



# IFES

EXTENDING THE REACH OF DEMOCRACY

## The Europe and Eurasia Report

November/December 2002

### 10TH NATIONWIDE SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION IN UKRAINE

On 13 December, IFES released initial findings from its 2002 National Survey of Public Attitudes in Ukraine. The survey, the 10th in a series conducted by IFES in Ukraine since 1994, addresses such issues as satisfaction with the economy, democracy and rights, confidence in officials and institutions, participation in politics, and the role of the media. Overall, the results largely reflected Ukrainians' sense of resignation about widespread corruption, dissatisfaction with the situation in the country, and pessimism about democratic development in Ukraine. The survey research project was made possible by funding provided by USAID/Kyiv.

The 2002 survey gauges opinions and attitudes of the Ukrainian adult population on significant and current socio-political issues, as well as issues of specific interest to democracy assistance organizations such as IFES and international donors. The survey identifies main issues of interest to Ukrainian voters as well as their perceptions of their current overall situation and the state of their democracy. The survey questionnaire was developed in consultation with USAID/Kyiv, with input from other experienced democracy assistance organizations.

The 2002 survey was fielded from 13-23 September with a sample size of 1,265 with 65 over-sample interviews in Kyiv. Of those interviewed, 55% were female and 45% were male. Interviews averaged 42 minutes in length—within the target designed for the questionnaire. Forty percent of the interviews were conducted in Ukrainian by request of the respondent, and 60% were conducted in Russian.

The margin of error was +/- 3% with a sample representing the adult population of Ukraine aged 18 years and older. A random route method was used to select starting points for interviewing. After the initial start, an agreed upon interval was used by all interviewers to select the following households. Selection of respondents within the household was done using the random selection method of closest birthday. The data uses post-stratification weighting to achieve a representative sample of adult Ukrainians by age, gender, and settlement type according to statistics from the 1990 census.

Following the completion of the survey fieldwork, IFES also conducted 8 focus groups to further develop findings of the survey. Four focus groups were held in Kyiv (two in Ukrainian, two in Russian), two groups were held in Lviv (Ukrainian), and two in Kharkiv (Russian). Each focus group consisted of between 7-9 participants and equality or near-equality of gender was ensured for each group. All participants recruited for the focus groups had at least some information on political developments in Ukraine.

A comprehensive final report on the 2002 IFES National Survey of Public Attitudes, including focus group research undertaken in October 2002, will be produced in January 2003 and distributed broadly in both the U.S. and Ukraine. Copies of the final report will also be available on the IFES website ([www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org)) in February.

According to the 2002 survey findings, most Ukrainians:

- Are dissatisfied with the situation in the country (84%). Ten percent express satisfaction with the situation. The high level of dissatisfaction reflects concern over the economic situation; 86 percent of Ukrainians rate the current economic situation as either very bad or somewhat bad compared to seven percent who rate it as very or somewhat good.

*Continued on page 8*



*IFES Senior Program Officer Michael Svetlik, Applied Research Officer Rakesh Sharma, and Mykola Churylov, Managing Director of TNS-Ukraine present key findings of the 2002 IFES Survey in Donetsk, Ukraine.*

*Elections*

*Governance*

*Civil Society*

*Rule of Law*

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### EUROPE

#### **ALBANIA**

*CEC Officials Observe Elections in the U.S., Slovenia, and Austria*

Ilirian Celibashi, Chairman of the Central Election Commission (CEC), participated in the official ODIHR election assessment mission to observe the U.S. elections in Florida. He then joined the IFES and CEC delegation in Slovenia, where they observed the presidential elections on 10 November. A separate delegation from the CEC, IFES, and the emerging Association of Local Election Commissioners observed the Austrian elections on 24 November.

The Slovenia trip was highlighted in a 22 minute documentary that aired on national television on 5 December. The program focused on how the CEC in Albania, with the assistance of IFES, is gaining experience and knowledge from other countries and working to improve the implementation of international election standards on Albania. A new outreach initiative, supported by IFES, aims to raise public awareness of the election commission's role as an independent state institution as well as its work to improve the electoral process in Albania.

In December, a delegation of Albanian election officials attended the annual conference of the Association of Election Officials in BiH (AEOBIH). The delegation included two members of the CEC staff, three members of different regional branches of the Association of Local Election Officials, and two members of IFES/Albania staff. As part of ongoing IFES exchange initiatives, the conference allowed the Albanian participants to observe the organization and the role of an association in the electoral process. Their highlights included sessions on the voter registry, the appointment and training of Polling Station Commission (PSC) members, normative regulations for funding of election bodies, coordination of activities of election bodies, and association sustainability projects. The example of AEOBIH has served as an excellent role model for the development of the Albanian Association of Local Election Officials.

*Registry Project Completed in Kavaja, Expands to Durres and Tirana*

In November, verification of the voter registry database was completed in the City of Kavaja. The project included the entry of the entire civil registry into a computer data base. With the experience gained on the Kavaja project, the working group of the CEC and IFES began verification with the Civil Registry Offices in Durres and Tirana. Verification training sessions were delivered on 19 and 24 December to staff in 5 civil registry offices, who will begin work in January out of two centralized locations. These two cities, when completed, represent approximately 40% of the national voter registry database. In addition to database clean-up and

verification, the project is producing accurate maps as the basis for redefining polling unit boundaries in time for the local elections scheduled for October 2003.

#### *Review of the Electoral Code Includes Disability Issues*

IFES participated in NGO workshops devoted to review of the electoral code and the development of recommendations for change. One roundtable focused on the needs of persons with physical and mental disabilities. IFES' work with disability groups in Albania is funded by the Finland Ministry for Foreign Affairs under the auspices of IFES' Advisor on Disabilities, Jerry Mindes.

In addition, IFES participated in three roundtables of the Bi-partisan Parliamentary Commission to review the electoral code. The first roundtable was devoted to administrative issues and the second to the role of courts and CEC in the adjudication of complaints and appeals lodged by political parties and the public. A third roundtable on civil registry and voter lists was held in early December.

There was no progress with the work of the commission during the second half of December due to issues relating to the role of police in the election process, which blocked the commission's agenda. On 23 December, the Parliament decided to extend the mandate of the commission to 31 March 2003. In the last meeting of this year, the commission asked the group of experts to submit a summary document (based on the ODHIR commentary on the commission's work) that would identify compliance of the amendments to the Election Code with the Albanian current legislation. The next meeting is set for 13 January.

#### *Special Elections in Elbasan*

In early November, the president issued the decree for a special election (by-election) for the National Assembly to be held in Zone 52 in the City of Elbasan in December. IFES provided trainers, prepared and delivered training for members of the voting center commissions, supported logistics, and observed the two rounds of the by-election. The election process went smoothly without any incident. According to the Zone Election Commission (ZEC) sources, the socialist candidate is the winner with 52.92% of the vote. The CEC declared the result on 3 January.

#### *Final Association Newsletter for 2002 Distributed*

The third issue of the newsletter came out in December and was delivered by mail to all Local Government Election Commissions (LGECS) and ZECs around Albania, with copies also provided to CEC members and staff. The English edition will be launched in January 2003.

#### *IFES Represented at IDEA Meeting on the "Bridge Project"*

Program Director Dickson Bailey represented IFES at an international roundtable sponsored by IDEA in Stockholm, Sweden on 29 November. The roundtable focused on what

has been called the "Bridge Project", a proposed election administration curriculum. Mr. Bailey's reviewed the proposed curriculum in the context of its applicability in the Balkans.

#### *Impact Summary*

Political issues and infrastructure deficiencies always present obstacles to program implementation, but at the same time they yield new challenges, ideas and approaches for accomplishing our objectives. In particular, the Kavaja voter registry pilot project has provided a number of new strategies for collaborating with local officials and organizing the verification process. These innovations will be applied as IFES and the CEC jointly undertake the verification process in Durres and Tirana. In addition, building consensus within the bipartisan commission on the election code brings a greater degree of optimism that committee's work will be constructive for the Albanian electoral process in the future.

## **BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (BiH)**

#### *Final Roundtables*

IFES/AEOBiH held the final set of roundtables for the 2002 election year during the first week of November. The goal of these roundtables, which were held in all sixteen AEOBiH sections, was for Municipal Election Commissions (MECs) to exchange experiences of the elections. The occasion marked an opportunity for MECs to point out problems that happened in the field and to make suggestions for improvement of the process of preparations and conduct of elections in the field. MECs discussed Polling Station Committees (PSCs), observers at the polling stations, voter turnout, the problem of voters missing from the voter registry, and the reporting of results from PSCs to MECs and from MECs to the Election Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ECBiH).



