |
| Access for PWDs | Activities Discontinued | Such activities were reported under Objective 3. |
| Information CSOs on Elections/Political Process | Activities Continued | |
| Result 1.3 Support is provided to citizen-led oversight of electoral and political processes (Result Added) | | |
| | Activities Added | Election Monitoring |
| | Activities Added | Electoral Reform Advocacy initiate |

A new result was introduced since the mid-term evaluation. *Result 1.3: Support is provided to citizen-led oversight of electoral and political processes* was added with two major types of activities, support to CSOs for election observation and monitoring and advocacy for electoral reform.

CONCLUSIONS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LEGS OBJECTIVE I

HNEC CAPACITY TO MANAGE TRANSPARENT AND CREDIBLE ELECTIONS

Indicator data reported by LEGS in its PMP (as shown in Table 3 above) could neither be directly corroborated nor disputed based on evaluation data collected. However, the PMP output data for indicators 0.0.0.2, 0.0.0.3, 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.3, and 1.1.1.6 (regarding numbers of trainees, workshop participants, and recommendations adopted by HNEC) appear plausible based on the evaluation data, which measured the higher-level results achieved. The ET did not collect data to cross-check LEGS indicator 1.1.4.1 (regarding gender integration). Table 5 reflects LEGS progress toward meeting its indicator targets.

Table 5: Progress in Meeting LEGS Indicator Targets relevant to HNEC Capacity to Conduct Transparent and Credible Elections

| INDICATOR | FYI (2016-17) |
|---|---------------|
| CEPPS Objective I: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders | |
| Indicator 0.0.0.2: Number of civil or electoral stakeholders trained on formal or informal aspects of the electoral and/or political process | Exceeded |
| Indicator 0.0.0.3: Number of civil or electoral stakeholders participating in formal or informal electoral and civic workshops, forums, or presentations | Exceeded |
| Indicator 1.1.1.1: HNEC produces strategic plan/vision through support provided by IFES | Not Met |
| Indicator 1.1.1.3: Number of actionable recommendations adopted by HNEC to improve electoral processes | Exceeded |
| Indicator 1.1.1.6: Number of election officials trained with USG assistance | Exceeded |
| INTERMEDIATE RESULT 1.1.4: Improved gender integration in electoral processes and institutions | |
| Indicator 1.1.4.1: Number of IFES-supported initiatives undertaken by electoral management bodies that work towards increased gender inclusion/integration | Not Met |

Since the inception of LEGS, HNEC has considerably increased its capacity to manage transparent and credible elections. HNEC's comprehension of the importance of its role to inform citizens, handle electoral disputes, and register voters to ensure free and fair elections is strong. However, its ability to manage these processes, as well as other responsibilities such as handling campaign finance regulations, has not yet reached a point at which it can do so independently of donor assistance. In addition to lacking sufficient staff capacity, it is lacking adequate funding to discharge its duties.

The fact that few players support Libyan elections management, and that IFES has consistently supported HNEC since the inception of the project, LEGS is likely to have played a significant role in helping HNEC to reach this point of development. Further, the transparency with which HNEC has conducted its work has likely increased public trust in this institution and increased the likelihood that election results will be accepted.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN ELECTIONS

A high percentage of Libyan citizens have received information about the elections, although somewhat less in the south of the country. Television was most effective in reaching large numbers of people. Citizens across Libya are quite optimistic that leaders can be elected peacefully and democratically. However, people who were surveyed in the south hold less trust in HNEC, and fewer believed that HNEC is doing a good job preparing for possible upcoming elections. Youth tended to hold less trust in HNEC than older people. PWDs were more likely than average to remember information disseminated about access to voting, and they were more likely than average to consider that HNEC is doing a good job in planning for possible upcoming elections. While donors, implementers, and CSOs were less optimistic, the ET has weighed the data collected directly from citizens more strongly.

In addition, information disseminated about elections was effective in building confidence among the public in the integrity of the elections and in increasing their likelihood of voting and engaging in the democratic process to select leaders.

CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE LEGS OBJECTIVE 1

Since the mid-term evaluation, LEGS continued activities under *sub-IR 1.1 Professionalism and transparency of government institutions with election-related responsibilities are increased through technical advice and support*. However, the focus was almost exclusively on technical support to HNEC, with very little technical support to the judiciary or capacity building of political finance bodies. Support to HNEC was successful in contributing to Objective 1, but additional efforts with other governmental bodies would have also contributed to achieving the objective and should have been a larger focus.

Under sub-IR 1.2, activities were appropriately modified to assist existing DRCs after the initial support to create them. Access to PWDs largely continued but was considered under Objective 3 instead. Informing CSOs on elections and political processes continued, primarily through supporting HNEC to perform this function, which was an appropriate approach for sustainability.

A new result was introduced since the mid-term evaluation, *Result 1.3: Support is provided to citizen-led oversight of electoral and political processes*. Activities under this result contributed more broadly to achieving LEGS Objective 1.

LEGS Objective 2: *Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by legislative bodies*

FINDINGS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LEGS OBJECTIVE 2

KEY FINDINGS OF LEGS OBJECTIVE 2

- HoR, HSC, and MC members interviewed are listening to and acting upon citizen input.

- CSOs interviewed are advocating issues before HoR, HSC, and MCs.
- MC members interviewed stated that they are utilizing training on professional and management skills and on budget, finance, and revenue generation in their work.
- Those interviewed cited insecurity and political conflict as limiting the effectiveness of the HoR and HSC.
- Those interviewed cited the unclear legal status for local administration and lack of budgetary funds as limiting the effectiveness of MCs.

In considering the progress made toward LEGS Objective 2, *Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by legislative bodies*, the ET looked for progress at the national level with the HoR and HSC, as well as the local level with MCs. The ET primarily reviewed progress toward establishing local stakeholder engagement as a precedent for effective governance, although other aspects of effective governance were also evaluated.

HOR AND HSC UTILIZATION OF CITIZEN INPUTS

According to background information reviewed by the evaluation team, NDI and IRI supported the GNC from the outset of the LEGS activity until its replacement by the HoR through elections held in August 2014. Initially NDI provided information sessions for the GNC. NDI hosted roundtables between the GNC and civil society to improve public understanding of the GNC and organized radio broadcasts with GNC members. NDI provided GNC members, staff, committees, caucuses, and the Diwan with consultations to help them fulfill their roles. They trained committees, caucuses, and constituency assistants. As well, NDI provided technical assistance through developing a GNC Members' User Guide, drafting job descriptions for committee support staff, providing comparative examples of ethics codes and conflict of interest legislation, and proposing amendments to clarify Law 59.

NDI initially worked with the HoR, but by late 2014 political conflict had divided the body, and NDI did not resume assistance until late 2016. Meanwhile, the HSC was formed and met for the first time in early 2016. NDI began providing assistance to HSC in September 2017. A USAID staff member noted in an interview that NDI had made a point to work with both HoR and HSC in order to maintain political neutrality.

HoR members interviewed affirmed that they had attended training offered by NDI. An HSC member noted that the methodology used in the NDI training he attended was brainstorming, which he said was an effective way to engage parliamentarians. A USAID staff member stated that NDI had worked with HSC sub-committees such as Energy, Finance, Auditing, and Security. NDI provided one-on-one advisory services to committee chairs and staff as well as peer-to-peer events where individuals from the British Parliament engaged directly with HSC, according to an NDI staff member interviewed. The NDI staff member went on to explain that the approach that NDI took was to work with a small number of people in HoR and HSC who recognize the importance of serving constituents.

Throughout the LEGS activity, NDI has worked on the demand side of stakeholder engagement, supporting CSOs with training and guidance on advocacy campaigns. An NDI staff member explained that NDI's approach was to help CSOs focus their efforts and take specific, tangible steps but not to dictate or to run campaigns on their behalf.

The ET found no data reported in the LEGS PMP 2018 for indicators on establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by governing and representative bodies at the national level.

Two out of the three HoR members and three of the four HSC members interviewed cited examples of citizen input they used in their work. The examples given were:

- Liquidity problem in banking sector
- Law on salaries in education sector
- Equipping a kidney center
- Draft law to mandate elections on constitution
- Individual complaints of constituents on medical issues

Elected members stated that they get citizen input through CSOs and political parties. Mechanisms they said they use to gather citizen input are media reports, face-to-face contact with constituents or face-to-face contact between their deputies and constituents, written proposals, field visits, telephone, and social media. NDI reported that it has delivered proposals developed at workshops it held for CSOs to elected members.

Out of nine CSO respondents interviewed, five said that they had provided input to HoR or HSC on the following topics:

- Draft amendments to law terminating salaries of disabled women
- Draft law guaranteeing a percentage of seats in HoR and MCs for women
- Rights for disabled to participate in elections
- Ratification of United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
- Draft amendments to law prohibiting citizenship for children with Libyan mothers and foreign fathers
- Draft amendments to election law
- Draft amendments to laws terminating social welfare benefits for disabled men after they marry
- Domestic violence

In at least three of these cases, the CSOs stated that their advocacy inputs had been incorporated in legislation or amendments to legislation or regulations. See Box I for an example.

The FGDs held with CSOs corroborated these findings, where participants cited examples of advocacy campaigns directed toward HoR or HSC. One focus group participant stated that the organization regularly attends HSC hearings that cover an issue on which they are advocating.

While the evaluation team did not verify that LEGS provided direct support in each of the cases cited by HoR, HSC, or CSOs, it certainly has provided training and technical assistance to these entities to understand how to interact with constituents on one hand and how to effectively advocate on the other hand. Therefore, the evaluation team finds this data to be valid in that the aim of NDI support was capacity building. It should be noted, however, that one CSO interviewed that was drawn through stratified random sampling from the list provided by NDI of CSO stakeholders indicated that it had not worked with NDI. This could be the result of recall bias, considering the length of the LEGS activity, or it could be the result of staff turnover within the CSO.

Box I: LEGS Support to CSOs for Advocacy of Libya's Ratification of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

One CSO representing the rights of PWDs reported success in its efforts advocating with the HoR, after having attended meetings and workshops provided by LEGS. "When the HoR was considering the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, we advocated for its ratification, and the HoR voted to adopt it." LEGS quarterly reports show that NDI assisted 14 CSOs to first draft letters to women HoR Members, follow up to ensure that it got on the HoR's agenda, then follow up with the Social Affairs Committee, the Legislative Committee, and individual elected members!, until it was ratified in early 2018. A CSO participant in the focus group, which also worked towards ratification of the convention added, "Our goal is to change the stereotype about disabled people in society, and ratification of the convention is a significant achievement."

Regarding other efforts made by NDI to establish good governance within HoR and HSC, beyond the inclusion of stakeholder input, no two elected members interviewed named the same training when asked which were most useful. The interviewees cited the following as the most useful training:

- leadership
- negotiation
- dialogue
- internal communication
- women's participation
- communications, media, and public speaking
- coalition building
- conducting an election campaign

One member said that the internal communication training had resulted in improved communications with departments in the Diwan. The member who named the training on conducting election campaigns said that she had learned how to approach her constituents from a neutral perspective and that people should vote based on the qualifications of the candidate and not their affiliation. She added that she had learned how to analyze demographic and geographic data and was using this in planning. A third member said that she was using what she learned in the training on dialogue in her work, including work with the CDA on reconciliation, but also in her personal life. She also said that she had seen great benefits of the training provided by NDI to secretaries, coordinators, and other administrative staff as well as escorts, where they had become more professional, and she had seen their work proceed more smoothly.

The impediments most often cited by three HoR, four HSC, three IPs, and four USAID staff as limiting progress toward effective governance were:

- Lack of security
- Political conflict
- Low level of public trust in HoR and HSC
- Inability to travel to, from, and within Libya

Seven of the 14 interviewees mentioned security risks as an obstacle to effective governance. One elected member stated that she had to close her Facebook account. An NDI staff member explained that many elected members cannot meet with constituents and certainly cannot hold public hearings. Some cannot safely travel to the district they represent or to NDI events held in Libya or abroad. A USAID staff member noted that some Libyans cannot get permission to travel abroad and can be questioned regarding the parties they are meeting with. Another USAID staff member stated that assassination attempts have been made on legislators. A USAID staff member stated that NDI was once threatened over YouTube and had to close its office in Benghazi, which limits the support that NDI can offer to the legislative bodies.

Four interviewees blamed political divisions as limiting the effectiveness of governance. One elected member stated that NDI assistance to the HoR is limited due to the political division within the HoR, where some members were boycotting the institution. She added that because the HoR is located in Tobruk, while NDI operates primarily out of Tripoli, NDI is not dealing with the HoR on an institutional basis but only with individual members. An NDI staff member noted that HSC cannot conduct oversight of the executive branch or the budget because the situation between the east and the west is too politicized. A USAID staff member noted that the frequent changes in the legislative bodies in Libya, where NDI has worked with three over the life of LEGS, means that NDI is continually working with new counterparts, limiting the overall capacity that can be built.

Three interviewees mentioned the lack of trust in HoR and HSC as limiting the effectiveness of governance. A USAID staff member stated that he has not seen any evidence that anything the HoR is doing is guided by constituents, and he does not even think that it functions as a legislative body. This attitude is corroborated by the evaluation survey as depicted in Figure 4 above. Out of all 1192 citizens

surveyed, 190 (16 percent) moderately or highly trust the HoR. This compares with 30 percent reported in 2015 in the USAID/Libya DRG survey,³ showing that trust in the HoR has decreased. Among the 57 PWDs surveyed, 18 (32 percent) currently trust the HoR. Out of all 1192 citizens surveyed, 134 (11 percent) trust the HSC moderately or highly. Again, PWDs placed higher trust in the HSC, with 13 of the 57 (23 percent) saying that they moderately or highly trust the HSC. Citizens in Tobruk placed much lower trust in the HSC, with only 8 out of 401 (2 percent) stating that they moderately or highly trust the HSC.

Travel restrictions were also mentioned by three interviewees as limiting the effectiveness of governance. NDI staff stated that they are currently able to access Tripoli and Tobruk, but flights are infrequent. A USAID staff member noted that while NDI’s Country Director is a third-country national (TCN) and is currently able to travel to Tripoli, this has not always been the case throughout the life of the project. Further, local NDI staff are not able to travel freely to all parts of Libya. Another USAID staff member noted that this requires the expatriate NDI staff to remotely manage local staff much of the time, which reduces efficiency. Work with the HoR and HSC is slower because of the difficulty with travel.

When the three HoR, four HSC, three NDI, and four USAID staff members were asked what support the HoR and HSC need from USAID, no two respondents said the same thing. They mentioned training on reconciliation, electoral law, legislative drafting, leadership, and gender issues. An NDI staff member said that peer-to-peer training was particularly useful. Others suggested online training or training in locations outside of Libya as a way to reduce security risks. An HoR member stated that a USAID-funded program needs to associate closely with the Diwan of both the HoR and HSC to establish efficient working mechanisms.

MUNICIPAL COUNCILS’ RESPONSE TO CITIZEN INPUTS

LEGS progress reports identify a range of activities designed to foster stakeholder engagement. These include training for civil society activists, municipal councilors and council staff; organizing international exchanges and participation at regional workshops; consultation with the MoLG on issues of local administration reform; convening workshops and conferences on topics of interest to MCs; consulting with MCs on specific tasks such as developing a municipal website; assisting with establishment of the Mayors’ Association and Women’s Elected Officials Network; and hosting outreach events for MC members and constituents, including CSOs. The ET found no data reported in the LEGS fiscal year 2018 PMP relevant to MCs’ response to citizen inputs.

The focus of the field enquiry on local stakeholder engagement was to ask MC and CSO members whether MCs respond to CSOs’ inputs or advocacy initiatives.

Eight of ten MC members interviewed (80 percent) gave 12 examples of projects implemented in response to citizen requests. The projects they mentioned include:

| Infrastructure Projects | Non-Infrastructure Projects |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • water supply (2 projects) • solid waste removal • airstrip project • road maintenance • maintenance of public parks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reconciliation between local groups • monitoring of bakeries • work with courts and tax offices (2 initiatives) • work with banks to ration scarce cash reserves • preparing for festivals |

One of the USAID staff interviewed mentioned that IRI had arranged meetings between MCs and CSOs, and cited a beach-cleaning project as a positive outcome. Another corroborating example of stakeholder engagement was provided in the focus group for MC members held in Tripoli, where it was reported that

³ “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” USAID/Libya. January 2016.

the MC

“met with community members and representatives of local public services... to discuss their needs and the issues they faced. Every person had the right to speak and discuss their opinion freely. By the end of the [2015] workshop, we made recommendations and designed both short- and long-term strategic plans for the Municipal Council. We did it again in 2016 and 2017.”

Nine out of ten MC members interviewed (90 percent) said the MC communicates or cooperates with, or responds to citizen inputs. Several of them said the activity was small or slight. The tenth said, “People don’t communicate with us as they know we have no resources.”

All three IP staff and three out of four USAID staff (75 percent) who were asked about IRI’s contribution to stakeholder engagement gave strong positive responses. One IP staff member cited IRI’s “excellent job compared to other NGOs and very positive impact.” Another said that before working with IRI, the Suq Aljumaa MC had never taken citizens’ suggestions into account. When they started to do so, they prioritized funding for road maintenance, based on citizen inputs. One of the USAID respondents said that MCs have “come a long way in understanding their representative role” thanks to IRI’s work, which was called “some of the best work USAID has done in Libya.”

Although none of the MC members interviewed directly answered a KII question about IRI’s specific contributions to stakeholder engagement, LEGS progress reports document many such activities. For example, IRI:

- trained municipal councilors to understand their roles and responsibilities and to conduct community outreach⁴
- held workshops for councilors on strategic communications, citizen outreach and social media techniques... to facilitate engagement⁵
- held a workshop in 2017 with the Mayor, MC Members and executive officers, CSOs and experts from Sirt; participants built a comprehensive vision for reconstruction, defining the interim objectives for realizing the vision⁶

On the other side of the engagement “equation,” seven of nine CSO interviewees (78 percent) cited eight projects they had proposed to MCs. The projects they mentioned include:

- reconciliation – implemented (implied by the answer)
- trained MC members about election law – implemented
- family charity – implemented (implied by the answer)
- rugby field – started, partially implemented
- PWD election access – partially implemented
- hospital – no result
- (unspecified project) – no response from MC
- “many projects, including a school for PWDs” – not implemented

Three of the nine CSO representatives interviewed about stakeholder engagement (33 percent) had participated in IRI training workshops. One (11 percent) was aware that the municipality received IRI training, and three (33 percent) reported they had not received IRI training. (Two did not know.)

When asked about other organizations that have assisted MCs, USAID and IP respondents mentioned the Asia and Middle East Economic Growth Best Practices Activity (on public financial management), Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, ACTED, and Institute for War and Peace Reporting. One IP respondent mentioned that IRI was the only one to focus on developing capacity of individual MC staff members. Another said that IRI was the first to prioritize work with MCs and that other donors followed

⁴ Libya Elections and Governance Support Quarterly Report for the period July 1-September 30, 2015

⁵ Libya Elections and Governance Support Quarterly Report for the period July 1-September 30, 2016

⁶ Programmatic Spotlight “USAID supports Sirte Community Reconciliation Conference” (July 25, 2017)

once LEGS had demonstrated positive results. Two USAID staff members cited strong positive benefits of IRI’s “seminal work in Sirte” to resolve conflicts, guide the basic functioning of the MC, and to help “prepare a citizen-informed road map for Sirte’s development.”

For an additional perspective on IRI’s contribution to stakeholder engagement, the ET asked ten out of the 118 MC members that were IRI beneficiaries and 3 IP staff about training provided by IRI. Table 6 shows how respondents evaluated and used the skills they learned at these events. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses. The ET does not know how many of the MC members attended which training events.

Table 6: Responses to interview question “Did the training provide MC members/staff with skills to better carry out their functions?”

| NUMBER OF MC “YES” ANSWERS | TRAINING TOPIC | HOW WAS THE TRAINING USED? (ANSWERS FROM 3 IP STAFF) |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| 6 | Professional and Management Skills | Report writing (2 respondents) |
| 6 | Budget, Finance, and Revenue Generation | Open public budget meetings Budget posted online |
| 4 | Leadership Skills | Better administrative mailing Better report writing (2) Women are more respected |
| 4 | Conducting Public Awareness Campaigns | |
| 4 | Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution | MCs interacted and forged regional peace treaties |
| 4 | Skills in Municipal Sectors (health, education, housing, etc.) | |
| 3 | Proposal Writing | |
| 3 | GIS Technology | Urban planning Licensing Taxation proposals |
| 2 | Creative Thinking and Change Management | Tobruk mayors began to empower office directors |

All of the participants in the focus group held in Tripoli for MC Members cited “applicable,” “good,” “very strong,” “very important” workshops held by IRI. However, one criticism made at this FGD with MCs was that IRI offers workshops for CSOs not councils. Two suggestions were made at this FGD with MCs - one that IRI consult with the MCs in order to provide workshops tailored to their needs, and another that trainers should be more experienced in practical rather than theoretical methodologies.

Thirteen KII and focus group respondents stated that MC members’ and staff skills are nascent or that they have low capacity, little knowledge, and lack discipline. Six respondents said that council members and staff have limited understanding of the nature of MCs’ work, roles, job descriptions, responsibilities and authorities, and legal framework for their work. Four respondents said that MCs’ internal dialogue, consensus building processes, and skills are weak, and two said the MCs are not cooperative or responsive to constituents.

Results reported in quarterly reports give an incomplete but overall positive picture. Relevant indicators in the Quarterly Report for the period April 1 – June 30, 2017 include:

Indicator 2.4.1.6 Number of municipal council member participants who demonstrate an increased understanding of good governance

Zero; Although CEPPS/IRI worked with Municipal Council Members this quarter to improve governance performance, CEPPS/IRI Libya did not conduct pre- and post-tests with MCMs that could attest to demonstrable knowledge gained

Indicator 2.4.1.10 Number of meetings held that support interaction between government officials and constituents

Seventeen; CEPPS/IRI conducted eleven Advocacy and Partnership Building workshops for elected government officials and Libyan constituents... hosted six Ramadan Iftar events, which provided an open forum for informal discussion between MCs and Libyan citizens on issues of interest to members of the community and ongoing challenges faced by municipal councils across the country.

Indicator 2.4.1.11 Number of elected officials who engage in constituent outreach

Fifty-one (including 5 women); eleven Advocacy and Partnership Building workshops [at which] elected officials communicated directly with Libyan constituents and civil society organizations regarding ongoing community concerns, subnational political obstacles, community development projects and strategies for coalition building.

Indicator 2.4.1.1 Number of individuals receiving public advocacy training to enhance their ability to engage with elected officials

One hundred sixty-nine (39 women); CEPPS/IRI conducted eleven Principles of Advocacy and Partnership Building trainings for independent activists and CSO representatives.

Regarding Indicator 2.4.1.6, IRI explained that its Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Department did not have enough information in advance of training to develop pre- and post-tests. Although they asked the participants to complete a survey at the end of the training self-evaluating the knowledge they had gained, they did not rely on that data for reporting and thus reported zero.

KII and FGD participants from MCs and CSOs noted various internal and external obstacles to effective local governance. The most frequently mentioned constraint was the uncertain legal basis for local administration. The 17 February Revolution (in 2011) raised expectations of decentralized governance, and the Libyan GNC passed Law 59 concerning the local administration system in 2012, but it reportedly does not delegate specific duties or rights to municipalities. Also, its legal status is uncertain pending the overall political solution. Six MC members interviewed referred specifically to the “inactivation” of Law 59 as an obstacle, while two others complained that the central government has not given powers to MCs. Without Law 59 “we are not working and don’t exist because we have no authorities to let us work more freely,” said one MC member. CSOs and IP members echoed this crippling constraint, noting for example that mayors or councils that take initiative can – and have – faced criminal charges for exceeding their authorities.

Numerous other constraints to effective local governance were cited:

- MCs lack budgets, funds and resources
- capacity, performance or leadership of the MoLG
- MCs lack capacity and do not get support from Government
- Insecurity and instability decrease the scope for MC work and citizen cooperation

The lack of municipal budget funds stems in large part from the lack of a local administration law (unclear status of Law 59). Without well-defined responsibilities and powers, the typical funding sources of local governments – local own-source revenues and state transfer payments – are weak or dysfunctional.

Problems mentioned with MoLG included: weak structure and staff capacities; “MoLG not working

practically with MCs;” lack of MoLG honesty, transparency; “MoLG officials are the obstacles;” poor communication with MCs; MoLG lack of interest; corruption; and bias.

The citizen survey conducted for this evaluation indicates there is widespread awareness of MCs – a good precedent for effective local governance. Fully 96 percent of Tobruk residents surveyed (386 out of 401) said they know who their mayor and MC members are; 62 percent gave the same positive answer in Suq Aljumaa (248 out of 397) and Ghat (246 out of 394). Fifty-nine percent of all survey respondents (705 out of 1192) said they know what services the municipality is responsible to provide.

The survey also showed that 36 percent of Libyans (433 out of 1192 respondents) have high or moderate trust in local government. The geographic breakdown is as follows:

- Ghat: 157 out of 394 (20 percent)
- Suq Aljumaa: 251 out of 397 (44 percent)
- Tobruk: 297 out of 401 (45 percent)

This compares favorably to trust in the HoR (16 percent) and HSC (11 percent), but is well below trust in HNEC, the police, the judiciary, the Army/Libyan National Army and civil society, all of which poll above 50 percent. (See Figure 4.)

CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE LEGS OBJECTIVE 2

Table 7 below summarizes the changes in project activities made since the mid-term evaluation was conducted in order to achieve LEGS Objective 2. The information in the first column of the table was taken from Figure 7 of the mid-term evaluation.⁷ Changes noted in the middle column indicate whether an activity was *continued* from before the mid-term evaluation; *added* since the mid-term; or, *discontinued* since the mid-term.

Table 7: Changes in project activities conducted under LEGS Objective 2

| MID-TERM EVALUATION: ACTIVITIES (ORIGINAL WORK PLAN) | CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES | NOTES |
|---|------------------------------------|--|
| Result 2.1 Enhanced representation and legislation in GNC (Result Modified to: Libyan Legislators are provided with support in fulfilling their roles and responsibilities and to engage in representative policy making.) | | |
| Engagement of GNC Leadership | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Institutional Assessment | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Seminars on Basic Legislative Practices | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Orientation Series for GNC Members and Staff | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Promote Understanding of Roles as Legislators | Activity Continued | Activity resumed but with HoR instead of GNC |
| Institutional Development Committee | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Building Constituent Outreach Capacity | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Result 2.2 Strengthened Policy Discussions (Result Discontinued) | | |
| Political Caucus Development and Outreach | Activity Discontinued | |

⁷ “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” USAID/Libya. January 2016.

| MID-TERM EVALUATION: ACTIVITIES (ORIGINAL WORK PLAN) | CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES | NOTES |
|---|---|---|
| Result 2.2 Libyan staff working in parliament are provided with capacity-building support to help them fulfill their roles and responsibilities (Result Added) | | |
| | Activity Added | Consultations and Workshops for Women Members |
| | Activity Added | Online Engagement |
| | Activity Added | Support to HoR and HSC Members and staff |
| Result 2.3 GNC Increased Transparency | | |
| Public Relations Assistance | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Assist GNC in handling the media | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Sub-grant to IWPR | Activity Discontinued | GNC replaced by HoR |
| Result 2.4 Legislation informed by citizen concerns | | |
| Advocacy Trainings for Citizen Engagement | Activity Continued | |
| Local Constituency Outreach Workshops | Activity Continued | |
| Support Representative presence Constituencies | Activity Continued | |
| Town Hall Meetings | Activity Discontinued | |
| Coordination Workshops: loc. and nat. officials | Activity Continued | |
| | Activity Added | Sub-awards for CSO-community projects |
| Result 2.5 Support local councilors | | |
| | Activity Added | Municipal officials and staff capacity building |
| | Activity Added | Associations of government officials |
| Result 2.6 Strengthened MoLG structure | | |
| Training | Activity Continued | Training was reduced, then ended owing to national political divide |

With the replacement of the GNC, Result 2.1 was modified to cover legislators without specifying the institution. However, nearly all activities ceased and only re-started near the end of the period covered by the evaluation. Result 2.2 was discontinued and replaced by a result aimed towards building capacity of parliamentary staff of both the HoR and HSC. Result 2.3 was discontinued entirely upon the replacement of the GNC. Activities towards result 2.5 began.

CONCLUSIONS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LEGS OBJECTIVE 2

HOR AND HSC UTILIZATION OF CITIZEN INPUTS

Many factors limited the amount of work implemented by NDI with the GNC, HoR, and HSC. The GNC was replaced by the HoR after elections in August 2014. The HoR and HSC were formed later in the project and have lacked legitimacy during much of their existence. Political divisions in the HoR have crippled its ability to function. A portion of members are boycotting the institution so that a quorum is not possible. Insecurity has limited NDI's access to the HoR and HSC, and it has limited access of the members and staff of these legislative bodies to NDI events. Despite the limited assistance provided to the HoR and the HSC over the life of the project, those targeted as beneficiaries are actively engaging constituents. Considering the insecurity which limits elected members' ability to meet freely with constituents, the results are even more impressive. The approach of identifying a small number of members with political will to effectively govern appears to have been effective. The assistance has not percolated widely within the institutions, but it has led to first steps in constituent relations.

Also considering that the HoR and HSC are not operating in a robust manner, the number of advocacy campaigns undertaken by the CSOs cited in interviews and the focus group are encouraging. Add to this the low level of trust placed in these institutions, and it seems that the efforts made by LEGS were effective, most especially since a good number of initiatives were acted upon by the legislative bodies, making the advocacy campaigns successful.

MUNICIPAL COUNCILS RESPONSE TO CITIZEN INPUTS

The training provided by IRI equipped MC members and staff with basic skills necessary for stakeholder engagement and contributed indirectly to introduce and improve stakeholder engagement. LEGS activities provided a leading and significant contribution to launch stakeholder engagement by MCs and CSOs. Examples of successful stakeholder engagement were found between CSOs and MCs. These examples show that stakeholder engagement is possible and can achieve positive results.

Little evidence was found that training was provided on recognized best practices in stakeholder engagement, such as conducting public hearings; complaints processing; effective community dialogues; community mobilization events; and conducting issues-oriented working groups. The ET also saw no evidence of efforts to institutionalize engagement processes, for example by adopting council rules requiring public hearings.

The lack of more advanced training and institutionalization of engagement processes should not detract from LEGS' considerable achievements – essential and important first steps to orient the nascent MCs to their representative functions and acquire skills to fulfill them.

Widespread citizen awareness of MCs and services suggests there is a positive foundation on which to develop stakeholder engagement with the goal of improving services and building trust in government. However, significant obstacles stand in the way of further progress, namely the political divisions on the national level, the lack of clarity in the powers of MCs, and a general lack of local government experience and capacity in Libya.

CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE LEGS OBJECTIVE 2

With the replacement of the GNC, results and accordingly activities targeted on the national level largely ceased. LEGS continued to work with parliamentary staff of HoR, and as it became permissible, resumed support for HoR and HSC members. Activities under result 2.5 began and became a focus of IRI's efforts. Although training activities under Result 2.6 were reduced owing to the national political divide, and appear to have stopped around the third quarter of fiscal year 2016, IRI continued occasional contacts with MoLG to better understand its needs and develop the working relationship.

LEGS Objective 3: *Increase women's and marginalized groups' genuine inclusion and participation such that their views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes*

FINDINGS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LEGS OBJECTIVE 3

KEY FINDINGS OF LEGS OBJECTIVE 3

- CSOs interviewed are advocating issues related to women, PWDs, and youth with some successes noted.
- CSOs mentioned their lack of funds as limiting their effectiveness to advocate issues of women and marginalized groups; HoR, HSC, and MC members attributed this to CSOs' inexperience; while USAID and IPs mentioned insecurity as the primary limiting factor.

In considering progress made toward LEGS Objective 3, the ET looked for progress with groups representing women’s, PWD, and youth issues because these were the marginalized groups said to be of particular interest to USAID.

The initiatives implemented by IFES, NDI, and IRI toward achieving LEGS Objective 1 and 2 contributed simultaneously toward LEGS Objective 3 when partners or beneficiaries were CSOs dealing with women’s, PWD, or youth-related issues.

Table 8 below shows the indicator data relevant to increasing women’s and marginalized groups’ inclusion and participation into governing and legislative processes that were reported in the LEGS PMP for fiscal year 2018. That document includes targets and actual achievements for fiscal year 2017 but no prior years. As can be seen, data was reported for PWD issues but no data was reported for women’s or youth related issues.

