



Journal of Social and Political Sciences

Shrestha, Amrit Kumar. (2020), Synergic Effect on Election: Evidence from Nepal's By-elections, 2019. In: *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, Vol.3, No.3, 597-604.

ISSN 2615-3718

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1991.03.03.194

The online version of this article can be found at:
<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

Published by:
The Asian Institute of Research

The *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* is an Open Access publication. It may be read, copied, and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

The Asian Institute of Research *Social and Political Sciences* is a peer-reviewed International Journal. The journal covers scholarly articles in the fields of Social and Political Sciences, which include, but not limited to, Anthropology, Government Studies, Political Sciences, Sociology, International Relations, Public Administration, History, Philosophy, Arts, Education, Linguistics, and Cultural Studies. As the journal is Open Access, it ensures high visibility and the increase of citations for all research articles published. The *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of Social and Political Sciences.



ASIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH
Connecting Scholars Worldwide



Synergic Effect on Election: Evidence from Nepal's By-elections, 2019

Amrit Kumar Shrestha¹

¹Associate Professor, Department of Political Science Education, Central Department of Education, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal. E-mail: amrit.shrestha@cdded.tu.edu.np

Correspondence: Amrit Kumar Shrestha, Department of Political Science Education, Central Department of Education, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal. E-mail: amrit.shrestha@cdded.tu.edu.np

Abstract

Does the synergic effect work on politics, especially in elections? This article aims to seek to answer this question. The Communist Party of Nepal, Unified Marxist and Leninist (CPN-UML) and Communist Party of Nepal, Maoist Center (CPN-MC) separately contested election fray in 2017. These two parties merged with each other in 2018 and formed a new Nepal Communist Party (NCP). The unified NCP participated in by-elections that held in 2019. Could NCP produce a synergic effect in by-elections 2019? This is another point on which this article tries to focus on. This article is based on the facts of two elections published by the Election Commission. By-elections were held to fill 52 vacant posts. These posts were related to members of federal and provincial parliament, chiefs and deputy-chiefs of local levels, and chairs of ward committees. Unified NCP did not field its candidates in the two constituencies. Therefore, this article has analyzed the results of 50 constituencies. This study concluded that no synergic effect could be produced by the 2019's elections.

Keywords: Synergic Effect, By-Elections, CPN (UML), CPN (MC), NCP

Introduction

Nepal has promulgated the Constitution of Nepal in 2015 through the Constituent Assembly. According to the provisions of the new constitution, Nepal has three levels of government: federal, provincial, and local. The 2017 AD may be recorded as a year of elections in the history of the country. Nepal launched elections to fulfill the members of all levels of governments' accordance with the constitution within the year. Elections were held for federal and province levels. Elections were also held for mayors and deputy-mayors of six metropolitan, 11 sub-metropolitan, and 276 municipalities, and president and deputy-president of 460 rural municipalities (RM).

The elections elect the chairpersons and members of 6,742 ward committees, too (Elections Commission, 2074 BS¹).

The CPN (UML) and CPN (MC) contested separately at the local level elections in 2017 as rivals. However, they made an alliance and participated jointly in the province and federal level's elections. They became successful in their strategy and won many of the constituencies. It was only the working solidarity of the two communist parties in the election. In 2018, these two major communist parties, CPN (UML) and CPN (MC), unified and formed a new party – the Nepal Communist Party (NCP) (Poudel, 2018).

Within two years of the elections, 52 seats of the electoral office laid vacant for various reasons. In accordance with constitutional and legal provisions, the Election Commission of Nepal organized by-elections in November 2019 to fulfill these vacant posts. As mentioned above, the two major communist parties of Nepal were unified before the elections. Could the unified NCP produce a synergic effect on these elections? It is a researchable question in the field of electoral politics.

A synergic effect appears when the combination of two variables produces a better result than the one obtained by employing both variables individually. It is a situation where a better outcome is achieved by merging elements. A research scientist Matle (2017) has stated that "Synergic effect is an effect arising between two or more elements or substances, when they are combined together; they produce a greater effect than the sum of the individual effect". Studies on synergic effects are mostly used in the fields of the natural science and financial management sectors. It is rarely used in the fields of politics and elections. Human behaviors and activities will change according to circumstances, but natural elements will stay the same and produce the same result at any time. Therefore, the result of the synergic effect will accurate in natural science, but its result on politics and elections may be very changeable and unstable.