*USAID and IFES representatives took part in the Assembly meeting of the AEOBiH where the activities for 2004 and promoting the sustainability of AEOBiH were discussed.*

MECs assessed that members of the PSCs fulfilled their obligations satisfactorily, mainly thanks to the training, which was implemented in a highly professional manner. MECs did have problems after the release of the Instruction on Polling Station Committees Appointment, which called for greater involvement of political parties in this process. The greatest problems were encountered in the larger urban areas. MECs are proposing to work with the ECBiH to improve rules and process of appointing PSCs in the future.

MECs also felt that parties' observers did not fulfill their role adequately; this was attributed to the insufficient education of political parties about the observation process and the rights and obligations of observers at polling stations. On the positive side, observers were more active than in previous elections. With better training, political party observers could become more important and engaged players on Election Day.

At the roundtables, voter turnout was assessed as less than satisfactory; MECs indicated that this was in line with the low level of interest that they noted during the IFES/AEOBiH Voter Registration and Re-registration project.

There also continued to be problems with the voter registry during the 2002 General Elections. The general opinion is that voter registries are not updated, names and surnames are mixed up, and the letters č, š, dž are missing. Almost all MECs confirmed that 85% of those who were not on voter registries voted by tendered ballots at the last elections. Participants concluded that the MECs should intensify work on updating voter registries. Also, the ECBiH should consider ways to use the data that will be collected through Citizens' Identity Protection System (CIPS) project, which will create unique identification documents for all BiH citizens.

A few problems were reported in the process of reporting results from the PSC to the MEC and from the MEC to the ECBiH. Instructions for packing materials was received too late

to be included in the PSC training, so there were some mistakes in the packing of materials. However, in submitting of materials from polling stations to the ECBiH, there were fewer problems than in the past. During the next election cycle, more attention should be drawn to packing process during PSC training; the training could include a practical exercise related to this responsibility. Additionally, the process of tabulating results and packing of materials is very complicated; measures should be taken in order to simplify it as much as possible.

#### *Election Observations*

In early November, an IFES/AEOBiH delegation observed the Presidential and Municipal elections in Slovenia. The IFES/AEOBiH study tour included meetings with political parties, an observation of polling station committee training, the distribution of election materials to polling station committees, and a meeting with the General Secretary for the Sector Registering Addresses and Public Document, who discussed voter rolls with them. There was also a unique opportunity for a regional exchange between Slovene, BiH, and Albanian election officials at a meeting with the Slovene Republic Electoral Commission, as there was also a delegation of Albanian election officials observing the elections. On Election Day, the AEOBiH delegation observed polling as well as the press conference where provisional results were announced; the observation mission concluded with a visit to the counting center for mail-in ballots.

During the first week of November, IFES/AEOBiH Executive Director Irena Hadziabdic was invited to be part of an OSCE ODIHR delegation to observe U.S. elections. Ms. Hadziabdic spent the first three days of this mission meeting with representatives of different non-governmental organizations such as IFES, the Center for Democracy, Common Cause, and NAACP, as well as the staffs of Senators Mitch McConnell and Chris Dodd. During the elections, Ms. Hadziabdic observed elections in Palm Beach County and met the County Canvassing board, representatives of Republican and Democratic parties, polling center staff, voters, and other civil society groups. On Election Day, she observed eleven precincts at eight locations; voters appeared to endorse universally the switch to touch-voting machines, with many expressing real enthusiasm for the process. No groups appeared to have any particular difficulties using the machines, although the amount of assistance required by voters and the time taken to vote varied. The number of machines in some precincts were inadequate; however, complaints about the process from party observers were isolated and not of major significance.

#### *AEOBiH Fourth Annual Conference*

The 4th Annual Conference of the Association of Election Officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina (AEOBiH), entitled "Elections 2002 and AEOBiH Sustainability," was held from 12-15 December. The main topics of the conference included the analysis of General Elections that were held in October



*Viorel Miscescu, Executive Director of CENTRAS, Romania, shares CENTRAS' experience on NGO Sustainability at the AEOBiH Fourth Annual Conference.*





*Information sharing was the focus at the five Professional Development Workshops during the AEOBiH Fourth Annual Conference.*

2002, as well as the issue of long-term sustainability of AEOBiH.

The conference hosted 200 AEOBiH members and 50 national and international guests, including representatives of the BiH Election Commission, and election officials from Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo, Turkey, Romania, Hungary, and the U.S.

Mr. Howard Sumka, Director of the USAID Mission in BiH, emphasized that now, with the phasing out of international involvement, the election officials in BiH need to become the primary advocates for all elections-related issues, including the matters such as financing elections and keeping the voter registry accurate and useful.

In five professional development workshops that were held during the conference, AEOBiH members discussed topics such as the nomination and training of polling station committee members, the legal definition of funding for election activities and bodies, the coordination of activities between election bodies, the updating of voter registries, and AEOBiH sustainability projects.

One of the most important conclusions of the AEOBiH 4th Annual Conference refers to the need to urgently define the issue of funding elections and the work of election commissions in BiH. In the coming period, AEOBiH plans to conduct a public advocacy campaign whose goal will be to legally define the financing of elections and the work of election bodies in BiH. In addition to this campaign, AEOBiH will continue to work towards attaining its long-term sustainability by applying for various election, education, and democracy projects to a range of international donor organizations. It will also continue to find solutions for accessing local funding through identifying business and government resources.

#### *Joint Steering Board and Legal Council Meeting*

In late November, the AEOBiH Steering Board and Legal Council held a joint meeting to prepare for the Annual Conference and participate in training on strategic planning. At this meeting, the Steering Board finalized agenda of the annual conference and approved the entry of new regular members as well as honorary members. A working group was also formed to begin work on the AEOBiH strategic plan. In its own session, the Legal Council addressed the issue of launching an initiative for changes and amendments to sub-regulation acts of the Election Commission of BiH, as well as the cooperation of the AEOBiH with the Association of Judges and Prosecutors in the Federation and the RS.

#### *Impact Statement*

AEOBiH will be formally launched as an independent organization in February 2003. Thus, IFES/AEOBiH activities in the fall focused on the sustainability of the AEOBiH. Fundraising activities continued while the roundtables and Fourth Annual Conference brought together members of the AEOBiH to critique activities of the past year, discuss future activities, and encourage members to become more active in the AEOBiH as the size of the Secretariat is scaled down. Additionally, several new honorary members were inducted into the AEOBiH; it is hoped that these members will act as informal advisors to the association in their areas of specialty.

## **MACEDONIA**

### *Political Overview*

The political atmosphere in November and December is difficult to characterize, having both positive and negative elements. In a positive follow-up to successful parliamentary elections, the enumeration phase of the countrywide census took place with no significant problems. The ambassadors of the United States, NATO, the OSCE and the EU Special Representative held an upbeat press briefing at NATO Headquarters in Skopje on 18 December to extend their holiday greetings and to celebrate Macedonia's considerable accomplishments over the past year. Commenting on the "very good year" of 2002, NATO Ambassador Nicolaas Biegan noted that "...the high point was reached, of course, in September, with peaceful, free, and fair elections." Ambassador Biegan's comments were echoed by U.S. Ambassador Lawrence Butler, OSCE Ambassador Craig Jenness and Special EU Representative Alexis Brouhns. In his comments, Ambassador Butler noted that a year earlier the headlines were about a renewal of fighting in a 'spring offensive.' "Instead," he remarked, "...you had in September the best elections in this part of the world."

### *Parliamentary Challenges and Controversies*

Parliament began its work in earnest with an on again, off again boycott by the now-opposition VMRO-DPMNE. Ali Ahmeti, the controversial former guerilla leader, finally took his seat in Parliament on 19 December. In incendiary com-

ments off the floor, however, the largely discredited VMRO-DPMNE MP and former Minister of Internal Affairs, Ljube Boshkovski, decried the opening of Parliament's doors to the 'Balkan Butcher.'

The government, officially committed to battling corruption, arrested a number of high officials in the former government and in state-run enterprises. The arrests of VMRO-DPMNE members have resulted in an inevitable politicization of the government's anti-corruption campaign. November and December also witnessed interethnic conflicts surrounding primary and secondary schools, kidnappings for profit, and strikes and threats of strikes.

In all, there is a genuine optimism that the new parliament and government will succeed. Under the largely calm surface, however, lies a simmering dissatisfaction and mistrust that could be exploited.

#### *U.S. Study Tour*

The IFES Project Director, five local IFES staff, and the President of the State Election Commission (SEC) participated in a U.S. study tour to Washington, D.C. from early November. In addition to observing the U.S. mid-term elections, the group observed poll worker training and had the opportunity to meet with election officials from sixteen countries. The IFES Macedonia delegation, led by the SEC President, gave a well-received briefing on September's parliamentary elections.