Table 8: LEGS Indicator data relevant to increasing PWD inclusion and participation in governing and legislative processes

| INDICATOR | FYI (2016-17) | |
|--|---------------|--------|
| | TARGET | ACTUAL |
| CEPPS Objective 3: Increase women’s and marginalized group’s genuine inclusion and participation such that their views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes | | |
| Indicator 3.1.2.1 Number of recommendations produced by groups representing persons with disabilities to enhance electoral access for this population, based on IFES consultation | 3 | 1 |

For this evaluation, data collected toward measuring results under this objective were the same data collected toward Objectives 1 and 2, disaggregated to identify achievements toward inclusion of women, inclusion of PWDs, and inclusion of youth. Out of the nine CSOs interviewed, all reported having missions to support one or more of these issues. Table 9 below shows the number of CSOs interviewed and the number of issues each group reported advocating on the national and sub-national levels.

Table 9: Number of issues advocated by CSOs representing marginalized groups

| GROUPS’ MISSIONS | # CSOs INTERVIEWED WITH MISSION TO PROTECT MARGINALIZED GROUPS* | # ISSUES ADVOCATED ON BEHALF OF MARGINALIZED GROUPS** |
|------------------|---|---|
| PWD | 4 | 3 National 2 Sub-national |
| Women | 3 | 5 National 1 Sub-national |
| Youth | 4 | 2 National 2 Sub-national |

* Nine CSOs were interviewed, but the total here is 11 because one group represents all 3 issues.

**Thirteen issues in total are reported to have been introduced, but two covered two marginalized groups. Therefore, the total number of issues advocated sums up to 15.

Focus group participants who had worked with LEGS all shared experiences with advocacy on issues related to women or marginalized groups, and some noted that the issues they advocated were enacted into law or amended legislation or regulations.

When asked about the impediments to CSO advocacy efforts, answers differed by respondent group. Of the nine CSOs queried, the most often mentioned impediment was lack of financial resources (mentioned by five or 56 percent). One CSO stated, “We don’t even have simple equipment needed to prepare advocacy campaign materials.” Another CSO raised an unintended consequence of the limited donor funding. She said that competition is growing among CSOs for the limited resources awarded by international donors. Considering that forming coalitions is often vital to successful advocacy efforts, such competition may be counterproductive.

The impediments to CSO advocacy efforts most often cited by three HoR, four HSC, and ten MCs (in total 17) interviewees were:

- Inexperience of CSOs; and
- Lack of support for the issues advocated by CSOs.

These are both internal issues.

The impediment most often cited, by 11 of the 17 (65 percent) was the inexperience of CSOs. One HoR member opined that CSOs are just chasing available money. An MC member said that all the CSOs he had been in contact with are ignorant of their role in the community. He said that he spends a great deal of time in meetings and discussions with them, with no ultimate benefit to citizens. Interviewees from all respondent groups agreed that CSOs often don’t have a clearly defined mission, which adds to the perception that they are not sincere in their endeavors and that they are incompetent.

Another impediment to CSO advocacy efforts mentioned by four of the 17 (24 percent) was simply that the officials didn’t agree with the issues advocated by these groups. Two national legislators expressed the belief that many CSOs are actually tools of political parties. This perception could also be driven by the lack of clearly defined missions of many CSOs.

The impediments mentioned most often by four USAID, 13 IPs, and four other donors/implementers (21 in total) were:

- Insecurity;
- Inexperience of CSOs; and
- Lack of acceptance by government officials of CSOs.

The impediment most often mentioned by four of the 21 (19 percent) was insecurity. A USAID staff member said, “If you want to advocate a political position, you are putting a death wish on your head.” In particular, women’s issues, human rights, and corruption were named as issues that would put CSOs at risk. While CSOs in the east were said to be most at risk, an IP staff member said that policing of CSOs had increased in both the east and west. He said that some CSO activists had been kidnapped, so there was growing hesitancy to be outspoken. He did note, however, that because there is no police force on the local level, local CSOs experienced less insecurity than national-level CSOs.

Three out of the 21 respondents said that the inexperience of CSOs is an impediment to advocacy. One IP explained that they do not know how the MCs work and therefore cannot effectively advocate. One USAID interviewee said that CSOs do not know how to gain input from citizens and follow up over time to ensure that their advocacy efforts are relevant to societal problems. Another USAID staff member said that there are only a handful of competent CSOs, and as a result these few are getting all the donor funds, while the multitude of small, inexperienced CSOs have no resources and aren’t being given any support to develop.

A third impediment mentioned by three of the 21 respondents was the lack of receptivity of government to the CSO sector. The Muslim Brotherhood opposes a civil society as do some in the government, especially in the east.

The ET queried representatives of nine CSOs, three HoR members, four HSC members, thirteen IP staff, ten MC members, four other donors/implementers, and four USAID staff (in total 47) about what is

needed for participation and inclusion of women and marginalized groups' views and interests in the governing and legislative process. Most often mentioned were:

- Training of CSOs
- Raising awareness of the public about the civil sector

Out of the 47, eight suggested that training of CSOs was necessary in areas such as the role of civil society, organizational development, and strategic planning. Two respondents said that it would be helpful for peers from other countries to share their experiences with Libyan CSOs. One MC noted that training for CSOs should be done nationwide, and not just in a few scattered municipalities.

Four respondents (9 percent) called for efforts to raise awareness among the public about the function of civil society. The public needs to better understand, for instance, how elections are conducted and how women's rights can benefit society if the views of women and marginalized groups are to be included in the governing process. Two respondents said that youth should be targeted as recipients for such messages as a route to cultural change, and schools and universities can be good venues for such public awareness events.

Table 10 below summarizes the changes in project activities made since the mid-term evaluation was conducted in order to achieve LEGS Objective 3. The information in the first column of the table was taken from Figure 7 of the mid-term evaluation.⁸ Changes noted in the middle column indicate whether an activity was *continued* from before the mid-term evaluation; *added* since the mid-term; or, *discontinued* since the mid-term.

Table 10: Changes in project activities conducted under LEGS Objective 3

| MID-TERM EVALUATION: ACTIVITIES (ORIGINAL WORK PLAN) | CHANGES (IF ANY) MADE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES | NOTES |
|---|---|---|
| Result 3.1 Inclusion of women and marginalized | | |
| | Activity Added | Establishment of a HNEC Gender Unit |
| | Activity Added | Women's Leadership Program |
| | Activity Added | Launch of the Rights Unite Campaign and Inclusive Media Competition |
| | Activity Added | Increase Participation of Traditionally Marginalized Communities |
| | Activity Added | Libyan Women's Union |
| | Activity Added | Election Access Working Group Documentary |
| | Activity Added | Media and Disability BRIDGE Training |
| | Activity Added | Developing MALE Allies for Leadership Equality |
| Result 3.2 Women contribute to nat. policy | | |
| | Activity Added | Women's Organizations |
| | Activity Added | Marginalized Ethnic Groups |
| | Activity Added | PWD |
| | Activity Added | Capacity Building |
| | Activity Added | Support for Initiative Implementation |
| | Activity Added | Vision 2020 |
| | Activity Added | Online Engagement |
| Result 3.3 Youth engage with local leaders | | |
| | Activity Added | Capacity building trainings for youth CSOs |

⁸ "Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey" USAID/Libya. January 2016.

| | | |
|--|----------------|---|
| | Activity Added | Network development |
| | Activity Added | Libyan youth engage local leaders to advocate for issues of interest to their communities |

Activities under Objective 3 were planned and launched since the mid-term evaluation was conducted.

CONCLUSIONS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LEGS OBJECTIVE 3

Relevant to the indicator listed in Table 5 above, the ET obtained evidence that at least one recommendation was produced and submitted on the national level and at least one recommendation was produced on the municipal level by groups representing PWDs to enhance electoral access for this population. One caveat is the wording of the indicator that considers recommendations based on IFES consultation. The ET did not verify whether LEGS or specifically IFES supported the groups interviewed through this evaluation to produce the recommendations, but the ET has no reason to doubt the figure reported. Table 11 reflects LEGS progress toward meeting its indicator targets.

Table 11: Progress in Meeting LEGS Indicator Targets relevant to Increasing PWD Inclusion and Participation in Governing and Legislative Processes

| INDICATOR | FY1 (2016-17) |
|--|---------------|
| CEPPS Objective 3: Increase women’s and marginalized group’s genuine inclusion and participation such that their views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes | |
| Indicator 3.1.2.1 Number of recommendations produced by groups representing persons with disabilities to enhance electoral access for this population, based on IFES consultation | Not Met |

Although the practice of advocacy is new in Libya, CSOs with missions related to issues of women, PWDs, and youth that have received support from LEGS conducted successful national and local advocacy campaigns. The LEGS approach to introduce the process of advocacy via non-controversial topics such as those related to PWDs and youth was a good way to demonstrate the process and engage both civil society and government and legislators in the process. The higher level of trust in the HoR and HSC by PWDs as compared with others likely reflects the success achieved in passing and amending legislation and regulations protecting the interests of these groups. Even more controversial issues related to women, however, also proved successful.

The narrow focus on advocacy support offered to civil society in Libya to the exclusion of other areas of support represents a gap in the democracy and governance portfolio of international donors. The lack of CSO capacity limits their success with advocacy and more broadly reduces their acceptance in society and their legitimacy.

Since the mid-term evaluation, activities under Objective 3 were added. However some of those activities were implanted prior to the mid-term evaluation but reported under other objectives.

LCB Objective 1: *Informed citizens are able to develop consensus on key constitution issues and effectively inform the constitution drafting body*

FINDINGS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LCB OBJECTIVE I

KEY FINDINGS FOR LCB OBJECTIVE I

- Seventy-six percent of citizens surveyed in Tobruk, Ghat and Suq Aljumaa reported they have received information about adopting a new constitution
- LCB – working in local communities and with the CDA -- was consistently cited as the most significant contributor to the successful outreach and awareness campaign
- Television was the most remembered source of information, followed by online news, and radio; community dialogue events organized by LCB were remembered by large numbers, in part because of radio and television coverage
- Efforts to include women, youth and PWDs were seen to be successful; it was reported to be harder to engage ethnic minorities or tribal groups
- Constitutional dialogue participants often sought to reach consensus but did not let the lack of consensus stop them from submitting recommendations to the CDA
- Respondents of all types broadly agreed that LCB played a significant role in formulating and submitting recommendations to the CDA

The CDA was created in 2014 by the popular election of 20 members each from the east, south and western regions that constitute modern Libya. Amazigh and Tebu communities boycotted the elections, which undermined the inclusivity of the Assembly. The CDA was charged with drafting a constitution that would then be put to a national referendum triggered by legislation to be passed in the HoR. In July 2017, 43 of the 44 active CDA members voted to approve a draft constitution, but the decision was protested, then contested in the courts, which ruled in February 2018 to dismiss the challenges.

The NDPC was formally established in 2013 to manage a National Dialogue process that would stimulate and shape inclusive debate and consensus on the national social contract and constitutional issues. However, the NDPC and National Dialogue never gained traction and were dysfunctional by the summer of 2014.

Based on a review of IP reports, the ET focused its enquiry on validating three hypothesized outcomes deemed to represent the purpose of Objective I:

- Libyan citizens acquired new knowledge to participate more effectively in the national dialogue leading up to the adoption of a new constitution
- Diverse citizens engaged in community dialogues to build consensus on topics to be enshrined in the new national constitution
- Communities, CSOs and citizens submitted recommendations or comments to inform the CDA

LCB progress reports identify a range of activities designed to achieve these outcomes, including: establishing a network of CLs; community outreach and dialogue events; training to strengthen the knowledge and advocacy skills of CSOs; training of journalists and media professionals; dissemination of messages through social media, TV, SMS, radio, and online sources; convening expert groups to analyze drafts; and providing recommendations to the CDA on behalf of program beneficiaries.

Table 12 below shows the indicator data relevant to informed citizens, inclusive local dialogue, and recommendations submitted to the CDA as reported in the LCB PMP (Quarter Four 2017).

Table 12: LCB Indicator data relevant to informed citizens, inclusive local dialogue, and recommendations submitted to the CDA

| No. | Indicator | | Y1 | Y2 | Y3 |
|-----|--|--------|-----|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | The percentage of stakeholders engaged in ABA ROLI programming, who report increased knowledge about key constitution topics. | Target | 75% | 75% | 75% |
| | | Actual | 95% | 66% | 68% |
| 2A | The number of recommendations originating from stakeholders' consensus on key constitution topics communicated to CDA and other decision makers. | Target | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| | | Actual | 150 | 71 | 8 |
| 2B | The number of recommendations identified in Indicator 2A that are reflected in the provisions of the most recent draft of the constitution. | Target | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | | Actual | 29 | 74 | 76 |
| 3 | Number of individuals receiving voter and civic education through USG-assisted programs | Target | 0 | 800,000 to 1,000,000 | 800,000 to 1,000,000 |
| | | Actual | | 1,116,788 | 5,168,191 |

The ET conducted KIs, FGDs, and a citizen survey to inform its evaluation of progress toward LCB Objective I. No analysis of targets versus actual figures or the reasons for changes in indicator values was found in LCB progress reports, PMPs, or outcome indicator reference sheets reviewed by the ET.

CITIZENS INFORMED

Many Libyans were informed about adopting a new constitution – 76 percent of all survey respondents (906 of 1192) reported they have seen or heard information. As illustrated in Figure 5 below, men (81 percent, or 480 of 595) were somewhat more likely than women (71 percent, or 480 of 597) to have received information.

Figure 5: Responses to survey question, “Have you heard or seen information about the process to adopt a new constitution, or the topics being discussed?” disaggregated by sex.

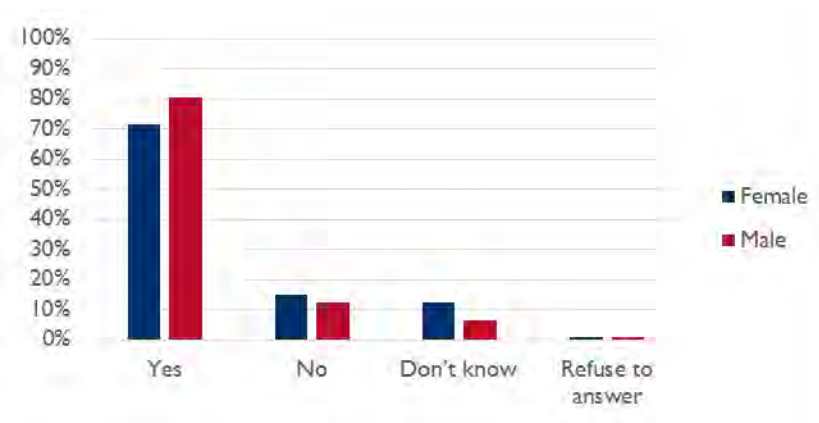
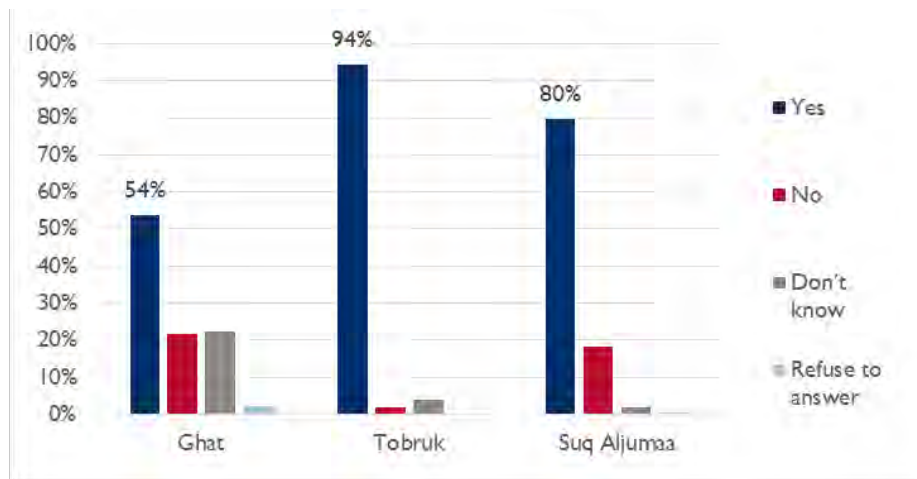


Figure 6 shows considerable regional differences. Tobruk respondents were the most likely to have received information (94 percent, or 378 of 401), compared to Ghat, which registered the lowest result (54 percent, or 212 of 394).

Figure 6: Responses to survey question, “Have you heard or seen information about the process to adopt a new constitution, or the topics being discussed?” disaggregated by region.



The LCB Monitoring and Evaluation Plan (Quarter Four 2017) Annex 7 Public Outreach Tracker, and Annex 10 Mapping Data list the following 1,769 awareness and consensus-building events or activities:

- 39 SMS Messages (860)
- Community Dialogues (>321)
- Workshops (>170)
- TV Events and Interviews (131)
- Online News Articles (124)
- Radio Events and Dialogues (91)
- Consensus-building Events (46)
- Social Media Posts (17)
- Roundtables (9)
- Constitution Printouts

The total number of events is assumed to be approximate, as the ET could not exclude the possibility of some double counting (e.g. community dialogue events that may also be Radio Dialogues, or workshops that may have been covered by TV).

Two of the three CLs interviewed said they held at least 12 events that included CSOs, and all three CLs indicated the LCB activities were important information sources for CSOs. Two CLs, three IP staff and two USAID staff described LCB efforts to develop awareness of constitutional issues working with CSOs as “excellent,” “positive,” or “important.” However, two USAID informants felt they were not useful.

ABA did not supply contact information for CSOs that participated in its awareness campaigns, so the ET was unable to interview them. One of the nine CSOs interviewed (from CSO lists provided by LEGS) recalled receiving information about the constitution from an ABA workshop. Other respondents recalled IFES (2), NDI (3), European Union (1), and the CDA (1) as information sources.

The LCB PMP (Quarter Two 2017) Annex 5 2017 Constitution Analysis Tracker reveals at least 46 constitution dialogue events on women’s/gender issues; 22 events on youth issues; and 2 events on PWD issues. At least 14 of these 70 events specifically mention CSO involvement. It is reasonable to expect that the number of CSOs involved is higher since many participants in “expert groups” are likely also affiliated with women’s, youth or PWD CSOs. Furthermore, the list cites dozens of “human rights” dialogue events that likely included CSO participants (though not specifically identified as such in the tracker).

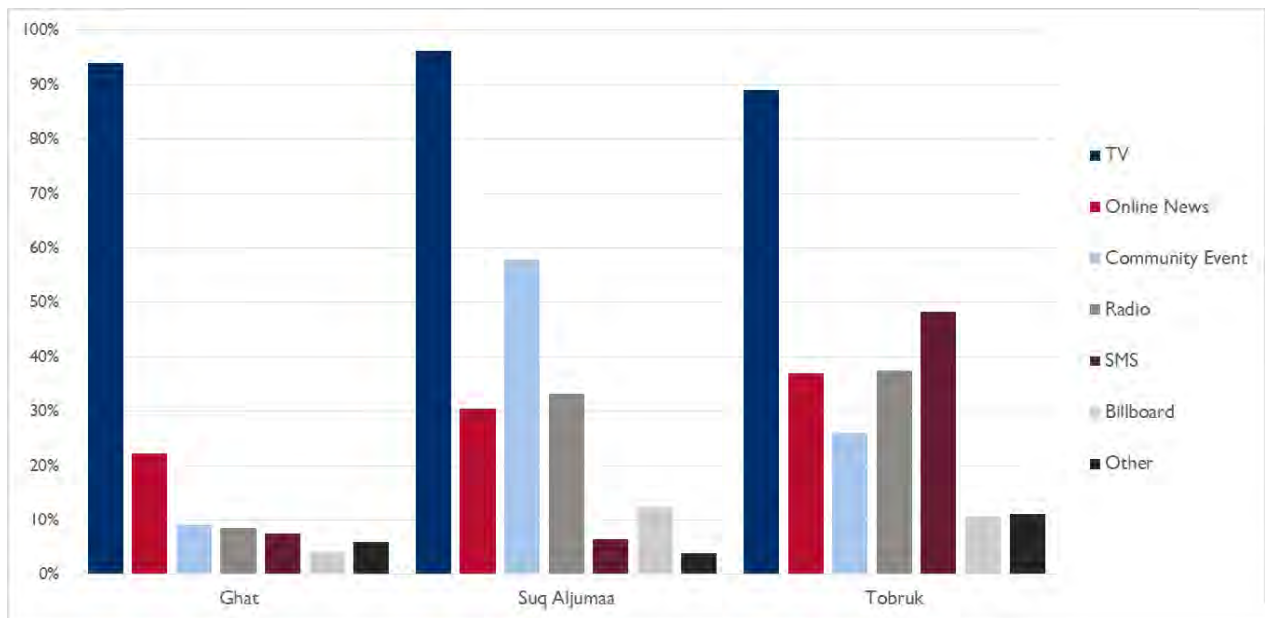
CLs reported including MC members in community awareness events. All three CLs interviewed said they conducted a collective total of 11 awareness workshops, some of which included MC members. However, the CLs also said, “There was no communication with local councils, and I am sure that they didn’t use anything we sent to them...,” and “MCs usage of information provided from activities and workshops is very weak.” Indeed, none of the 10 MC members interviewed said they had heard of constitution issues from the ABA CLs, although LCB’s monitoring data from the fourth quarter of fiscal year 2017 shows 53

awareness events, workshops or community dialogues held in those 10 communities. One MC member said he received information from the local CDA representative, and two said they received information from sources other than ABA. One MC member was aware of ABA from the legal training, not the constitutional awareness activities; another said he knew the Mayor had participated in an ABA workshop but had heard nothing about it from the Mayor.

The ET finds that while the CLs did include MC members in some activities, LCB apparently did not strategically engage with the councils themselves (as bodies), nor were council and members enlisted as information ambassadors in their communities.

Of the media campaigns, TV was the most remembered source of information, followed by online news, community events, and radio. (See Figure 7).

Figure 7: Responses to survey question, “...which sources of information [about the process to adopt a new constitution] do you remember?”



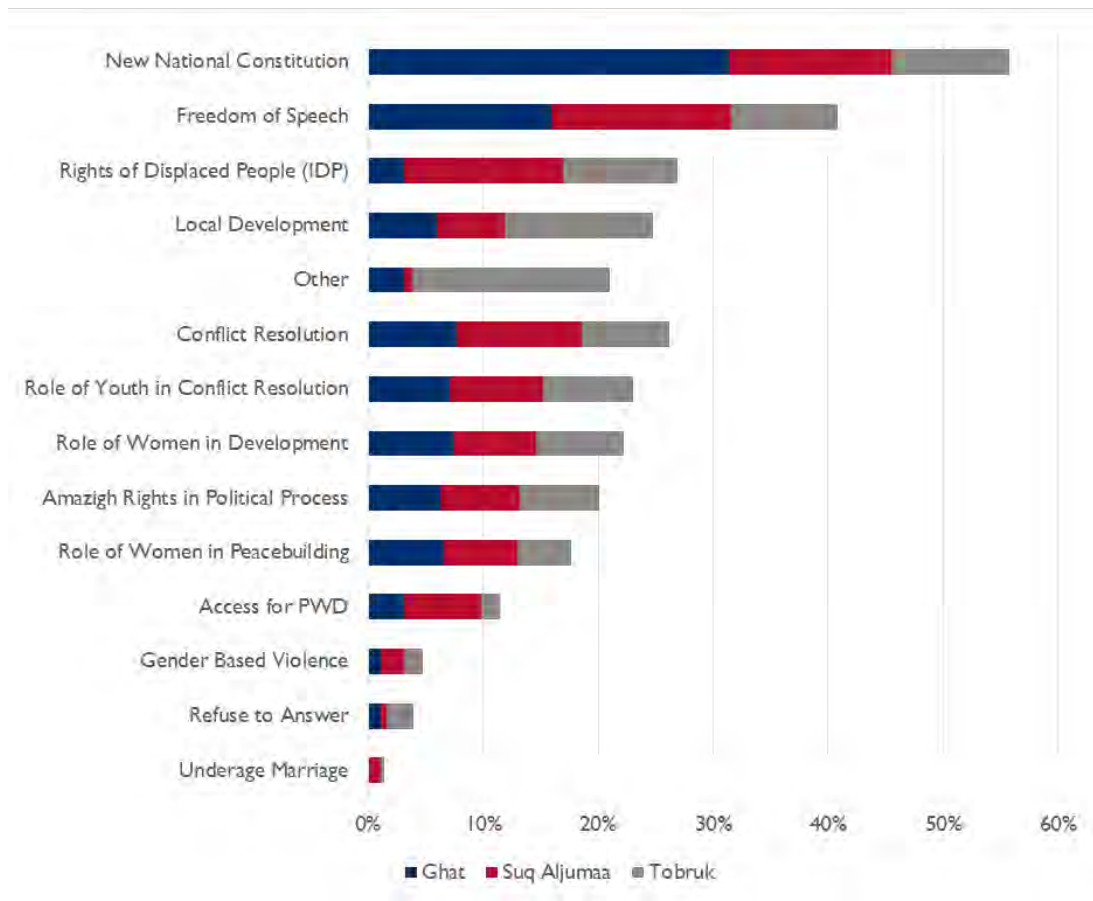
Online news, community events and radio received roughly equal numbers of “yes” responses. Community events made a good showing amongst these sources, even though they were not primarily designed as mass media events and presumably engaged small numbers of face-to-face participants. Two factors may explain this result: participants are deemed likely to recall face-to-face events more readily than mass media campaigns; and IP and CL respondents said the reach of community events was magnified when TV or radio media broadcast or reported on some of those events.

LCB reported that in all, 6,345,381 SMS (text messages) were sent to mobile phone subscribers across Libya. Tobruk respondents strongly recalled SMS as a source, as compared to Suq Aljumaa and Ghat. The data available to the ET does not allow this significant difference to be analyzed.

Printed information books and copies of the draft constitution were also mentioned as useful by one IP respondent, one CL, and one USAID staff member.

Figure 8 illustrates the frequency with which various themes were recalled by survey respondents. Multiple answers were allowed, generating a total of 2,790 responses (351 from Ghat, 1032 from Suq Aljumaa, 1407 from Tobruk).

Figure 8: Responses to survey question, “What were the main themes you remember from these information sources?”



Forty-nine percent of survey respondents (441 of 949) answered “Yes” to the question, “Did the information you received help you understand the new constitution?” There was no difference in the percentage of men or women who answered “Yes.”

It was not possible for the ET to isolate LCB’s specific contribution to information dissemination through broadcast media such as TV, radio, and online news sources. However, LCB was consistently cited in KILs as the major and most significant contributor to informing the public about the constitution. Several international IPs, the UN, and other iNGOs were mentioned but said to have focused on narrower issues. Two USAID and one IP respondent cited LCB’s “big role.”

INCLUSIVE DIALOGUE AND CONSENSUS

Twenty-five percent of survey respondents (303 of 1192) “feel engaged in the debate and decisions about the new constitution”. Men and women are almost equally “engaged”: 26 percent of all women (157 of 597) and 25 percent of all men (146 of 595). A larger share of women in Ghat (29 percent, or 57 of 200) and Suq Aljumaa (31 percent, or 61 of 198) feel engaged than in Tobruk (20 percent, or 39 of 199).

Sixty percent of those surveyed (718 of 1192) said they “very much” or “somewhat” have a say in the constitution debate. This compares favorably to the 43 percent of respondents to the 2015 USAID/Libya DRG survey who said they “have a say in what the government does.”⁹

The LCB PMP (Quarter Four 2017) Annex 10 Mapping Data lists at least 323 community dialogue events in approximately 80 locations. CSOs representing women, youth and PWD issues participated in community events, but the ET found less evidence that tribes and ethnic groups were effectively engaged by LCB. KII respondents and focus group participants were asked, “Did the dialogue activities manage to engage diverse groups?” One IP respondent said that, “Tebu have been a difficult community to reach,” and another said the Tebu warrant more attention in the future. One USAID respondent recalled “effort being put into making sure that minority groups were included,” but that the events “may not have gotten the participation hoped for from each of the groups.” Two USAID respondents called for more inclusion of marginalized and nomadic groups and people in the east and south.

Some focus group participants in the Touareg community of Awal said they do not believe their priorities were represented in discussions about the constitution; others said they had no information about the constitution; and one said, “Yes, there are some points that really represent my priorities.” Most participants agreed that a real dialogue had taken place, while others disagreed, mentioning “unrealistic slogans” and that the “dialogue” was one-sided because “the Touareg delegation was unaware of modern dialogue methods.” The focus group participants said that the dialogues changed their perceptions about important topics, but they did not cite concrete examples.

The wording of LCB Objective 2 implies that reaching consensus is a precursor to making recommendations to the CDA. The LCB work plans and progress reports echo this focus on reaching consensus. The ET sought to understand the role and importance of dialogue versus consensus because it can be hard to reach consensus, particularly in light of Libya’s divisive political tensions; because reaching consensus could suppress minority views; and because the ultimate responsibility for reaching consensus lies with the CDA. The ET sought to find out whether the desire for consensus became an obstacle to making recommendations to the CDA.

KII respondents and focus groups participants uniformly endorsed community dialogue. Focus group participants from Awal spoke in strong positive terms about dialogue and emphasized its importance, saying, “We need similar events to solve our problems and improve our situation,” and “The event made me feel proud and hopeful.”

The three CL respondents gave differing accounts about the role of consensus in the community dialogues. One said that consensus was reached on topics such as the name of the state and decentralization of powers to the provinces. Another CL said consensus was reached on some topics, and the third CL said there was no consensus. Of the two IP and two USAID staff who spoke about consensus, all four said it was not essential to reach consensus in the community dialogues.

Concerning LCB’s contribution to community dialogue, the 211 recommendations reported as submitted by LCB sounds like a small share of the “thousands” or “maybe more than ten thousand” recommendations received by CDA. However, one USAID respondent said that while UNDP, Swiss, and Italian programs got involved from time to time, none of them equaled the “long momentum” of LCB. Another USAID respondent said that while Creative Associates and NDI had also contributed, “the credit is largely ABA’s.” A third USAID respondent said, “The 70 that made it into the draft were probably those that were most impactful.”

⁹ “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” USAID/Libya. January 2016.

RECOMMENDATIONS MADE TO CDA

One of the interviewed CDA members stated that thousands of recommendations were received from all parties in the country, including CSOs, citizens, the Parliament, GNC, government agencies, the Central Bank of Libya, HNEC, some municipalities from all parts of the country, and international organizations. Another CDA member confirmed that, “We received many recommendations from different parties like disabled and youth groups.” A third CDA member said, “We received about ten thousand or maybe more.”

CLs played an important role in forwarding recommendations. All three CLs interviewed confirmed submitting community or CSO recommendations to the CDA on behalf of beneficiaries. LCB reports also contain references to recommendations submitted from non-CL events such as workshops and roundtables. LCB tracked the recommendations it forwarded to CDA: “...76 out of 211 recommendations provided to the CDA under this USAID LCB Program are reflected in the July 2017 draft constitution...”¹⁰ The three IP staff and four USAID staff interviewed expressed confidence in the validity of LCB’s tally of the recommendations.

The ET sought to understand the mechanism for submitting recommendations to the CDA. All three CLs interviewed confirmed that recommendations were forwarded to the CDA in writing, passed directly to CDA members.

Two of the three CLs confirmed that CSOs that were assisted by LCB also submitted their own recommendations directly to the CDA. The three CLs could not identify any formal submission mechanism operated by the CDA. One of the IP staff counted the forwarding of recommendations as significant “given the percentage of recommendations adopted [36 percent, or 76 adopted out of 211 submitted].”

One USAID respondent characterized the forwarding of recommendations as a “highlight” of LCB, but another USAID staff member said, “The project changed and morphed; they were supposed to be working on how citizens receive and judge the constitution, not influencing the constitution drafting process -- that was what the UN was supposed to do.”

CDA members spoke highly of LCB’s assistance. Quotes from interviews with CDA members confirmed the significance of LCB’s contributions. The Head of the CDA’s Outreach and Awareness Committee stated that, “ABA and Creative Associates are the only ones who helped and supported the CDA since 2014 until the present day.” Another CDA member said,

I would really love to thank ABA for their amazing role, which supported us at CDA... and they still are. They were one of the strongest supporters of the Outreach and Awareness Committee [and] had a huge role providing expertise that helped us a lot in our work.

CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE LCB OBJECTIVE I

Table 13 below summarizes the changes in project activities made since the mid-term evaluation¹¹ was conducted in order to achieve LCB Objective I. Activities listed in the first column were extracted from Work Plans for project years 2.5, 3.0, 3.5 and 4.0. Changes noted in the middle column indicate whether an activity was *continued* from before the mid-term evaluation; *added* since the mid-term; or, *discontinued* since the mid-term. Activity status as shown in the table is approximate, not definitive, and some completed activities were later restarted (for example, to update a legal analysis).