Hiramoto (2003) has examined the effect of parties' alliances have on gubernatorial elections in Japan. His analysis has revealed that electorate choice is most important to determine the election victory of candidates instead of the choice of political parties. He has concluded that candidates backing of coalitions of parties would not crucial in Japanese elections, whereas voting decisions of voters play a vital role to be elected or not of any candidate.

In parliamentary democracies for a single party to reach and operate the government is often infeasible. Thus, political parties either form a coalition before election or merge with each other and create a new party. Between these two options, electoral coalitions are common in many countries, which often affect electoral outcomes and that they influence voters' behaviors (Golder, 2006). Nepalese political parties have also practiced coalitions before and after the elections and merged with each other for achieve political strength.

In the case of India, electoral alliances work effectively, but the results via alliances seem different in different elections. In the general elections of 1999, coalitions of Congress got victory in most of the parliamentary seats; however, the Bhartiya Janta Party it's electoral alliances got more in 2004 (Jayal, 2007).

The study of Brazil by Machado (2009) has showed that electoral coalitions are very important, although the number of seats acquired via these alliances is unstable. In Brazil's elections, out of 513 legislative seats, alliances won 456 in 1998, 446 in 2002, and 409 in 2006. The results of the elections of Brazil show that positive results for the alliances of political parties.

In summary, several studies have been carried out in the field of electoral politics and voting behaviors. Scholars have mostly conducted studies regarding coalitions before and after the elections and their effect on the result. However, sufficient investigations have not been carried out in this specific field, especially in the Nepalese context. This is a very potential area of study. This article aims to search for facts about the synergic effect on elections on the base of Nepalese elections' result.

¹ BS stands for Bikram Samvat (*Nepali official date that precedes to the AD by fifty-six years and eight and half months.*)

Problems

The results of previous elections showed that many Nepalese voters chose the communist candidates while they were casting their votes. Although communists are spread into many different parties, they could collect the sympathy of Nepalese people. The first Constituent Assembly (CA), composed in 2008, had two-thirds majority of communists (Election Commission, 2065 BS). In the other CA (2013) also seemed overwhelming of communist members. Both of these CAs had other communist parties' members, too; however, CPN (MC) and CPN (UML) were the two larger communist parties as per their number of members (Election Commission, 2065 BS; Election Commission, 2070 BS). In 2017, when these two communist parties competed separately in the local level election fray, they could not get better results. Therefore, they decided to make a coalition and participate jointly in the elections of House of Representatives (HoR) and Provincial Assembly (PA). They got better result. They occupied two-thirds of the majority seats in the HoR and six PAs (except province 2) (Election Commission, 2074b BS). As mentioned above, these two larger communist parties of Nepal merged with each other in 2018, consequently forming a new Nepal Communist Party (NCP).

After the merger, the first elections were held in 2019, and these were by-elections to fulfill the vacant posts of local to central level. It is a potential area to research; whether the synergic effect was produced in by-elections, 2019 after these two parties unification. The studies have not been conducted in this area. This article tries to analyze this novel field. It tries to seek answers to the following research questions:

- Did the synergic effect work in by-elections, 2019?
- Could the NCP get political benefit after the unification of the two communist parties as per the result of by-elections, 2019?

Objectives

The general objective of this article is to analyze the synergic effect on elections. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- to examine the synergic effect in by-elections, 2019.
- to analyze the position of NCP in by-elections, 2019.