#### *Electoral Issues for the Disabled*

Also in November, IFES conducted a fact-finding mission to determine the electoral needs of the disabled in Macedonia. The main event was a half-day round table discussion in Skopje with 16 participants from eight organizations for the handicapped.

#### *New Project on Parliament*

IFES signed a sub-grant with the Civil Association OXO to implement the latter's project to promote an understanding of the role of parliament. The project was introduced to representatives of the international community at a meeting hosted by IFES on 26 November. In-depth interviews are being conducted with experts in order to prepare appropriate materials for the public information campaign. The Speaker of Parliament has agreed to support the project.

#### *State Election Commission*

Now that the successful parliamentary elections have become a part of Macedonian history, the members of the SEC have begun to focus on their 'regular' jobs in the courts and in government. Although the SEC still meets, each member's main professional responsibility lies elsewhere. Consequently, it is more difficult to engage the commission on joint projects. This underscores the need to establish a professional secretariat and to take other legal and administrative steps leading

to a fully functioning and continuously operating SEC.

IFES and the SEC are co-sponsoring an election seminar in January in which local and international experts and practitioners will participate. The seminar will review the 2002 Parliamentary Elections, and consider the issues of electoral reform and the sustainability of electoral administration.

#### *Impact Summary*

The international community pointed to the September elections as one of the greatest successes in Macedonia in 2002. In showcasing the Macedonian electoral success in Washington, D.C., the SEC and IFES demonstrated to representatives from around the world that technical assistance to electoral management bodies can achieve great results when the electoral management bodies are receptive to such assistance. By continuing to press for legal and administrative change, IFES hopes to assist Macedonia in creating a sustainable electoral management structure.

## CAUCASUS/CENTRAL ASIA

### **ARMENIA**

#### *Over 4,000 People Participate in IFES Dialogue Groups and Initiative Groups*

During the course of November and December, 4,097 people from over 88 communities participated in Dialogue Groups (DGs) or Initiative Groups (IGs) facilitated by IFES/Armenia's 22 civic education instructors. In total, by the end of the period, 34,372 people from over 340 communities have participated in 1,956 meetings of DGs and IGs since IFES/Armenia's Citizen Awareness and Participation in Armenia (CAPA) project started. These numbers do not include the 103,000 people or 756 organizations involved in CAPA's two large-scale volunteer actions, *Days of Good Will*, *Good Deeds*, *Good Results*.

In November and December, over 200 DGs were conducted. Topics included voter education, police law, institution of the Presidency, and administration of multi-apartment buildings. IGs for this period focused on issues of: water supply and condominiums, gas supply for community residents, and salary debts to medical personnel of a polyclinic. Throughout their DGs and IGs, IFES instructors distributed 5,789 copies of twelve different civic education materials and publications. IFES' guide on the country's police law was the most widely distributed, followed by its guide on local self governance and the guide for voters on election procedures.

#### *Law Enforcement Official Participates in IFES DG on the Police Law*

In November the CAPA network conducted half a dozen DGs on the Police Law and IFES' new accompanying guide. During one of these DGs organized in Talin City, the discussion

about the law and various traffic violations was greatly enhanced by the visit of Gegek Manoukian, the Deputy Chief of Internal Affairs in Talin City. Manoukian participated actively as an advisor throughout the discussion by answering numerous questions concerning the law and discussing specific cases that have taken place in the region. The Deputy Chief clarified for participants the functions of the police, the courts, and the prosecutor's office. The discussion was quite lively and provided an excellent opportunity for residents and the police to listen to each other and discuss the community's law enforcement issues.

Manoukian stated that regular dialogues between citizens and law enforcement officials are very useful, and he expressed his readiness to cooperate closely in this direction. When the DG finished, IFES instructors were approached by many other residents on the discussion group and IFES publications. In response to this strong interest, IFES instructors conducted a second presentation on the Police Law with 46 more community residents.

*Kharberd Initiative Group in Yerevan Puts Spotlight on Five Thousand Families Forgotten by Authorities*

In July 2002 an IFES IG was formed with members of the "Union of Supporters of Poor" NGO and active residents of Kharberd to address the community's problems. About 5,000 families live on the territory of Kharberd, a far-off region of Yerevan. Despite this large number of families living in the area, there is no school, medical center, post office, police department, phone lines, roads, trash removal, or drinking and irrigation water. The bridge connecting the community to the larger city is in dire condition, and Kharberd is both practically and symbolically isolated from the rest of Yerevan. In addition to the social problems existing in the community, residents reported that more than 70% of them are not registered and are therefore deprived of their civic right to participate in elections.

Since the formation of the IG, the group and community residents hope to continue to highlight and address the most pressing issues facing the community. In July a TV program was aired informing the public about the existing problems in Kharberd. After this TV coverage, Shengavit community, with administrative controls over Kharberd, provided the community with a bus for transportation, medical examinations for children, and registration services for residents. Since then, additional articles on the community's situation appeared in local newspapers. Residents hope that continued media coverage will raise awareness of the community's problems and involve representatives of Shengavit community, the Yerevan Mayor's office, and other government bodies and organization.

The IG continues to work on its action plan for solving Kharberd's social problems. With assistance of IFES instructors, the group will continue its efforts to bring media attention to the community. They will also organize meetings with offi-



*A law enforcement official participated in an IFES Dialogue Group on the Police Law.*

cial from different departments, hold a petition drive, introduce local self-government bodies to Kharberd residents and community issues, and lobby the government to give the territory of Kharberd the corresponding status of "place of residence." Through its activities, the group hopes for more positive results.

*Another Initiative Group Success: Medical Workers Recover their Back Wages*

In the spring of 2002, medical personnel of Polyclinic #14 in the Nor Nork district of Yerevan contacted IFES/Yerevan instructors with a serious problem. It has been a year since the staff was paid, and their initial efforts to recover their back wages, including a strike, were unsuccessful. IFES/Armenia instructors met with the staff and discussed with them different options employees have to defend their rights in the workplace. Although the staff was successful in bringing their problem to the attention of highest-level government officials, there was no positive action in this regard. Demoralized and hopeless from the experience, in early autumn, a few of the medical personnel again turned to the instructors for further assistance.

At the suggestion of instructors, the polyclinic staff created an Initiative Group (IG) to tackle the problem one more time and secure their earned payments from the authorities. After overcoming some initial challenges from the Head of the polyclinic, the IG turned to the Health Department of Yerevan Municipality in hopes of finding a remedy to their problem. Again, their efforts did not produce a positive outcome. Exhausting all other options, IG members decided, in early November, to take legal action against the polyclinic. After additional efforts of the Head of the polyclinic to stop the initiative, IG members were firm in their decision. At a meeting, the group worked with instructors to finalize their suit and applied to the court. After reviewing the case on 2 De-

*(Continued on page 9)*

### UPCOMING EVENTS IN EUROPE AND EURASIA

January 28	Event: Location: Contact:	<b>Macedonia Post-Election Seminar "Elections 2002: Building On Success"</b> Holiday Inn, Skopje, Macedonia Dan Blessington, Program Manager ifesm@mt.net.mk
March 27-28	Event: Location: Contact:	<b>IFES Nationwide Civics Tournament</b> Almaty, Kazakhstan IFES Program Manager, Ed Morgan ed@ifes.almaty.kz
Sept. 22-26	Event: Location: Contact:	<b>ACEEEO Annual Conference</b> Oxford University College, Oxford, UK Victor Perea, Deputy Director, E&E vperea@ifes.org

percent have a fair amount of confidence in the media. Only the church enjoys a greater level of confidence among respondents than the media. However, 62 percent of respondents think it is dangerous for journalists to report the news objectively.