¹⁰ LCB Annual Report for the period October 1, 2016-September 30, 2017

¹¹ Workplan Year 2 for the period March 2016-September 2016; June 9, 2016; Workplan Year 3 for the period October 2016-March 2017; Workplan Year 3 for the period April-September 2017; and Workplan Year 4 for the period October 2017-March 2018

Table 13: Changes in project activities conducted under LCB Objective I

| RESULTS AND ACTIVITIES SINCE THE MID-TERM EVALUATION | CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVE | NOTES |
|---|--|---|
| Result 1.1 Establish dialogue framework | | |
| Constitutional Dialogue Facilitation Guide | Activity Continued | |
| Training, mentoring for Community Liaisons, monitoring CL performance | Activity Added | |
| Result 1.2 Strengthen knowledge about constitution process | | |
| Awareness workshops for CSOs, media | Activity Added | |
| Analysis of court cases relating to the Constitutional Drafting Assembly | Activity Added | |
| Analysis of July 2017 Constitutional Proposal (constitutional drafts) | Activity Added | |
| Result 1.3 Dialogue on the Constitution at the community level | | |
| Support local community dialogues | Activity Continued | |
| Result 1.4 Build Consensus on Constitutional provisions | | |
| (no activities planned) | | Result reported as achieved prior to mid-term evaluation |
| Result 1.5 Support local councils and civil society for Constitutional Drafting Commission (CDA) | | |
| (no activities planned) | | Result reported as achieved prior to mid-term evaluation |
| Result 1.6 Inform communities of the constitution process | | |
| CDA public outreach strategic planning | Activity Continued | |
| CDA media engagement and social media training, mentoring and support | Activity Continued | |
| Design, printing, distribution of infographics explaining Constitution | Activity Continued | |
| Design, printing, and distribution of the [draft] Constitution | Activity Continued | |
| Public outreach SMS campaign | Activity Continued | |
| Public outreach via radio liaisons | Activity Added | |
| Stakeholder consensus building events | Activity Continued | Completed. No need to continue after draft constitution approved by CDA |
| Development of a primer on the draft Constitution | Activity Added | |
| Result 1.7 Partner communities understand draft Constitution during referendum period | | |
| Roundtable on the referendum | Activity Continued | |
| Support completion of Referendum Law | Activity Added | |

The results under Objective I were unchanged since the mid-term evaluation. Numerous activities were added or discontinued.

CONCLUSIONS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS LCB OBJECTIVE I

The ET had no data from which to cross-check Indicator 1 listed in Table 7 above. While the ET noted the decrease reported for indicator 1 from year 1 to year 2, the data collected for this evaluation does not explain this. Furthermore, the outcome indicator reference sheets do not specify if the figures reported for this indicator are cumulative or if each year is reported separately from the other years. Similarly, the outcome indicator reference sheets do not explain how participants are counted – for example only once over the life of the project or some other period or whether participants are counted at each event regardless of how many they have attended. If the latter method was used, then it might be possible that participants who attended multiple events learned more at the first events and perceived that they learned less at later events.

Indicators 2A and 2B concerning the recommendations forwarded to CDA, are supported by the findings of this evaluation. The ET found no reason to doubt that 211 recommendations were forwarded to the CDA or that 76 of those recommendations made their way into one or more drafts of the constitution. In both cases LCB greatly exceeded its target. One caveat is the wording of 2A, which specifies recommendations “originating from stakeholders’ consensus.” The ET finds that the recommendations originated from community dialogues and other events, but it seems unlikely that only consensus recommendations were forwarded – nor would that be a desirable outcome, in our opinion, for reasons outlined above. Table 14 reflects LCB progress toward meeting its indicator targets.

Table 14: Progress in Meeting LCB Objective I Indicator Targets

| Indicator | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| 1. Percentage of stakeholders engaged in ABA ROLI programming, who report increased knowledge about key constitution topics. | Exceeded | Not Met | Not Met |
| 2. Number of recommendations originating from stakeholders’ consensus on key constitution topics communicated to CDA and other decision makers | Exceeded | Exceeded | Exceeded |
| 2B. Number of recommendations identified in Indicator 2A that are reflected in the provisions of the most recent draft of the constitution | Exceeded | Exceeded | Exceeded |
| 3. Number of individuals receiving voter and civic education through USG-assisted programs | n/a | Exceeded | Exceeded |

Although the ET could not specifically verify the number of individuals who received information from LCB (Indicator 3B), it seems plausible and likely that LCB exceeded its targets, and the finding (above) that 75 percent of survey respondents reported receiving information about the Constitution generally corroborates the reported result. One caveat is that the major part of LCB’s result comes from SMS and broadcast media audiences, for which it is impossible to know if the message was “received.” People can ignore SMS messages, and counting of TV/radio viewers versus potential audience requires sophisticated analysis that is not apparent from the available reports.

From the data collected through this evaluation, the ET concludes that LCB successfully informed many Libyans about the constitution. It is plausible and likely that millions of citizens heard about the constitution and benefited from the knowledge they gained. TV reached the widest audience, but community awareness events, although attended by small numbers, were recalled by many.

That 25 percent of 2018 survey respondents “feel engaged” in the constitutional debate and 60 percent of respondents said that they “have a say in the constitutional debate” is a very good result. This compares to the 43 percent of respondents who said they “have a say in what the government does” in a USAID-funded DRG survey¹² done in 2015. Because the questions were different, the 2015 result serves only as a point of comparison.

LCB informed and engaged CSOs, primarily on women’s, youth and PWD topics. Anecdotal information and IP reporting suggest that this was a successful activity.

LCB missed opportunities to enlist CSOs and MCs to further spread information. MCs in particular, as leaders, are ideally positioned to help inform their communities but were not effectively or strategically enlisted to further spread information. It is likely that MC members exposed to LCB activities did share their knowledge in ad hoc ways, but if LCB had taken a more deliberate, strategic approach to harness their stature and respect in the communities, it may have amplified the awareness and dialogue efforts of the CLs, while building credibility of the MCs with constituents.

The dialogue and debate that occurred through LCB were more important than reaching local consensus – it was OK to disagree. Consensus was ultimately the duty of the CDA.

Taken together, the strong findings in each of the sub-topics – information, dialogue and recommendations – indicate that Objective 1 was achieved. The main counterfactual notes are: some tribal, ethnic or nomadic groups appear not to have been fully included; and some opportunities were missed that would have increased results by leveraging MCs and CSOs.

Since the mid-term evaluation, activities were continued or added as the process of constitutional awareness and dialogue evolved. Awareness and consensus building activities were discontinued once the CDA approved the draft constitution as they were no longer necessary.

LCB OBJECTIVE 2: *Through National Dialogue, citizens who fairly represent majority and minority views of groups including but not limited to women, ethnic groups, and youth from across Libya, are able to build a consensus of state, economy, and society and the relationship between them.*

FINDINGS ON LCB OBJECTIVE 2

KEY FINDINGS FOR LCB OBJECTIVE 2

- While the NDPC became dysfunctional in 2014 and National Dialogue failed, the CDA was initially reluctant to take over outreach and awareness activities and only began to develop an awareness strategy in 2017. CDA members interviewed credited LCB for supporting their outreach and awareness efforts.
- 25 percent of Libyans surveyed reported feeling engaged in the national dialogue; women, youth and PWDs reported higher levels of engagement
- Although the CDA approved a draft constitution, those interviewed said a lack of consensus in the HoR is obstructing legislation calling for a referendum.

In July 2017, the CDA approved a final draft constitution, signaling readiness for a national referendum that would confirm whether a national consensus has been reached. Since February 2018 when legal challenges were removed by the courts, the HoR has not yet resolved to put the draft to a national referendum.

¹² “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” USAID/Libya. January 2016.

LCB’s initial counterpart for Objective 2 was the NDPC, which became dysfunctional in 2014 and failed to execute the planned National Dialogue on the constitution. LCB continued to report on work with the NDPC until mid-2016, but increasingly shifted its activities to the CDA in lieu of the NDPC. With the LCB Quarterly Report for the period October 1 – December 31, 2016, LCB stopped reporting activities under Result 2.1 “National Dialogue Preparatory Commission (NDPC) and delegates, along with other related consultative processes, formal or informal, have the capacity to plan and conduct a broad-based, inclusive and transparent dialogue process, and have a comparative perspective to apply best practices and lessons learned from similar processes in the region.” The shift away from NDPC and the National Dialogue to community dialogues and alternative initiatives to support national dialogue is documented in the Quarterly Report.

Accordingly, although Objective 2 specifically refers to the NDPC’s National Dialogue, the ET understood that LCB activities were re-oriented to contribute to a general “national dialogue” in lieu of the formal ND process. The ET narrowed its interest under Objective 2 to national-level dialogue and consensus, because local awareness and dialogue activities are evaluated under Objective 1, above. Accordingly, and based on a review of IP reports, the ET focused its enquiry on two outcomes that represent the purpose of Objective 2:

- The CDA drafted the new constitution drawing upon inputs received through inclusive national dialogue
- The Constitution reflects a national consensus

LCB implemented a range of activities to achieve Objective 2, including: consulting with and training members of the NDPC; assisting NDPC to plan and implement the National Dialogue; convening groups of national experts and advocates to analyze issues and make recommendations to the CDA; sponsoring workshops to analyze proposed constitutional provisions; holding workshops to improve communication skills; developing a mobile phone-based information dissemination tool; organizing press conferences for CDA; printing and distributing copies of the draft constitution; holding national consensus-building workshops; assisting CDA to develop and implement a public outreach plan; training CDA members on communication skills; analyzing court decisions about constitutional drafts; organizing press roundtables and conferences; and organizing or otherwise supporting national dialogue events.

Table 15 below shows the indicator data for Objective 2 reported in the LCB PMP (Quarter Four 2017).

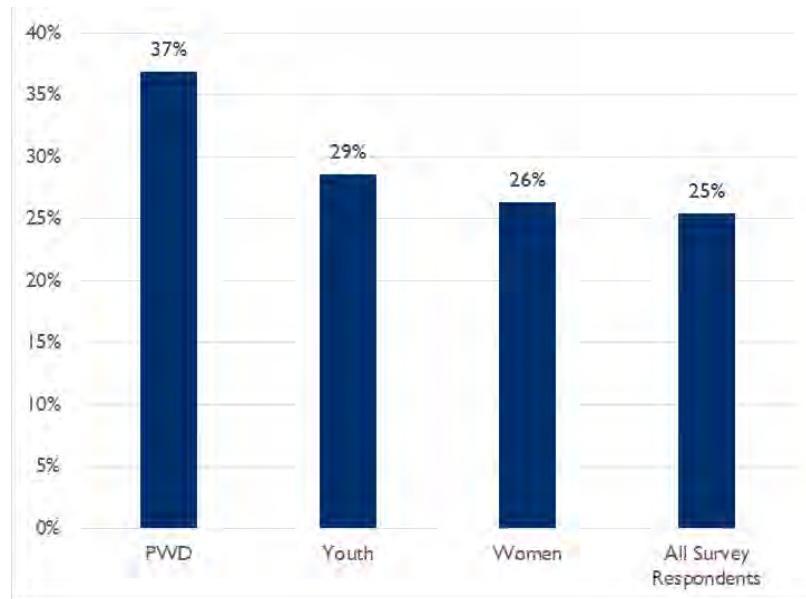
Table 15: LCB indicator data for Objective 2

| No. | Indicator | | Y1 | Y2 | Y3 |
|-----|---|--------|----|----|----|
| 4 | Number of Groups Trained in Conflict Mediation/Resolution Skills or Consensus Building Techniques with USG-Assistance | Target | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| | | Actual | 86 | 52 | 44 |
| 5 | Number of consensus building forums (multi-party, civil/security sector, and/or civil/political) held with USG Assistance | Target | 5 | 30 | 65 |
| | | Actual | 7 | 53 | 79 |

INCLUSIVE NATIONAL DIALOGUE

The dialogues that fed recommendations to the LCB were inclusive of women, youth and PWDs. According to the survey, 25 percent of all respondents (303 of 1192) feel engaged in the debate or dialogue on the new constitution. A higher level of engagement than average was reported by women (26 percent, or 157 of 597 respondents); PWDs (37 percent, or 21 of 57); and youth (29 percent, or 82 of 287). Figure 9 depicts these perceptions of engagement.

Figure 9: Those who responded "Yes" to survey question, "Do you feel engaged in debate and decisions about the new constitution?"



The level of detail in LCB annual reports did not allow the ET to disaggregate constitutional recommendations for women, youth, or PWD-related issues. It cites, for example, 22 recommendations incorporated in Chapter II: "Rights and Freedoms."¹³ As discussed under Objective I above, the CDA incorporated (at least) 76 community recommendations from LCB-supported community and national dialogues into the 2017 draft constitution.

As noted under Objective I above, KII respondents expressed concerns that ethnic, tribal or nomadic groups were underrepresented in the national dialogue. This echoes the challenge faced by the CDA itself in working with Amazigh, Tebu and Touareg minorities. Internal CDA relations were fractious, with tribal members boycotting or protesting the CDA at times. Document review and interviews suggest that LCB did focus more on including women, youth and PWDs than tribal or ethnic minorities. The evaluation survey did not collect information on respondents' affiliation with ethnic, tribal, or nomadic groups, as this was considered a sensitive topic.

When four CDA respondents were asked to identify which were "important sources of recommendations and comments received by the CDA," they answered as follows:

- Citizens, professionals, and others each received two "Yes" answers;
- Communities, CSOs and business associations each received one "Yes" answer; and
- Political parties received one "Yes" and one "No" answer.

The ET also sought to understand CDA's capacity to conduct a national publicity campaign as part of the dialogue and as a means to build consensus. A reading of LCB annual reports for the periods October 1, 2014-September 30, 2015, October 1, 2015-September 30, 2016, and October 1, 2016-September 30, 2017 shows that CDA's outreach progressed from initial refusal to engage with political parties and the public to the development of a Public Outreach Plan (in 2016, with LCB input); and finally the establishment of an Outreach and Awareness Committee (in 2017) and a more comprehensive Public Outreach Strategy (in 2017, with LCB input). This evolution may have been prompted in large part by the decline and failure of the NDPC and National Dialogue during 2014 – 2016.

¹³ LCB Annual Report for the period October 1, 2016-September 30, 2017

CDA members interviewed as part of the KII did not consistently convey a deep understanding of public communications. They spoke of:

- Challenges of working with independent media rather than CDA's initiatives and capacities;
- Specific outreach activities by LCB (three responses) rather than a strategic approach or formal strategy (one response); and
- Early CDA policies that kept citizens and media at arm's length from CDA members.

Four CDA members were asked whether they consider CDA's media campaign to be successful. Two of them counted media campaigns as "successful" and "very successful." One said "successful to some extent but not what we hoped for." The fourth noted that, "We don't have an [internal] media outlet... We feel that [the external] media hasn't reached all categories of people, has not conducted any active campaigns." One of the four elaborated that, "The media plays a big role in [people's] absence from proper dialogue about the constitution... Now people do not know exactly what they want; the bad role played by many parties from the media caused distortion, abstention and intimidation of people in order to serve their own interests." Another CDA member interviewed said, "We are being attacked instead of supported by media campaigns. We need the media to help us with different awareness campaigns and help in reaching everyone regardless of their age or living situations."

Criticisms of CDA were mentioned by MCs, CSOs, HoR members, CLs and IP staff. These included:

- CDA does not respond to comments and recommendations – noted by two MC members, two CLs, and two CSOs;
- Flawed CDA communications -- cited by four IP staff, one CL, and two CSO members;
- CDA lacks transparency – noted by one IP staff member;
- CDA has low capacity ("quality and capabilities are lacking") – stated by one CL; and
- "Issues inside CDA" cited by one CSO respondent and "internal ethnic discord" cited by one HSC member.

All KII respondents said they did not receive a reply or feedback from the CDA in response to recommendations they had submitted. Two CSO respondents who submitted comments received no response; one of them said, "We did hear some rumors that they included some of them, but we received no official reply." Three MC members said they submitted recommendations but received no responses. One of those said the MC had submitted on behalf of a local CSO. A fourth MC member said he knows of a CSO that submitted but had no reply. One CL recalled, "Recommendations were sent through a Libyan organization, but they were not considered, which made them feel depressed... They had no response at all."

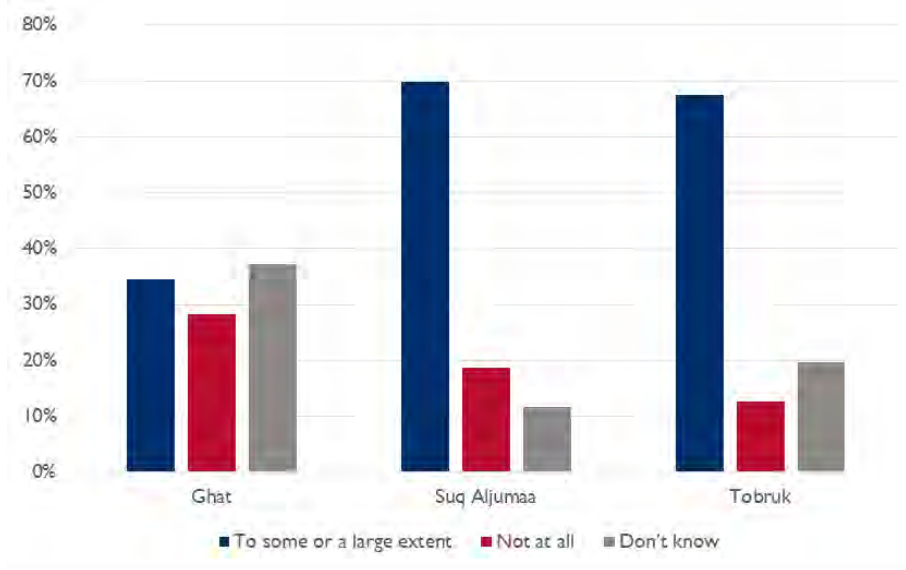
Concerning CDA's "flawed communications" and "lack of transparency," one IP respondent said: "There was a lack of transparency in the CDA. They didn't hold public forums or have a website to show people what they were doing." Another IP respondent said: "CDA has not used any [media] outlet... We have trained them to use their Facebook page for example, but they are not yet using any of these tools. They can't deliver the information in the right way to citizens." A third IP staff member said the CDA "strategically closed themselves off out of fear that public engagement would lead to greater scrutiny and accusations that they were under foreign control....This could be counted as an unintended consequence – other implementers' use of international, rather than Libyan experts, led to the perception that the CDA was under control of foreigners."

In reference to the final criticism listed above – internal issues or ethnic discord – the ET notes that the CDA is by design a deliberative body, set up to negotiate consensus amongst parties with different views. As such, internal debate and discourse should be expected.

An important finding is that the CDA did not seem to have established a formal mechanism for the submission and publication of recommendations and comments. The lack of such a system may have contributed to criticisms about lack of response, poor communications, and lack of transparency.

In answer to the evaluation survey question about whether respondents have confidence that the CDA developed a constitution they would approve of, 57 percent (684 of 1192) answered “to some extent” or “to a large extent”. When disaggregated by location, both Suq Aljumaa and Tobruk significantly exceed 50 percent (277 out of 397 in Suq Aljumaa and 271 out of 401 in Tobruk), but Ghat falls well below, at 35 percent (136 of 394). These survey findings are shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Those who responded "To some extent" or "To a large extent" to survey question, "To what extent do you have confidence that the Constitution Drafting Assembly developed a constitution that you would approve of?"



To conclude the discussion of CDA criticisms, if the lack of transparency, poor communication and feedback are widely held perceptions, this would presumably undermine popular trust in the CDA. This may explain CDA’s middling “trust rating” of 34 percent (404 of 1192 survey respondents who report high or moderate trust in the CDA). (See Figure 4.) It is also noteworthy that trust in the CDA declined significantly from 54 percent as measured by the 2015 USAID/Libya DRG survey.¹⁴

CONSTITUTION REFLECTS NATIONAL CONSENSUS

The ultimate success of Objective 2 would be approval of the constitution by popular referendum, a threshold that has not been crossed yet. KII respondents were asked their opinions on prospects for holding the constitutional referendum in the near future. Table 16 summarizes their responses. (This open-ended question allowed multiple opinions to be expressed.)

Table 16: KII respondents’ opinions on the prospects for a constitutional referendum

| Opinion | USAID | IP | CDA | HoR/HSC | TOTAL |
|-----------------------------------|-------|----|-----|---------|-------|
| Referendum will happen in 2019 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 4 |
| HoR won’t go ahead | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Referendum is delayed by politics | 1 | 2 | | | 3 |
| Chances are not good (pessimism) | 2 | | | 1 | 3 |
| Lack of consensus on sequencing | 1 | 1 | | | 2 |

¹⁴ “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” USAID/Libya. January 2016.

| Opinion | USAID | IP | CDA | HoR/HSC | TOTAL |
|---|-------|----|-----|---------|-------|
| Referendum will happen before end of 2018 | 1 | | 1 | | 2 |
| People would like it tomorrow | | 1 | | | 1 |
| The draft is well formed (optimism) | | 1 | | | 1 |
| The draft needs more work | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Lack of support in south and east | | 1 | | | 1 |
| HoR support for the draft has turned positive | | 1 | | | 1 |

The July 2017 draft constitution reflects national consensus -- by definition, since it was approved by 43 of 44 active CDA members representing citizens from across Libya, although the CDA's approval is an imperfect proxy for a national referendum. An important caveat to this conclusion is that Amazigh and Tebu members boycotted some CDA activities and the vote on the draft Constitution.

All four CDA KII respondents said they believe there is sufficient national consensus to hold a constitutional referendum. The national legislative bodies are less certain:

- Two of three HoR respondents said the HoR is “not ready”. (One did not answer;) and
- Three of four HSC respondents said “ready”. (One said “not ready”).

When 22 KII respondents (four USAID, four IFES, five HNEC, three HoR, four HSC, and two DRCs) were asked whether the constitutional referendum should precede or follow the presidential and legislative elections, five of them (23 percent) stated that a constitution should be in place before transparent, credible elections can take place. One HoR member stated that a political agreement must be reached and reflected in the constitution to stipulate one unified parliamentary body before credible elections can take place.

The key obstacle to achievement of Objective 2 is lack of consensus in the HoR that obstructs legislation calling for the referendum. Some of the specific impediments are summarized in Table 9, above. They are beyond the influence of the LCB activity, and indeed, one of the USAID KII respondents said, “There is nothing ABA can do to help.”

Respondents from IPs and the CDA named six other organizations that are assisting the CDA with training, information dissemination, and local dialogue.

CDA members queried about LCB's contribution recalled workshops, text messages, brochures, training on using online social media, logistical support for meetings and events, and radio broadcasting. The only negative comment was that brochures printed by LCB were not of high quality. Two CDA KII respondents said: “ABA supported the process of recommendations and comments on the constitution [with] municipal councils, CSOs, experts in law and human rights, youth, and local government” and “Comments about the constitution sent to the CDA were prepared with the help of ABA, of course.”

One CDA respondent said that LCB was “one of the strongest supporters of the Outreach and Awareness Committee... They played a huge role providing us with advice and expertise that helped us a lot in our work.”

When CDA members were asked to identify the most urgent and useful areas in which donors could help CDA move toward a successful referendum, respondents cited the following: a dedicated TV channel to conduct large-scale awareness campaigns (one CDA respondent); meetings with women, youth, media activists, those who support September and February revolutions, as well as Islamists (one CDA); and more extensive and concentrated awareness activities with HoR and HSC support (one CDA). Other suggestions for continued support include: continued dialogue sessions with a focus on social media (IP); broadening of the topics addressed by CLs (USAID); TV, radio and social media messages in local dialects

from credible influencers addressing the issues (USAID); community dialogue events in the east, and for Touareg and Tebu and nomadic groups in the south (2 IP, 3 USAID); targeting of rural areas where there has been less donor attention (USAID); and continued work with mayors and legal professionals (IP).

CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE LCB OBJECTIVE 2

Table 17 below summarizes the changes in project activities made since the mid-term evaluation¹⁵ was conducted in order to achieve LCB Objective 2. Activities listed in the first column were extracted from Work Plans for project years 2.5, 3.0, 3.5 and 4.0. Changes noted in the middle column indicate whether an activity was *continued* from before the mid-term evaluation; *added* since the mid-term; or, *discontinued* since the mid-term. Activity status as shown in the table is approximate, not definitive, and some complete activities were seen to restart (for example, to update a legal analysis).

Table 17: Changes in project activities conducted under LCB Objective 2

| RESULTS AND ACTIVITIES SINCE THE MID-TERM EVALUATION | CHANGES (IF ANY) MADE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVE | NOTES |
|---|--|---|
| Result 2.1 Support capacity of the NDPC | | |
| (no activities planned) | | Activities delayed by NDPC Shift to Obj.1 activities |
| Result 2.2 Connect local council and civil society in National Dialogue | | |
| Community Liaison activities | Activities Added | |
| Support to UNSMIL Libyan national reconciliation efforts | Activities Added | |
| Result 2.3 Support local councils and civil society recommendations | | |
| (no activities planned) | | National Dialogue/NDPC failed |
| Result 2.4 Inform communities on priorities of National Dialogue process | | |
| (no activities planned) | | National Dialogue/NDPC failed |

The results under Objective 2 were unchanged since the mid-term evaluation. The lack of activity under Results 2.1, 2.3, and 2.4 are specific to the failure of the NDPC and its planned National Dialogue. Those activities were effectively shifted to Objective 1, Result 1.6 or combined with Result 1.6 (see above).

CONCLUSIONS ON LCB OBJECTIVE 2

The ET did not cross-check data reported for LCB indicators 4 and 5, but assumes the results reported by LCB are correct, based on anecdotal information in LCB progress reports and event trackers. Table 18 reflects LCB progress toward meeting its indicator targets.

¹⁵ Workplan Year 2 for the period March 2016-September 2016, June 9, 2016; Workplan Year 3 for the period October 2016-March 2017; Workplan Year 3 for the period April-September 2017; and Workplan Year 4 for the period October 2017-March 2018

Table 18: Progress in Meeting LCB Objective 2 Indicator Targets

| Indicator | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| 4. Number of Groups Trained in Conflict Mediation/Resolution Skills or Consensus Building Techniques with USG-Assistance | Exceeded | Exceeded | Exceeded |
| 5. Number of consensus building forums (multi-party, civil/security sector, and/or civil/political) held with USG Assistance | Exceeded | Exceeded | Exceeded |

LCB’s assistance to the NDPC and CDA has been largely successful, and it is encouraging that 25 percent of Libyans report feeling engaged in the national dialogue, while women, youth and disabled respondents exceed the average on this measure of engagement. Yet, without a referendum it is impossible to know if national consensus or a new “social contract” exists.

After the demise of the NDPC, LCB shifted resources to assist CDA, which helped the Assembly to develop a more strategic approach to its awareness and outreach activities. The late, slow development of CDA’s communication capacity is understandable since the counterpart NDPC, which should have filled this role, never really got started. Despite the slow start, awareness and outreach activities were successful, as supported by the Objective 1 findings.

CDA fell short on responding to citizens and groups that submitted recommendations. There was apparently no formal system set up to receive, host, and publicize recommendations. The ET does not have evidence that such a system was proposed and rejected. As such, this looks like a missed opportunity for LCB.

Weak CDA communications, adversarial media relations, and lack of responsiveness may have undermined public perceptions of CDA transparency and integrity. LCB did make significant contributions to close the communication gap once it was clear that the NDPC initiative had failed. An earlier shift of resources to CDA may have built more public trust in the constitution drafting process and CDA.

The draft constitution was approved by the CDA – a success demonstrating that consensus was built – but LCB Objective 2 cannot be fully achieved unless the constitutional referendum is held and a new constitution approved. A caveat concerning consensus is that KII respondents said that ethnic minorities/tribes were excluded or excluded themselves, either from dialogue or by boycotting CDA. Time and resources did not allow the ET to adequately research this topic.

The HoR still lacks consensus to call for a referendum, and it seems that this owes to political power struggles and unwillingness to cede interim powers rather than concerns about specific provisions in the draft constitution. The roadblock is therefore not a lack of awareness or dialogue, but political gridlock, primarily in the HoR.

Awareness and dialogue were necessary, but these alone have not been sufficient to push the constitution past the finish line. Other factors beyond the reach of CDA and LCB are impeding the referendum.

Many of the activities to support CDA -- captured under Objective 1, Result 1.6 above -- appear to recognize the shift of role and responsibilities from the NDPC to the CDA. By shifting assistance from the failed NDPC to the CDA, LCB found a way to continue promoting a national awareness and outreach strategy despite the lack of a viable national counterpart (the NDPC). This approach of adding, discontinuing, and relocating work plan activities effectively replaced the NDPC with the CDA as owner of the national awareness and outreach campaigns and substituted a more general “national dialogue” for the specific “National Dialogue” that had been planned by the NDPC. This “re-interpretation” was a practical solution to an unfortunate external development. Another approach, not taken, would have been to formally revise the language of Objective 2 and its results to replace the specific references to NDPC and National Dialogue with more general, flexible wording.

LCB OBJECTIVE 3: *Create consensus processes that will incorporate outputs from the national dialogue and constitution drafting to inform Libya’s governing processes beyond passing the constitution referendum in order to strengthen the political transition.*

FINDINGS ON LCB OBJECTIVE 3

KEY FINDINGS FOR LCB OBJECTIVE 3

- Relatively little work was done under Objective 3, which was designed to ramp up after approval of the new constitution
- Training provided to MoLD and municipal legal officers was considered useful in providing knowledge and skills that will strengthen governance and the political transition
- Interviewees and FGD participants noted many capacity gaps within MCs

The ET understood that this objective was intended to address “strengthening the political transition after the constitution is passed.” This is corroborated by the LCB PMP (Quarter Four 2015) which states that achieving Objective 3 requires ensuring “that legislation and policy are consistent with the Libya’s constitution and that gaps in legislation or policy are addressed.” The PMP further indicates ABA’s interpretation of Objective 3 by stating that LCB “will conduct public awareness on provisions of the constitution, support community input to address legislation and policy, will enhance government capacity with regard to legislative drafting and understanding concepts such as decentralization, and will train legal professionals on constitutional law issues.”¹⁶ Of these four, the first two clearly depend upon the prior approval of a new constitution. (The reference to legislation and policy is inferred to mean that which is required to implement the constitution, subsequent to its approval). The latter two activity areas do not seem to require an approved constitution and could precede the referendum. This is the assumed scope for LCB activities implemented to date.

The ET understood the reference to the “political transition” as “consensus processes,” i.e. governance processes of bodies such as municipal or local councils, not meaning that LCB would engage with or build capacity of political parties or party political processes.

USAID KII informants confirmed that, “The project was not intended to support the current government but a future government... to support a transition...LCB Objective 3 was intended to take place one year after the constitution was passed.” Another USAID informant said: “ABA did their best to implement their work plan, but the... political situation in Libya made those outcomes out of reach or difficult to reach at this moment.” A third USAID respondent advised that this was “reworked” to allow LCB to help establish methodologies for reaching agreement and build trust in government at the local level.

LCB implemented few activities under Objective 3, including: several workshops and expert groups in Years 1 and 2; and a five-day training workshop for 15 lawyers from MoLG and seven MCs in Year 3.

Table 19 below shows the indicator data relevant to LCB Objective 3 reported in the LCB PMP (Quarter Four 2017).

¹⁶ Performance Management Plan for the period August 27, 2016-February 26, 2016 (December 4, 2015)

Table 19: LCB Indicator data relevant to Objective 3

| No. | Indicator | | Y1 | Y2 | Y3 |
|-----|---|--------|-----|-----|-----|
| 7 | % of local government stakeholders with strengthened capacity to contribute to policy and legislation. | Target | N/A | 75% | 75% |
| | | Actual | | | 75% |
| 8 | The % of local government stakeholders with greater awareness of the constitution, improved understanding of the decentralized governmental structure, and/or increased knowledge of their role in or skills necessary to support a decentralized government structure. | Target | N/A | 75% | 75% |
| | | Actual | | | 73% |

The indicator targets expect that 75 percent of trainees will report increased capacity, awareness, knowledge or understanding, as appropriate.

The ET focused on reviewing the results of the legal training workshop, which was the only recent activity under Objective 3. A second outcome “trust in government” was examined only through a survey question that sought citizens’ perceptions of trust in government institutions.

CONSENSUS PROCESSES CREATED BEYOND THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM

The stated purpose of the legal training was to help MoLG and municipal legal officers “develop systematic approaches to drafting sound legislation as well as develop the skills required for leading a legislative drafting process.”¹⁷ The topic was selected following a request from the MoLG, which had identified administrative law, contract law, and writing MOUs as a high-priority skills gap.