Research methodology

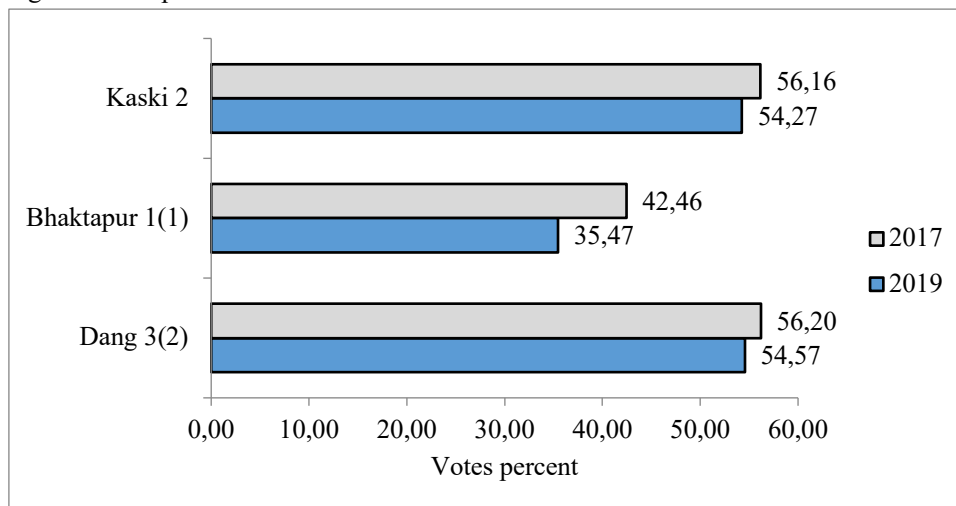
This article mainly builds on secondary data. The data published by the Election Commission of Nepal in 2076 BS were thoroughly utilized as the source. Similarly, concerned electronic databases and software were also consulted. Descriptive and analytical research designs were used for the analysis.

Result and discussion

The by-elections were held in November 2019 to fill the 52 vacant posts in 37 districts include one member of HoR, three members of PAs, and 48 chiefs, deputy chiefs, and ward chairs at local levels. Altogether, 337 candidates, including 253 representing political parties and 84 independent, contested the by-elections (Himalayan News Service, 2019). Of the total candidates, 253 were men and 84 were women. These by-elections were held after the unification of the two larger communist parties of Nepal. The main objective of this article is to analyze the synergic effect in elections. It tries to examine whether the NCP could produce a synergic effect on elections and benefited from unification. Among the 52 vacant seats, NCP did not field its candidates in two constituencies; one was Baglung 2(2), election for member of PA and another was Airawat RM ward No. 2 (Pyuthan District), for the ward chair (Election Commission, 2076 BS). Therefore, only data from 50 constituencies were analyzed within the article.

In the elections of HoR that held in 2017, candidate for CPN (UML) alone got 56.16% of votes in Kaski district constituency number 2. The candidate for NCP could win the election in the by-elections (2019) in the same constituency. However, she received 54.27% of votes; 1.88% fewer than previous elections (Figure-1). The synergetic effect seems negative in that constituency. Similarly, in the elections of members of the PA also shows a negative pattern in the elections of Bhaktapur constituency number 1(1) and Dang constituency number 3(2). The candidate for CPN (UML) won the election with 40.01% of votes in Bhaktapur 1(1) in the 2017's elections. There was an additional 2.45% of votes earned by CPN (MC). The result of by-elections (2019) came differently. The candidate for NCP got only 35.47% of votes. The NCP not only lost 6.99% of votes but also defeated the election that held after the two parties' unification. As figure-1 shows, CPN (UML) had secured 56.20% of votes in Dang 3(2) in 2017. The candidate for NCP could get only 54.57% of votes in the 2019's election; fewer 1.63% to the previous election. The results of the by-elections for the members of HoR and PA show negative effect of unification of the two big communist parties of Nepal.

Figure 1: Comparative results of the HoR and PA members' elections held in 2017 and 2019