From 13-16 December IFES conducted public presentations in Lviv, Kyiv, and Donetsk on the survey findings to representatives of the mass media, civic organizations, political parties, research institutes, and elected officials. IFES' Applied Research Officer Rakesh Sharma and IFES Senior Program Officer Michael Svetlik provided commentary on the survey results in order to provide researchers, elected officials, and civic leaders a detailed picture of trends in democratization in Ukraine. These presentations also provided donor organizations such as USAID, as well as

#### "Ukraine Survey" from page 1

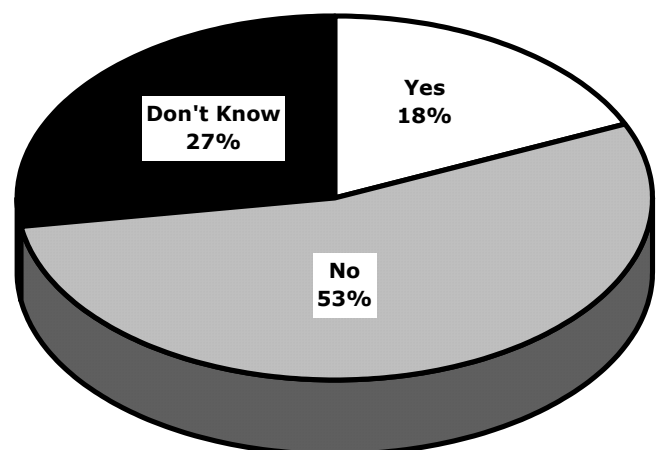
- Say Ukraine is not a democracy (53%). In 2001, 46 percent had this opinion. Respondents base this judgment on the lack of respect for rights, an authoritarian government, corruption, and flawed elections.
- Believe corruption is both widespread and serious (85%). Respondents are also pessimistic about the likelihood of countering corruption in Ukraine, with 56 percent taking this view and 20 percent stating that corruption is likely to be countered.
- Say it is important to protect several specific human rights listed on the survey: Free and fair elections (91%), equal rights for women (85%), property rights (83%), religious rights (80%), the right to criticize officials (76%), choice of parties (73%), minority rights (72%), associative rights (56%), and the right to form parties (53%).
- Report having voted in the 2002 parliamentary and local elections (81%). Those 55 and over were the most likely to vote (91%). Rural voters had the highest participation rate (89%), while those in large cities had the lowest rate (73%). Women had higher participation (83%) than men (78%).
- Believe they have little voting or political efficacy. Only 26 percent agree that voting gives them influence over decision-making (66% disagree); 69 percent agree that politics is too complicated (23% disagree); and 14 percent agree that they have no influence in decision-making (77% disagree). Even a majority of those who are interested in politics or discuss politics regularly lack voter or political efficacy.
- Have at least a fair amount of confidence in the media. Six percent of respondents have a great deal of confidence and 52

local and international NGOs, with data to tailor their programs and initiatives to better meet the needs of their constituents.

Over the past seven years, IFES has conducted more than 40 separate survey and focus group projects in 20 countries around the world. IFES survey and focus group capabilities provide relevant and reliable information on the opinions and attitudes in a country to government officials, development professionals, political actors, academics, and others interested in democratic and political development.

The IFES survey team has developed a vetted core set of questions, which ensures that data from its surveys can be used to conduct cross-national comparisons of socio-political attitudes. In addition, IFES can conduct follow-up surveys, then use this data to track key indicators that signal the growth or deterioration of democratic practices. To download IFES survey reports please visit [www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org)

**"Is Ukraine a Democracy?" (n=1200)**





(Continued from page 7)

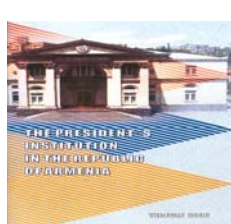
ember, the court ruled in favor of the IG members and ordered the head of the polyclinic to pay the back wages for all employees.

*New Publications Enhance Civic Education on New and Amended Laws and Help Voters Make an Informed Decision on Election Day*

After fifteen years of independence, Armenia adopted its first post-Soviet Police Law. In response, IFES/Armenia developed a question and answer guide, which in accessible language explains the law and emphasizes the relationship between police and citizens, the relationship between police and drivers, and police responsibilities. As a supplement to this guide, IFES/Armenia also produced a table of traffic violations with their corresponding fines.

In August 2002, the country's Local Self-Government (LSG) Law was amended in part to reflect conditions of the European Charter of Local Self-Government (1985). Again, IFES responded with a guide on this topic, an update to an earlier IFES publication on the country's LSG law. With this guide IFES/Armenia explains the country's LSG institutions and how they can be involved in the development of communities.

The updated guide is being widely used by newly elected community heads, council members, and active community residents. In addition to questions and answers about the amended law, the booklet contains a timeline on the history of LSG in ancient Armenia, the European Charter, excerpts from the Republic of Armenia Constitution on LSG, and recent comments from Armenia's president on the importance of LSG reform.



*IFES/Armenia Produces New Citizen Guides: Guide to the Police Law, Guide to the LSG Law, Guide to Voter and Voting Procedures, and Guide to the Office of the Presidency.*

In a continued effort to enhance the circulation of information among the Armenian public regarding the electoral process, in December, IFES/Armenia produced a new citizen information brochure on the voter and voting procedures for the upcoming presidential elections. This question and answer guide, aims at familiarizing Armenian voters with the basics of the country's electoral system and includes information concerning voting rights and procedures, voters lists, composition and activities of electoral commissions, candidate nomination and registration process, and other related topics. In addition, the guide contains a calendar with key dates prior to the election, sample ballots, information on the proper mark for the ballot, and an application for voters to make revisions in the voter lists. Other publications focusing on the upcoming elections include voter copies of the Electoral Code of the Republic of Armenia, a citizen guide to the office of the Presidency, and poster and leaflets on the procedures to check the voter lists.

The publications compliment IFES' other election assistance activities, including voter education workshops, initiatives to update voter lists, and election observations. IFES is also collaborating with the Central Election Commission (CEC) to distribute to all PECs copies of the Electoral Code and CEC decisions, posters with examples of properly filled in ballots, and to produce a television PSA to inform voters on how to properly mark their ballots in Election Day. IFES' support during the upcoming election season is within the framework of a Memorandum of Understanding between the CEC and USAID and is financed by USAID.

To date, IFES/Armenia has produced 114,615 copies of 22 different publications, including various voter education materials. Through its network of instructors and these information products, IFES/Armenia engages residents at the local level and has developed an effective mechanism to channel public concerns into advocacy and civic activism.

*Local Partner Summarizes Results of the Local Elections and Discusses Strategies for Increasing Women's Participation in 2003 Parliamentary Elections*

At a December conference, IFES/Armenia's local partner, the Women's Republican Council (WRC), presented the results of the October 2002 local self-government elections and discussed strategies for women's participation in the May 2003 parliamentary elections. According to the information gathered by the WRC, 36 women were nominated for community heads in 654 communities of Armenia, of whom nine have been elected. Also, 275 women had been nominated for community council members in 643 communities, of whom 172 have been elected. In Yerevan, the capital city, 43 women had been nominated for community council members in ten communities, out of which ten have been elected. However, no woman was nominated for community head. Women who participated in the IFES/WRC two-round Women Candidate Training in June and August showed very strong participation in the elections. Eight out of 23 women participants were

elected; one as a community leader in Kotayk region and seven as community council members in Gegharkunik, Yerevan, Aragatsotn, and Kotayk regions.

After summarizing election results, the focus of the conference shifted to addressing reasons for the overall low level of women's participation in the elections. Some of the contributing factors to this situation identified during the discussion were: unfair electoral conditions in some of the areas, mistrust of society towards women's participation in the political process, and women voters' unfavorable opinion of women candidates. Conference participants also elaborated on the next steps needed to change the situation and increase women's participation in the 2003 elections. The need to strengthen women's position in the economic sector, to involve women in political parties, NGOs, mass media and international organizations, to discuss gender issues with men, to develop a new National Plan, and to include gender issues in school curriculums were just a few of the steps mentioned for future progress.

The WRC will continue to actively encourage the Armenian women to run for office for the parliamentary elections. Along with IFES/Armenia, they will identify women candidates to participate in another candidate training and provide various information materials.

#### *Voters Lists Advisory Committees Resume Work for 2003 Elections*

Voters Lists Advisory Committees (VLACs) – an innovative participatory mechanism for maintenance of voters lists began during the October 2002 local elections. For these elections IFES launched the use of the VLAC mechanism in eight communities (Abovian, Artik, Ashtarak, Avan, Echmiadzin, Kapan, Sevan, and Stepanavan). On November 27, approximately one hundred people, including VLAC members and volunteers, IFES staff, CEC officials, and journalists, participated in an exchange to summarize results on voter list maintenance and updates, and to draw conclusions and lessons learned for future VLAC work. The exchange was also used to recognize the achievements of VLAC members and volunteers. Their efforts were responsible for over 33,000 changes in their communities' voter lists – that is, they provided updates to voters lists equaling 17% of the total number of voters in the lists originally compiled by community heads.

Due to these impressive results and because of the positive feedback by communities and VLAC members themselves, IFES is continuing and further disseminating the VLAC mechanism for the presidential and parliamentary elections. In December, VLAC work resumed in Sevan, Talin City, and Stepanavan. At their first session, Sevan VLAC members were joined by Mayor Gevorg Malkhasyan, Chairman of TEC #33, and representative of the Regional Board on Refugees. The Mayor expressed his support for the VLAC and readiness to cooperate with the group, "both VLAC members and volunteers made a significant and valuable contribution

to the local elections last October. The VLAC had a great response in Sevan city, and we welcome the continuation of the VLAC's work for the forthcoming presidential election." During this initial meeting, VLAC members also discussed the urgent issue of refugee voting. According to the Electoral Code, refugees have no right to take part in the presidential elections. However, in Sevan, there is no exact data on the status of refugees living in the area and therefore, correcting the voter lists in regards to this data will be one of the objectives of the Sevan VLAC.