The ET found that while this topic may not directly contribute to creating “consensus processes,” it nonetheless provides essential, fundamental knowledge and skills that will strengthen governance and political transition. One of the sub-topics – introduction to decentralization – fills a gap in Libyan experience, for example. As such, the legal training was deemed an appropriate activity for Objective 3.

To evaluate the outcome of the training, the ET sought to interview one training participant each from MoLG and an MC. The MoLG beneficiary was unavailable, and time constraints prevented substitution with another beneficiary from MoLG, leaving the KII for the MC trainee as the only source of information.

The MC legal training participant interviewed cited benefits of new knowledge about decentralization and gave examples of how new communication skills are being used on the job. The respondent said that the training was very helpful and led to improved communications between the mayor and Legal Department. The example cited was a change from previously informal verbal and written communications, to a new, more formal and official process of forming, documenting and approving communications and decisions. The respondent introduced the new procedures “immediately after getting back from the training.”

One USAID respondent commented that this training was “very beneficial and useful because everything in Libya is being built from scratch.”

TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

This outcome is posed by the ET as a sort of capstone tied to the goal of LCB - to contribute to the reconstruction of the social contract in Libya. The ET understands, echoing USAID’s long, global experience, that improved consensus processes and a smooth transition to new local administrative structure(s) will make Libya’s government more responsive and transparent, while improved consensus processes will make it more responsive and accountable. These elements of good governance are key

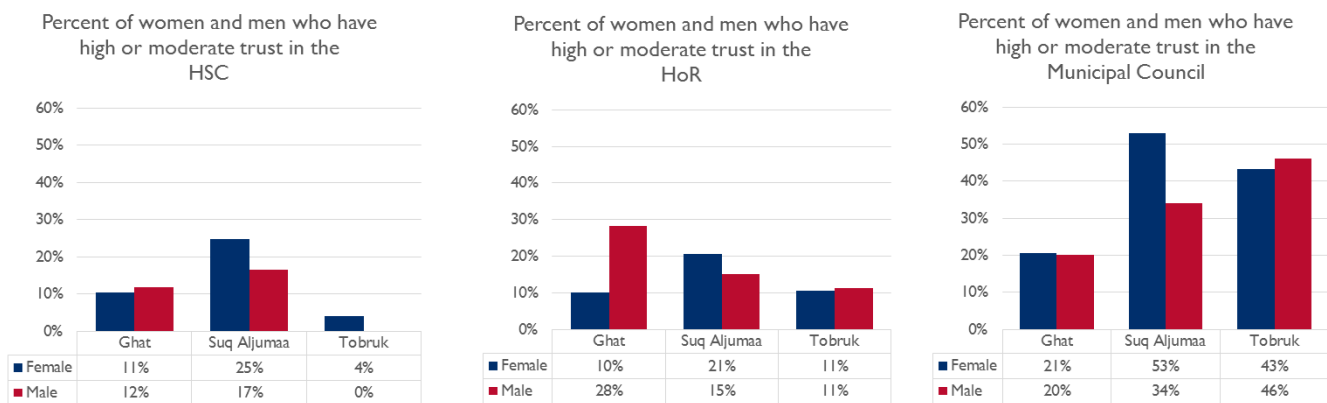
¹⁷ LCB Annual Report for the period October 1, 2016-September 30, 2017

contributors to people’s trust in government. Following the outcome harvesting approach, the ET therefore sought to gauge the outcome “Trust in Government” through the household survey. The goal “trust in government” stands in the future, since Libya’s political solution has so far proven elusive. The challenge ahead is highlighted by citizens’ low perceptions of trust as measured in the evaluation survey:

- Trust in the HoR (16 percent, or 190 of 1192 respondents) and HSC (11 percent, or 134 of 1192) is very low in absolute terms and relative to all other institutions; and
- Trust in local government (36 percent, or 433 of 1192) is modest.

Figure 4 above illustrates the relative “trust rankings” of 13 government and civic institutions. Figure 11 below disaggregates the findings by location and sex.

Figure 11: Responses of “highly” or “moderately” to survey question, “To what extent do you trust the following institutions to improve Libya’s future?” disaggregated by sex for the institutions of HoR, HSC, and MCs



The lack of an approved constitution is an obvious impediment to LCB’s work under Objective 3. The ET did not ascertain whether ABA had attempted to do more work on the sub-topics that could precede the constitution. It is understandable that some resources would be conserved by USAID and ABA for activities to follow the new constitution.

LCB appears to be the only program providing legal training to MoLG and MCs.

KII and focus groups respondents mentioned at least six capacity gaps in MCs:

- Council and staff skills are nascent. They have low capacity, little knowledge, and lack discipline (mentioned by 13 respondents)
- Council members and staff have limited understanding of the nature of MCs’ work, roles, job descriptions, responsibilities and authorities, and legal framework for their work (six respondents)
- Constituent relations, citizen engagement, and communication are poor (five respondents)
- Internal dialogue, consensus building processes, and skills are weak (four respondents)
- MCs are not cooperative or responsive to constituents (two respondents)
- Local-national relations are broken (one respondent)

Local councils, where they exist, are likely to share these weaknesses.

CHANGES MADE TO ACHIEVE LCB OBJECTIVE 3

Table 20 below summarizes the changes in project activities made since the mid-term evaluation¹⁸ was conducted in order to achieve LCB Objective 3. Activities listed in the first column were extracted from Work Plans for project years 2.5, 3.0, 3.5 and 4.0. Changes noted in the middle column indicate whether an activity was *continued* from before the mid-term evaluation; *added* since the mid-term; or, *discontinued* since the mid-term. Activity status as shown in the table is approximate, not definitive, and some complete activities were seen to restart (for example, to update a legal analysis).

Table 20: Changes in project activities conducted under LCB Objective 3

| RESULTS AND ACTIVITIES SINCE THE MID-TERM EVALUATION | CHANGES (IF ANY) MADE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVE | NOTES |
|--|--|---------------------------------|
| Result 3.1 Ensure legislature is responsive to civil society | | |
| Review of implementing regulations in Law 59 | Activity Added | |
| Capacity building of MoLG and municipal legal offices | Activity Added | High priority request from MoLG |
| Awareness and advocacy roundtables on women's rights | Activity Added | |
| Result 3.2 Ensure capacity of local councils | | |
| Conference on Social Accountability and Participatory Practices in Local Governance | Activity Added | |
| Capacity building of MoLG and municipal legal offices (training workshop for legal officers) | Activity Added | High priority request from MoLG |
| Result 3.3 Rule of Law institutions are engaged | | |
| Support CDA dissemination of information on constitutional principles and rights | Activity Added | |

Few activities were planned under Objective 3 in expectation that the constitution would be passed and that resources should be conserved for the post-constitution period. All three results clearly indicate this expected post-constitution phasing:

- Result 3.1 *Legislature elected under Libya's new constitution is responsive to the demands of civil society and local governments*
- Result 3.2 *Local councils have the capacity to build upon constitutional requirements of decentralized government and service delivery*
- Result 3.3 *Rule of law Institutions are engaged in the analysis, monitoring and dissemination of information about constitutional principles and rights*

Each result clearly depends upon the constitution either to clarify roles, requirements, principles and rights, or to enable the election of new local and national legislative bodies. The addition of training for

¹⁸ Workplan Year 2 for the period March 2016-September 2016, June 9, 2016; Workplan Year 3 for the period October 2016-March 2017; Workplan Year 3 for the period April-September 2017; and Workplan Year 4 for the period October 2017-March 2018

legal officers is a case of a clear requirement for basic skills needed to prepare for the post-constitution activities of local councils and the Ministry.

CONCLUSIONS ON LCB OBJECTIVE 3

The ET was unable to cross-check the reported achievements of indicators 7 and 8 shown in Table 12 above, but the one trainee interviewed cited increased capacity. Table 21 reflects LCB progress toward meeting its indicator targets.

Table 21: Progress in Meeting LCB Objective 3 Indicator Targets

| Indicator | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 |
|--|--------|---------|---------|
| 7. Percentage of local government stakeholders with strengthened capacity to contribute to policy and legislation | n/a | Not Met | Met |
| 8. Percentage of local government stakeholders with greater awareness of the constitution, improved understanding of the decentralized governmental structure, and/or increased knowledge of their role in or skills necessary to support a decentralized government structure | n/a | Not Met | Not Met |

The LCB legal training was useful to participants and demonstrated a model for building capacities needed by MCs and MoLG. The model could be improved by supplementing training with follow-up, face-to-face consulting, or mentoring to help trainees apply their new skills to specific work tasks. The ET was not certain whether such a follow-up was planned, but it was not mentioned by the KII respondent.

There is a huge need to build MCs' capacities. Municipal and local councils are new bodies working without experienced support institutions such as professional associations or the benefit of experience from analogous democratic bodies such as unions or parent-teacher organizations. Local governance bodies are key elements of the social contract, as they are responsible for essential, local public services; constitute the "face of government" most seen by most citizens, and are incubators for public sector leaders and managers who may grow from local to regional and national stature. It is important to build them up.

Although the constitution has not been passed, much could be done to prepare for the democratic transition. Useful preparatory work could be done now by MoLG with donor support, such as assisting municipal and local council members with assessing and planning and assisting with staff development (potential crossover or collaboration with LEGS Objective 2). Given the importance of municipal and local councils, a thorough examination of capacity gaps, priorities and opportunities seems warranted, but the ET did not see evidence of such strategic planning that could accelerate the launch of wider local government capacity building as a means to strengthen the political transition.

Trust in government is likely to remain low until the national political solution is achieved, the new constitution is approved, and the roles, responsibilities and authorities at each level of government are clarified and promulgated. Once the local administrative structure is defined, and once municipal and local councils have the resources and skills they need to fulfill their duties, MCs are expected to demonstrate good governance practices, consensus processes are expected to improve, and trust in government should begin to increase.

Few activities were planned or implemented under Objective 3 which was clearly designed to ramp up after the adoption of the new constitution, and election of new local and national legislative bodies. The initiative to provide legal training in advance of these missing milestones shows a model that could have been replicated, for example, by providing more capacity building on different topics to local councils and staff. However, this would have taken resources away from the post-constitution efforts. While the provision of more basic training would seem to contribute to Objective 3, which speaks of "strengthening the democratic political transition", it is difficult to assess the relative merits of this approach versus

holding onto resources which could be more deliberately focused after the achievement of the external milestones. The LCB Quarterly Report for the period April 1 – June 30, 2017, for example, notes that, “this quarter, ABA ROLI was required to slow down or postpone implementation of several activities because of the risk of overspending its current USAID obligation.” This indirectly corroborates the conclusion that resources needed to be conserved for the post-constitution activities.

RECOMMENDATIONS IN RESPONSE TO PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS LEGS AND LCB OBJECTIVES

HIGH NATIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION

USAID should continue supporting HNEC at least until the conduct of the elections announced for December 2018.

Considering the announcement on May 29, 2018 that presidential and parliamentary elections will be held in December 2018, USAID should continue its steady, ongoing support for HNEC, at least until the elections and the follow-on tasks required of HNEC. It is critical to Libya’s future that the next elections be widely seen as having been conducted fairly and freely.

To prepare for the upcoming elections, USAID should assist HNEC to train newly-hired staff in its field offices. In the longer term, USAID should support HNEC in establishing a training unit for staff, including field office hires. A curriculum and training materials should be developed for the various long-term and short-term field office positions.

Following the elections, USAID should re-assess whether HNEC can successfully conduct future elections with less support, especially if the obstacles blocking the budgeting and allocations of operational funds to HNEC are resolved within the government.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND HIGH STATE COUNCIL

USAID should continue providing limited support for HoR and HSC while political conflict limits the ability of these bodies to function properly.

Although neither the HoR nor HSC is functioning to the extent they should, the efforts to encourage stakeholder input into their work have paid off. The data collected does not definitively tie the assistance provided by NDI to the results, but at a minimum, the extent to which HoR- and HSC-elected members targeted by NDI acted upon input from constituents indicates that there is a willingness to engage. USAID should continue working with the both the HoR and HSC, but limiting support to engagement with constituents and expanding the number of government counterparts.

Once a legitimate and unified national legislature is in place, a comprehensive support program to promote and support good governance should be considered. Proper functioning of a democratic legislative body is not within the recent experience of Libyans, so it will be important to partner with a parliamentary body, both its elected members and Diwan, to ensure that their legislative, oversight, and representative responsibilities are carried out.

MUNICIPAL AND LOCAL COUNCILS

USAID should assist Libyan stakeholders to more strategically reform the local administration framework; build general skills of municipal and local councils while waiting for the new constitution; and deliver specific knowledge and skills to implement local administration forms embodied in the new constitution and laws once they are adopted.

USAID should broaden and deepen capacity building for municipal and local councils in coordination with other implementers and donors. Until the new constitution is approved and the local administration framework clarified (see MoLG Recommendations, below) capacity building should be focused on general, foundational skills for effective councils. This may include, for example, communication, leadership, negotiation, office automation, and management skills. In larger municipalities with more experienced staff, it may include more advanced skills and skills specific to the services being delivered, such as planning, emergency services, budgeting, building controls, licensing, tax collection, billing and collection, and customer service. Given the low starting point, there is a large body of potential MC trainees. Simultaneous tracks of basic skills, plus targeted skills to address urgent needs and demonstrate tangible results, should be considered.

Once the local administration structure is clarified in an approved constitution, USAID should assist MoLG and groups such as the Mayors' Association to publicize the new roles and authorities assigned to government units, and orient and train council members, and ministry, governorate, and local staff to execute newly-assigned roles and duties.

In the interim, USAID should also consider assisting MoLG, selected other ministries, and leaders from a few representative municipalities to conduct strategic planning for the transition to the new local administration framework. This could be done through a series of occasional workshops. The goals would be to anticipate the content and sequencing of implementing regulations, major activities and resource requirements; to consider timelines for major actions; and to identify parties responsible for them. Improving preparedness in this way would facilitate the transition, would alert relevant stakeholders, and could be used to engage donors and identify critical areas for donor assistance.

In the interim, and if it can be done in a politically neutral fashion, USAID should also consider assisting Libyan stakeholders, experts, and legislators to articulate the new local administration framework. Key starting points would be the broad brush outlines contained in the Local Government chapter of the (draft) constitution and Law 59, which provides practical detail needed to implement the vision outlined in the constitution. The goal of this activity would be to revise or replace Law 59 with a local administration law adapted to the constitution, Libya's unique circumstances, and popular expectations. Some dimensions of this dialogue may include the following questions:

- Which government functions and authorities should be centralized (e.g. owned and managed by a ministry or national service provider), deconcentrated (e.g. managed by a regional outpost of a central ministry or provider), or decentralized (owned and operated by local authorities, though typically subject to state regulation e.g. via quality and safety standards, or tariff controls)? A unique blend of central, deconcentrated, and decentralized functions evolves in each country -- Libya's own model will need to be worked out by Libyans.
- How will political decentralization be achieved? (e.g. define the local political system, accountability of the council to the electorate, and council-executive power relationships)?
- How will administrative decentralization and de-concentration will be achieved (e.g. planning and regulating development; owning and managing people, public property and funds; and providing services)?
- How will fiscal decentralization will be achieved (e.g. define intergovernmental budgeting and fiscal transfers, expenditure and revenue assignments, powers to tax, and to borrow)?
- What will the respective roles of government, private industry, and civil society in providing services be?

USAID could assist such a national dialogue through activities such as convening expert groups; creating awareness in the national legislature, executive branch, and key municipalities; enabling dialogue, including advocacy to the legislature, which would ultimately be asked to pass a local administration law; and working with ministries to develop functional roadmaps that reallocate tasks and resources under the new local administration structure.

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

USAID should increase assistance to help the MoLG and other key stakeholders to analyze and plan local administration reforms.

USAID should coordinate and facilitate joint working groups of experts, MoLG leaders, mayors and legislators to analyze and define the local administration legal framework beyond what is likely contained in the draft constitution. The starting point should be a revision of Law 59 or its replacement with a new local administration law. The same group(s) could be tasked with outlining transition strategies for the most affected government units – ministries and municipal and local councils. Once the local administration structure is enacted in law, this assistance should extend to publicizing the results and implications, and developing and promulgating the subordinate implementing regulations and policies.

Adoption of a new constitution, electing a new unified government, or adopting a new local administration law may trigger new local elections followed by an influx of new, inexperienced local council members. They will need to be oriented to their roles, functions and powers, and trained. USAID should help to design and implement a nationwide capacity-building campaign and build sustainable training capacity under the auspices of MoLG or the Mayors' Association, for example.

In the interim, USAID/IRI should provide limited assistance to MoLG to build capacity – basic skills of staff who are expected to survive any restructuring and changes of leadership that likely would follow elections and the constitutional referendum. Special attention could be given to skills that will help MoLG make the transition, such as strategic planning, organizational development, functional mapping and process re-engineering, management of human resources, budgeting, and communication skills.

CONSTITUTION DRAFTING ASSEMBLY

USAID should assist the CDA to inform citizens about the draft constitution in the lead-up to the referendum and about the new constitution once it is adopted.

USAID should continue LCB assistance to CDA's Outreach and Awareness Committee to implement its Strategy up to the point of the referendum. USAID should assist CDA to review and refine its Strategy from time to time if the interim situation is prolonged or conditions change significantly.

If the CDA strategy includes a new round of community dialogue and recommendations, CDA and LCB should consider partnering with MCs and CSOs more strategically than before to expand local awareness and dialogue, and generate new recommendations.

If the draft constitution is re-opened by CDA before the referendum or because of a failed referendum, USAID should assist CDA to convene experts, CDA members and others (as appropriate) to analyze and revise sections of the draft to resolve obstacles to votes by the CDA or HoR. The assistance to analyze and revise drafts should be repeated as long as it appears the CDA and legislature(s) are making progress toward a draft that reflects consensus and will usher in a unity government.

Once the constitution is approved by referendum, USAID should assist CDA with follow-up tasks – if the CDA has any – such as raising public awareness about the contents and implications of the new constitution, and next steps in fulfilling the social contract it represents.

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

USAID should consider designing and implementing a broad program of support to CSOs to fill a gap in Libya's democracy and governance landscape.

The concept of civil society is still new in Libya, yet CSO partners have vigorously undertaken advocacy campaigns. Without strengthening the sector more broadly, efforts pinpointed exclusively on advocacy will limit the potential results. In order to sustain the successes achieved under LEGS, USAID should consider starting up a broad program of support for CSOs. This sector will need guidance not only to further develop its capacity for advocacy but also with organizational capacity building to legitimize the sector and ensure that civil society remains a part of a democratic society in Libya. Such a program may not be possible in the east under the present conditions. A CSO strengthening program would fill a significant gap in the democracy and governance sector in Libya.

A CSO strengthening program should include basic orientation on the role of civil society. It should also include training, practical workshops, and mentoring on developing a mission statement, strategic planning, organizational development, financial management, fundraising, leadership, management of staff and volunteers, membership development, and so forth. Advocacy efforts begun under LEGS and LCB to foster stakeholder engagement should be continued as well.

While issues related to women, PWDs, and youth were successful in gaining traction, the range of issues supported by a CSO strengthening program should be widened to reflect the full spectrum of issues of concern to Libyans.

VI. EVALUATION QUESTION 2: ACHIEVEMENTS BEYOND THE PLANNED OBJECTIVES

FINDINGS ON ACHIEVEMENTS BEYOND THE PLANNED OBJECTIVES

Using a focused outcome harvesting approach, the ET developed a set of outcomes that would be expected based on each program's results framework. Respondents were then asked to substantiate and validate those outcomes, and the evidence collected was used to identify any additional outcomes. Through this process, the ET found the following instances of additional outcomes or achievements outside the LEGS and LCB results frameworks.

JUDICIARY CAPACITY FOR ELECTIONS

Under LEGS Objective 1: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders, the ET had developed a set of two outcomes:

- HNEC capacity to manage transparent and credible elections; and
- Public confidence in elections.

The ET theorized that if these two outcomes were achieved, it would lead to the achievement of the objective. However, through outcome harvesting, five respondents also mentioned the role of the judiciary.

The role of the judiciary in shaping public confidence in elections was highlighted by one of the two DRCs, which said that public confidence in elections is low in part because, "Many candidates run in elections only because the judiciary can't convict them or punish them if they do something wrong."

The ET compared this perception with the attitudes toward the judiciary expressed by citizens in the survey. In answer to the question, "To what extent do you trust the following institutions to improve Libya's future?," 670 out of the 1192 (56 percent) survey respondents answered "highly" or "moderately" regarding the judiciary. See Figure 4 above. There were no significant differences among cities, between sexes, among differing age groups, or between PWDs and those without disabilities. This compares with 63 percent in 2015 when the same question was asked in a USAID-funded DRG survey.¹⁹

¹⁹ "Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey" USAID/Libya. January 2016.

Three of the five HNEC officials interviewed raised the importance of the role that the judiciary plays in processing and archiving complaints filed after elections. One HNEC official noted, “We have really good judges, but this whole election process is new for them. They don’t know who to deal with or what the laws are.” Another HNEC official explained the assistance that IFES provided in holding workshops for HNEC and the Supreme Judicial Council to review, reform, and codify the electoral legal framework. He also credited the “Guidelines for Understanding, Adjudicating and Resolving Disputes in Elections” that was developed by IFES and shared with both HNEC and the judiciary.

One IFES staff member noted the ongoing facilitation that IFES provided to ensure continued communication and cooperation between HNEC and the judiciary. He explained that the Libyan court system is highly localized, so communication on the national level is challenging.

These statements are in keeping with the LEGS quarterly reports, which reflect that IFES provided support to the judicial sector through technical assistance, creation of a platform for information sharing, training, and workshops. IFES support for the judiciary in the area of electoral dispute resolution included technical assistance: development of a training plan; training in-country and a study tour abroad; sharing of lessons learned on election dispute resolution; developing a timeline for resolving complaints; providing an expert to oversee the judiciary’s handling of complaints from the elections; and facilitating coordination with HNEC. In particular, CEPPS requested approval to modify its work plan for the period April 2017 – October 2017: “Building on IFES-led discussions in 2016, IFES will conduct an assessment and prepare a desk study of past [election dispute resolution] legislative frameworks and practices in Libya.”²⁰ IFES also developed and installed *Judgenet.ly*, an internet platform to facilitate information sharing within the judiciary, and trained court clerks to use it. IFES assisted the judiciary on electoral law by providing information and advice; facilitating coordination between HNEC and the Supreme Judicial Council to review, reform, and codify the electoral legal framework; and holding workshops to develop draft legislation. In the area of out-of-country voting, IFES provided training and held workshops.

Table 22 below shows the indicator data relevant to capacity of the judicial sector to implement transparent and credible elections reported in the LEGS Performance Management Plan for fiscal year 2018. This document includes targets and actual achievements for fiscal year 2017 but no prior years.

Table 22: LEGS Indicator data relevant to capacity of judiciary sector to conduct transparent and credible elections

| INDICATOR | FYI (2016-17) | |
|---|---------------|-------------|
| | TARGET | ACTUAL |
| CEPPS Objective 1: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders | | |
| Indicator 1.1.2.1: Number of judicial personnel trained with USG assistance | N/A: | 3 (all men) |

SHIFT OF ACTIVITIES TO MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

Objective 2 in the original LEGS Agreement is strongly focused on national institutions, saying very little about MCs. Yet IRI achieved significant success building capacities of MCs. One USAID staff member said the MCs have “...come a long way in understanding their representative role...” thanks to IRI’s work, which was called “...some of the best work USAID has done in Libya”. One of the IP respondents noted that this was “...the biggest change we made” and said that, “USAID was responsive to changing the Work Plan to focus only on sub-national government... We eliminated things we weren’t doing and changed from national to sub-national.” In this case, the “achievements beyond the planned objectives” were

²⁰ Letter from CEPPS to USAID Agreement Officer Representative with Subject: Request for AOR Approval of Additional Activity (August 17, 2017)

increased MC capacity and projects implemented by MCs and stakeholders, which had been given a boost by IRI's training. One example cited by an IP respondent was an MC making [structural] changes to accommodate PWDs when they moved to a new council building. USAID did then modify the Agreement to formally introduce sub-objectives for activities with sub-national government units (MCs).

CONSENSUS VS. DIALOGUE ON THE CONSTITUTION

LCB Objective 1 seems to prescribe that local citizens should reach consensus on constitutional recommendations before informing the CDA. In practice, while some local dialogue events did seek and achieve consensus, it is only the CDA that must reach consensus to approve a draft of the constitution. As a deliberative body, the CDA should be seeking to know the whole range of people's recommendations and comments before making their decisions. Local dialogue has the positive effects of increasing people's awareness and helping to shape their opinions and hone arguments in favor or against specific issues. Seeking local consensus, however, risks promoting only majority or unanimous views, to the exclusion of minority views. Comments on this from CLs and other informants are summarized above in the LCB Objective 1 Findings.

NATIONAL DIALOGUE VS. NATIONAL DIALOGUE

LCB Objective 2 provides an example of overly prescriptive language that was bypassed in favor of the general intent of the Objective. The Objective refers to a specific "National Dialogue" activity that was expected to be led by the NDPC. LCB worked with the NDPC for more than one year, but when the NDPC became dysfunctional, LCB shifted resources to a more general national dialogue and increased assistance to CDA, which filled the void left by the NDPC.

The LCB Quarterly Report for the period April 1-June 30, 2016 states, "Because NDPC has been limited in its ability to implement programming at a sustained pace, ABA has continued to support local dialogues through its community liaison network and other dialogue and consensus building work under this program." The ET found that reporting on Result 2.1 "Work with the NDPC" was dropped starting with the LCB Annual Report for the period October 1, 2016-September 30, 2017.

One USAID respondent commented that the National Dialogue was shifted to community dialogue and that she felt it was "...ok to leave it in the Agreement, even though the focus shifted." A second USAID staff member characterized this as "...a re-interpretation of the objective." The ET concurs with a third USAID respondent, who said that "...the flexibility to adapt the situation is very important. IPs need the flexibility to shift activities to continue contributing..." in the face of changing circumstances.

CONCLUSIONS ON ACHIEVEMENTS BEYOND THE PLANNED OBJECTIVES

JUDICIARY CAPACITY FOR ELECTIONS

The ET did not collect data directly from the judicial sector to validate data reported for LEGS Indicator 1.1.2.1: Number of judicial personnel trained with USG assistance.

Judicial capacity to manage transparent and credible elections is an outcome needed to achieve LEGS Objective 1: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders. The judiciary holds a critical role in the electoral process. IFES played a role in supporting the judiciary with electoral dispute resolution during the elections in 2014. Overall, its support has been limited, however. By contrast, much more of the IFES efforts have been directed at building HNEC capacity. This represents a gap in the donor-funded democracy and governance portfolios. While the pessimistic comments from the DRC were not widely shared by other respondents, they may well represent the views of a sector of the population. The survey indicates that the judiciary is among the most highly trusted institutions in Libya, but it is noteworthy that the level of confidence among the public decreased slightly. An increase in the capacity of the judiciary as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically electing leaders is a necessary outcome to achieve an increase in public confidence in the

integrity of elections. A strengthening of judicial capacity represents an additional achievement, albeit limited in scope, of LEGS.

SHIFT OF ACTIVITIES TO MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

By shifting activities and resources to sub-national councils, LEGS exploited a new opportunity when progress with the national legislatures had slowed. The sub-national activities were outside the Objectives of the original Agreement. In this example the sub-objectives were formally modified, still in keeping with the overall Program Goal to strengthen citizen confidence in Libya's elected government during a key political transition in the country.

CONSENSUS VS. DIALOGUE ON THE CONSTITUTION

USAID wisely allowed the LCB team to follow the “spirit of the law” (dialogue), rather than the “letter of the law” (consensus). By stopping short of potentially exclusionary consensus, the activities as implemented were perhaps more inclusive and consistent with the Program Goal, to “Contribute to the reconstruction of the social contract in Libya by providing all Libyans... the opportunity to participate in the creation of a revised constitutional framework...”

NATIONAL DIALOGUE VS. NATIONAL DIALOGUE

The shift from National Dialogue to a general national dialogue is not an example of an “achievement beyond the planned objectives,” but an instance where strict adherence to the objective would have curtailed the desired achievement. Again, reinterpreting the Objective enabled USAID and ABA to largely achieve the desired results.

USAID and the IPs kept LEGS and LCB moving toward their goals despite changes in circumstances that might otherwise have prevented progress. They also made changes to exploit unforeseen opportunities. The LEGS and LCB objectives were ultimately broad enough, or were interpreted flexibly, to enable the programs to adapt activities to sustain progress. Only in the example of the shift in focus to work with MCs was a formal modification to the LEGS agreement necessary. In the other cases, time consuming and human-resource-intensive formal modifications were not necessary to keep the activities relevant and effective, despite the sometimes drastic changes that took place in Libya during the life of the projects.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON ACHIEVEMENTS BEYOND THE PLANNED OBJECTIVES

JUDICIAL SECTOR

USAID should utilize the assessment being conducted under LCB to design and implement a program of support to the judicial sector to fill a gap in Libya's democracy and governance landscape.

Judicial capacity represents a gap in donors' democracy and governance portfolios. Electoral processes are still new to the judicial sector, and an electoral legal framework is still incomplete. The data collected through this evaluation regarding the judicial sector was limited to electoral and constitutional issues, however. The ET does not have sufficient data to fully lay out what a future USAID program should entail or how this should be prioritized in comparison with other democracy and governance funding. However, the LCB Quarterly Report for the period October 1 – December 31, 2017 indicates that ABA had begun an initiative “Assessing and Strengthening Libyan Justice Sector Capacity” under its Rapid Response Fund.

The program components are to: (1) provide baseline knowledge of the effectiveness, challenges, and outline reform priorities of the justice sector through a Judicial Baseline Assessment; (2) provide technical assistance in targeted areas to promote judicial efficiency, accountability, independence, and effectiveness of the Libyan justice sector; and (3) train justice sector actors in the areas identified by the judicial baseline assessment. Components 2 and 3 will begin in April

2018, informed by and following completion of the Judicial Baseline Assessment.²¹

Once the assessment is complete, USAID should have information to make a determination as to what the needs of the sector are for development in order to decide upon what future programs to prioritize.

PROGRAM DESIGN AND WORK PLANS

In fluid environments, USAID objective statements should be broad, not highly prescriptive; IP work plans should be specific but achieve needed flexibility from frequent, informed reviews and updates.

USAID should design its programs in fluid settings like Libya using broad, flexible objective statements that speak to desired results while avoiding prescriptive language that may impede progress when overtaken by external events.

Conversely, activities in the IP work plans should be specific and clearly defined. The flexibility needed by the IPs should be achieved through frequent work plan updates, approved by USAID. The ET endorses the practice of 6-monthly work plan reviews and updates that USAID/Libya is already using for LEGS and LCB.

The ET recommends that USAID improve how its programs adapt to changing conditions by instituting annual mini-political economic analysis workshops scheduled, for example, after the IPs' annual progress reports are drafted but before their work plans are finalized. It would make sense for USAID to sponsor such an activity that would inform all of its Libya IPs about the changing political environment and USG/USAID priorities for the year ahead. Such a workshop could involve two to three days of intensive debate and analysis by a core team of a few experts, drawn from Libyan academics or journalists, CSO leaders, and external gurus such as international "Libya watchers" and political affairs officers from the U.S. Department of State or Embassy. On the final day, the USAID Contracting Officer Representatives, AORs, and senior international and Libyan IP team leaders would be invited to join the group to hear their findings and predictions, and discuss the implications for program design and management. Involving multiple IPs would contribute to coordination and strategic planning.

VII. EVALUATION QUESTION 3: MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONAL DESIGN FACTORS WHICH FACILITATED PROGRAM ADAPTATION TO THE LOCAL CONTEXT

Libya presents numerous operational challenges. The ET endeavored to identify the greatest and most complex of these challenges, understand how they affect program implementation, and learn the solutions that IPs have been able to find to manage these challenges.

FINDINGS ON MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONAL DESIGN FACTORS

All IPs interviewed recognized the following as obstacles impeding progress of their activities:

- Security risks
- Travel
- Remote management
- Compliance with regulations on CSOs and iNGOs
- Lack of cash liquidity

²¹ LCB Quarterly Report for the period October-December 2017

SECURITY RISKS

One local staff member noted that they had a workshop scheduled in the south that had to be cancelled due to a conflict that erupted. Another local staff member noted that the insecurity prevents international experts from coming to Libya to provide technical assistance and training. A third local staff member reported that it is even difficult to move within Tripoli much of the time. One expatriate IP staff member said that they have had trouble with the intelligence services and police; their office is being surveilled electronically. As well, some of their CSO beneficiaries were harassed and detained by police, and a sub-awardee was threatened on Facebook. Another expatriate IP staff member noted the frequency with which events get cancelled because of security risks.