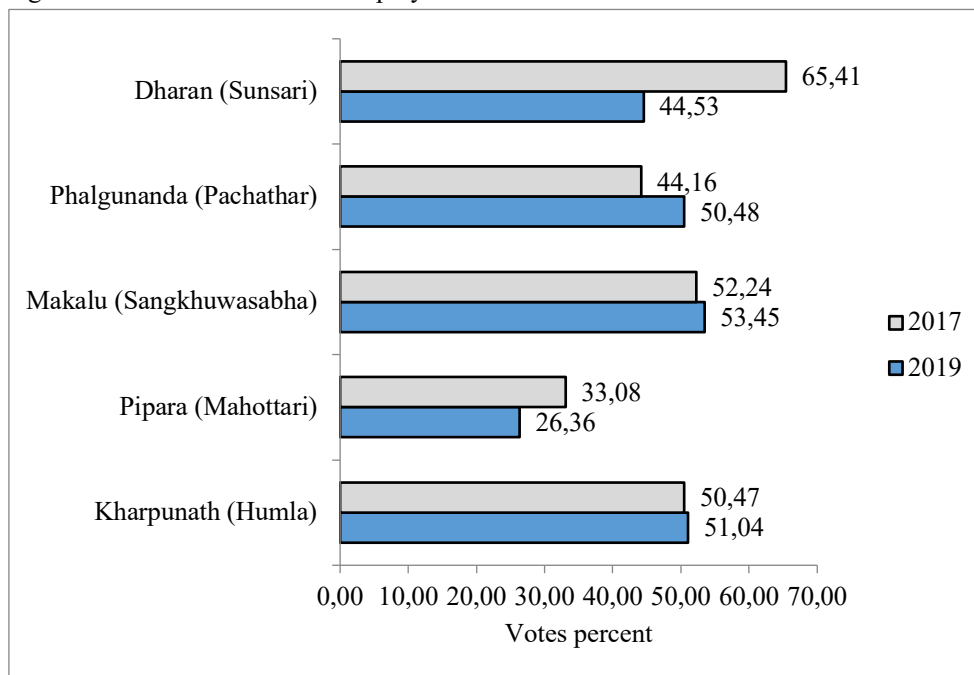
Note: Data are extracted from Election Commission, 2074a BS; Election Commission, 2074b BS; Election Commission, 2019

The result of the by-elections of the Mayor of Dharan Sub-Metropolitan (Sunsari district) showed the highest negative effect after the unification. The candidate for CPN (UML) had alone obtained 42.67% and CPN (MC) had got 22.74% of votes in 2017. The total votes percent of both parties was 65.41. In the by-elections (2019), candidate for NCP got only 44.53% of votes. This means that NCP lost 20.88% of votes in comparison to the previous elections (Figure-2). Similarly, the result of the president of the Pipara RM (Mahottari district) also showed a negative effect of two communist parties' unification. As figure-2 demonstrates, in the 2017's election, CPN (UML) had got 17.96% of votes, CPN (MC) had obtained 15.13% of votes, and the sum of total votes percent of the two parties was 33.08. But the unified NCP got only 26.36% of votes in 2019, with fewer 6.73% of votes.

The result of the president of Phalgunanda RM showed a positive synergetic effect in by-elections 2019. CPN (UML) had got 36.17% of votes and CPN (MC) had a 7.99% of votes in the 2017's elections. The sum of the two parties' votes percent was 44.16. The candidate for NCP obtained 50.48% of votes in by-elections 2019; 6.32% of votes more (Figure-2). Similarly, the by-elections result of the president of Makalu RM (Sangukuwasabha district) shows a synergetic effect. As shown in figure-2, in the 2017's elections, a candidate for CPN (UML) had got 35.13% of votes and CPN (MC) had got 17.11% of votes; the sum of both parties' votes percent was 52.24. In by-elections 2019, the candidate for NCP got 53.45% of votes. According to the result, NCP got a little profit of 1.22% of votes after the unification in Makalu RM. In the same way, the result of the Vice-President of Kharpunath RM (Humla district) showed another positive synergetic effect in by-elections 2019. The candidate for CPN (UML) had got 45.36% and CPN (MC) had got a 5.11% of votes in the elections of 2017. The sum of both

parties' votes percent was 50.47. In by-elections 2019, the candidate for NCP got 51.04% of votes, slightly more votes of 0.56%.