In Talin City, a new VLAC also began its work. The city's newly elected Mayor, Mnatsakan Mnatsakanyan, became familiarized with the VLAC concept through his frequent contacts with IFES' Aragatsotn field office. After learning how the mechanism works from the prior work of another VLAC in the marz, the mayor was eager to cooperate, "we endorse this work as urgent, because verifying of voter lists is a vulnerable issue, and it needs serious efforts so as to prevent infringements and mistakes". The town's administration does not have a printer but the Mayor promised to secure one so that the VLAC can disseminate the voter lists and process voters' feedback on changes and additions to the lists.

Over the next few months, IFES/Armenia will work with VLAC alumni and authorities to continue and further develop the VLAC mechanism, a civil society approach to approving voter registries. VLACs will be resumed in seven communities, where they were active for the LSG elections and the mechanism will be adopted in another seventeen communities, making a total of twenty-four VLACs for the presidential and for the parliamentary elections.

#### *Impact Summary*

After intensive work on the local elections in October, and as the February presidential elections draw closer, IFES/Armenia's CAPA network began to put more emphasis on its election assistance while still covering a variety of issues within the areas of civil society development, good governance, rule of law, and elections. To assist in these efforts, the project's head office produced two new guides on the police and local self-governance. The presentation of the police law guide was used in one community to start new dialogues between residents and local law enforcement officials. Additionally, new voter education materials, including a citizen's guide on the voting procedures and the guide on the office of the Presidency are being circulated.

Work in the area of initiative groups included the expansion of VLACs – IFES/Armenia's innovative participatory mechanism for maintenance of voter lists – to cover 24 communities for the 2003 presidential and parliamentary elections, and advocacy initiatives on residential housing issues and locality development. The work of an initiative group in a remote section of Yerevan touched upon all four of IFES' pillars and included citizen demands for accountability by officials, education of inhabitants about their legal rights, mobilizing com-

munity members for advocacy and locality development, and recognizing residents' legal status, which is needed, among other things, to vote in the 2003 presidential and parliamentary elections. At the beginning of the December, a Yerevan IG successfully ended its efforts to recoup back wages for hospital staff.

Since the beginning of the CAPA project, 34,372 people from more than 340 communities participated in meetings of DGs and IGs.

## **AZERBAIJAN**

### *Draft Unified Electoral Code Goes Public*

The Presidential Apparatus made public a draft of the Unified Electoral Code (UEC) on 28 November following active requests by IFES, domestic political parties, NGOs, and others in the international community. The release of the document launched both formal and informal public discussion prior to introducing a formal draft to the *Milli Majlis* for first reading. Once introduced, the draft will undergo three readings prior to being adopted by the president. The international community expects this process to be completed six months prior to the presidential elections scheduled for October 2003.

IFES recognizes the importance of facilitating an active and informed discussion. In September IFES released its commentaries and provided an overview of the changes in the new draft. Then in December, IFES held another round of events to provide an overview and highlight changes in the newly released text. Following briefings for OSCE/ODIHR and the Council of Europe's Venice Commission prior to their meeting with political parties, NGOs, and the Government of Azerbaijan on the draft UEC, IFES informed three separate groups about the draft: (1) domestic political parties, (2) domestic NGOs, and (3) the International Democracy & Governance Group composed of embassies, multilateral organizations, and international NGOs.

IFES discussed improvements made to the draft UEC as a result of IFES and OSCE/ODIHR recommendations, as well as the draft's remaining weaknesses, and also responded to questions raised by the participants. These briefings significantly raised the level of information about the new draft prior to the upcoming OHIDR roundtables. The political parties group and domestic NGOs were particularly pleased with the opportunity to hear and discuss the new legislation being proposed.

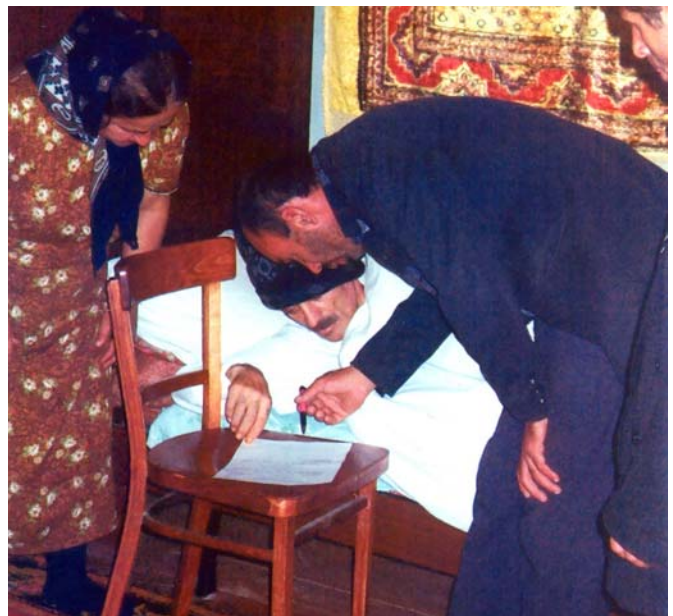
At the same time, IFES continued to engage the Presidential Apparatus to discuss additional amendments to the draft code and the upcoming roundtables organized by OSCE/ODIHR. In particular, IFES continued to press for amendments to allow all NGOs to observe elections irrespective of their funding source and to change the composition of election commissions in order to encourage impartial decision making.

Throughout this process IFES continued to play a lead role as a clearinghouse for up-to-date election-related information. Following the draft UEC's release, the Presidential Apparatus made several changes, which were incorporated by IFES in a timely way and distributed in hard-copy and via the Internet to political parties, domestic and international NGOs, the diplomatic community, and the public at large. The draft UEC appears in both languages on the IFES/Azerbaijan website ([www.ifesaze.org](http://www.ifesaze.org)), thereby allowing all interested parties to access the most up-to-date information available. In January IFES plans to release a detailed article by article analysis of the new law to determine which comments by both domestic and international groups have been incorporated. Further comments on the legislation are available by contacting IFES or via the OSCE/ODIHR website at [www.osce.org/odihhr](http://www.osce.org/odihhr).

### *Dialogue on UEC Continues Amidst Boycott by Opposition*

Engagement with the Presidential Apparatus by IFES and others in the international community over the past year led to an agreement to hold public roundtables to discuss the draft UEC and propose changes. These roundtables were to be the first real opportunity for the government and opposition parties to openly discuss the long-awaited draft.

IFES helped prepare the first roundtable, which was held from 16-17 December and co-chaired by the OSCE/ODIHR and Presidential Apparatus. Despite last-minute efforts by IFES and the international community, the main opposition parties and most NGOs operating in the field of elections boycotted the event. While it appeared that issues such as media coverage and formation of working groups could be addressed, the main hurdle could not be overcome. Aiming for greater impact in the drafting process, the opposition



*Mobile voting procedures were observed during the 2 November municipal by-elections.*



sought the formation of a formal conciliation commission to achieve a consensus.

A decision was made to continue the event and IFES and OSCE/ODIHR proceeded to represent the interests of the opposition and NGOs boycotting the event. Three working groups were established to address: (1) transparency issues; (2) registration of candidates and voters; and (3) composition of election commissions. Due to the boycott, the conclusions of the roundtable which were presented live to the media did not accurately reflect the political situation in Azerbaijan.

Following the roundtable the opposition convened its own event, the Free Elections Forum, which was also open to all interested parties. During this event several amendments to the draft UEC were discussed, as was the demand to form a conciliation commission. Welcoming all discussions of the draft UEC, IFES, OSCE/ODIHR and others in the international community continued to press for the formation of a conciliation commission in order to create the conditions for meaningful dialogue and legal reform. The conduct of future public roundtables organized by the international community depends on the ability to establish a forum in which all interested parties can participate in a meaningful way.

In addition to public roundtables, IFES will continue to promote active discussion of the draft UEC by targeting key actors in the electoral sphere. IFES and the National NGO Forum will co-host a roundtable scheduled for January 24 designed to establish unified positions on key issues in the draft. The closed format will be designed to solicit frank and open discussion on the draft code.

By targeting key constituencies individually and encouraging inclusive participation in public roundtables sponsored by the international community, IFES seeks to raise the level of dialogue and identify common areas of concern and ways to effectively address them in revised legislation.

#### *Roundtables Challenge the Central Election Commission*

IFES continued to engage the Central Election Commission (CEC) through regular meetings and topical roundtables designed to increase their knowledge and skills set, while holding them accountable to existing legislation. IFES held two roundtables with the CEC at the Radisson Hotel on 15 and 26 November.