IPs manage these risks in various ways. One local staff member said that it is important to establish and maintain a network of local contacts. Another local staff member said that their approach is to keep a low profile. A third local staff member said that they have to carefully select neutral locations for their events. Two expatriates said that they rely on their professional security companies, which advise on risks, assist with travel, including both beneficiaries traveling to attend events abroad and expatriates within Libya, and secure accommodation for expatriates in Libya. Another expatriate noted that expatriates operate out of an office in Tunis while Libyan staff operate their office in-country.

TRAVEL

Insecurity is the cause of some of the challenges with travel. Many of these challenges have been discussed above under Evaluation Question 1, including the inability to bring beneficiaries from eastern Libya to Tripoli for events. As mentioned above, one local staff member noted that international experts do not come to Libya to deliver workshops. Two expatriates said that since February 2015, U.S. Government policy has prohibited U.S. nationals from going to Libya. Another expatriate noted that visas to enter Libya must be applied for in the traveler's country of residence, while most expatriates are operating out of Tunis. This requires them to travel home to submit applications and receive visas, taking them away from their duties in the Tunis offices.

One local staff member said that it is important to be registered as a not-for-profit organization to obtain travel visas. Another local staff member said that events are held in Tunis or Istanbul, in particular those events targeted for women. An expatriate noted that TCNs are traveling to Libya, while U.S. nationals cannot.

One local staff member suggested that the U.S. Government should intervene with the Libyan government to assist contractors with obtaining visas.

REMOTE MANAGEMENT

With most senior management abroad, Libyan staff are entrusted to run the project offices and be the face of the project to beneficiaries and government counterparts. All expatriate staff, but only two out of eight local staff, found remote management to be an impediment to their activities. A local staff member mentioned that their work is delayed by the difference in time zones between Tripoli and Washington, DC, as well as by different holiday schedules. An expatriate staff member remarked that she misses out on nuances of events and regular feedback from counterparts and beneficiaries, reducing her ability to monitor the project and verify results.

A local staff member and an expatriate staff member both said that senior leadership is regularly present in Libya, reducing the extent to which the activities must be managed remotely. One expatriate said that they invite media to their events and occasionally follow up events with phone calls to participants as ways to monitor their activities. One expatriate said that Libyan staff meet in Tunis two to three times per year. Two expatriates said that frequent communication using Skype, especially with video, is vital. Another expatriate said that he measures staff productivity rather than trying to validate the number of hours

Libyan staff spend in the office. He also said that all financial transactions are approved by senior leadership and signed by two Libyan staff to maintain financial controls.

One HNEC official interviewed acknowledged the extended time needed to implement activities when the headquarters, with decision-making authority, is located in the U.S.

One additional outcome likely due to remote management is the lack of Libyan staff capacity. While donor funded projects are relatively new in Libya, local staff generally do not have experience managing such projects. In this case, they do not have day-to-day contact with senior management to observe, discuss, and participate in management meetings. They are missing an important input from experienced expatriate leaders and managers that local staff in other more secure locations benefit from. Using the focused outcome harvesting approach to answer EQ1 and EQ2, the ET queried IPs on the higher-level results anticipated and actually achieved. Expatriates provided substantial insightful answers in nearly all cases, while local staff refrained from answering or gave very short answers about half of the time. In particular, to the question, “What do you think will be the most lasting contribution of LEGS and LCB?”, all five expatriates provided detailed answers, while only two of eight local staff were able to answer the question.

Even on operational questions such as insecurity and remote management, local staff had far less to contribute. Two local staff even maintained that insecurity does not affect program activities. Six of the eight do not believe that remote management affects their activities. Two expatriate staff credited the success of their activities in part to the capacity of their local staff, however.

COMPLIANCE WITH REGULATIONS ON CSOS AND INGOS

One local staff said that the regulations of the Commission for Civil Society are unclear and change often. One expatriate reported that they are unable to offer sub-grants under the current regulations. Another expatriate noted that their CSO partner in Benghazi has to have all training events approved by authorities in advance and some topics, such as elections, were prohibited. A third expatriate said that even in the west, compliance is getting more complicated and time consuming.

One local staff member said that hiring an experienced consultant has allowed them to navigate the changing regulations. One expatriate stressed how important it is to comply with all regulations and pay taxes. By staying above reproach, they were able to decline an illegal request from the security services to provide information on their staff. Another expatriate stated that he nurtures his relations with the Commission for Civil Society.

LACK OF CASH LIQUIDITY

The monetary crisis in Libya, where cash for operations and events taking place in Libya is difficult to obtain, is negatively impacting activities. Two local staff members said that their activities are limited or cancelled because they cannot access cash. One expatriate explained that there are limits to the amount of cash that can be withdrawn. She went on to say that mobile banking has not been adopted yet in Libya, and the amount of cash that can be withdrawn from banks in Tunis is tightening up, as well. Another expatriate said that private companies are prohibited from transferring cash.

One local staff member stated that they are working with a new bank in hopes that they will be able to access funds. One expatriate said that they are using wire transfers and certified checks. Two expatriates said that they are carrying large amounts of cash into country, which puts them at risk. Libyan staff come to Tunis to collect their salaries.

One expatriate suggested that a solution should be sought by high-level U.S. Government officials with their Libyan counterparts to ensure that U.S. assistance can continue to be provided in Libya.

CONCLUSIONS ON MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONAL DESIGN FACTORS

Box 2: Remote Management Practices Used in Afghanistan

- To reduce delays in obtaining approvals from the Home Office, the Chief of Party (COP) was given increased authority to commit funds in the field, subject to robust monitoring.
- An internal audit unit was established, separate from the finance and accounting team, which reported directly to the COP and home office senior manager. This unit was responsible to test or audit procedures and implementation in areas such as: timekeeping, payroll, procurement, hiring, and monitoring and evaluation (M&E), including random visits to community projects and training events.
- Managers and M&E staff were issued cell phones and required to send photos with geographic coordinates during some site visits and training events, as a means of monitoring or verification.
- Highly qualified and experienced Afghan staff were hired for senior management and leadership positions, and expatriate experts invested continuously in their training and mentoring.
- A monthly in-house capacity building event was conducted for all mid-level and senior staff. Topics alternated between (1) introducing new technical, management or communication skills and (2) presentations by Afghan team leaders on the role and activities of their unit. In the first category, staff members were encouraged to submit topics for future sessions and deliver training in their area of expertise. The second type gave the top tier program leaders opportunities to check how well managers and team leaders understood and communicated program goals, objectives, policies and activities.

- Hiring a TCN in a senior management position who can travel frequently to Libya.

REMOTE MANAGEMENT

Remote management requires more time and resources, and introduces the risk of reduced quality. IPs have found many work-arounds to keep their activities moving ahead. However, there remains room for management improvements. Operational strategies that have partially been effective include:

- Regular travel to Libya by third country national senior management;
- Taking extra measures to monitor project activities;
- Gathering all staff regularly in a location outside of Libya;
- Frequent communication via Skype or other applications allowing camera as well as voice; and
- Ensuring strict policies and procedures for financial management.

USAID and IPs have adapted well to the challenges arising from insecurity, travel, and compliance with regulations on not-for-profit organizations. Less successful solutions have been found for remote management and the liquidity crisis.

SECURITY RISKS

IPs have successfully kept their expatriate and local staff, partners, and beneficiaries safe with few incidents, and those incidents mainly involved CSO partners. Mitigating strategies that have been used successfully are:

- Maintaining a network of contacts to stay apprised of and avoid security incidents;
- Keeping a low profile and allowing local partners and counterparts to be the public face;
- Selecting locations for events where security incidents are unlikely;
- Hiring a professional, experienced security company; and
- Operating an office for senior expatriate management in a nearby location, while local staff work in-country.

The last solution listed introduces another set of challenges, however, linked to remote management.

TRAVEL

The operational and design factors that have allowed LEGS and LCB to overcome the limitations to travel are:

- Maintaining registration as a not-for-profit so as to facilitate visas;
- Holding events outside of Libya to ensure participation; and

One consequence of remote management is that local staff are denied the opportunity for day-to-day mentoring and modeling by senior managers with experience implementing donor-funded projects. The ET found a lack of local staff capacity, where they were able to speak in detail about activities but largely lacked vision; an understanding of the larger goals, results, and achievements of the activities; and even a management capacity to handle operational issues.

COMPLIANCE WITH REGULATIONS ON CSOS AND INGOs

While regulations on CSOs and iNGOs are onerous and frequently change, IPs have stayed in compliance by hiring an experienced person with connections to stay on top of changes and ensure accurate paperwork and follow-up with authorities.

LACK OF CASH LIQUIDITY

The monetary crisis in Libya and regulations prohibiting many alternative ways to access cash leave few or no avenues for IPs to fund routine activities in Libya. Good solutions are not available to IPs. Libyan staff are traveling abroad to receive their salaries, but this does not work for local partners or vendors.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONAL DESIGN FACTORS

IPs have been creative and resourceful in resolving the challenges of operating in Libya. USAID has been flexible and supportive of the IPs. Much work has been successfully accomplished, albeit at a slower rate than is possible elsewhere.

PROGRAM DESIGN

USAID should allocate ample financial and staff resources for activities and allow IPs more time to plan and implement activities in fluid political arenas and non-permissive locations.

Future USAID projects in Libya and other insecure environments should budget adequate financial resources and establish realistic timelines to ensure that both known and unanticipated factors can be addressed. An adequate level of effort should be included for experienced local staff to manage regulatory requirements and stay apprised of security incidents. This includes time to nurture relationships with a network of knowledgeable contacts. Budgets should include adequate funds for some portion of events to be held outside of the country, where participants' travel costs must be included. This also affects the timeline, as do the frequent cancellations of events. Future activities in Libya also should include adequate budget and time for all-staff meetings outside of Libya.

MONITORING

IPs should strengthen monitoring to assure quality under remote management.

To ensure high quality events, IPs should plan and budget for a higher level of monitoring than they might otherwise. They should utilize a variety of techniques to obtain information from various sources. They should follow up with beneficiaries after events. Box 2 above lists some remote management practices used in Afghanistan that may prove equally useful in Libya.

LOCAL STAFF CAPACITY

IPs should devote more resources to develop local staff capacity over the life of the program to overcome challenges of remote management.

Future USAID projects should include a plan to build local staff capacity. All-staff meetings should continue to take place, but perhaps more frequently. Local staff should be involved in planning, monitoring and learning opportunities to acclimate them to performance management. Senior-level staff should be sure to take the time to mentor local staff on programmatic as well as managerial aspects of donor-funded contracting. These extra measures are necessary to compensate for the lack of exposure that is naturally present in a unified office. Investing in staff capacity to manage donor funding will be important for Libya's long-term development. Box 3 illustrates how local staff capacity was built through periodic training events in Iraq.

Box 3: Capacity Building of Local Staff in Iraq

In Iraq, for example, another non-permissive environment, one USAID contractor had local staff based throughout the country. Senior-level expatriate staff could not travel to observe first-hand the local staff at work, and even Iraqi staff were limited as to which regions they could travel. Therefore, the national staff came to Baghdad quarterly for intensive and on-going training. Training lasted from one week to one half day. Over a five-year period, local staff skills gradually improved, and they developed a sensitivity for USAID priorities and perspectives.

ANNEX I. EVALUATION STATEMENT OF WORK

(Note: Through mutual agreement between USAID/Libya and the contractor, changes were made to the following evaluation statement of work initially issued on March 9, 2018 in order to better meet the purpose of the evaluation. These changes were incorporated into the Design Plan that was approved by USAID/Libya on April 9, 2018.)

SCOPE OF WORK

Final Evaluation of USAID/Libya of Libya Elections and Governance Support (LEGS) activity and the Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya Activity (LCB).

I. Purpose and Description of the Activity

USAID is requesting a final evaluation for two of its democracy and governance programs in Libya. USAID is seeking to capture information on the diverse areas in which these programs were able to achieve real impact and promote meaningful change despite the challenging operating environment. USAID seeks to understand how these programs evolved and to gain a better understanding of what activities were successful and how and why they were successful, what hasn't worked and why, and most importantly, where USAID should put future resources to aid the transition process and build democratic governance in Libya. Given the dynamic nature of the work environment, we are also interested in documenting what work has actually occurred in order to provide strong, grounded recommendations for future work.

The two activities are the Associate Cooperative Agreement No. AID-OAA-LA-12-00006 Libya Elections and Governance Support (LEGS) under CEPPS III Leader with Associates Cooperative Agreement No. DFD-A-00-08-00350-00, and Cooperative Agreement No. AID-OAA-LA-14-00009, Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya (LCB).

These two projects are implemented by four Implementing partners. **CEPPS** LEGS activity is implemented by the International Republican Institute (IRI), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). Freedom House's LCB Program is implemented by the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative (ABA-ROLI).

Purpose of activities:

(1) Libya Elections and Governance Support (LEGS):

The first LEGS cooperative agreement was awarded on October 1, 2012 and was modified twice to extend the agreement to October 31, 2019 with a current life of project budget of \$34,773,801.5. LEGS objectives are to:

- 1) Increase public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders;
- 2) Establish good precedent for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by governing and representative bodies at the national and subnational levels; and
- 3) Increase women's and marginalized group's genuine inclusion and participation such that views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes.

(2) Supporting Consensus Building for National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya (LCB):

This is a five-year award in the amount of \$11,493,426 that began in August 2017 and was extended to a current end date of August 26, 2019. LCB's objectives are to:

- 1) Support an inclusive and transparent process to draft a legitimate constitution and promote stability by training Constitutional Drafting Assembly members and community liaisons, distributing nationwide SMS messages about the constitution, publishing copies/infographics of the draft constitution;
- 2) Conduct an assessment of the current state of Libya's justice sector; and
- 3) Improve Libyans' capacity to build their own institutions through community dialogues and community liaisons, as well as community meetings on topics such as the constitution, decentralization, local development and women's rights.

2. Background

Political and Historical Context in Libya

Libya's first democratic national elections in decades, held on July 7, 2012, marked a turning point in the country's history. For more than 40 years, Muammar Gaddafi rejected the principles of representative democracy, presiding instead over an idiosyncratic and personalized political system that limited public participation in decision-making processes. Following his overthrow in 2011, a group of self-appointed leaders formed the National Transitional Council (NTC). While NTC members enjoyed public support for their role in leading efforts to oust Gaddafi, the NTC's poor governance practices -which included opaque decision-making processes and limited attempts at public outreach and communication -led to growing citizen disaffection and frustration across the country.

The USG, through its diplomacy and development programs, has supported the UN-led process that resulted in the December 2015 signing of the Libya Political Agreement (LPA) and formation of the Government of National Accord (GNA), a transitional government intended to lead the country to the adoption of a constitution and national elections. Despite broad U.S. and international support, the GNA's mandate has been contested by rival governments in eastern and western Libya. The GNA has struggled to establish effective control over most of Libya's territory, although its aligned armed groups have consolidated their position in Tripoli since early 2017. The Libyan National Army (LNA), with significant support from Egypt and the UAE, continues to defy the GNA through territorial takeovers. A liquidity crisis and electrical and water shortages have stirred discontent in Tripoli, where support for the GNA has eroded. Libya is quickly burning through its foreign reserves as oil production is on the recovery.

On September 20, 2017, the UN Special Representative to the Secretary General Salamé rolled out an Action Plan that maintains the LPA as the basis for national reconciliation, while proposing negotiated LPA amendments as the first step to move Libya towards a constitutional referendum and inclusive national elections in 2018. Under Salamé's leadership, Libyan negotiators met twice, but did not reach consensus on such changes as reducing the Presidency Council (PC) to three members instead of nine, separating the Prime Minister's functions from the PC, and rearranging security structures to increase buy-in for the LPA throughout all regions of Libya. The Action Plan's second step is to bring a broader range of Libyan parties together for a National Conference, which could play the role of selecting individuals for senior leadership positions in a new transitional government. Salamé is also advocating for simultaneous efforts to finalize a new draft Libyan Constitution and lay the technical groundwork for a referendum and presidential/parliamentary elections, efforts which USAID supports through programs implemented by the partners to be evaluated.

Tripoli has remained relatively calm for most of 2017, despite the occasional turf war between militias. As part of the Tripoli Security Plan (TSP), the GNA in consultation with UNSMIL continues to develop a comprehensive strategy to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate (DDR) the various armed groups that

currently hold sway around the city, including control of Matiga Airport, Libya's largest operational airport. GNA efforts to build a Presidential Guard and replace Tripoli militias with professional forces under governmental control have made slow and uneven progress.

Libya, an OPEC member, has Africa's largest and the world's ninth largest proven oil reserves. Libya's hydrocarbon-based economy is in recovery mode, with oil production hovering at 1.0 million bpd. However, militia-related shutdowns of strategic oil pipeline valves and productive fields and deficient funding of capital improvements has stalled greater productivity. A series of ISIS attacks in the oil-rich Sirte Basin in January 2017 damaged export facilities and highlighted the vulnerability of Libya's critical infrastructure to terrorist attack. U.S. oil companies with stakes in Libya - including ConocoPhillips, Marathon, Hess and Occidental - have suspended operations in country.

Finally, Libya is a primary transit country for migration to Europe, mostly from sub-Saharan African countries. As of August 2017, 122,343 migrants departed from Libya to cross the central Mediterranean en route to Europe. Nearly 2500 died on this journey and 75% of those who survived arrived on Italian shores. Hundreds of thousands of migrants are currently stranded in Libya, where they are subject to arbitrary detention and vulnerable to harassment and abuse by armed groups, corrupt officials, criminal networks and human smugglers. European partners are contributing funds to IOM and UNDP efforts to mitigate the immediate suffering in many of these detention areas; however the sheer number of migrants trapped as well as the tension caused by increased competition among gangs for a piece of the lucrative market has negatively impacted an already tenuous civil stability.

4. Evaluation Questions

A key factor in USAID-funded programming has been flexibility and dynamism as activities had to be adjusted due to security concerns and changing political contexts and opportunities. USAID seeks to understand how LEGS and LCB have evolved and to get a better understanding of what activities have had success, what hasn't worked and why, and most importantly, where USAID should put future resources to aid the transition process and build democratic governance in Libya.

A Mid Term assessment was undertaken in July 2015. Main Findings from Midterm Evaluation are presented in Annex I. The extent to which Mid-term Evaluation methods and sources may be followed to answer end of evaluation questions will assist with building an evidence base for the evaluation findings.

We would like the evaluators to use the following three guiding questions to formulate their approach:

- 1) **What progress was made towards achieving the objectives stated in the LEGS and LCB program descriptions?** Review, analyze and evaluate the performance of LEGS and LCB, against the assumptions and results, throughout its implementation. Identify and characterize factors (anticipated and unanticipated) that promoted or impeded the success of LEGS and LCB activities, including attention to both intended and unintended outcomes.

Figure 7: Assessment of progress of activities planned for in the original workplan - LEGS

○ No progress
● Completed

| Project | Objective | Sub-objectives | IP | Activities/Commitment Period | Progress |
|---------|--|--|------|---|----------|
| LEGS | 1. Increasing public & actor confidence in integrity of elections as vehicle for peaceful & democratic leader selection | 1.1 Transparency in government | IFES | Technical support to HNEC Technical support to Judiciary Capacity build gov. political finance bodies | ● |
| | | 1.2 Increased civic engagement | IFES | Creation of Democracy Resource Centers Access for Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) Information CSOs on Elections/Political Process Engagement of GNC Leadership Institutional Assessment | ● |
| | 2. Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by representative bodies at the national and subnational level | 2.1 Enhanced representation and legislation in GNC | NDI | Seminars on Basic Legislative Practices Orientation Series for GNC Members and Staff Promote Understanding of Roles as Legislators Institutional Development Committee Building Constituent Outreach Capacity | ● |
| | | 2.2 Strengthened policy discussions | NDI | Political Caucus Development and Outreach | ● |
| | | 2.3 GNC increased transparency | NDI | Public Relations Assistance Assist GNC in handling the media Sub-grant to IWPR | ● |
| | | 2.4 Legislation informed by citizen concerns | IRI | Advocacy Trainings for Citizen Engagement Local Constituency Outreach Workshops Support Representative presence Constituencies Town Hall Meetings | ● |
| | | 2.6 Support local councilors | IRI | Coordination Workshops: loc. and nat. officials | ● |
| | | 2.8 Strengthened MoLG structure | IRI | Objective 2.6 introduced in Workplan Oct 2013 | ● |
| | 3. Increase women's and marginalized groups' genuine inclusion and participation | 3.1 Incl. of women and marginalized | IFES | Objective 2.6 introduced in Workplan Nov 2014 | ● |
| | | 3.2 Women contribute to nat. policy | NDI | Objective 3 introduced in Workplan Nov 2014 | ● |
| | | 3.3 Youth engage with local leaders | IRI | | ○ |

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We would like the evaluators to look specifically at the progress figures from the Midterm evaluation and determine whether changes were made to achieving objectives, taking into consideration any changes in the work plans. We are also specifically interested in the work LEGS is doing focused on legislative bodies and capacity-building support provided to municipal councils, as well as the support LEGS and LCB programs are providing to civil society and other elected bodies. We would like the evaluation team to specifically tease out whether the focus on parliamentarians/legislators or legislative staff provided the any impact, and how effective the civic education methods employed by LCB were in informing and educating populations on the constitutional efforts through a public opinion survey. Finally, the evaluators should propose specific recommendations on priority areas for future programming.

- 2) **What are achievements of the program which were not part of the work plan in each objective/activity?** Use an outcomes harvesting approach to survey and interview key informants to determine what are additional key achievements. It is understood that the changing Libyan context often led to shifts in planned activities and work plans, thus an outcomes harvest approach can help identify and document these unanticipated achievements.
- 3) **How can future programming can be designed to be most effective in adapting to local challenges?** What were specific management and operational design factors which facilitated program adaptation to the local context? How can these critical factors be designed into a follow on activity?

5. Methods

The evaluation team will be required to propose a clear methodology to answer all the evaluation questions, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methodologies such as focus groups, structured interviews and/or questionnaires, as appropriate. In addition to identifying how information will be collected, it is essential for the evaluation team specify where the data will be

collected (which of the 17 municipalities the program is currently operating, parliament, political parties, CSOs, etc.) in order to better understand the impact of programming interventions. As a participatory evaluation, feedback from USAID, implementing partners, sub grantees, program beneficiaries and other development partners are critical throughout the process. The Consultant should review relevant documentation and propose use of other tools to ensure that the findings are backed up with evidence and facts as much as possible.

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

The mid-term included a phone survey of 2,500 respondents using a Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) system involving 61,000 telephone calls. Data was then weighted to ensure a nationally representative sample.

A more program-focused methodology will be developed for this final evaluation, including focus on geographic areas of specific USAID programming. The evaluation will also conduct key informant interviews (KII) targeting the same 61 individuals were interviewed in the mid-term, substituting similar roles where the same individuals are not available.

With regard to data quality, the evaluation team is expected to be familiar with USAID data quality standards for objectivity, validity, reliability, precision, utility and integrity and be able to apply them in the final report, by identifying such data limitations as may exist with respect to these standards (ADS 78.3.4.2 - <http://www.usaid.gov/policy/ads//500/578.pdf>) and ADS 203.3.5.1-<http://www.usaid.gov/policy/ads/200/203.pdf>)

6. Deliverable and Estimated LoE

| Stage | Activities (deliverables in blue) | Duration (workdays) | LOE TL (days) | LOE DG Expert (days) | Local Libya Expert | Regional leads or Data collection firm (days) |
|----------------------|---|---|---------------|----------------------|--------------------|---|
| Planning | Desk review of relevant award info/ documents and mid-term evaluation | 9 | 6 | 6 | 5 | |
| | Evaluation work plan drafted | | | | | |
| | Evaluation work plan submitted and approved | | | | | |
| | Evaluation team meeting with USAID – discussion of work plan, situation brief | | | | | |
| Preparation | Evaluation team and Libyan partner develop data collection tools and data analysis design | 13 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| | Evaluation and data analysis design finalized and approved by USAID. | | | | | |
| | Field coordinators/interviewers trained on tools | | 2 | 2 | | 2 |
| | Evaluation team meeting with USAID to discuss fieldwork schedules, list of interviewees and data collection tools | | 1 | 1 | | |
| | Finalize list of interviewees and site visit schedule | | | | | |
| | Introductory meeting with implementers | | 2 | 2 | | |
| Field Implementation | Conduct evaluation fieldwork in Tunisia (KIs) | 45 (data collection and analysis overlap) | 6 | 6 | | |
| | Conduct evaluation fieldwork in Libya (KIs and face-to-face surveys) | | | | | 42 |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| Data Analysis | Analyze data and findings | | 6 | 6 | 6 | |
| Reporting | Key findings presented orally to USAID | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| | Draft report finalized and submitted | 6 | 6 | 6 | 1 | |
| | USAID feedback provided, incorporated and final evaluation report submitted | 15 | 2 | 1 | | |
| Total | | 89 | 33 | 32 | 17 | 53 |

7. Team Composition

The evaluation team will be comprised of one team leader, one democracy and governance (DG) expert and **two to three** regional/national experts. The evaluation team leadership will have a minimum of 20 years of relevant prior experience that focuses on the program components of the LEGS and LCB projects including: strengthening multiparty systems, strengthening electoral processes, civil society participation, good governance in post conflict settings, and the like. **One** staff member from USAID/Libya team will also participate in order to facilitate meetings with key informants in Libya. The team may be augmented by expert TCN contractor staff, particularly to provide substantive input and oversight to the data collection process for KIs in Libya.

The team should possess the skills and experiences below:

(1) Team Leader (one)

- Demonstrated 10 years' experience with governance and/or political process program evaluation experience in the Middle East.
- Solid experience, quantitative and qualitative evaluation methods, in capacity building in developing countries covering one or more the following components: elections, constitution outreach, local governance, legislative bodies, justice work, youth issues, and civil society.
- Solid understanding of the political environment in Libya and the Middle East. Thorough understanding of the Libyan historical and tribal context as well as recent political dynamics including the involvement of the United Nations.
- Keen awareness of the complexity of local political challenges and context.
- Excellent communication, team management, and leadership skills.
- USAID programming experience is desirable.
- Note* American contracted staff are not allowed to travel into Libya

(2) DG Expert

- Demonstrated 10 years' experience with governance and/or political process program evaluation experience.
- Five years of knowledge of quantitative and qualitative evaluation methods including key informant interviews, focus group discussions and statistical analysis of survey findings.
- Solid experience in capacity-building and program development in developing countries covering one or more the following components: elections, constitution outreach, local governance, legislative bodies, justice work, youth issues, and civil society.
- Solid understanding of the political environment in Libya and the Middle East. Thorough understanding of the Libyan historical and tribal context as well as recent political dynamics including the involvement of the United Nations.
- Keen awareness of the complexity of local political challenges and context.
- Excellent communication, team management, analytical and leadership skills.
- USAID programming experience is desirable.
- Note* American contracted staff are not allowed to travel into Libya

(3) Libyan Regional/National Experts (3)

- Non-Americans in order to travel into Libya

- Ideally locally hired regional expert one from the Eastern Libya, Southern Libya and Western Libya
- Solid experience in evaluating programming aimed at strengthening multiparty democracy institutions including parliament, constitution bodies, electoral processes and civil society participation. Demonstrated 5 years of in depth knowledge of quantitative and qualitative evaluation methods including key informant interviews, focus group discussions and statistical analysis of survey findings.
- Solid understanding of the political environment in Libya and the Middle East.
- Experience in program/project evaluation oversight and implementation.

(4) Local Data collection firm for the public opinion survey*

*The local data collection firm may provide the Libyan Regional/National Experts as long as they fulfill the knowledge and experience requirements detailed in (2) above. The number of experts used may depend on the geographic spread of the KILs.

8. Scheduling and Logistics

The evaluation will begin on or before March 31, 2011 and will require approximately 78 working days in duration. In addition to time in the NDI/IRI/ IFES/ABA offices in Tunis, it is proposed that team members will spend time with each sub-grantee at their headquarters, and where appropriate, at selected field sites throughout the country. A draft report will be submitted to USAID prior to the departure of the evaluation team leader and a final report provided to USAID no later than 78 days from the date of the evaluation commencement.

9) ROLES & RESPONSIBILITIES

METAL:

- Provide quality assurance of the process and products before delivered to USAID
- Select and contract the evaluators
- Manage the evaluation process
- Provide briefings to team; organize consultant participation
- Provide logistical support for the evaluation team including office space and transport
- Submit evaluation report to USAID

USAID:

- Have a full time USAID staff member to participate in the evaluation
- Appoint a point of contact for the assignment to coordinate USAID inputs
- Approve the evaluation team, methodologies and work plan
- Participate in briefings
- Review inception and draft evaluation reports and provide feedback
- Sign off on final report

NDI/IRI/IFES/ABA:

- Participate in final review of the inception, draft and final reports
- Provide relevant documents as needed
- Provide assistance with setting up meetings and interviews

PARTNERS/SUB GRANTEES:

- Provide relevant documents as needed
- Participate in meetings and interviews as needed
- Other roles and responsibilities reviewed in line with the level of participation deemed as necessary.

9. Budget**A note on security:**

Since this Project is expected to be implemented in potentially high-risk regions, the proposal should include a section outlining the Recipient's security plan in accordance with the operational security supplement to ADS 303 which indicates that *“when implementing any USAID award, the implementing partner bears the ultimate responsibility for ensuring adequate steps are taken to safeguard the security and safety of its personnel and any USAID funded equipment/property/vehicles.”* The supplement also states that to achieve an adequate level of security, USAID implementing partners must see security as a top priority. It must be an integral component of project design and project management.

ANNEX 2. SUPPLEMENT TO EVALUATION METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

To supplement Section 4 above, additional details on the methodology used to conduct the evaluation are provided here. The ET designed the evaluation methodology primarily to capture information on the diverse areas in which LEGS and LCB were able to achieve impact and promote meaningful change despite the challenging operating environment encountered in Libya. USAID feedback and input were incorporated into the final design.

The ET was comprised of an expatriate Team Leader, an expatriate Democracy and Governance Expert, and a Libyan subcontractor. The Libyan subcontractor provided an expert, who worked closely with the expatriates as a key member of the ET, and a team of experienced data collectors, who conducted some KIs, all of the FGDs, and the survey.

Document review took place over a one-week period of time. The ET found that the questions answered by the mid-term evaluation were different than the questions answered through this final evaluation. Thus the findings of the mid-term evaluation were not relevant to the data collected and analyzed for this final evaluation. However, several of the questions from the National and Urban DRG Survey were the same or similar to the questions in the survey administered for this final evaluation, and those findings were analyzed to help answer the questions for this evaluation.

The ET used the documents to inform the data collection tools, sampling, and site selection as well as to identify key outcomes and evidence. The ET based its approach in answering EQ1 and EQ2 on Outcome Harvesting but in a more focused way to accommodate the time allotted for data collection. Table 23 below delineates the steps utilized.

Table23: Focused Outcome Harvesting Process

| STEP | NOTES |
|--|---|
| 1. Develop Expected Outcomes Model | The Results Frameworks and Development Hypotheses were reviewed to develop a set of top-level outcomes that would be expected from a successful project. For example, if there is a development hypothesis (if "A" then "B"), the focused outcomes should be a manageable subset of all possible "B" outcomes. |
| 2. Collect, Categorize Outcomes and Evidence from Reports | Key outcomes and evidence were extracted from review of reports. Evidence was categorized and organized. |
| 3. Develop Validation Questions | Questions were developed for KIs, FGDs, and a survey to substantiate and validate outcomes and evidence (and to answer other EQs). Types of questions include: (a) To confirm and sharpen the outcomes, confirm evidence, (is this the best evidence?), understand cause and effect relationships. (b) To explain any contradictions, gaps, confusion in the identified outcomes. (c) To identify any missing, key outcomes or evidence, including negative outcomes. (d) Non-outcome questions about, for example, assumptions, context, management and operational factors. |
| 4. Substantiate and Validate Evidence and Outcomes | Interviews were conducted; FGDs were held; and a survey was administered to develop a better understanding of outcomes, contributions and their significance. Key items of evidence were compiled in a database. Preference was given to factual evidence such as brief quotes. Sources were recorded. |
| 5. Analyze Validated Evidence to Develop | The body of validated evidence was reviewed and synthesized to formulate findings in response to the EQs. An overview of the outcomes, contributors |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---|
| Findings Conclusions | and | and contributions, and their significance was compiled. Data was analyzed to create findings relevant to the EQs. Confidence levels were estimated. |
| 6. Support Findings | Use of | Briefings were provided. Feedback was obtained. Report was finalized to reflect inputs. |

After completion of the document review, the ET collected data from April 10 – May 16, 2018. A total of 64 people were interviewed. The stakeholder groups and the sampling methods used for each are shown below in Table 24.