Figure 2: Results of Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs in the local level elections of 2017 and 2019



Note: Data are extracted from Election Commission, 2019; Election Commission, 2074c

Evidence of elections for ward chairs presented the mixed results. Some constituencies had positive and more had negative results. Altogether, the results of 18 constituencies showed a positive synergic effect (Table-1) and 24 showed a negative effect (Table-2). Among them, Thawang 1 (Rolpa) made the record of the highest point of positive effect on its by-elections of the ward chair held in 2019. The CPN (MC) had obtained 40.76% and CPN (UML) had got 2.07% of votes in the ward election of 2017. The sum of the votes of both parties was 42.83%. The united NCP got 87% of votes in the same ward in by-elections 2019; the party gained a profit of 44.17% of votes. However, very few numbers of votes (16.41%) had cast over there in 2019 (Election Commission, 2074c BS). Similarly, in the by-elections of chair of Chhinnamasta RM, ward No. 7 (Saptari), Matihani Municipality, ward No. 6 (Mahottari), Pouwadungma RM, ward No. 1 (Bhojpur), Gadhimai Municipality, ward No. 2 (Routahat), and Surnaya RM, ward No. 1 (Baitadi) the united NCP got double-digit more percent votes than the sum of CPN (UML) and CPN (MC) in the previous election of 2017. Similarly, 12 wards had positive results to NCP; however, the profit percent of votes was less than 10%.

Table 1: Sum of the votes obtained by CPN (UML) and CPN (MC) in 2017 and votes obtained by unified NCP in 2019 (in percent)

Constituency	in 2017	in 2019	Plus votes
Thawang RM, ward No. 1 (Rolpa)	42.83	87.00	44.17
Chhinnamasta RM, ward No. 7 (Saptari)	17.20	48.09	30.89
Matihani Municipality, ward No. 6 (Mahottari)	20.75	46.90	26.15
Pouwadungma RM, ward No. 1 (Bhojpur)	51.78	72.89	21.11
Gadhimai Municipality, ward No. 2 (Routahat)	20.59	39.18	18.59
Surnaya RM, ward No. 1 (Baitadi)	33.60	49.54	15.94
Kalyanpur Municipality, ward No. 12 (Siraha)	24.48	33.84	9.36
Phidim Municipality, ward No. 1 (Panchthar)	47.33	56.51	9.18
Mellekh RM, ward No. 5 (Achham)	49.08	58.02	8.94

Khandbari Municipality, ward No. 3 (Sankhuwasabha)	55.80	63.02	7.22
Balawa Municipality, ward No. 2 (Mahottari)	2.32	7.98	5.66
Pyuthan Municipality, ward No. 2 (Pyuthan)	51.88	57.21	5.33
Dakshinkali Municipality, ward No. 3 (Kathmandu)	56.40	61.37	4.97
Tribeni Municipality, ward No. 1 (Bajura)	46.46	51.26	4.80
Ruru RM, ward No. 6 (Gulmi)	50.36	52.42	2.06
Badigad RM, ward No. 2 (Baglung)	61.18	62.75	1.57
Umakunda RM, ward No. 5 (Ramechhap)	64.86	66.07	1.21
Indrawati RM, ward No. 8 (Sindhupalchhok)	61.02	61.06	0.04

Note: Data are extracted form Election Commission, 2019; Election Commission, 2074c

Among the results of the ward Chair's by-elections (2019), the result of Ghorahi Sub-metropolitan, ward No. 16 (Dang) provided a very negative message for the NCP. The candidate for CPN (UML) had got 52.24% of votes and the top of that CPN (MC) had obtained 19.29% in the 2017's election in the ward. The sum of these two votes was 71.53%. However, the candidate for NCP got only 35.37% of votes in the same ward in 2019 (Table-2). This means that, newly created NCP lost 36.16% of votes instead of a synergic effect over there. Similarly, the unified NCP lost in five wards more in 2019 than 20% of votes (Table-2) in comparison to the previous elections of 2017 when CPN (UML) and CPN (MC) were individually contested the election. These wards were Punarbas Municipality, ward No. 3 (Kanchanpur), Sakela RM, ward No. 3 (Khotang), Purchoudi Municipality, ward No. 4 (Baitadi), Sakhuwa Prasouni RM, ward No. 5 (Parsa), and Dhulikhel Municipality, ward No. 2 (Kabhrepalanchok).