During the first event, IFES and the CEC discussed the new draft UEC. IFES then conducted a second roundtable on problems facing election administrators and other election actors in Azerbaijan and abroad. IFES challenged the participants to identify real solutions to these problems that are appropriate to Azerbaijan. Typical problems and solutions included difficulties with the nomination of candidates, accurate voter lists, voters attending the precinct without proper identification, poll worker incompetence, fraudulent activities at elections, and the correct completion of protocols.



*Participants address deficiencies in draft UEC at the IFES briefing in Baku.*

On 18 December, IFES organized a third roundtable at the Irshad Hotel. Twenty-five CEC members attended. IFES presented the principles of activity set forth in the draft UEC and addressed issues of ethics and the development of codes of conduct to enhance accountability. The format and venue encouraged the representatives of the CEC to actively participate.

IFES plans to continue actively engaging the CEC to promote better electoral practices and encourage accountability. Building on its training of trainers methodology, IFES plans to work with the CEC to actively train precinct election commissions in advance of the 5 March parliamentary by-elections in three constituencies. With funding from the British Embassy, IFES will expand the CEC's cadre of trainers to provide training with a special emphasis on accountability.

#### *IFES Brings Disability Group into the Discussion*

Seeking to include all eligible voters into the process, IFES met with the Azerbaijan Association of Blind People to discuss the issues related to the right of persons with visual impairments to elect and to be elected. IFES demonstrated different special ballot papers and tools that could ensure the secrecy of voting for this often neglected part of the population that allows them to vote without assistance. IFES also pointed out relevant articles in draft UEC that increase the responsibilities of the CEC and lower level commissions to secure greater voting rights for persons with disabilities.

#### *IFES Observations Hold Election Commissions Accountable*

By-elections offer a unique chance to observe the level of progress and faults that need to be addressed in the electoral process. The 2 November municipal by-elections offered just this opportunity. IFES undertook a limited observation to assess the state of electoral reforms in Azerbaijan. During the elections 746 vacancies were filled in 550 municipalities across the country. Five observer teams covered specific areas in IFES' target municipalities and surrounding areas.



IFES teams observed a total of 41 precincts in Khatai municipality (Baku City), northern regions of Ismayilli and Quba, and the southern region of Masalli. As a result of IFES' engagement with the Central Election Commission, the CEC investigated activities in precincts 113 and 114 in Khatai and cancelled the results in those precincts following the presentation of IFES Technical Report. On 5 March IFES plans to work together with domestic groups and the international community to hold meaningful observations of scheduled parliamentary by-elections in three constituencies.

#### *IFES to Discuss Elections in the Regions*

IFES prepared to utilize its effective civic education program to raise awareness and encourage discussion of electoral issues and the draft UEC. By raising the level of information and discussion, and at the same time hearing their concerns, IFES seeks to help create a more active electorate in the nine strategic municipalities in which it works. In December IFES launched this initiative by conducting a "training of trainers" session on the draft UEC for its own team of nine Civic Education Trainers and Regional Coordinators.

#### *Discussion Groups Continue to Erase Apathy*

IFES' civic education trainers continued to stimulate civic awareness through discussion groups in Baku and in the regions. Overall, they conducted 85 discussion group sessions in six regions with a total of 1,449 participants, of whom 43% were women and 62% were youth. During this time, discussion groups in the regions laid foundation for the creation of two NGOs, ten initiative groups, and three block associations.

While the main topics of discussions covered human rights, public participation, local self-governance, community development, voluntary movement and social partnership, the trainers have noticed a marked interest among citizens in learning about their political rights and the ways to protect these rights. Another topic of interest amongst citizens in the regions concerns participation in local self-governance and partnership with governance bodies. There also is an increase in participation by public administrators and elected officials in discussion groups. With each session, municipal councilors, representatives of different state institutions and other officials are becoming more open to dialogue with the community residents in discussion groups concerning local problems. A recent meeting of municipal councilors with the representatives of different block associations in Mingechevir, where the two groups openly and candidly discussed problems of the municipality, typifies the kind of results that are being achieved.

#### *Youth Demand More Democracy Schools*

Through Democracy Schools, IFES seeks to provide an introduction to democratic values and practices for the first time to more than 800 youths. On 18 November trainers organized the first six classes in Khatai Municipality. IFES expects to conduct between 40-60 sessions at schools located in

each of the nine IFES target municipalities located throughout Azerbaijan. The students come from grades 8-11 and range in age from 13-16 years old. Led by two highly qualified trainers who have achieved a special rapport with the students, participation has been very enthusiastic in all sessions. In one instance, IFES had to more than double the recommended maximum number of participants to 65 in order to accommodate the enthusiastic participants. IFES is taking steps to accommodate all who express interest while keeping the groups in the other municipalities more manageable in order to allow each individual a chance to comment or ask questions.

There also is a keen desire to raise the level of knowledge about democracy among high school students in Mingechevir, where many students actually were introduced to the subject for the first time. While students in both Mingechevir and Baku requested the return of IFES trainers for additional classes, the desire expressed by the students from the capital city, who were significantly older and more exposed to political and civic life, was even greater. Students from the six schools were interested in covering a wider range of topics about democracy.

#### *IFES Transfers Funds as Micro-Grantees Begin*

IFES worked with all six of its approved micro-grantees to help them resolve local administrative matters such as registering with local tax services in order to obtain an ID code for using the funds as well as new banking formalities. By year's end, the six micro-grantees successfully completed all required Azeri formalities, four received the funding, and three began implementation: (1) the Mingechevir Youth Community is actively preparing its education program on municipalities and NGOs for youths, (2) the Free World Ecological Balance project in Barda is creating block associations to improve local waste collection, and (3) the Education Center for Youth in Baku has begun preparations for improving facilities in an orphanage in Khatai.

#### *Over 250 Volunteers Participate in Mingechevir*

Volunteer Action Day events in Mingechevir extended over the entire week beginning 30 November and culminating on 6 December, the day after the end of Ramadan. On that day, more than one hundred volunteers, NGO members, IFES staff, and municipal officials joined forces to celebrate Mingechevir Volunteer Action Day. On the steps of the Municipal Building where volunteers congregated, Mingechevir Chairman Javanshir Yusubov noted how Volunteer Action Day came a day after International Volunteer Day, a day set aside in recognition of voluntary action by organizations and individuals around the world. He further noted that volunteerism serves to increase civic initiative and activity within civil society.

Deputy Project Director François Vézina followed by congratulating the city for providing the supportive environment



*Volunteers join together for common goals in Mingechevir.*

to build the spirit of volunteer service locally and regionally. Quoting Jan Kavan, President of the UN General Assembly, who had commented on the International Year of Volunteers at a meeting of the General Assembly on 26 November, he said, "Local voluntary involvement was a valuable and indispensable contribution to the improvement of social conditions, promotion of economic development, and empowerment of people to take charge." Then, armed with shovels, rakes, brooms, and other tools donated by the municipality, volunteers set off in the crisp morning air to the different work sites.

A first group tidied up the many rose gardens and white-washed the base of trees at the World War II Memorial, a second group cleared the gardens, planted trees and cleaned monuments in Shahidlar Khiyabany Park, while a third group planted trees in Heydar Park. But it was the afternoon visit to the orphanage that brought the most joy to both recipients and volunteers. Accompanied by Chairman Yusubov, IFES Project Director Charles Lasham and Local Governance Advisor Anna Wiktorowska, more than 30 NGO volunteers and musicians played Azerbaijani music for the 27 children of the Children Neurology Sanatorium (CNC). Sweets, balloons, dancing and singing produced plenty of smiling faces. IFES staff in Baku donated clothing, four heaters and scores of gifts for children. Baku Sun and Lider TV reported on the event and Baku Sun is now preparing a report on Azeri orphanages.

During the week preceding 6 December, volunteers brought food and comfort to 24 elderly and poor persons living alone, distributed IFES calendars, and handed out brochures on Mingechevir municipality and on Municipalities in Azerbaijan. In addition, volunteer trainers conducted six lectures on volunteerism for 100 secondary schools students. Altogether, more than 250 volunteers participated in Mingechevir Volunteer Action Day, making it a huge success and an example for other municipalities to follow.

Volunteer Action Day was organized by IFES' Civic Education Program in cooperation with volunteers from nine NGOs, with the support from the Mingechevir municipality and the Local Executive Authority.

#### *Informal Working Group on Local Governance*

The draft Law on Inter-relationships, Coordination and Certain State Powers Delegation between State Local Authorities and Municipalities has been placed on the annual calendar of the *Milli Majlis*. This law has the potential to effectively resolve the significant overlap and confusion regarding the division of power between the two bodies. The current lack of clarity concerning this issue is often cited as a major obstacle confronting functioning municipalities.