Table 24: Sampling Methods used for KIIs

| RESPONDENT GROUP | # PEOPLE INTERVIEWED | NOTES ON SAMPLING METHODS USED |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| USAID | 4 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. USAID recommended the respondents. |
| IPs | 13 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. The ET interviewed the chiefs of party. USAID recommended that the DCOP of one IP also be interviewed. The IPs each recommended 2 Libyan staff members. |
| CLs | 3 | Out of a population size of 63 CLs, 2 were selected through stratified random sampling to include one man and one woman; differing regions; and one from a CSO and one from local government. A third CL was selected by purposive sampling, where the IP selected one of the most experienced CLs. |
| HNEC | 5 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. The IP recommended the respondents. |
| HoR | 3 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. The IP recommended the respondents out a population size of about 50. |
| HSC | 4 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. The IP recommended the respondents out of a population size of about 34. |
| MoLG | 2 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. The IP recommended the respondents. |
| CDA | 4 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. The IP recommended the respondents. |
| DRCs | 2 | Out of a population size of 4 DRCs, 2 were selected randomly. |

| | | |
|---------------------------|----|--|
| CSOs | 9 | Out of a population size of 360 CSOs, 8 were selected through stratified random sampling to include 1 representing women's issues, 1 representing PWD issues, and 1 representing youth issues. A ninth CSO was selected by purposive sampling, where the IP selected one of the most active members of LNDD. |
| MC Members | 10 | Out of a population size of 118, 10 were selected through stratified random sampling to include at least one man and one woman and differing regions. |
| LCB training participants | 1 | Out of a population size of 15, 1 was selected randomly. |
| Other donors/implementers | 4 | Purposive sampling to maximize the information obtainable by focusing on those who were most familiar with the activities. USAID recommended the respondents. |

IBTCI jointly with USAID designed the methodology of the household survey to be conducted face-to-face in three cities that were selected purposively to target specific areas where project activities were concentrated, to include both a large city and mid-sized cities, and to include three areas of the country. Face to face surveying was chosen because the contact success rate of the National and Urban DRG Survey, which was conducted by telephone, was only 4 percent.²² Also, it would have been difficult to determine a person's residency by their telephone number in order to reach residents of the three cities selected.

Some situations were encountered in conducting this evaluation that may have introduced selection bias.

- While a stratified random sample of CSOs for KIIs was drawn from a combined list of beneficiaries provided by three IPs, one IP did not share such a list. However, it is possible that some of its CSO beneficiaries were also beneficiaries of other IPs. In organizing the focus group with CSOs, this fourth IP did provide contact information for one, which did participate.
- In one particular case where the ET attempted to interview MC members from all three regions, the ET was unable to reach the MC member selected from the south within the period allotted for data collection due to the remote location.
- The ET attempted to interview two LCB training participants – one from MoLG and one municipal staff member. The MoLG staff member selected was unavailable, which was confirmed too late to assign a replacement.
- The sample frame used for the survey was a census taken in 2006, which may be outdated. It may not capture demographic changes and displacement which have taken place since then.

The expatriate members of the ET conducted KIIs with respondents outside of Libya while the subcontractor collected data from Libyan respondents. The Libyan key ET member trained the data collectors on the specifics of the data collection tools being used and the nature of the evidence sought through the questionnaires to answer the EQs.

KIIs were conducted in a semi-structured format in which all relevant questions were asked in an appropriate order without exact wording required. A standard format was used for notes to facilitate cross-respondent and cross-site analysis.

²² "Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey" USAID/Libya. January 2016.

Quality control was maintained in numerous ways. The Libyan key ET member supervised the data collectors conducting KIIs and FGDs in Libya. She reviewed each transcript and shared them with the expatriate ET members within three days of the KII or FGD. The TL reviewed transcripts on a daily basis and immediately reverted to the Libyan ET member for clarifications when necessary. For the survey, the subcontractor's area supervisor verified and audited the questionnaires completed by the data collectors. Afterwards, the subcontractor's Quantitative Research Manager conducted a desk audit of 100 percent of the questionnaires before data entry.

The relationship between the EQs, data sources, and methods used for data collection are shown below in Table 25.

Table 25: LEGS and LCB Evaluation Design Matrix

| EVALUATION QUESTIONS | EVALUATION SUB-QUESTIONS | OUTCOMES TO VALIDATE | DATA SOURCES | TYPE & SIZE OF SAMPLE | INSTRUMENTS |
|---|---|--|--|--|--------------------------------|
| EQ1. What progress was made towards achieving the objectives stated in the LEGS and LCB program descriptions? | LEGS Objective 1: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders | LEGS 1.1 HNEC capable to manage transparent and credible electoral event | USAID; IFES; HNEC Citizenry | (12) Purposive sample (1192) Three geographic regions selected purposively. Stratified random sampling within the regions. | KIIs Survey |
| | | LEGS 1.2 Public confidence in elections | USAID; IFES DRCs Citizenry | (7) Purposive sample (2) Stratified random sampling (1192) Three geographic regions selected purposively. Stratified random sampling within the regions. | KIIs KIIs Survey |
| | LEGS Objective 2: Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by governing and representative bodies at the national and subnational level | LEGS 2.1 HoR/HSC factors in citizen input | USAID; NDI; HoR; HSC CSOs CSOs | (14) Purposive sample (9) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KIIs FGDs |

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| | | LEGS 2.2 MCs factor in citizen input | USAID; IRI MCs; CSOs MCs; CSOs | (7) Purposive sample (19) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KIIs FGDs |
| | LEGS Objective 3: Increase women's and marginalized group's genuine inclusion and participation such that their views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes | LEGS 3.1 Issues introduced by organizations representing women introduced realized in national policy or other concrete government action | USAID; IFES; NDI; HoR; HSC CSOs MCs; CSOs | (17) Purposive sample (9) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KIIs FGDs |
| | | LEGS 3.2 Issues introduced by organizations representing PWDs realized in local policy or other concrete government action | USAID; IRI MCs; CSOs MCs; CSOs | (7) Purposive sample (19) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KIIs FGDs |
| | | LEGS 3.3 Issues introduced by organizations representing youth realized in local policy or other concrete government action | USAID; IRI MCs; CSOs MCs; CSOs | (7) Purposive sample (19) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KIIs FGDs |
| | | | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|---|
| <p>LCB Objective 1: Informed citizens are able to develop consensus on key constitution issues and effectively inform the constitution drafting body</p> | <p>LCB 1.1 Citizens informed about key constitutional issues and process</p> | <p>USAID; ABA ROLI</p> <p>CLs; MCs; CSOs</p> <p>Citizenry</p> | <p>(7) Purposive sample</p> <p>(20) Stratified random sampling</p> <p>(1192) Three geographic regions selected purposively. Stratified random sampling within the regions</p> | <p>KIIs</p> <p>KIIs</p> <p>Survey</p> |
| | <p>LCB 1.2 Inclusive community dialogue and consensus on key constitutional issues</p> | <p>USAID; ABA ROLI</p> <p>CLs; MCs; CSOs</p> <p>Citizenry</p> <p>Community dialogue participants; CSOs</p> | <p>(7) Purposive sample</p> <p>(22) Stratified random sampling</p> <p>(1192) Three geographic regions selected purposively. Stratified random sampling within the regions</p> | <p>KIIs</p> <p>KIIs</p> <p>Survey</p> <p>FGDs</p> |
| | <p>LCB 1.3 Communities inform CDA about priorities and consensus on key constitutional issues</p> | <p>USAID; ABA ROLI; CDA</p> <p>CLs; MCs; CSOs</p> <p>Citizenry</p> | <p>(11) Purposive sample</p> <p>(22) Stratified random sampling</p> <p>(1192) Three geographic regions selected</p> | <p>KIIs</p> <p>KIIs</p> <p>Survey</p> |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|--------------------------------|
| | | | | purposively. Stratified random sampling within the regions | |
| | | | CSOs | | FGDs |
| | LCB Objective 2: Through National Dialogue, citizens who fairly represent majority and minority views of groups including but not limited to women, ethnic groups, and youth from across Libya, are able to build a consensus of state, economy, and society and the relationship between them. | LCB 2.1 Inclusive national dialogue on key constitutional issues | USAID; ABA ROLI; CDA CLs | (11) Purposive sample (3) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KII |
| | | LCB 2.2 Inclusive national dialogue on national issues of state, society, economy | USAID; ABA ROLI Citizenry | (7) Purposive sample (1192) Three geographic regions selected purposively. Stratified random sampling within the regions | KIIs Survey |
| | | LCB 2.3 New constitution reflects national consensus on new social contract | USAID; ABA ROLI; CDA; HoR; HSC | (18) Purposive sample | KIIs |
| | LCB Objective 3: Create consensus processes that will incorporate outputs from the National Dialogue and constitution drafting to inform Libya's governing processes beyond passing the constitution referendum in order to strengthen the political transition. | LCB 3.1 Enduring, inclusive consensus processes strengthen the political transition | USAID; ABA ROLI; MoLG Legal training participants | (9) Purposive sample (1) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KIIs |
| | | LCB 3.2 Citizens gain confidence in government. | USAID; ABA ROLI; CDA; HoR; HSC; HNEC MCs Citizenry | (23) Purposive sample (10) Stratified random sampling | KIIs KIIs Survey |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|---|------|
| | | | | (1192) Three geographic regions selected purposively. Stratified random sampling within the regions | |
| EQ2. What are achievements of the program which were not part of the work plan in each objective/activity? | | | USAID, IRI, NDI, IFES, and ABA ROLI staff | (17) Purposive sample | Klls |
| EQ3. How can future programming can be designed to be most effective in adapting to local challenges? | | | USAID, IRI, NDI, IFES, and ABA ROLI staff | (17) Purposive sample | Klls |

The key ET conducted a debriefing upon completion of the field work to review together the evidence collected. The team disaggregated the qualitative data collected through KIIs and FGDs by sex and geographic region to capture differential outcomes among groups. Where purposive sampling was used to select respondents, data were not extrapolated to the entire population. Likewise, where the sample size of a respondent group was not statistically significant, the data were not extrapolated to the entire population. The ET used frequency, trend, theme, and pattern analysis to compare data across respondent groups. The ET analyzed data that is intrinsically quantitative, including survey data and responses to Likert scale questions, using Microsoft Excel to generate percentages of respondents in graphical and tabular formats.

ANNEX 3. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Documents Reviewed

Libya Elections and Governance Support Activity Documents

Agenda for Libya 2020 Vision Conference held May 9-10, 2017

Agenda for Women Elected Officials Network Meeting held May 16-17, 2017

Annual Newsletter 2016 for IFES Libya Field Office

AOR Site Visit Report on Geographic Information System Training held August 24-September 6 (year not mentioned in report)

AOR Site Visit Report on Women's Municipal Council Network, Women in Political Life Workshop held August 14-17, 2016

AOR Site Visit Report on HNEC Finance Roundtable Training held November 30, 2016

Assessment of HNEC-Affiliated Facebook Pages for the period July 16, 2017-February 15, 2018 presentation materials (March 2018)

Associate Cooperative Agreement № AID-OAA-LA-12-00006 under Leader With Associates Cooperative Agreement № DFD-A-00-08-00350-00

Associate Cooperative Agreement № AID-OAA-LA-12-00006 Modification 2 under Leader With Associates Cooperative Agreement № DFD-A-00-08-00350-00

Associate Cooperative Agreement № AID-OAA-LA-12-00006 Modification 3 under Leader With Associates Cooperative Agreement № DFD-A-00-08-00350-00

Associate Cooperative Agreement № AID-OAA-LA-12-00006 Modification 6 under Leader With Associates Cooperative Agreement № DFD-A-00-08-00350-00

E-mail from AOR to CEPPS Administrative Director Re: CEPPS Libya (AID-OAA-LA-12-00006) Request for Approval of Additional Activities

Indicator Data Collection Templates 2015

Indicator Data Collection Templates 2016 (November 29, 2016)

Internal Notes on Deputy Assistant Administrator signing of Memorandum of Understanding with Libyan Government held August 21, 2017

Internal Notes on Director of North Africa and Arabian Affairs for USAID Middle East Bureau visit to Women's Elected Officials Network administrative meeting held May 16, 2017

Internal Notes on Senior Development Advisor visit to Women's HoR Training held March 3, 2017

Internal Notes on Senior Development Advisor visit to Roundtable on Out of Country Voting held March 8, 2017

Letter from CEPPS to USAID Agreement Officer Representative with Subject: Request for AOR Approval of Additional Activity (August 17, 2017)

List of Participants for Women Elected Officials Network Meeting held May 16-17, 2017

Municipal Questionnaire (June 19, 2015)

Performance Management Plan 2016 (August 17, 2016)

Performance Management Plan for the period November 2016-March 2017

Performance Management Plan Quarter 2 2017

Performance Management Plan 2018 (January 9, 2018)

Programmatic Spotlight "Countering Women's Exclusion from Political Life: Elected Municipal Council Members Establish Women's Network in Libya draft with markups (April 11, 2017)

Programmatic Spotlight "Countering Women's Exclusion from Political Life: Elected Municipal Council Members Establish Women's Network in Libya (April 11, 2017)

Programmatic Spotlight "Making Accessibility a Reality for Disabled Persons" (April 25, 2017)

Programmatic Spotlight "USAID supports Sirte Community Reconciliation Conference" (July 25, 2017)

Quarterly Report for the period October 1-December 31, 2012

Quarterly Report for the period January 1-March 31, 2013
 Quarterly Report for the period April 1-June 30, 2013
 Quarterly Report for the period July 1-September 30, 2013
 Quarterly Report for the period October 1-December 31, 2013
 Quarterly Report for the period January 1-March 31, 2014
 Quarterly Report for the period April 1-June 30, 2014
 Quarterly Report for the period July 1-September 30, 2014
 Quarterly Report for the period October 1-December 31, 2014
 Quarterly Report for the period January 1-March 31, 2015
 Quarterly Report for the period April 1-June 30, 2015
 Quarterly Report for the period July 1-September 30, 2015
 Quarterly Report for the period October 1-December 31, 2015
 Quarterly Report for the period January 1-March 31, 2016
 Quarterly Report for the period April 1-June 30, 2016
 Quarterly Report for the period July 1-September 30, 2016
 Quarterly Report for the period October 1-December 31, 2016
 Quarterly Report for the period January 1-March 31, 2017
 Quarterly Report for the period April 1-June 30, 2017
 Quarterly Report for the period July 1-September 30, 2017
 Quarterly Report for the period October 1-December 31, 2017
 Report on Polling of Municipal Council Members and CSOs on Priorities and Needs in Libya – Sebratha (2016)
 Report on the ‘Libya 2010’ Conference held May 9-10, 2017
 Statement on Sirte Vision
 Success Story “NDI Launches New and Improved Online Resources in Arabic”
 Success Story “Training of Trainers for Persons with Disabilities” held October 16-26, 2016
 Success Story “Tunis Youth Summary” held from November 21-27, 2016
 Success Story “Democracy Resource Center Democratic Saturday” held December 24, 2016
 Success Story “H2O Democratic Sunday - Stakeholders in the Electoral Process: Challenges and Prospects for Cooperation” held April 13, 2017
 Success Story “Libyan Disabilities Forum ‘Inclusive Media’ “held May 13, 2017
 Workplan for the period November 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017
 Workplan for the period April 1, 2017 to October 31, 2017
 Workplan for the period November 1, 2017 to April 30, 2018

Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya Activity Documents

AOR Site Visit Report on CDA Outreach and Media Training held July 21, 2016
 AOR Site Visit Report on Stakeholder Engagement Training held December 1, 2016
 AOR Site Visit Report on MoLG meeting held January 23, 2017
 Activity Brief (January 2017)
 Activity Brief (February 2017)
 Annual Report for the period August 27, 2014-August 26, 2015
 Annual Report for the period October 1, 2015-September 30, 2016
 Annual Report for the period October 1, 2016-September 30, 2017
 E-mail chain with approval to modify Workplan (August 27, 2015)
 Implementation Schedule April 2017 – October 2017
 Internal Notes on Senior Development Advisor visit to Justice Sector Consultation held April 7, 2017
 List of upcoming activities (February 2018)
 Outcome Indicator Reference Sheets (October 28, 2015)

Outcome Indicator Reference Sheets (2017)
 Performance Management Plan for the period August 27, 2014-February 26, 2015 (May 4, 2015)
 Performance Management Plan for the period August 27, 2014-February 26, 2015 with USAID
 Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Office edits (May 4, 2015)
 Performance Management Plan (Quarter Four 2015)
 Performance Management Plan for the period August 27, 2016-February 26, 2016 (December 4, 2015)
 Performance Management Plan (Quarter Two 2016)
 Performance Management Plan (Quarter Two 2017)
 Performance Management Plan (Quarter Four 2017)
 Quarterly Report for the period August 27, 2014-September 30, 2014
 Quarterly Report for the period April 1-June 30, 2016
 Quarterly Report for the period October 1-December 31, 2016
 Quarterly Report for the period January 1-March 31, 2017
 Quarterly Report for the period April-June 2017 (July 25, 2017)
 Quarterly Report for the period April-June 2017 with AOR comments
 Quarterly Report for the period April-June 2017 with AOR comments and ABA responses
 Quarterly Report for the period October-December 2017
 Report on Court Administration and Access to Justice Workshop held August 23-24 (*year not mentioned
 in report*)
 Workplan for Year 1 for the period August 27, 2014-August 26, 2015 (revised April 15, 2015)
 Workplan Year 2 for the period August 27, 2015-February 26, 2016 (September 25, 2015)
 Workplan Year 2 for the period March 2016-September 2016 (June 9, 2016)
 Workplan Year 3 for the period October 2016-March 2017
 Workplan Year 3 for the period April-September 2017
 Workplan Year 4 for the period October 2017-March 2018
 Workplan Year 4 for the period October 2017-March 2018 with AOR comments (October 6, 2017)

Other Documents

Events Round-Up (January 8, 2018)
 Events Round-Up (February 6, 2018)
 Presentation materials “Mid-term Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance
 Programming in Libya”
 Presentation materials “Run, Walk, or Crawl: Scenarios for Libya’s Near Future” on the Mid-Term
 Evaluation of Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Programming in Libya (August 13, 2015)
 Presentation materials “What We’ve Learned...The Hard Way Part I” on the Mid-Term Evaluation of
 Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Programming in Libya (August 13, 2015)
 Presentation materials “Libyan Public Opinion Three Years On” (February 23-24, 2016, Tunis)
 Presentation materials “Libyan Public Opinion Three Years On” to Atlantic Council (March 3, 2016)
 Report “Mid-Term Evaluation Report of Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG)
 Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban DRG Survey” (January 2016)
 Success Stories of DRG (2015)
 Survey Instrument Libya Public Opinion Assessment draft (June 23, 2015)
 Interim National Transition Council draft Law № 59 of 2012 “Concerning the Local Administration
 System”

Respondents

Table 15 below shows the types of respondents that provided data for the evaluation, disaggregated by their sex and geographic location. Geographic location reported here reflects the long-term location where the respondent is stationed and not necessarily the location where they were interviewed if the

interviews took place while the respondent was in travel status. For respondents from the HoR, HSC, and CDA, the region and city reported here reflect the places that they represent and not the location of the bodies they work for.

Table 15: Profile of respondents who provided data for evaluation

| Type of Respondent | Region | City | Sex | KII | FGD | Survey | Totals |
|--------------------|---------------|------------|--------|-----|-----|--------|--------|
| USAID | Outside Libya | | Female | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | | | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| IPs | West | Tripoli | Female | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| | | | Male | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| | Outside Libya | | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | | Male | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Community Liaisons | South | Sebha | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Oudan | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Azzawya | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| HNEC | West | Tripoli | Male | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| HoR/HSC | East | Awjila | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Benghazi | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | West | Azzintan | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Misrata | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Tripoli | Female | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | | | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| MoLG | West | Tripoli | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| CDA | East | Albayda | Male | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | | Benghazi | Male | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| DRCs | East | Tripoli | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | South | Sabha | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| CSOs | East | Benghazi | Female | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | | | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Ejdabia | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | South | Ubari | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | West | Al Ajaylat | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

| Type of Respondent | Region | City | Sex | KII | FGD | Survey | Totals |
|---------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Tripoli | Female | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | | | Male | 3 | 4 | 0 | 7 |
| MCs | East | Al Jabal Al Akhdar | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | West | Ajmail | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Ghadamis | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Ghiryan | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Nalut | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Rigdaleen | Male | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | | Sabratha | Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | | Female | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | | Tripoli | Male | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Zwara | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | | |
| LCB Legal training participants | West | Ghadamis | Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Community dialogue participants | West | Awal | Female | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| | | | Male | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| | | Ghadamis | Male | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Other donors/implementers | Outside Libya | | Female | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | | | Male | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Household residents | East | Tobruk | Female | 0 | 0 | 199 | 199 |
| | | | Male | 0 | 0 | 202 | 202 |
| | South | Ghat | Female | 0 | 0 | 200 | 200 |
| | | | Male | 0 | 0 | 194 | 194 |
| | West | Suq Aljumaa | Female | 0 | 0 | 198 | 198 |
| | | | Male | 0 | 0 | 199 | 199 |
| Total | | | | 64 | 30 | 1192 | 1286 |
| Females | | | | 28 | 7 | 597 | 632 |
| Males | | | | 36 | 23 | 595 | 654 |

ANNEX 4. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Key Informant Interview (KII) Guides:

- USAID/Implementing Partners
- High National Election Commission (HNEC)
- House of Representatives (HOR) or High State Council (HSC)
- Ministry of Local Government (MoLG)
- Constitution Drafting Assembly (CDA)
- Democracy Resource Center (DRC)
- Civil Society Organization (CSO)
- Municipal Council (MC)
- Community Liaison (CL)
- ABA/LCB Legal Training Beneficiary
- Other Implementer

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Guides:

- Municipal Council Members
- Civil Society Organizations
- Community Dialogue Beneficiaries

Citizen Survey

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
USAID/Implementing Partners
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 3 HOURS

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

| |
|---|
| DATE OF INTERVIEW: |
| NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR: |
| NAME OF RESPONDENT(S): |
| ORGANIZATION: |
| CITY (if in Libya): |
| POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S): |
| FIRST STARTED WORKING WITH PROJECT(S) (M/D/Y): |
| TELEPHONE/EMAIL: |
| MALE: FEMALE: |

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the programs implemented by IFES, NDI, IRI, and ABA ROLI. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase and provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

[The following questions are for USAID and IFES respondents only. Some IFES respondents may not have job responsibilities related to all of the questions and may abstain from answering.]

- LEGS 1.1.1 Does the following outcome represent or capture the overall intent and results of LEGS objective 1: **Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders.**
- a. HNEC capable to manage transparent and credible electoral events
 - b. If not, why not?
- LEGS 1.1.1.1 How well do you think that HNEC has been informing the public about possible upcoming elections?

- LEGS 1.1.1.2 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?
- LEGS 1.1.1.3 Do you think this is a significant achievement for the Government of National Accord/Interim Government?
- LEGS 1.1.1.4 What do you think IFES’s contribution is to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.1.1.5 Do you think that HNEC’s communication to the public will have a positive impact? And if so, what? If no, why not?
- LEGS 1.1.2.1 How well do you think that HNEC handled requirements for campaign finance?
- LEGS 1.1.2.2 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?

[Skip the next 2 questions if the answer to LEGS 1.1.2.1 is that HNEC did not handle requirements for campaign finance well.]

- LEGS 1.1.2.3 Do you think that this was a significant achievement for IFES?
- LEGS 1.1.2.4 Do you think this was a significant achievement for the Government of National Accord/Interim Government?
- LEGS 1.1.2.5 What do you think IFES’s contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.1.2.6 Do you think that HNEC’s handling of campaign finance requirements had an impact? And if so, what? If no, why not?
- LEGS 1.1.3.1 How well do you think that HNEC processed and archived complaints that were lodged after elections?
- LEGS 1.1.3.2 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?

[Skip the next 2 questions if the answer to LEGS 1.1.3.1 is that the HNEC did not process and archive complaints well.]

- LEGS 1.1.3.3 Do you think that this was a significant achievement for IFES?
- LEGS 1.1.3.4 Do you think that this was a significant achievement for the Government of National Accord/Interim Government?
- LEGS 1.1.3.5 What do you think IFES’s contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.1.3.6 What was the outcome of HNEC’s processing and archiving of complaints lodged after the elections in 2014?

| IFES Support for HNEC | LEGS 1.1.3.7 Did the following types of IFES support assist HNEC to manage transparent and credible electoral events? | LEGS 1.1.3.8 How significant was the assistance in increasing HNEC’s capability? |
|---|--|---|
| a. Outreach and communications training | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |

| IFES Support for HNEC | LEGS 1.1.3.7 Did the following types of IFES support assist HNEC to manage transparent and credible electoral events? | LEGS 1.1.3.8 How significant was the assistance in increasing HNEC's capability? |
|--|--|---|
| b. Report writing training | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| c. International conferences and technical exchanges with electoral officials from other countries | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| d. Roundtables with other government entities | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| e. Studies and analyses | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| f. Technical assistance to prepare Election Access Action Plan | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| g. Technical assistance with outreach and voter education | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |

LEGS 1.1.3.9 For any of the above support which did not assist HNEC to manage transparent and credible electoral events, why not?

a. Outreach and communications training:

b. Report writing training:

c. International conferences and technical exchanges with electoral officials from other countries:

d. Roundtables with other government entities:

e. Studies and analyses:

f. Technical assistance to prepare Election Access Action Plan:

g. Technical assistance with outreach and voter education:

- LEGS 1.1.3.10 For any of the above support which did assist HNEC to manage transparent and credible electoral events, how did they make use of the support?
- a. Outreach and communications training:

 - b. Report writing training:

 - c. International conferences and technical exchanges with electoral officials from other countries:

 - d. Roundtables with other government entities:

 - e. Studies and analyses:

 - f. Technical assistance to prepare Election Access Action Plan:

 - g. Technical assistance with outreach and voter education:

LEGS 1.1.3.10.h What was the outcome of IFES's input into HNEC's work?

LEGS ASM 2.1 What are the remaining capacity gaps for HNEC?

LEGS ASM 1.1 What are the main impediments to HNEC exercising its full authorities and responsibilities?

LEGS ASM 1.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?

LEGS 1.2.1 Does the following outcome represent or capture the overall intent and results of LEGS objective 1: **Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders.**

a. Public confidence in the elections?

b. If not, why not?

LEGS 1.2.1.1 Do you believe that the public perceives the planning for possible upcoming elections to be fair so far?

LEGS 1.2.1.2 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?

[Skip this question if the answer to LEGS 1.2.1.1 is that the elections are not perceived by the public to be fair.]

LEGS 1.2.1.3 Do you think that this is a significant achievement for IFES?

- LEGS 1.2.1.4 Do you think this is a significant achievement for the Government of National Accord/Interim Government?
- LEGS 1.2.1.5 What do you think IFES’s contribution is to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.2.1.6 Do you think that public confidence in the possible upcoming elections will have a positive outcome? And if so, what? If no, why not?
- LEGS ASM 8.1 What are the main impediments to timely conduct of the next elections?
- LEGS ASM 8.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?

[The following questions are for USAID and NDI respondents only. Some NDI respondents may not have job responsibilities related to all of the questions and may abstain from answering.]

LEGS 2.1.1 Does the following outcome represent or capture the overall intent and results of LEGS Objective 2: **Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by legislative bodies:**

- a. The House of Representatives (HoR) factored citizen input into its work?
- b. If not, why not?
- c. The High State Council (HSC) factored citizen input into its work?
- d. If not, why not?

LEGS 2.1.1 Did the HoR and/or HSC effectively engage citizens to inform its work? If so, through what mechanism?

LEGS 2.1.2 Did the HoR and/or HSC engage citizens to a sufficient degree?

LEGS 2.1.3 For the last two questions, what makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?

[Skip the next 2 question if the answer to LEGS 2.1.2 is that the HoR and HSC did not engage citizens to a sufficient degree.]

LEGS 2.1.4 Do you think that this was a significant achievement for NDI?

LEGS 2.1.5 Do you think that this was a significant achievement for the Government of National Accord/Interim Government?

LEGS 2.1.6 What do you think NDI’s contribution was to this achievement?

LEGS 2.1.7 What was the outcome of citizen input into the HoR’s and/or HSC’s work?

| | LEGS 2.1.8 | LEGS 2.1.9 |
|------------------------------|--|---|
| NDI Training for Legislators | Which of the following NDI trainings provided legislators with skills to better carry out their functions? | How significant were the trainings in increasing their effectiveness? |
| a. Leadership skills | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR <input type="checkbox"/> HSC <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| b. Negotiation | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR <input type="checkbox"/> HSC <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |

| NDI Training for Legislators | LEGS 2.1.8 | | | LEGS 2.1.9 | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Which of the following NDI trainings provided legislators with skills to better carry out their functions? | | | How significant were the trainings in increasing their effectiveness? | | |
| c. Time and office management | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR | <input type="checkbox"/> HSC | <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S | <input type="checkbox"/> Not S | <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| d. Communications | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR | <input type="checkbox"/> HSC | <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S | <input type="checkbox"/> Not S | <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| e. Representation of constituents | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR | <input type="checkbox"/> HSC | <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S | <input type="checkbox"/> Not S | <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| f. Oversight of executive | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR | <input type="checkbox"/> HSC | <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S | <input type="checkbox"/> Not S | <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| g. Applying gender equality standards | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR | <input type="checkbox"/> HSC | <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S | <input type="checkbox"/> Not S | <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| h. Drafting and review of legislation | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR | <input type="checkbox"/> HSC | <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S | <input type="checkbox"/> Not S | <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| i. Coalition building | <input type="checkbox"/> HOR | <input type="checkbox"/> HSC | <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S | <input type="checkbox"/> Not S | <input type="checkbox"/> DK |

LEGS 2.1.10 For any of the above trainings which did not provide legislators with skills to better carry out their functions, why not?

- a. Leadership skills: _____
- b. Negotiation: _____
- c. Time and office management: _____
- d. Communications: _____
- e. Representation of constituents: _____
- f. Oversight of executive: _____
- g. Applying gender equality standards: _____
- h. Drafting and review of legislation: _____
- i. Coalition building: _____

- LEGS 2.1.11 For any of the trainings which did provide legislators with skills to better carry out their functions, how have they put those skills to use? Through what mechanism?
- a. Leadership skills: _____
 - b. Negotiation: _____
 - c. Time and office management: _____
 - d. Communications: _____
 - e. Representation of constituents: _____
 - f. Oversight of executive: _____
 - g. Applying gender equality standards: _____
 - h. Drafting and review of legislation: _____
 - i. Coalition building: _____

LEGS 2.1.12 What was the outcome of NDI's input into the HoR and HSC's work?

LEGS ASM 11.1 What are the main political threats to NDI's continued technical assistance to HoR and the High State Council?

LEGS ASM 10.1 What are the main security threats to NDI's continued technical assistance to HoR and the HSC?

LEGS ASM 10.2 Are you optimistic that the security situation will allow for continued technical assistance from NDI to the HoR and HSC?

LEGS ASM 11.2 What are the main impediments to HoR and HSC staff positively engaging with NDI?

LEGS ASM 10-11 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could NDI play in addressing these impediments?

[The following questions are for USAID and IRI respondents only. Some IRI respondents may not have job responsibilities related to all of the questions and may abstain from answering.]

LEGS 2.2.1 Does the following outcome represent or capture the overall intent and results of LEGS Objective 2: **Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by legislative bodies:**

- a. Municipal Councils (MCs) factored citizen input into its work?
- b. If not, why not?

LEGS 2.2.1.1 Did the MCs effectively engage citizens to inform its work? If so, through what mechanism?

LEGS 2.2.1.2 Did the MCs engage citizens to a sufficient degree?

LEGS 2.2.1.3 For the last two questions, what makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?

[Skip the next 2 questions if the answer to LEGS 2.2.1.2 is that MCs did not engage citizens to a sufficient degree.]

LEGS 2.2.1.4 Do you think that this was a significant achievement for IRI?

LEGS 2.2.1.5 Do you think that this was a significant achievement for the Government of National Accord/Interim Government?

LEGS 2.2.1.6 What do you think IRI's contribution was to this achievement?