Table 2: Sum of the votes obtained by CPN (UML) and CPN (MC) in 2017 and votes obtained by unified NCP in 2019 (in percent)

Constituency	in 2017	in 2019	Difference
Ghorahi Sub-metropolitan, ward No. 16 (Dang)	71.53	35.37	-36.16
Punarbas Municipality, ward No. 3 (Kanchanpur)	88.78	57.39	-31.39
Sakela RM, ward No. 3 (Khotang)	77.68	50.06	-27.62
Purchoudi Municipality, ward No. 4 (Baitadi)	76.66	52.79	-23.87
Sakhuwa Prasouni RM, ward No. 5 (Parsa)	33.26	11.02	-22.24
Dhulikhel Municipality, ward No. 2 (Kabhrepalanchok)	80.65	58.98	-21.67
Dharan Sub-metropolitan, ward No. 7 (Sunsari)	67.24	48.98	-18.26
Dhanpalthan RM, ward No. 2 (Morang)	62.37	46.12	-16.25
Dogadakedar RM, ward No. 4 (Baitadi)	58.96	45.07	-13.89
Bharatpur Metropolitan, ward No. 16 (Chitwan)	59.07	46.92	-12.15
Khairahani Municipality, ward No. 4 (Chitwan)	58.14	46.16	-11.98
Shivraj Municipality, ward No. 10 (Kapilvalstu)	20.51	8.64	-11.87
Haripurva Municipality, ward No. 1 (Sarlahi)	41.19	30.43	-10.76
Bungdikali RM, ward No. 5 (Nawalparasi)	71.38	60.66	-10.72
Kumakhmalika RM, ward No. 5 (Salyan)	84.96	74.44	-10.52
Balawa Municipality, ward No. 8 (Mahottari)	27.65	17.14	-10.51
Airawati RM, ward No. 1 (Pyuthan)	60.11	50.33	-9.78
Hilihang RM, ward No. 7 (Panchthar)	57.06	48.30	-8.76
Sundarbajar Municipality, ward No. 2 (Lamjung)	71.70	65.54	-6.16

Baragadhi RM, ward No. 1 (Bara)	39.63	34.67	-4.96
Khairahani Municipality, ward No. 5 (Chitwan)	50.45	45.79	-4.66
Adarsh RM, ward No. 2 (Doti)	48.31	43.66	-4.65
Malarani RM, ward No. 3 (Arghakhanchi)	50.73	47.52	-3.21
Kohalpur Municipality, ward No. 6 (Banke)	51.48	49.38	-2.10

Note: Data are extracted from Election Commission, 2019; Election Commission, 2074c BS

As shown in table-2, in the other 10 wards, NCP lost more than 10% of votes in by-elections 2019. Similarly, an additional eight wards gave negative results to NCP in 2019; however, the loss was less than 10%.

Evidences prove that the synergic effect did not work properly in by-elections (2019). Of the total 50 analyzed constituencies, only 21 had positive and 29 had negative results. In the HoR member's election of Kaski-2, the candidate for NCP was the widow of the incumbent. It is considered that widow of incumbent obtains more votes than others; that is called 'votes of sympathy'. On the one hand, NCP used this strategy and, on the other hand, two larger communist parties were unified just before the elections. However, NCP got less votes percent in by-elections, 2019 in comparison with 2017 in Kaski-2. Although having these double opportunities, NCP could not get profit of a synergic effect on the elections. Similarly, in the elections of two members of PA, NCP could not produce a synergic effect in 2019's by-elections. In the by-elections of chiefs and deputy-chiefs of the local level, Dharan (Sunsari) and Pipara (Mahottari) evidenced a great decline instead of a synergic effect. However, Phalgunanda (Panchathar), Makalu (Sangkhuwasabha), and Kharpunath (Humla) provide positive results to united NCP. Similarly, 18 ward chairs elections demonstrated positive results and 24 ward chairs elections showed negative results.

Why the NCP could not produce a synergic effect in by-elections, 2019? Why it could not grab the opportunity of merger of two larger parties. Answers to the question may be different, diversified, and difficult. According to Bhattarai (2076 BS), UML (party), Sun (electoral symbol), and Madan Bhandari (leader) were popular among the Nepalese left-oriented voters, but they were confused when a new party NCP appeared in front of them. Thus, the NCP could not gain the synergic effect of the unification of the two communist parties in by-elections, 2019.