Prof. Garalov, chairman of the *Milli Majlis* Permanent Commission on Regional Issues, which is responsible for local governance legislation, requested advice from IFES on drafting the above law as well as draft Law on Administrative Control over the Activities of Municipalities. Out of this request came the decision to form an informal working group of IFES experts and Permanent Commission legal experts to address issues pertaining to the development of local governance legislation. Meeting twice a month, the informal working group will allow IFES both to submit comments on existing draft that are consistent with international practice and standards and to incorporate proposals from municipalities and the outcomes of legal trainings.

#### *Legal Training Leads to Concrete Proposals*

The division of powers between local executive authorities and municipalities affords little real mandate and resources for the nascent municipal councils. IFES effectively utilized its civic education and local governance resources to assertively pursue its training activities with municipalities on the topic of division of powers. Training was conducted in six locations – Baku, Barda, Ismayilli, Ganja, Masalli, and Micechevir – for both councilors and employees in the nine municipalities with which IFES works.

These sessions helped municipal representatives to clearly identify and debate issues pertaining to the division of power. The events resulted in concrete proposals for the draft law that addresses the division of powers between municipalities and local executive authorities. Proposals that the municipalities had in common included the delegation of state powers, such as notary and civil acts registration services, transport, water, sewage, electricity, cleaning, communication, healthcare services, and culture.

Additionally, municipalities also had particular interests. For example, Ganja and Mingechevir were interested in being delegated powers on tourism, sports, architecture, advertisement, and military call-up. Khanarab municipality also had a particular interest in the irrigation of lands and use of municipal lands for agricultural purposes. The comments and sug-

gestions obtained from the councilors during the training are especially valuable since they came from the practitioners dealing with these problems on daily basis. A comprehensive report on municipalities' proposals will be submitted to the *Milli Majlis* Permanent Commission on Regional Issues through the IFES' informal working group on local governance legislation.

#### *IFES Raises Level of Information on Municipalities*

On 29 November, IFES distributed informational materials and a questionnaire to each of the 2,663 municipalities in Azerbaijan. IFES designed the questionnaire to gather information about the number of councilors and commissions serving the municipalities, to assess their success in implementing programs, and to identify their training needs. The packet also included valuable resource materials on the subject of local self-governance in Azerbaijan. These IFES publications included:

- *Legal Texts Relating to Municipalities*

This publication is an exhaustive compilation of legal texts related to municipal activity in Azerbaijan. It contains all municipal laws, Presidential Decrees, and extracts from other relevant laws including tax and land codes. It is an indispensable source of information for every municipality.

- *Brochure on "Power Divisions Between Local Self-Governance and State Local Executive Authority"*

This publication provides a practical summary of the division of responsibilities between municipalities and state local executive authorities. IFES believes the document will be of great assistance to municipal officials and others.

- *Brochure on "Municipalities in Azerbaijan"*

This brochure provides comprehensive information on the local governance system, legal framework, and responsibilities of municipalities, as well as the financial basis of municipalities. It is designed to facilitate an understanding of the role and importance of municipalities.



*Volunteers in Mingechevir turned out in large numbers to improve their municipality.*

These publications will help the councilors in their daily activities and will increase their level of knowledge and awareness of local government issues in Azerbaijan. At the same time IFES trusts that the municipalities will complete and return the questionnaires. The responses will serve as the main source of data for a Municipalities Database, which will also be accessible, along with IFES informational materials, on the IFES Azerbaijan website.

#### *IFES Azerbaijan Launches Website*

IFES Azerbaijan increased its reach to its partners throughout the country through the recently launched website. The new resource is designed to provide user-friendly access to information on developments in elections, municipalities, and civic education, and useful IFES publications. The website, which is available at [www.ifesaze.org](http://www.ifesaze.org) provides information in both Azeri and English. The website is effectively being integrated into IFES' programs at all levels.

#### *Impact Statement*

Of notable success, IFES achieved the following:

- IFES successfully worked with others in the international community to incorporate many changes into the draft UEC so that it better conformed to OSCE standards and took into account deficiencies from previous elections. By addressing many of the technical issues, more energy can be devoted to those of particular concern.
- IFES continued to be the main clearinghouse for information on election related issues, particularly the UEC, which was updated and translated to allow for timely debate by all interested parties.
- Through ongoing consultations with key actors and targeted briefings, IFES remained the lead organization in the promotion of a consultative process and information dissemination on electoral issues thanks to its genuine role of non-partisan watchdog of the election process.
- Through its engagement with the CEC and holding of roundtables on sensitive issues, IFES demonstrated its ability to be a credible and convincing partner.
- As a result of its engagement with the CEC it has investigated activities pertaining to the conduct of municipal by-elections in precincts 113 and 114 in Khatai and cancelled the results in those precincts following the presentation of IFES Technical Report.
- IFES' discussion groups and democracy schools have demonstrated that it is possible to erase apathy through increased citizen participation. IFES reached a total of 1,449 participants through its discussion groups, which resulted in the creation of two NGOs, ten initiative groups, and three block associations. IFES discussion groups also raised the

level of public access and participation in local level political processes through active citizen engagement with local officials. Through its democracy schools, IFES raised the demand for more information about democracy.

- By bringing out 250 volunteers in Mingechevir, IFES has helped municipalities acknowledge, promote, and celebrate the fact that local voluntary involvement is a valuable and indispensable contribution to the improvement of social conditions and empowerment of citizens.
- IFES effectively brought municipalities into the legal drafting process through its regional legal roundtables and the establishment of the informal working group on local governance legislation with the *Milli Majlis*.
- Providing innovative training in the areas of local governance and civic education, IFES has empowered municipalities and citizens alike to influence local level policy decision- and law-making in an informed and constructive manner.
- The IFES/Azerbaijan website significantly increased the level of information available in Azerbaijan on elections, local governance, and civil society.

## GEORGIA

### *Civic Education in Schools Program*

The second phase of the Civic Education in Schools Program was officially launched in November. The first phase consisted of background research and a baseline assessment of civic education programs in Georgia. The second phase consists of training for regional program coordinators, an information campaign, and school selection. Discussions on cooperation with the Ministry of Education have also progressed in November and December, with the first official coordination meeting on 11 December. IFES' civic education program was designed to complement the overall education reform process directed by the Ministry, and the cooperation of both the Ministry and the Education Reform Center will be critical to the successful implementation of the Civic Education in Schools Program.

### CEPC Training Workshops

The first training workshop for the regional Civic Education Program Coordinators (CEPCs) was held from 19-21 November. The workshop program covered three broad areas:

- (1) The role of the CEPCs;
- (2) Priorities and the methodology of the program; and
- (3) Information on general education issues.

The workshop was conducted by the lead Civic Education Program Coordinator, Maya Gogoladze. Outside experts led sessions in conflict management, the school as an institution, the role of teachers in the project, and the broader education

system reform effort. IFES staff and the CEPCs also worked on developing: specific civic education activities, selection criteria for participating schools, as well as an outreach and collaboration strategy for local education and youth departments, local representative bodies, NGOs, mass media, and universities.

The second training workshop was held on 24-25 December. The objective of the second workshop was the preparation of January work plans and the final selection of the twenty partner schools. Discussions also focused on how to provide informal support and maintain the involvement of the schools that were not selected for this first year of the project. Contract trainers Pavle Tvaliashvili and Tea Lobjanidze (Education Reform Center Teacher Retraining Experts) facilitated discussion sessions on school funds and developing education activities in schools based on new and innovative methodologies, such as the debate program, the iEARN international education resource network, and critical thinking for reading and writing.

### Regional Information Sessions

From 24-30 November, Ms. Gogoladze conducted information sessions in the four target regions: Kutaisi, Akhaltsikhe, Borjomi, and Telavi. Those attending the sessions included school principals, administrators, and teachers. Schools were invited to complete application forms to be considered for placement as one of the five partner schools.

The session included discussions of: the assessment of school-based civic education projects in Georgia; the IFES Civic Education in Schools Program, school selection criteria, and the application process; collaboration with the Ministry of Education and the Education Reform Center; the concept of a Civic Education Coordination Group; the pilot model for linking higher education institutions to secondary schools through civic education; and youth/community service projects.

### Partner Schools Selected

At the regional information sessions, schools were invited to submit applications for participation in the project. Over the preceding two weeks, applications were received and reviewed, while interviews were scheduled with prospective schools. Interviews took place as follows:

- 13-14 December: Telavi
- 16-17 December: Kutaisi
- 18-19 December: Akhaltsikhe
- 20-21 December: Borjomi

In addition to the interview process, important considerations during the assessment were each school's capacity for:

- (1) Promoting partnerships between Georgian and non-Georgian schools (in each region except Kutaisi at least one non-Georgian schools has been selected.)



- (2) Providing information on the project to other schools in the region.
- (3) Becoming a leader school for the building of the IFES CEP schools' network (each first year school should be able to coordinate one or more schools in years 1 and 2).