LEGS 2.2.1.7 What was the outcome of citizen input into the MCs' work?

| IRI Training for MC Members and Staff | LEGS 2.2.1.8 Did the following IRI trainings provide MCs with skills to better carry out their functions? | LEGS 2.2.1.9 How significant were the trainings in increasing their effectiveness? |
|---|--|---|
| a. Leadership skills | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| b. Professional and management skills | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| c. Conducting public awareness campaigns | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| d. Crisis management and conflict resolution | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| e. Proposal writing | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| f. Budget, finance, and revenue generation | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| g. Capacity building skills of municipal sectors (health, education, housing, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| h. GIS technology | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |
| i. Creative thinking and change management | <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/> DK | <input type="checkbox"/> S <input type="checkbox"/> Not S <input type="checkbox"/> DK |

LEGS 2.2.10 For any of the above trainings which did not provide MCs with skills to better carry out their functions, why not?

- a. Leadership skills:

- b. Professional and management skills:

- c. Conducting public awareness campaigns:

- d. Crisis management and conflict resolution:

- e. Proposal writing

- f. Budget, finance, and revenue generation;

- g. Capacity building skills of municipal sectors (health, education, housing, etc.):

- h. GIS technology:

- i. Creative thinking and change management:

LEGS 2.2.11 For any of the trainings which did provide MCs with skills to better carry out their functions, how have they put those skills to use? Through what mechanism?

- a. Leadership skills:

- b. Professional and management skills:

- c. Conducting public awareness campaigns:

- d. Crisis management and conflict resolution:

- e. Proposal writing

- f. Budget, finance, and revenue generation;

-
- g. Capacity building skills of municipal sectors (health, education, housing, etc.):
 - h. GIS technology:
 - i. Creative thinking and change management:
-

- LEGS 2.2.12 What was the outcome of IRI’s input into the MCs’ work?
- LEGS ASM 3.1 What are the main impediments to municipal councils serving as the basis of local governance?
- LEGS ASM 3.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.3 What are the main impediments to municipal councils ability to provide services to constituencies?
- LEGS ASM 3.4 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 9.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the CSOs in Libya to conduct advocacy?
- LEGS ASM 9.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES, NDI, and IRI play in addressing these impediments?

[The following questions are for USAID and ABA respondents only. Some ABA respondents may not have job responsibilities related to all of the questions and may refrain from answering.]

For this evaluation exercise we are mainly focused developing a detailed understanding of a few high-level outcomes that together represent each Objective.

Objective 1: Informed citizens are able to develop consensus on key constitution issues and effectively inform the constitution drafting body.

We focused on the following high-level outcomes for Objective 1:

Informed Citizens - Libyan citizens acquired new knowledge to participate more effectively in discussions leading up to the adoption of a new constitution.

Inclusive Community Dialogue and Consensus - Diverse citizens engaged in community dialogues to build consensus on topics to be enshrined in the new national constitution.

Communities Informed CDA - Communities submitted consensus, priorities or comments to the CDA to help inform and shape the national consensus as reflected drafts of the new constitution.

- LCB 5.1 Do these outcomes represent or capture the overall intent and results of this objective?

- a. If not, why not?

Now I would like to talk about how community members acquired knowledge about the draft constitution through workshops, study tours and other events.

- LCB 1.1.1.1.1 To validate this outcome we are substantiating whether municipal councils/members received information about the constitution drafting process and important constitutional issues. ABA conducted information campaigns including Community Liaisons and events such as workshops designed to inform council members. Do you feel that those activities were effective in informing MC/MC members?
- a. In retrospect what activities/methods/approaches were missed? [missed opportunities]
 - b. Were any of those activities considered ineffective, or caused negative or unintended outcomes?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.2 What was the outcome of activities to inform citizens? Explain.
- a. Other than ABA's reporting, how did you form this opinion? [e.g. government feedback? 3rd-party monitoring, etc.]
- LCB 1.1.1.1.3 Other than ABA who contributed to this outcome (other donors, government bodies etc.).
- LCB 1.1.1.1.4 How important was ABA's contribution to this outcome?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.5 What were the most important internal success factors or impediments to this activity area? (e.g. factors relating to activity design and implementation)
- LCB 1.1.1.1.8 What were the most important external success factors or impediments? (e.g. factors outside of the IP's control)

Let's move to some questions about civil society organizations. We are substantiating whether CSOs received information about the constitution drafting process and important constitutional issues.

- LCB 1.1.1.2.1 To validate this outcome we are substantiating whether CSOs received information about the constitution drafting process and important constitutional issues. ABA conducted information campaigns including Community Liaisons and events such as workshops designed to inform CSOs/members. Do you feel that those activities were effective?
- a. In retrospect what activities/methods/approaches were missed? [missed opportunities]
 - b. What activities did not have the intended results? Why?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.2 Do you think the outcome of the activities to inform CSOs was positive? Negative? Explain.
- a. Other than ABA's reporting, how did you form this opinion? [government feedback? 3rd-party monitoring, etc.]
- LCB 1.1.1.2.3 Other than ABA who contributed to this outcome (other donors, government bodies etc.).

- LCB 1.1.1.2.4 How important was ABA’s contribution to this outcome?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.5 What were the most important success factors or impediments to this activity area?
- Information about key constitution topics was disseminated to citizens through a number of mechanisms.
- LCB 1.1.1.3.1 Which of the following were effective mechanisms for informing citizens about issues related to drafting the constitution and dialogue on other national topics?
- a. TV
 - b. Radio
 - c. SMS/text message
 - d. Community Event
 - e. Community Liaison
 - f. Online Source (e.g. Facebook, news or blog)
- LCB 1.1.1.3.1.g On what basis do you make this conclusion? Why do you feel the mechanism(s) were effective?
- LCB 1.1.1.3.2 Overall, was ABA’s contribution to information dissemination about the constitution issues significant compared to others working in this area?
- LCB 1.1.1.3.3 Did you perceive any unintended consequences of the information campaigns? Elaborate please.
- LCB 1.1.1.3.4 What were the most important internal success factors or impediments to this activity area? Factors relating to activity design and implementation?
- LCB 1.1.1.3.7 What were the most important external success factors or impediments? Factors outside of the IP’s control?

The next questions are about the Community Liaisons.

ABA’s "Community Dialog Internal Monitoring" program concluded that overall the Community Liaison program has had a notable and causally-based effect in creating a better sense of engagement by Libyan citizens who participated in CL-organized events.

We would like to substantiate the effectiveness of the Community Liaisons in engaging citizens in the dialogue, or facilitating dialogue by other groups such as councils and CSOs.

- LCB 1.1.2.1.1 Does USAID/ABA have confidence in the results of the “Community Dialogue Internal Monitoring” program? [completed around 2017 Q2] Elaborate please.
- a. Was there any independent cross-check on the validity of their internal monitoring?
 - b. If so, did it confirm or dispute their findings?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.2 What do you recall as the main tools/events used by Community Liaisons to promote dialogue?
- a. With citizens? [list any replies]:
 - b. With local CSOs? [list any replies]:
 - c. With others in the community? [list any replies]:

- LCB 1.1.2.1.3 Overall what was the outcome of the “dialogue and consensus” activities?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.4 Were there differences in the success Community Liaison activities for citizens vs. CSOs? If so, can you identify anything important?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.5 How significant was the contribution of the ABA Community Liaisons in comparison to other similar/parallel activities of the government, donors or other organizations?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.6 What is your understanding of inclusion – did the dialogue activities manage to engage diverse groups? For example: women and men, youth/adults/elders, rich/poor, literate/illiterate, ethnic or tribal groups, political factions?
 - a. On what (information) do you base these conclusions?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.7 Was it important for community dialogues to result in consensus?
 - a. How was consensus defined?
 - b. Was it often/easily achieved?
 - c. Could consensus include diverging views on a specific topic? E.g., could a community reach a consensus not to advocate a single position (or to report multiple positions)?

The next questions are about recommendations from communities and citizens about the constitution drafting.

“229 recommendations (sets of issues, recommendations or comments on constitutional issues including women’s rights, human rights, decentralization and the judiciary) were generated from ABA-supported discussions and workshops and reported as forwarded to the CDA and other decision makers.”

- LCB 1.1.3.1.1 ABA counted and reported the number of recommendations made, and the number that were forwarded by communities to the CDA. (at least 229 recommendations reported) Is there any reason to recheck their numbers?
- LCB 1.1.3.1.2 Does USAID/ABA see this “forwarding of recommendations” as a significant achievement of the program?
- LCB 1.1.3.1.3 How did ABA’s contribution compare to others working on the same topic? (sole source of such assistance, one of many valuable contributors, etc.)
- LCB 1.1.3.1.4 How much, how well do you think the recommendations submitted as a result of ABA assistance changed the quality, quantity of recommendations received by CDA? Please explain.
- LCB 1.1.3.1.5 Were there any unintended consequences, obstacles or success factors that you would like to highlight? If obstacles, how were they overcome?

Now I would like to discuss Objective 2 of the LCB program.

Objective 2: Through National Dialogue, citizens who fairly represent majority and minority views of groups including but not limited to women, ethnic groups, and youth from across Libya, are able to build a consensus of state, economy, and society and the relationship between them.

We focused on the following high-level outcomes for Objective 2:

Inclusive Discussion on the New Constitution - Citizens, leaders and interest groups engaged in dialogue on topics to be resolved in the process of forging a new social contract as context for the new constitution and restructured system of government. The CDA and other national leaders drafted the new constitution drawing upon a diverse inputs received through inclusive national consultation.

New Constitution Reflects National Consensus on New Social Contract - In July 2017 the CDA, including members from all regions of Libya, approved a final draft constitution signaling readiness for a national referendum. The draft remains a draft pending the outcome of a national referendum that is held up by legal challenges. Observers note recent progress on resolving the legal challenges.

- LCB 5.5 Do these outcomes represent or capture the overall intent and results of this objective?
- a. If not, why not?

Let's talk about media campaign conducted by CDA's Outreach and Awareness Committee -- to inform the public about the drafting process and key CDA decisions.

LCB 1.2.1.2.1 Looking back, were there missed opportunities that you think would have strengthened the media campaign of CDA? Can you mention them?

LCB 1.2.1.2.2 Are there any success factors or obstacles you would like to highlight, particularly those that may not be apparent from ABA's regular reporting? Please discuss.

Citizens also acquired knowledge and engaged in dialogue on national issues of state, society and economy. For example, the rights of women, youth and persons with disabilities; the role of CSOs in society; and, the rights of migrants.

LCB 1.2.1.3.1 How were the topics for non-constitutional outreach (messaging) campaigns selected and prioritized?

LCB 1.2.1.3.2 How were government leaders, other opinion leaders or other Libyan stakeholders involved in the selection, prioritization of the messages about national issues of state, society and economy?

LCB 1.2.1.3.3 Can you identify other significant stakeholders who conduct(ed) equivalent outreach or public information campaigns... others working on similar topics? (government? donors, iNGOs, CSOs etc.).

LCB 1.2.1.3.4 The 2015 PMP includes Indicator 5 "the percentage of local community members who believe their priorities are represented by formal and informal dialogue processes."

- a. The baseline is shown as "0." Does indicate a measured baseline (e.g. from survey or even expert opinion), or is it simply a reflection of "no increase in percentage... owing to ABA/LCB activities."
- b. Was there any attempt to collect even anecdotal information to estimate a baseline, or to catalogue prior efforts?

Now I would like to talk about the referendum for a new constitution, and whether more outreach and education would be useful, in what areas, targeting which populations, by what means, etc.

- LCB 1.2.2.3.1 Looking forward, what are the prospects for holding a constitutional referendum in the near future? When do you think it will occur?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.2 Is there sufficient consensus on the current draft constitution that it should be put to the referendum? Or will there be a need for more national discussion and debate, consultation and revision?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.8 Reflecting on the progress and your experience to date, what do you consider the most important topics for USAID/ABA to continue support for outreach and education (on the social contract/constitutional or similar issues)? Why?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.9 Similarly, what do you consider the most effective mechanisms for USAID/ABA to continue support for outreach and education (on the social contract/constitutional or similar issues)?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.10 Are there geographic areas that warrant more or less attention or effort in the near future?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.11 Are there specific target groups (e.g. demographic, special interests, marginal groups) that warrant more or less attention or effort in the near future?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.3 Can you identify the most significant obstacles to holding the constitutional referendum?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.4 Do you think the obstacles will be overcome... do you (USAID, [USG, if you know], IP) see a path forward to the referendum?

Now let's talk about Objective 3.

Objective 3: Create consensus processes that will incorporate outputs from formal and informal national dialogue processes and constitution drafting to inform Libya's governing processes beyond passing the constitution referendum in order to strengthen the democratic political transition.

We focused on two high-level outcomes for Objective 3:

Enduring, Inclusive Consensus Processes - Libyan government institutions are gaining capacities needed to strengthen consensus processes and participatory governance.

Trust in Government - Libyan people's trust in government increased.

- LCB 5.8 Do these outcomes represent or capture the overall intent and results of this objective?
 - a. If not, why not?

The next questions are about legal training provided by ABA to MoLG and municipal legal staff.

[For USAID and ABA this one set of questions covers LCB 1.3.1.1 and LCB 1.3.1.2 (prior question, about municipal training).]

- LCB 1.3.1.2.1 How did USAID (jointly with ABA and MoLG) decide upon legal training as an activity to support the transition to decentralization and participatory local governance?

- LCB 1.3.1.2.2 Were other kinds of capacity building, or activities other than training considered before settling on the legal training?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.3 Has ABA conducted any ex post assessment of the legal training? If so what strengths or weaknesses were found?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.4 Are you aware of any noteworthy strengths and weaknesses of the legal training?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.5 How important was the legal training in the overall transition toward decentralization and participatory local governance?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.6 Do you think the results, usefulness of the legal training was markedly different for the national vs. municipal legal staff?
- LEGS ASM 4.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the MoLG to operate as a unified entity?
- LEGS ASM 4.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?

[The following question is directed only toward IFES staff. Skip this question when interviewing other informants.]

- EQ 2.1 What changes did you make to approved work plans that helped you to achieve Objective 1: Increasing public and stakeholder confidence in the integrity of elections as a vehicle for peacefully and democratically selecting leaders?

[The following question is directed only toward USAID and ABA-ROLI staff located outside of Libya. Skip this question when interviewing other informants.]

We heard that "ABA has not actually done directed activities under [Objective 1]... they conducted work with community liaisons and others considered 'community stakeholders' instead ...since the National Dialogue has not taken off and since there are not any national dialogue delegates."

- EQ 2.2 Was this change considered by USAID and ABA to be an example of "achievements of the program which were not part of the work plan" (SOW, Evaluation Question 2)?
- EQ 2.3 In hindsight, do you think the results of the community dialogue activities reached a significantly different result than the original design which it seems was primarily focused on the more formal National Dialogue process and the NDPC?

[The following question is directed only toward IRI and NDI staff Skip this question when interviewing other informants.]

- EQ 2.4 What changes did you make to approved work plans that helped you to achieve Objective 2: Establishing good precedents for effective governance, including stakeholder engagement, by legislative bodies?

[The following question is directed only toward IFES, NDI, and IRI staff. Skip this question when interviewing other informants.]

- EQ 2.5 What changes did you make to approved work plans that helped you to achieve Objective 3: Increase women's and marginalized group's genuine inclusion and participation such that their views and interests are incorporated into Libyan governing and legislative processes?

Evaluation Question 2

[The following 4 questions are directed only toward IP staff. Skip this question when interviewing other informants.]

- EQ 2.6 Did activities lead to any achievements beyond the three in your results framework?
- EQ 2.7 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?
- EQ 2.8 Did those activities lead to any unintended consequences?
- EQ 2.9 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?

Evaluation Question 3

[The following questions are directed only toward IP staff. Skip this question when interviewing USAID informants.]

- EQ 3.1 How did you anticipate risks?
- EQ 3.2 How do you go about planning for successive work plans?
- EQ 3.3 To what extent were your government counterparts and civil society partners involved in planning future activities?
- EQ 3.4 What was the process you followed when circumstances necessitated a change in planned activities?
- EQ 3.5 Do you think that this process could have been improved? How would it have improved the project?
- EQ 3.6 How and how well do you think the project adapted to challenges caused by:
- a. Visas to enter Libya?
 - b. Insecurity?
 - c. Regulations on non-governmental organizations?
 - d. Gaining cooperation of government/community-level counterparts?
 - e. Coordination with government counterparts?
 - f. Power outages?
 - g. Inability to transfer cash?
 - h. Remote management of staff and activities
- EQ 3.7 Can you think of any other challenges that the project faced? What was done well to mitigate those challenges? How could they have been overcome better? What could USAID do to assist in overcoming some of these challenges?
- LEGS ASM 6.1 Looking ahead, are you optimistic that Libyan regulations on international NGOs will allow them to operate in Libya?
- LEGS ASM 5.1 Looking ahead, are you optimistic that Tunisian authorities will continue to allow implementers to conduct activities in Tunisia?

- EQ 3.8 What do you think will be the most lasting contribution of LEGS and LCB?
- EQ 3.9 What do you think is a priority for future donor-funded activities in Libya?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
HIGH NATIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION (HNEC)
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 60 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:

NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):

ORGANIZATION:

CITY:

POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):

FIRST STARTED COOPERATION WITH PROJECT (M/D/Y):

TELEPHONE/EMAIL:

MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the IFES program. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

- LEGS 1.1.1.1 How well do you think that HNEC is informing the public about issues related to possible upcoming elections?
- LEGS 1.1.1.2 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?
- LEGS 1.1.1.3 What do you think IFES’s contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.1.1.4 Do you think that informing the public about election issues will have a positive outcome? And if so, what? If no, why not?
- LEGS 1.1.1.5 How well do you think that HNEC handled requirements for campaign finance?
- LEGS 1.1.1.6 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?
- LEGS 1.1.1.7 What do you think IFES’s contribution was to this achievement?

- LEGS 1.1.1.8 What was the outcome of HNEC’s handling of campaign finance requirements?
- LEGS 1.1.1.9 How well do you think that HNEC processed and archived complaints that were lodged after elections?
- LEGS 1.1.1.10 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about any specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?
- LEGS 1.1.1.11 What do you think IFES’s contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.1.1.12 What was the outcome of informing the public about election issues?
- LEGS 1.1.a What factors contributed to the success of HNEC’s cooperation with IFES?
- LEGS 1.1.b What factors impeded the success of HNEC’s cooperation with IFES?
- LEGS 1.1.c Were there any unintended outcomes of your cooperation with IFES?
- LEGS 1.1.d What kind of assistance would you want from IFES in the future?
- LEGS ASM 1.1 What are the main impediments to HNEC exercising its full authorities and responsibilities?
- LEGS ASM 1.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 8.1 What are the main impediments to timely conduct of the possible upcoming elections?
- LEGS ASM 8.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (HOR)/HIGH STATE COUNCIL (HSC)
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 60 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:

NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):

ORGANIZATION:

CITY:

POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):

FIRST STARTED COOPERATION WITH PROJECT (M/D/Y):

TELEPHONE/EMAIL:

MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of NDI's program. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

- LEGS 2.1.1 Has the House of Representatives / High State Council factored citizen input into its work?
- LEGS 2.1.2 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about specify examples where this occurred? Through what mechanisms did it receive citizen input?
- LEGS 2.1.3 What do you think NDI's contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 2.1.4 Do you think that this had a positive or negative impact on the HoR/HSC's work? Why?
- LEGS ASM 9.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the CSOs in Libya to conduct advocacy?
- LEGS ASM 9.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could NDI play in addressing these impediments?

- LEGS 2.1.5 Which of the following NDI trainings did you attend?
- a. Leadership skills
 - b. Negotiation
 - c. Time and office management
 - d. Communications
 - e. Representation of constituents
 - f. Oversight of executive
 - g. Applying gender equality standards
 - h. Drafting and review of legislation
 - i. Coalition building
- LEGS 2.1.6 Out of those you attended, which did you find useful and how was it useful?
- LEGS ASM 1.1 Are you optimistic that the HNEC will exercise its full authority and responsibilities for upcoming elections?
- LEGS ASM 8.1 What are the main impediments to timely conduct of the next elections?
- LEGS ASM 8.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could NDI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 10.1 What are the main impediments to your continued cooperation with NDI's?
- LEGS ASM 10.3 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could NDI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 11.1 What are the main impediments to HoR/HSC staff positively engaging with NDI?
- LEGS ASM 11.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could NDI play in addressing these impediments?

I would like to ask a few general questions about the referendum and new constitution...

- LCB 1.2.2.1.1 What are the prospects for holding the constitutional referendum in the near future? When do you think it will occur?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.2 Is there sufficient consensus on the current draft constitution that it should be put to the referendum? Or will there be a need for more discussion, consensus-building and revision?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.3 Can you identify the most significant impediments to holding the constitutional referendum?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.4 Are you optimistic they will be resolved... do you see a path forward to the referendum?
- LEGS ASM 1 What are the impediments to passing an electoral law?
- LEGS 1 What training might help you to draft or pass that legislation?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 45 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. Complete top box before interview.
2. Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:

NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):

ORGANIZATION:

CITY:

POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):

FIRST STARTED COOPERATION WITH PROJECT (M/D/Y):

TELEPHONE/EMAIL:

MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of IRI’s program. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

- LEGS 2.2.1 What kind of support has MoLG received from IRI? *[Interviewer: please ask for specific information or examples]*
- LEGS 2.2.2 How did the support you received help MoLG prepare for decentralization and participatory local governance?
- LEGS 2.2.3 Can you mention some of the Ministry’s functions that have been strengthened by the support, and say what changed as a result?
- LEGS 2.2.4 Were the activities with IRI well targeted to the Ministry’s needs?
- LEGS 2.2.5 What kind of support would benefit the Ministry in the near future?

[If the interviewee participated in the Legal Training from ABA, ask the following questions.]

I have a few questions about the legal training MoLG received from ABA.

- LCB 1.3.1.2.1 How did the training ABA provided for MoLG legal staff help the ministry prepare for decentralization and participatory local governance?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.2 Can you mention some of your specific work responsibilities that have been strengthened by the legal training? [interviewer: obtain some details if possible]
- LCB 1.3.1.2.3 Was the training well targeted and designed to improve your job performance?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.4 Can you briefly identify strengths and weaknesses of the legal training by ABA?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.5 How important was the legal training in the overall transition toward decentralization and participatory local governance?
- LCB 1.3.1.2.6 Did you receive similar assistance from other sources (other than ABA)?
 - a. If so, which source made the most significant contribution?

[Ask the following for all interviewees.]

- LEGS ASM 3.1 What are the main impediments to municipal councils serving as the basis of local governance?
- LEGS ASM 3.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.3 What are the main impediments to municipal councils ability to provide services to constituencies?
- LEGS ASM 3.4 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
CONSTITUTION DRAFTING ASSEMBLY (CDA)
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 60 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:
NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:
NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):
ORGANIZATION:
CITY:
POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):
FIRST STARTED COOPERATION WITH PROJECT (M/D/Y):
TELEPHONE/EMAIL:
MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the ABA ROLI program. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

I would like to ask about the engagement of the public in the constitutional, national and political processes.

LCB 1.1.2.2.1 Do you believe the people feel engaged in the discussion and debate on the new constitution?

- a. Why so (or why not)?

LCB 1.1.2.3.1 Do you believe the people feel their priorities are represented in national discussions about the constitution?

- a. Why so (or why not)?

ABA supported the process of forwarding recommendations and comments on constitution issues to the CDA (and other decision makers). This was done by municipal councils and civil society

organizations with ABA's assistance, and by other groups such as judicial experts, human rights experts, gender experts, youth leaders, and local government specialists.

LCB 1.1.3.1.1 Were you aware of ABA's contribution in this process?

a. If so, how did their activities help with the process?

We heard that CDA incorporated community recommendations from communities and civil society organizations (CSO) in the 2017 draft Constitution.

LCB 1.2.1.1.1 Can you say (roughly, or precisely) how many recommendations and comments CDA has received so far from all sources?

LCB 1.2.1.1.2 Can you say which were the most important sources of recommendations and comments received by the CDA?

- a. Communities
- b. Civil Society Organizations
- c. Political Parties
- d. Citizens
- e. Professionals and Experts
- f. Business Community or Organizations
- g. Other
- h. Don't Know

ABA assisted the CDA's Outreach and Awareness Committee which conducted a media campaign to inform the public about the drafting process and constitution issues.

LCB 1.2.1.2.1 Were the overall media campaign activities supporting the national constitutional dialogue considered by CDA to be successful?

LCB 1.2.1.2.2 Can you identify some specific measures of success for the media campaign?

LCB 1.2.1.2.3 Can you list some of the kinds of assistance ABA provided to the media campaigns?

LCB 1.2.1.2.4 What media campaign assistance (activity) from ABA was most useful (helpful) to you, and why?

LCB 1.2.1.2.5 What media campaign assistance (activity) from ABA was least useful (helpful) to you, and why?

LCB 1.2.1.2.7 Looking back, were there any missed opportunities that you think would have strengthened the media campaign of CDA? Can you mention them?

LCB 1.2.2.1.6 Can you say what training you received from ABA was most useful? ***[Interviewer: list the training topics considered most useful]***

Finally, I have some general questions.

LCB 1.2.2.1.1 Looking forward, what are the prospects for holding a constitutional referendum in the near future? When do you think it will occur?

- LCB 1.2.2.1.2 In your opinion, is there sufficient consensus on the current draft constitution that it should be put to the referendum? Or will there be a need for more consensus building and revision?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.3 What do you think are the most significant obstacles to holding the constitutional referendum?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.4 Are you optimistic the obstacles will be overcome... do you see a path forward to the referendum?
- LCB 1.2.2.1.5 What would you say are the most urgent and useful areas in which donors could support CDA to move toward the goal of a successful referendum?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
DEMOCRACY RESOURCE CENTERS (DRC)
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 30 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:

NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):

ORGANIZATION:

CITY:

POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):

FIRST STARTED WORKING WITH PROJECT(S) (M/D/Y):

TELEPHONE/EMAIL:

MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the IFES program. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

- LEGS 1.2.1.1 Do you believe that the public perceives the planning for the possible upcoming elections to be fair so far?
- LEGS 1.2.1.2 What makes you think so? Can you tell me about specific situations which occurred which formed your opinion?
- LEGS 1.2.1.3 Do you think this is a significant achievement for the Government of National Accord/Interim Government?
- LEGS 1.2.1.4 What do you think your center’s contribution is to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.2.1.5 What do you think IFES’s contribution is to this achievement?
- LEGS 1.2.1.6 Do you think that public confidence in the possible upcoming elections will have a positive outcome? And if so, what? If no, why not?

- LEGS ASM 1.1 What are the main impediments to HNEC exercising its full authorities and responsibilities?
- LEGS ASM 1.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 2.1 What are the remaining capacity gaps of HNEC?
- LEGS ASM 8.1 What are the main impediments to timely conduct of the possible upcoming elections?
- LEGS ASM 8.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 90 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:
NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:
NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):
ORGANIZATION:
CITY:
POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):
FIRST STARTED WORKING WITH PROJECT(S) (M/D/Y):
TELEPHONE/EMAIL:
MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the IFES, NDI, and IRI programs. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

LEGS 3.1 What is the mission of your organization?

- a. Women’s issues
- b. Persons with Disabilities issues
- c. Youth issues
- d. Other _____

LEGS 2.1.1.1 Has your organization provided any input to the House of Representatives [or HSC]? If so, through what mechanism? ***[eg. Public hearing; submission of written draft of law or amendment to legislation]***

LEGS 2.1.1.2 Did the House of Representatives [or HSC] utilize your input? How?

LEGS 2.1.1.4 What do you think NDI’s contribution was to this achievement?

- LEGS 2.1.1.5 What was the outcome of input to the House of Representatives [or HSC]? *[substitute the specific examples cited by the CSO, such as legislation which was passed with amendments introduced by the CSO]?*
- LEGS 2.2.1.1 Has your organization provided any input to Municipal Councils? If so, through what mechanism? *[eg. Town hall meeting, submission of written draft of law or amendment to legislation]*
- LEGS 2.2.1.2 Did the Municipal Council make utilize your input? How?
- LEGS 2.2.1.3 What do you think IRI's contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 2.2.1.4 What was the outcome of input to the Municipal Council *[Interviewer: substitute the specific examples cited by the CSO, such as legislation which was passed with amendments introduced by the CSO.]*
- LEGS ASM 9.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the CSOs in Libya to conduct advocacy?
- LEGS ASM 9.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES, NDI, IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.1 What are the main impediments to municipal councils serving as the basis of local governance?
- LEGS ASM 3.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.3 What are the main impediments to municipal councils ability to provide services to constituencies?
- LEGS ASM 3.4 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?

I understand that your CSO gained knowledge and/or skills to contribute to the constitution drafting process through ABA workshops, study tours and other events.

- LCB 1.1.1.2.1 Have you (your colleagues) received information about the process of drafting the new national constitution, and the main issues being discussed?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.2 When and how did you get this information?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.3 Did you participate in any ABA workshops, study tours or events about the constitutional drafting process and the important issues?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.4 What other forms of information, or information sources do you remember?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.5 Did you receive information from the ABA Community Liaison?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.6 Was the information useful? [did the information help you form opinions about important issues?]
- LCB 1.1.1.2.7 How did you use the information?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.8 What was the most useful source of information on the constitution drafting process and related information?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.9 Is there anything else you think it is important for us to know about the information campaigns for the constitution drafting process and issues?

The next questions are about peoples' engagement in the constitutional, national and political processes.

- LCB 1.1.2.2.1 Do you believe the people feel engaged in the process of adopting a new constitution?
 - a. Why so (or why not)?
- LCB 1.1.2.3.1 Do you believe the people feel their priorities are represented in the dialogue process?
 - a. Why so (or why not)?
- LCB 1.2.1.1.1 If your CSO sent recommendations to the CDA as part of the constitution drafting process, did the CSO receive any response or feedback from CDA? Can you briefly describe what you heard back from CDA?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 60 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:

NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):

ORGANIZATION:

CITY:

POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):

FIRST STARTED WORKING WITH PROJECT(S) (M/D/Y):

TELEPHONE/EMAIL:

MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the work of IRI and ABA ROLI. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

- LEGS 2.2.1.1 Has your Municipal Council factored responded to citizen input in its work? How?
- LEGS 2.2.1.2 What makes you think so? Can you specify examples where this occurred?
Through what mechanisms did it receive citizen input?
- LEGS 2.2.1.3 What do you think IRI’s contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 2.2.1.4 Do you think that this had a positive or negative impact on your Council’s work?
Why?
- LEGS ASM 9.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the CSOs in Libya to conduct
advocacy?
- LEGS ASM 9.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play
in addressing these impediments?

ABA worked with Community Liaisons to provide knowledge and skills related to drafting the new constitution. I have just a few questions about the Community Liaisons.

- LCB 1.1.1.1.1 Did your municipal council receive information from the ABA Community Liaison?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.4 Did the council receive information from other sources? Can you list them?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.7 How did the council use the information about the new constitution?

The next questions are about the training your council has received from IRI.

- LEGS 2.2.1.5 Which of the following IRI trainings did you attend?
- a. Leadership skills
 - b. Professional and management skills
 - c. Conducting public awareness campaigns
 - d. Crisis management and conflict resolution
 - e. Proposal writing
 - f. Budget, finance, and revenue generation
 - g. Capacity building skills of municipal sectors (health, education, housing, etc.)
 - h. GIS technology
 - i. Creative thinking and change management
- LEGS 2.2.1.6 Out of those you attended, which did you find useful and how was it useful?

Municipal Council members acquired knowledge and skills for national dialogue through ABA workshops, study tours and other events.

- LCB 1.1.1.1.1 Have you received information about the process of drafting the new national constitution, and the main issues being discussed?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.2 When and how did you get this information?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.3 Did you participate in any ABA workshops, study tours or events about the constitutional drafting process and the important issues?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.4 What other forms of information, or information sources do you remember?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.7 How did you use it?

Communities like yours sent recommendations, comments and priorities to the Constitutional Drafting Assembly.

- LCB 1.2.1.1.1 If the municipal council sent recommendations to the CDA as part of the constitution drafting process, did the council receive any response or feedback from CDA? Can you briefly describe what you heard from CDA?

These last questions are about the system of local government.

- LEGS ASM 3.1 What are the main impediments to municipal councils serving as the basis of local governance?
- LEGS ASM 3.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.3 What are the main impediments to municipal councils' ability to provide services to constituencies?

- LEGS ASM 3.4 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments??
- LEGS ASM 4.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the MoLG to operate as a unified entity?
- LEGS ASM 4.2 Are you think that these impediments will be resolved?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

COMMUNITY LIAISON

ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 60 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

- 1. Complete top box before interview.
- 2. Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.