According to Sharma (2076 BS), when pre-Maoist fell into grief, it was pleasure for pre-UML and visa-versa. The two communist parties have not united psychologically and emotionally yet. The mere technical and political unification between the two communist parties could not work in by-elections and the new NCP failed to get the expected result.

Conclusion

After the analysis of the results, it is concluded that the synergic effect did not work properly in by-elections, 2019. In mathematics, 2 plus 2 equals 4. However, in politics, especially in elections 2 plus 2 may always not produces 4; it may be 5 and may be 3, too, sometimes. The result of 2 plus 2 was neither 4 nor 5, it was 3; the outcome of the by-elections (2019) proves it. Since the united NCP could not produce a greater effect than the sum of the individual effect, thus, there have not been produced the synergic effect on by-elections.

When the two larger communist parties merged with each other, all of the people (either supporters or not) imagine that the new NCP would greatly benefit after the unification. However, it could not grab the opportunity; as the result of the by-elections revealed. The election's results of higher posts create political high sounding to common people and other contestants. In the elections of members of HoR and the PA, and the mayor of sub-metropolitan, NCP obtained fewer votes in 2019's by-elections than in 2017's elections. In the elections of chairpersons of RM, NCP could produce positive results; however, these are covered by the shadow of the negative result of the higher posts. Similarly, more numbers of chair of the ward's result were negative. These all results showed the negative impact of the synergic effect in by-elections (2019).

There may be various factors that are responsible for the declining position of communists as by-elections demonstrated. This will be a potential theme for further research. These studies would trace the clear pictures. However, we can say that the result of by-elections is a warning bell for the NCP to evaluate its decreasing popularity.

References

- Bhattarai, N. (2076 BS, Manshir). "UML" was more popular than NCP (in Nepali).
http://www.gatishilkhabar.com/2019/12/01/65143/?fbclid=IwAR2PeCyhWvtO_CZTfNTkghQezGgVoa05L4L6oxSGIChHsjLuHdHEhG0Fpao#.
- Election Commission. (2019). *Election result: By election, 2076 BS*.
<http://result.election.gov.np/BiElectionFPTPMapBasedResult.aspx>
- Election Commission. (2065 BS). *Constituent Assembly members' election 2064: Election result manual* (in Nepali). Election Commission.
- Election Commission. (2070 BS). *Constituent Assembly members' election 2070 BS: Election result manual of first-past-the-post-election system* (in Nepali). Election Commission.
- Election Commission. (2074a BS). *Election of member of Province Assembly, 2074 BS: Election result book (First-past-the-post and proportional electoral system)*. Election Commission.
- Election Commission. (2074b BS). *Elections of House of Representatives, 2074 BS: Election result book of the first-past-the-post and proportional electoral system*. Election Commission.
- Election Commission. (2074c BS). *Elections of local level, 2074 BS: Election result book*. Election Commission.
- Golder, S. N. (2006). Pre-Electoral Coalition Formation in Parliamentary Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 36(2), 193–212.
- Himalayan News Service. (2019). 337 candidates contesting for 52 seats: By-elections-2019. *The Himalayan Times*. <https://thehimalayantimes.com/nepal/337-candidates-contesting-for-52-seats/>
- Hiramoto, M. (2003). Does party alliance have a decisive effect on gubernatorial elections in Japan? *Asian Survey*, 43(6), 929–950.
- Jayal, N. G. (2007). The Election Game. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 33(4), 46–55.
- Machado, A. (2009). Minimum winning electoral coalitions under presidentialism: Reality or fiction? The case of Brazil. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 51(3), 87–110.
- Matle, M. (2017). *What is synergic effect?* <https://www.quora.com/What-is-synergic-effect>.
- Poudel, K. (2018). Maoist and CPN-UML Unification, Regular Accident: Dissolving two older communist parties, CPN-UML leaders and Maoist Center leaders set up a new party giving up their old legacy. *Spotlight*, 11(21), 17–19.
- Sharma, B. (2076 BS). *Psychology in the NCP: Grief in one group is pleasure for another* (in Nepali).
https://ekantipur.com/news/2020/02/21/158228269239197766.html?fbclid=IwAR23GLwk1ezg_U81-sQryXfADI1vh1TTcLxqmDdZXgIM2EHUW5NVbFmCCEk