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|---|----------------|
| DATE OF INTERVIEW: | |
| NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR: | |
| NAME OF RESPONDENT(S): | |
| ORGANIZATION: | |
| CITY: | |
| POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S): | |
| FIRST STARTED WORKING WITH PROJECT(S) (M/D/Y): | |
| TELEPHONE/EMAIL: | |
| MALE: | FEMALE: |

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the ABA ROLI program. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Municipal Council members acquired knowledge/skills for national dialogue through ABA workshops, study tours and other events.

- LCB 1.1.1.1.1 As part of your Community Liaison activities did you provide information about the constitution drafting process or constitutional issues to municipal council(s) or MC members?
- a. How did you do this? [how was info communicated]
 - b. How often?
 - c. Where? [substantiate]
- LCB 1.1.1.1.2 Do you know how the council(s) used the information about the constitution process? Please briefly explain.

The Community Liaisons transferred skills and information to CSOs for participating in the constitution drafting process through workshops, study tours and other events.

- LCB 1.1.1.2.1 Were you yourself involved in providing information about the constitution drafting to Civil Society Organizations?
- How did you do this? [how was info communicated]
 - How often? [or how many?]
 - Where? [substantiate]
- LCB 1.1.1.2.2 In your opinion were you an important source of this information to the CSOs/members?
- If so, why do you think so?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.3 What do you think were the biggest success factors and impediments for this activity?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.4 Is there anything else you think it is important for us to know about initiatives to provide CSOs with information about the constitution drafting process and constitution issues?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.1 ABA reported that at least 229 recommendations were made to CDA, some from community activities with municipal councils and civil society organizations (CSOs). I understand those were supported or led by Community Liaisons. Did your community conduct dialogue(s) that generated recommendations or comments?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.2 Did the community attempt to find consensus on some issues?
- Was consensus reached on any/some/all issues?
 - Was there a formal process to signify “consensus” such as a majority vote?
 - If no consensus could be reached on an issue, were multiple viewpoints submitted, rather than a consensus view?

The next questions are about whether Libyan people feel engaged in the constitutional, national and political processes.

- LCB 1.1.2.2.1 Do you believe the people feel engaged in the process of drafting the new constitution?
- Why so (or why not)?
- LCB 1.1.2.3.1 Do you believe the people feel their priorities are represented in the dialogue process?
- Why so (or why not)?

About the recommendations and comments generated from ABA-supported discussions and workshops and forwarded to the CDA and other decision makers:

- LCB 1.1.3.1.1 Were some or all of the recommendations or comments from your community dialogue forwarded to the Constitutional Drafting Assembly (CDA)?
- If yes: Who was responsible for forwarding the comments from municipalities?
 - Did CSOs forward their own recommendations and comments?
 - How were they recorded?

- d. Was there a formal submission process managed by CDA? Can you briefly describe it?
- e. Did the municipality or CSO receive any feedback that you know of?
 - i. How was it received?
 - ii. Was it shared or distributed in the community?
 - iii. If so, how?

We heard that CDA incorporated (at least) 76 community recommendations from National Dialog in the 2017 draft Constitution. These were from communities that received support from ABA.

LCB 1.2.1.1.1 If the municipal council sent recommendations to the CDA as part of the constitution drafting process, do you know if the council received any response or feedback from CDA? Can you briefly describe what they received back from the CDA?

LCB 1.2.1.1.2 If CSOs in your community sent recommendations to the CDA as part of the constitution drafting process, did the CSO(s) receive any response or feedback from CDA? Can you briefly describe what they received back from the CDA?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
ABA/LCB LEGAL TRAINING BENEFICIARY
ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 30 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:
NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:
NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):
ORGANIZATION:
CITY:
POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):
FIRST STARTED WORKING WITH PROJECT(S) (M/D/Y):
TELEPHONE/EMAIL:
MALE: **FEMALE:**

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the ABA ROLI program. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

ABA provided legal training to build the capacity of local government.

- LCB 1.3.1.1.1 How did the training ABA provided for municipal legal staff help your municipality prepare for decentralization and participatory local governance?
- LCB 1.3.1.1.2 Can you mention some of your specific work tasks that have been strengthened by the training? [interviewer: details are good here, if possible]
- LCB 1.3.1.1.3 Was the training well targeted and designed to improve your job performance?
- LCB 1.3.1.1.4 Can you briefly identify strengths and weaknesses of the legal training?
- LCB 1.3.1.1.5 How important was the training in the overall transition toward decentralization and participatory local governance?
- LCB 1.3.1.1.6 Did you receive similar assistance from other sources (other than ABA)?
 - a. If so, which source made the most significant contribution?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

OTHER IMPLEMENTER

ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 45 MINUTES

Notes to Interviewer:

1. *Complete top box before interview.*
2. *Any questions that are beyond the involvement of the respondent should be skipped.*

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:

NAME OF RESPONDENT(S):

ORGANIZATION:

CITY (if in Libya):

POSITION OF RESPONDENT(S):

TELEPHONE/EMAIL:

MALE:

FEMALE:

INTRODUCTION: *Thank you for meeting with me as part of the evaluation of the USAID-funded Libya Elections and Governance Support (LEGS) project implemented by International Republican Institute (IRI), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Supporting Consensus Building for the National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting and Governing Process in Libya implemented by the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative. The results of this evaluation will provide lessons learned from the final implementation phase, and, provide specific programmatic recommendations for future assistance.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

1. Can you provide an overview of your organization's program in Libya for democracy and governance?
2. In what ways did your organization cooperate with the USAID LEGS and/or ABA-LCB projects?
3. Are you aware of any areas in which your organization's program overlapped with the LEGS or ABA-LCB projects?
4. What gaps in donor assistance are there currently or will there be after the close out of LEGS and ABA-LCB to support democracy and governance in Libya?
5. What do you think is a priority for future USAID-funded democracy and governance activities in Libya?

[If the implementer stated that their activities are in the area of elections, ask the following five questions.]

- LEGS ASM 2.1 What are the remaining capacity gaps of HNEC?
- LEGS ASM 1.1 What are the main impediments to HNEC exercising its full authority and responsibilities for the upcoming elections?
- LEGS ASM 1.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 8.1 What are the main impediments to timely conduct of the next elections?
- LEGS ASM 8.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?

[If the implementer stated that they work with municipal councils, ask the following four questions.]

- LEGS ASM 3.1 What are the main impediments to municipal councils serving as the basis of local governance?
- LEGS ASM 3.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.3 What are the main impediments to municipal councils ability to provide services to constituencies?
- LEGS ASM 3.4 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?

[If the implementer stated that they work with the MoLG, ask the following two question.]

- LEGS ASM 4.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the MoLG to operate as a unified entity?
- LEGS ASM 4.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?

[If the implementer stated that they work with CSOs ask the following two questions.]

- LEGS ASM 9.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the CSOs in Libya to conduct advocacy?
- LEGS ASM 9.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES, NDI, and IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 5.1 Looking ahead, are you optimistic that Tunisian authorities will continue to allow implementers to conduct activities in Tunisia?

The USAID/ABA program has supported outreach or public information campaigns to spread knowledge and foster dialogue on national issues relating to a “new social contract” in Libya. (women’s rights/roles, rights of PWD, youth, conflict resolution etc.)

- LCB 1.2.1.3.3 Can you identify other significant stakeholders who conduct(ed) equivalent outreach or public information campaigns... others working on similar topics? (government? donors, iNGOs, CSOs etc.).

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE
MUNICIPAL COUNCIL (MC) MEMBERS

ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 2 HOURS

| |
|---|
| <p>DATE OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD):</p> <p>NAME OF FGD FACILITATOR:</p> <p>NAME OF FGD NOTETAKER:</p> <p>LOCATION OF FGD: Tripoli</p> <p>NAME OF PARTICIPANTS: Attach sign-in sheet to notes. Sign-in sheet must include the name of the municipality where each participants serves on the council.</p> <p>TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS:</p> <p>NUMBER OF WOMEN:</p> <p>FOCUS GROUP START TIME: FOCUS GROUP END TIME:</p> |
|---|

Guidance to Facilitator and Notetaker:

The main purposes of this discussion are:

- *To hear diverse viewpoints and useful details from the participants concerning the support provided to their councils by IRI*
- *To learn what positive or negative experience they may have had*
- *To hear feedback about the activities they were involved in and, if/how/how much those activities helped them to fulfill their responsibilities*

All questions are open-ended. Closely related questions are grouped together, below.

We want to hear from all the participants, so prompt them to contribute in case they are quiet.

INTRODUCTION FOR FOCUS GROUP: *Hello. My name is _____ and I am part of a research team that is talking to people about the work of IRI. Our team is conducting an evaluation of this project. Thank you for meeting with me to talk about your experience with IRI.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

STRUCTURE: *As part of this discussion, I will ask you questions about the organization's program and my co-worker will take notes. It is important to give everyone an opportunity to speak about her/his experience, so I will do my best to be sure everyone has a chance to participate.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

LEGS 2.2.1.1 Let's all introduce ourselves. Can you please tell me your name, municipality, and what IRI activities you participated in?

- LEGS 2.2.1.2 If you have attended training given by IRI, which was particularly useful and why?
- LEGS 2.2.1.3 What training was least useful and why?
- LEGS 2.2.1.4 How has your council changed the support / services it provides to citizens as a result of IRI's training?
- LEGS ASM 3.3 What are the main impediments to municipal councils' ability to provide services to constituents?
- LEGS ASM 3.4 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS 2.2.1.5 In what ways has your Municipal Council factored citizen input into its work? Through what mechanisms did it receive citizen input?
- LEGS 2.2.1.7 What do you think IRI's contribution was to this achievement?
- LEGS 2.2.1.8 Do you think that the inclusion of citizen input has had a positive or negative impact on your Council's work? Why?
- LEGS ASM 9.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of CSOs to conduct advocacy with your council?
- LEGS ASM 9.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.1 What are the main impediments to municipal councils serving as the basis of local governance?
- LEGS ASM 3.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 4.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the MoLG to operate as a unified entity?
- LEGS ASM 4.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS 2.2.1.9 What are the remaining capacity gaps for your council?

Thank you for your taking the time to participate in this discussion! If you have any questions about this discussion or our research, please feel free to come up to talk with my co-worker or me individually.

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (CSO)

ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 2 HOURS

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| DATE OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD): | |
| NAME OF FGD FACILITATOR: | |
| NAME OF FGD NOTETAKER: | |
| LOCATION OF FGD: Tripoli | |
| NAME OF PARTICIPANTS: Attach sign-in sheet to notes. The sign-in sheet should include the name of the CSO where each participant is a member, and the municipality where it is located. | |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: | |
| NUMBER OF WOMEN: | |
| FOCUS GROUP START TIME: | FOCUS GROUP END TIME: |

Guidance to Facilitator and Notetaker:

The main purposes of this discussion are:

- *To hear diverse viewpoints and useful details from the participants concerning inclusivity, advocacy, disability rights, and women's rights.*
- *To learn what positive or negative experience they may have had relating to the topics below.*
- *To hear feedback about the activities they were involved in and, if/how/how much those activities helped them to inform citizens, provide useful information to citizens, and enable or encourage debate about public participation in elections and local or national discussion about the new constitution.*

All questions are open-ended. Closely related questions are grouped together, below.

We want to hear from all the participants, so prompt them to contribute in case they are quiet.

In the focus group report be sure to indicate which remarks came from the following groups: (a) women's issues; (b) people with disabilities.

INTRODUCTION FOR FOCUS GROUP: *Hello. My name is _____ and I am part of a research team that is talking to people about the work of IFES, NDI, IRI, and ABA ROLI. Our team is conducting an evaluation of this project. Thank you for meeting with me to talk about your experience with these programs.*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

STRUCTURE: *As part of this discussion, I will ask you some questions about the organization's program and my co-worker will take notes. It is important to give everyone an opportunity to speak about her/his experience, so I will do my best to be sure everyone has a chance to participate.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Let's all introduce ourselves. Can you please tell me your name, municipality, and what organization or activities you participated in?

LEGS 3.1 What is the mission of your organization?

[Note to moderator: please note in your report how many of the participants represent: (a) women's organizations; (b) persons with disabilities groups; (c) youth.

LEGS 2.1.1.1 Has your organization provided any input to the House of Representatives? If so, through what mechanism? *eg. Public hearing; submission of written draft of law or amendment to legislation.*

LEGS 2.1.1.2 Did the House of Representatives utilize your input? How?

LEGS 2.1.1.3 Has your organization provided any input to the High State Council? If so, through what mechanism? *eg. Public hearing; submission of written draft of law or amendment to legislation*

LEGS 2.1.1.4 Did the High State Council utilize your input? How?

LEGS 2.1.1.5 Do you think this was a significant achievement for your organization?

LEGS 2.1.1.6 What was the outcome of input to the House of Representatives or High State Council

[substitute the specific examples cited by the CSO, such as legislation which was passed with amendments introduced by the CSO] ?

LEGS 2.2.1.1 Has your organization provided any input to Municipal Councils? If so, through what mechanism? *[eg. Town hall meeting, submission of written draft of law or amendment to legislation]*

LEGS 2.2.1.2 Did the Municipal Council make utilize your input? How?

LEGS 2.2.1.3 What do you think IRI's contribution was to this achievement?

LEGS 2.1.1.4 What was the outcome of the input to the Municipal Council

[substitute the specific examples cited by the CSO, such as legislation which was passed with amendments introduced by the CSO]?

I understand that your CSO gained knowledge and/or skills to help contribute to the constitution drafting process – through ABA workshops, study tours and other events.

LCB 1.1.1.2.1 Have you (your CSO) received information about the process of drafting the new national constitution, and the main issues being discussed?

LCB 1.1.1.2.2 When and how did you get this information?

LCB 1.1.1.2.3 Did you participate in any ABA workshops, study tours or events about the constitutional drafting process and the important issues?

LCB 1.1.1.2.4 What other forms of information, or information sources do you remember?

LCB 1.1.1.2.8 What was the most useful source of information on the constitution drafting process and topics?

The next questions are about peoples' engagement in the constitutional, national and political processes.

- LCB 1.1.2.2.1 Do you believe the people feel engaged in the in the process of drafting the new constitution? Why so (or why not)?
- LCB 1.1.2.3.1 Do you believe the people feel their priorities are represented in the dialogue process? Why so (or why not)?
- LCB 1.2.1.1.1 If your CSO sent recommendations to the CDA as part of the constitution drafting process, did the CSO receive any response or feedback from CDA? Can you briefly describe what you heard back from CDA?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.5 Did you receive information from the ABA Community Liaison?
- LCB 1.1.1.1.6 Was the information from the Community Liaison useful? [did the information help you form opinions about important issues?]
- LCB 1.1.1.1.7 How did you use it?
- LCB 1.1.2.1.1 How did the support from the Community Liaison help to engage citizens in the drafting process (of the constitution)? Can you give examples?
- LCB 1.1.2.2.1 Do you believe the people feel engaged in the drafting process for the new constitution? Why so (or why not)?
- LCB 1.1.2.3.1 Do you believe the people feel their priorities are represented in the dialogue process? Why so (or why not)?

I understand that CSOs like yours sent recommendations, comments or priorities to the CDA.

- LCB 1.2.1.1.1 If your CSO sent recommendations to the CDA as part of the constitution drafting process, did the council receive any response or feedback from CDA? Can you briefly describe what you heard from CDA?

The final questions are about the evolving system of local government.

- LEGS ASM 3.1 What are the main impediments to municipal councils serving as the basis of local governance?
- LEGS ASM 3.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IRI play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 3.3 What are the main impediments to municipal councils' ability to provide services to constituencies?
- LEGS ASM 3.4 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES play in addressing these impediments?
- LEGS ASM 9.1 What are the main impediments to the ability of the CSOs in Libya to conduct advocacy?
- LEGS ASM 9.2 Do you think that these impediments will be resolved and what role could IFES, NDI, and IRI play in addressing these impediments?

Thank you for your taking the time to participate in this discussion! If you have any questions about this discussion or our research, please feel free to come up to talk with my co-worker or me individually.

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE
COMMUNITY DIALOGUE BENEFICIARIES

ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 2 HOURS

DATE OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD):

NAME OF FGD FACILITATOR:

NAME OF FGD NOTETAKER:

LOCATION OF FGD:

NAME OF PARTICIPANTS: Attach sign-in sheet to notes. The sign-in sheet should include the name of the participant, and the municipality where he/she resides, and the organization she/he represents (e.g. CSO, municipal council, etc.). DIWAN should ask other information (e.g. phone contact) if needed for verification and quality control.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS:

NUMBER OF WOMEN:

FOCUS GROUP START TIME: **FOCUS GROUP END TIME:**

Guidance to Facilitator and Notetaker:

The main purposes of this discussion are:

- *To hear diverse viewpoints and useful details from the participants concerning the national elections and the process of drafting the new constitution.*
- *To learn what positive or negative experience they may have had relating to the topics below.*
- *To hear feedback about the activities they were involved in and, if/how/how much those activities helped them to inform citizens, provide useful information to citizens, and enable or encourage debate about public participation in elections and local or national discussions about the new constitution.*

All questions are open-ended. Closely related questions are grouped together, below.

We want to hear from all the participants, so prompt them to contribute in case they are quiet.

Background information: The community dialogue activities to be discussed by the group include, for example: information about the draft constitution, effective local governance, the rights of people, partnerships between civil society and local government, unification of local efforts toward reconciliation and conflict mitigation, promoting a culture of peace and inclusion of women, and encouraging local efforts to ensure protection of the rights of marginalized groups such as internally displaced persons and persons with disabilities.

INTRODUCTION FOR FOCUS GROUP: *Hello. My name is _____ and I am part of a research team that is talking to people about community dialogue activities you participated in. Our team is conducting an evaluation of this activity as a normal process to improve future performance. Thank you for meeting with me to talk about your experience with the community dialogue event(s).*

CONFIDENTIALITY: *Everything we discuss is confidential. We do not share your name or anything that can be used to identify you with anyone outside of our evaluation team. We do not share information you provide with other people we are talking to for this evaluation. Although our internal report will include a list of everyone that we interviewed, the public version of the report does not include this list. Whatever you share with us will not have any impact at all on the level of support you receive now or are eligible to receive in the future.*

STRUCTURE: *As part of this discussion, I will ask you some questions and my co-worker will take notes. It is important to give everyone an opportunity to speak about her/his experience, so I will do my best to be sure everyone has a chance to participate.*

Do you have any questions before we begin?

- LCB 1.1.1.2.20 Let's all introduce ourselves. Can you please tell me your name, municipality, and what community dialogue event or events you participated in?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.21 Can you briefly recall how the event(s) were organized? For example, how many people participated, where did it take place, how long was the event?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.22 Would you say the event was mainly designed to share and discuss information, or to develop the participants' skills? Can we identify the main topics (for "information") and the main skills that were addressed at the event?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.23 Did the event create a real dialogue, i.e. 2-way exchange of ideas, or a 1-way process of information delivery?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.24 Was there an attempt to reach a consensus on any key topics, at the event? If so, was a consensus reached and by what process?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.25 Did the event change your perceptions about an important topic (topics)? How did the event cause this change?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.7 What did you do with the information? How did you use the information after the community event?]
- LCB 1.1.1.2.26 Would you say the dialogue event(s) were the only?... major?... or a minor? source of information you received on the topic of the event(s) you attended?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.4 What other forms of information, or information sources do you remember that addressed the same topic(s)?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.8 What was the most useful source of information on the constitution drafting process and related topics? *[Note to Interviewer: at this point, only if the participants do NOT recall other information sources, you may prompt them by suggesting "were there other information sources such as TV and radio broadcasts, SMS messages, online news or Facebook news?"]*
- LCB 1.1.1.2.27 How important was the event in shaping your opinions and any actions you took after the event? Why was this event important?
- LCB 1.1.2.2.1 Do you feel engaged in discussions and debate on the new constitution? Why so (or why not)?
- LCB 1.1.2.3.1 Do you believe your priorities are represented in discussions about the constitution?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.28 What information have you heard about the specific provisions in the draft Constitution? What was your source of this information, and was it easy to learn about the contents of the draft?
- LCB 1.1.1.2.29 Finally, do you have ideas to improve future community dialogue events? Briefly brainstorm and discuss.

Thank you for your taking the time to participate in this discussion! If you have any questions about this discussion or our research, please feel free to come up to talk with my co-worker or me individually.

CITIZEN SURVEY INSTRUMENT

ESTIMATED LENGTH OF SURVEY = 30 MINUTES

[Interviewer: DO NOT ask the interviewee the questions in the following text box. Answer to the based on your own information and judgments.]

DATE OF SURVEY:

NAME OF DATA COLLECTOR:

STREET ADDRESS OF RESPONDENT(S):

LOCATION:

- Ghat
- Souq al-Jum'aa
- Tobruk

SEX:

- Female
- Male

DOES THE RESPONDENT APPEAR TO HAVE A DISABILITY:

- No
- Yes

Thank you for participating in this survey. The results of this survey will assist in better supporting programs working with Libyan citizens.

LEGS 1.1.1.1 Have you heard or seen information about upcoming elections?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LEGS 1.1.1.2 If so, which sources of information do you remember?
[Interviewer: DO NOT mention the options. DO circle the options identified by the respondent]

- a. Billboard
- b. TV
- c. Radio
- d. SMS message(s)
- e. Community Event
- f. Online news
- g. Other
- h. Don't know
- i. Refuse to answer

LEGS 1.1.1.3 Do you remember the main theme(s) of the information you received?

- Voter registration
- Accessibility to the electoral process for persons with disabilities
- Other
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LEGS 1.1.1.4 How did the information you gained influence your decision to vote?

- Made me more likely to vote
- No impact
- Made me less likely to vote
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LEGS 1.1.1.5 How did the information help you to better understand issues about the upcoming elections? (Mark all responses mentioned.)

- Helped me find out how to register to vote
- Helped me find out where to vote
- Other
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LEGS 1.1.1.6 Do you think that the High National Elections Commission is doing a good job of preparing for the elections?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LEGS 1.2.1.1 Do you think that the Government of National Accord/Interim Government is planning the upcoming elections fairly?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

I would like to shift from elections to the constitution.

LCB 1.1.1.3.1 Have you heard or seen information about the process to adopt a new constitution, or the topics being discussed?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LCB 1.1.1.3.2 If so, which sources of information do you remember?
[Interviewer: DO NOT mention the options. DO circle the options identified by the respondent]

- a. Billboard
- b. TV
- c. Radio
- d. SMS message(s)
- e. Community Event
- f. Online news
- g. Other
- h. Don't know
- i. Refuse to answer

LCB 1.1.1.3.3 What were the main themes you remember from these information sources:

- Local Development
- Role of Youth in Conflict Resolution
- Rights of Displaced People (IDP)
- Freedom of Speech
- Amazigh Rights in Political Process
- Access for Persons With Disabilities
- Underage Marriage
- Role of Women in Development
- Conflict Resolution
- New National Constitution
- Role of Women in Peacebuilding
- Gender Based Violence
- Other
- Refuse to Answer

LCB 1.1.1.3.4 Did the information you gained help you understand the new constitution?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LCB 1.1.1.3.4a Did the information you gained help you understand your rights?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LCB 1.1.1.3.5 Do you know the current status of the new constitution?
[Interviewer: DO NOT mention the options. DO circle one option closest to the answer of the respondent]

- a. There is a Draft [or multiple drafts]
- b. It will be approved soon
- c. It was approved
- d. It was delayed by a challenge in court
- e. Other
- f. Don't know
- g. Refuse to Answer

LCB 1.1.1.3.6 In your opinion should the draft constitution be approved by a people's referendum?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't Know
- d. Refuse to Answer

| LCB 1.2.1.2.1 To what extent do you have confidence that the Constitution Drafting Assembly: | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | 1 Not at all | 2 To some extent | 3 To a large extent | [96 Don't know] | [97 Refuse to answer] |
| 1. Developed a constitution that I would approve of | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Put a constitution to a referendum in 2018 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Educated the public on the Constitution | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| LCB 1.1.2.3.1 If any of these elections were held tomorrow, would you go and vote? | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | 1 Yes | 2 No | [96 Don't know] | [97 Refuse to answer] |
| a. Parliamentary elections | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Presidential elections | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Local municipal elections | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Constitutional referendum (referendum to approve a new constitution) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

LCB 1.2.1.1.1 Do you feel engaged in debate and decisions about the new constitution?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LCB 1.2.1.1.1.a If yes, **how** have you gotten involved in discussing or debating the constitutional reform process or the possible changes to the constitution?

[Interviewer: DO NOT mention the options. DO circle one or more items closest to the answers of the respondent]

- a. Discuss with family and friends
- b. Went to public event, meeting or rally
- c. Online news, blog or social media
- d. Other
- e. Do not know
- f. Refuse to answer

| LCB 1.1.2.3.3 To what extent do you agree with the following statements? | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Agree | 4. Strongly agree | [97 Refuse to answer] | [96 Don't know] |
| 1. I have a say in what the Government of National Accord/Interim Government does | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I know more about politics than most people my age | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Local public hearings have an influence on municipal decisions | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

LCB 1.1.2.3.4 Do people like you have a say in the debate about the new constitution?

- a. Yes, very much
- b. Yes, somewhat
- c. Not much
- d. Not at all
- e. Don't know
- f. Refuse to answer

LCB 1.1.2.3.5 Who best represents your views and priorities in the debate and decisions about the new constitution?

- a. Myself
- b. Local Council
- c. Civil Society Organization(s) [in general, or in case specific one(s) are mentioned]
- d. Member of the House of Representatives
- e. Member of the High Council of State
- f. A political party
- g. Nobody
- h. Other
- i. Don't know
- j. Refuse to answer

| LCB 1.3.2.1.1 To what extent do you trust the following institutions to improve Libya's future? | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | 1 Dis trust | 2 Low trust | 3 Moder ately trust | 4 Tr ust | 5 Highl y trust | [96 Don't know] | [97 Refuse to answer |
| 1. High State Council | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Government of National Accord | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. House of Representatives | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Judiciary | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Army/Libyan National Army | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Police | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Municipal council (local government) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. The Grand Mufti Institution | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Political Parties | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. Armed Groups | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. High National Elections Commission | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. Constitution Drafting Assembly | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. Civil society | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

LEGS 2.2.1.1 Do you know who your mayor and Municipal Council Member are?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

LEGS 2.2.1.2 Do you know what public services the Municipal Council is responsible for providing?

- Yes
- No

Refuse to answer

LEGS 2.2.1.2.a If yes, can you please name them? _____

LEGS 2.2.1.3 In the past year, have you made a complaint to the municipality about any of the following services? (Choose as many as are applicable.)

- Electricity
- Sewers
- Waste removal
- Water
- Other
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

LEGS 2.2.1.4 If so, was your complaint addressed?

- Yes
- No
- Didn't make a complaint
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer

1. What is your age?

- 18 - 30
- 31 - 60
- Over 60 years
- Refuse to answer

2. What is your level of education? Choose 1.

- Did not graduate from primary school
- Some high school
- Graduated from high school
- Graduated from higher educational institution
- Refuse to answer

3. Marital status:

- Single
- Married
- Refuse to answer

4. Number of children you have:

- 0
- 1 - 2
- 3 or more

Refuse to answer

5. What is your occupation?

- Self-employed
- Shop owner, Merchant
- Farmer, Gardener
- Laborer
- Skilled laborer, Technician, Driver of heavy vehicles
- Teacher
- Government employee
- Private sector employee
- Doctor, engineer, lawyer, judge, other professional
- Professor, researcher, seminary lecturer
- Journalism, media
- Armed, security, and law enforcement forces
- Other
- Not currently working
- Refuse to answer

ANNEX 5. EVALUATION TEAM

The core ET was comprised of three specialists – a Team Leader, a Democracy and Governance Expert, and a Local Expert.

Karen Glenski, *Team Leader*, is an accomplished M&E expert with over 24 years of experience with international development programming. As the Senior M&E Expert on three successive USAID/Iraq performance management contracts, she led and guided teams conducting nine performance evaluations, including one covering the \$230 million portfolio of projects under the USAID/Iraq Capacity Building Office; one in the field of rule of law; and one in the field of administrative reform. She served as Evaluation Expert for a final performance evaluation of a USAID-funded environmental program in India. She has 15 years of experience implementing democracy and governance projects on five continents with a specialization in parliamentary strengthening. As Team Leader for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Karen led an assessment of the institutional capacities of the Assembly of Kosovo.

As Team Leader, Karen managed the entire evaluation, including overseeing team members and the local partner's technical inputs. She led and ensured the timely development of high-quality deliverables by delegating assignments to team members and the local partner and then reviewing and consolidating their inputs. She delivered briefings and presentations to USAID.

Mark Brown, *Democracy and Governance Expert*, has more than 34 years of international development experience. His technical expertise covers governance; land, housing and infrastructure policies and programs; regional and rural development; and public administration reform. His long-term international assignments include Afghanistan, Russia, Poland, Pakistan, and Kenya. Short-term work includes more than 20 countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Caribbean. As Chief of Party or Project Manager, Mr. Brown has been involved in the design, staffing, management, and monitoring of more than 100 contracts and task orders, and has managed 10 USAID Indefinite Quantity Contracts.

As Democracy and Governance Expert, Mark contributed to the desk review, evaluation design and data collection tools, collection of data from sources outside of Libya, data analysis, and report writing. He assisted the Team Leader in preparing and delivering briefings and presentations.

Huda Al-Eherish, *Local Expert*, has over seven years of experience in the field of research, having collected data in the field through key informant interviews and focus groups, coordinated and managed projects, and analyzed data. As a Qualitative Research Manager at Diwan Marketing Research, she has contributed to over 30 research assignments, including the USAID-funded “Mid-Term Evaluation of DRG Programming in Libya and Results from a National and Urban Survey”.

As Local Expert, Huda provided localized subject-matter expertise to the desk review, development of design and data collection tools, and data analysis. Under the remote guidance of the Team Leader, she oversaw data collection by a team of data collectors throughout Libya.

ANNEX 6: DISCLOSURE OF ANY CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

| | |
|---|---|
| Name | Karen N. Glenski |
| Title | Team Leader |
| Organization | International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc. |
| Evaluation Position | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Team Leader <input type="checkbox"/> Team member |
| Evaluation Award Number | AID-280-TO-17-00001 |
| USAID Project(s) Evaluated | Libya Elections and Governance Support activity awarded to Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening under Leader with Associates Cooperative Agreement No. DFD-A-00-08-00350-00 and implemented by International Foundation for Electoral Systems, National Democratic Institute, and International Republican Institute and the Supporting Consensus Building For The National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting And Governing Process In Libya Activity awarded to Freedom House under Cooperative Agreement No. AID-OAA-LA-14-00009 and implemented by American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative |
| I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose. | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No |
| <p>If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts:</p> <p><i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation. | |

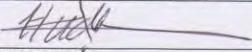
I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change. If I gain access to proprietary information of other companies, then I agree to protect their information from unauthorized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

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Signature |  |
| Date | 2 May 2018 |

| | |
|--|--|
| Name | Mark Richard Brown |
| Title | Democracy and Governance Expert |
| Organization | International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc. |
| Evaluation Position | <input type="checkbox"/> Team Leader <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Team member |
| Evaluation Award Number | AID-280-TO-17-00001 |
| USAID Project(s) Evaluated | Libya Elections and Governance Support activity awarded to Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening under Leader with Associates Cooperative Agreement No. DFD-A-00-08-00350-00 and implemented by International Foundation for Electoral Systems, National Democratic Institute, and International Republican Institute and the Supporting Consensus Building For The National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting And Governing Process In Libya Activity awarded to Freedom House under Cooperative Agreement No. AID-OAA-LA-14-00009 and implemented by American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative, |
| I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose. | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No |
| If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i> 7. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 8. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 9. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 10. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 11. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 12. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation. | |

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

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| Signature | <i>MRBROWN</i> |
| Date | 01-MAY-18 |

| | |
|--|---|
| Name | Huda Muftah Al- Aheriesh |
| Title | Local Expert |
| Organization | International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc. |
| Evaluation Position | <input type="checkbox"/> Team Leader <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Team member |
| Evaluation Award Number | AID-280-TO-17-00001 |
| USAID Project(s) Evaluated | Libya Elections and Governance Support activity awarded to Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening under Leader with Associates Cooperative Agreement No. DFD-A-00-08-00350-00 and implemented by International Foundation for Electoral Systems, National Democratic Institute, and International Republican Institute and the Supporting Consensus Building For The National Dialogue, Constitution Drafting And Governing Process In Libya Activity awarded to Freedom House under Cooperative Agreement No. AID-OAA-LA-14-00009 and implemented by American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative |
| I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose. | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No |
| If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation. | |
| <p>I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change. If I gain access to proprietary information of other companies, then I agree to protect their information from unauthorized use or disclosure for as long as it remains proprietary and refrain from using the information for any purpose other than that for which it was furnished.</p> | |
| Signature |  |
| Date | 31/05/2018 |

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