The schools selected were:

Kutaisi - Schools #4 (IDP), #5 (IDP), #32, #10, Humanitarian Lyceum

Akhaltikhe - Schools: #1, #6, #3 (Armenian), Minadze, Dis advantaged Children's School

Borjomi - Schools: #1, #6, #2, #3 (Georgian/Russian), Ak haldaba

Telavi - schools: #1, #5, #9, Karajala (Azeri), Gulgula

Now that selection of schools has been completed, the CEPs will begin working with the five schools in their area based on the following action model:

- The coordinators in each school meet weekly with the CEP. Work will include developing an action plan, monitoring implementation of each stage of the action plan, as well as organizing and conducting activities.
- A meeting of representatives of the five participating schools in each area will take place monthly. There should be at least one teacher, parent, and student from each school.
- The CEPs will have regular coordination meetings in Tbilisi to discuss broad project issues and ensure information and ideas are shared across all four regions.

#### IFES Partners CEP/SCOUT

IFES began its first project in partnership with CEP/SCOUT and Telavi State University (TSU). CEP/SCOUT is a program for returning Muskie Fellows, sponsored by the Civic Education Project (<http://www.cep.org.hu/>). The joint project involves the development of a civic education course for TSU students and is based on an idea initiated by a group of young lecturers from the university after they attended the IFES CEP assessment workshop in July.

Universities and their students are seen as an important resource for fostering active citizenship partnerships with students in high schools. This project will serve as a pilot to assess how these types of linkages can be developed. In November, the three partners developed a work plan for implementation of the project over the next six months. The partners will develop a two month training course for students in the social science department at TSU. Students enrolled in the course will be required to collaborate with the five secondary schools affiliated with the IFES Civic Education in Schools Program to develop joint youth projects. The second component of the project will be the development of a survey instrument that measures changes in thinking and attitudes in students participating in the IFES program, compared to non-participants. The research is expected to commence in May of 2003 and will be conducted by sociologists from TSU.

#### Civic Education Newsletter

Newsletter #7 has been completed in both Georgian and English and will be printed in early January. Newsletter #7A on the IFES activities undertaken for Global Youth Services Day will also be released in January. The newsletter includes articles written by youth involved in those activities.

#### *Elections Program*

##### Composition of Election Management Bodies

Debate continued in the final months of 2002 over the future of election management in Georgia. At a joint meeting of members of Parliament and the Chancellery, three broad models for a new Central Election Commission (CEC) were discussed: NGO-nominated, a mix of NGO and political party nominees, and political party nominees only.

The first two models were both dismissed as inappropriate at this time, as NGO nominees would not receive the two thirds majority in Parliament, which is required to appoint members of the CEC. The only model that seemed to be seriously considered was a continuation of the existing political party appointee model. The issue of CEC composition has become increasingly important as indecision on whether to retain the existing commission continues to impact morale at the CEC and preparations for the 2003 Parliamentary Elections.

#### Voter Registration

The voter registration pilot project gained momentum in November and December with the reactivation of the CEC working group and full support from the Parliamentary Working Group on Election Matters. The project also benefited from the hiring of Davit Kiphiani, former Director of ISFED, as the team leader, and a 3-week on site consultancy by IFES expert Ben Goldsmith.

With the help of Mr. Goldsmith and an outside systems analyst, the IFES project team developed a detailed implementation plan identifying the method of data collection and processing, the design of registration forms, and the mode of information dissemination. With agreement that the three pilot districts will be Saburtalo, Rustavi, and Samtredia, meetings were arranged with District Election Commission (DEC) staff of those three districts, as well as with the relevant Ministry of Interior offices in Tbilisi and the regions.

The first combined IFES and CEC working group meeting was held on 6 December at the CEC. IFES presented the recommended system design, emphasizing that the system needs to be sufficiently flexible to allow future enhancements, such as the production of voter identity cards. There was some discussion, but the CEC staff requested time to read and consider the documents provided to them. In subsequent meetings, most system specifications were agreed to and the parties began mapping out preparations for enumeration and data processing.

IFES also began working on drafting the amendments to the election law that will be required to implement a centralized continuous voter registration system for production of voter lists.

#### Coordination of Election Technical Assistance in Georgia

In order to better coordinate donor efforts and to help focus and coordinate higher-level support for strengthening electoral processes in Georgia, an Election Support Group (ESG) has been established at the Ambassador level, supported at the technical level by an Election Technical Working Group (ETWG).

IFES, together with other members of the ETWG, attended an ambassadorial meeting convened by the UNDP on 20 November. The discussion focused on priorities for the international community regarding election reform in Georgia and how these efforts may be supported at the diplomatic level. The top priorities were identified as: election law revisions, composition of the CEC, voter lists, voter education, campaign methods, and oversight mechanisms for elections.

The ambassadors emphasized that the need for improvement in elections should not only be addressed to the government, but also to members of Parliament and the public in general. The ambassadors expressed their readiness to address the identified issues at future meetings with all stakeholders. The ESG will meet regularly (about every 4-6 weeks) in order to ensure sustained and effective coordination of international assistance for elections.

#### November 2002 Parliamentary By-Elections

IFES, in cooperation with ISFED, assisted the CEC in the drafting and printing of a Precinct Election Guide for each member of the special groups appointed to administer the 30 November parliamentary by-elections and for ISFED-trained observers. The CEC approved the draft prior to printing of 2,200 copies for distribution to DEC's, Special Groups and ISFED observers.

IFES also provided copies of the election code to both the CEC (600 copies) and ISFED (200 copies). An informal survey of precinct staff on polling day by IFES observation teams indicated that the Precinct Guide had been useful in preparing for Election Day. They requested production of this sort of material in the future and asked that it be distributed earlier.

IFES worked with the CEC throughout November, encouraging them to conduct a briefing session for DEC's in order to introduce the guide and address critical organizational issues. The CEC agreed to hold a briefing session for DEC staff on 25 November and DEC staff conducted briefings for Special Group staff days prior.

At the 25 November briefing, CEC Heads of the Organizational, Protocol, and Legal Departments, together with the CEC leadership, briefed the DEC's on:

- Use of the Guide
- Election Day procedures
- Completion of the precinct and district protocol forms
- Packaging of materials to be returned to districts from the precincts
- Processing of complaints

IFES staff also sat in on briefings for Saburtelo and Rustavi Precinct Special Groups.

On 30 November, four IFES-accredited observation teams observed the by-elections in Saburtalo, Rustavi, and Samtredia Districts. Most candidates had been nominated by initiative groups, with only the National Movement (Saburtalo and Samtredia) and Citizens Union (Saburtalo) officially endorsing candidates. There were six candidates standing in Saburtalo, four in Rustavi, two in Samtredia and one in Abasha.

The elections were again marred by the failure of election commissions to meet important deadlines, such as those for the posting of voter lists. ISFED conducted a survey of the accuracy of the voter lists in those districts where they could obtain copies. This survey showed that the level of inaccuracies exceeded 20%.

Voter turnout was very low in both Saburtalo and Rustavi. Saburtalo was declared a failed election due to insufficient voter turnout (21.6%). The Saburtalo District Court has since ordered the DEC to revise the voter lists for the district and submit amended protocols consistent with the new lists. Results of this exercise are still pending. In Rustavi, there was a dispute over whether the threshold of 33% turnout required by the law was reached. Parallel turnout tabulation by ISFED showed that the turnout was around 21% at best. The result declared by the DEC claimed a turnout in excess of 34%.

At a CEC session on 9 December, there were complaints that candidates and NGO representatives were not able to get any information from the DEC on the results of the election, or to obtain copies of the 3 December official protocol and decision, until 5 December. This delay meant that complaints could not be submitted because the final date for submission of complaints had expired.

The CEC conducted hearings on that same day, with witnesses providing statements to support NGO complaints. Finally the CEC declared that as the deadlines required by the law had passed the complaints could not be legally considered and consequently dismissed them all. ISFED has since submitted an appeal to Supreme Court of Georgia on the failure of the CEC to meet to consider complaints within the timeframe required by the law.

Other problems observed or reported by independent observers were:

- Poor voter lists in all visited precincts in Saburtalo
- Lack of knowledge of election procedures at precincts
- Presence of police at the entrances of precincts
- Intimidation of observers by police and commission staff at precincts, particularly during the count in Rustavi
- Protocols being amended to increase turnout (Rustavi)

Samtredia and Abasha reported that voter turnout was more than 33% as required and announced official results for their regions.

#### Georgian Coalition for Democracy

The Georgian Coalition for Democracy was formed late in December to address election deficiencies in the lead up to the 2003 parliamentary elections. Member NGOs are ISFED, the Liberty Institute, the Georgian Young Lawyers Association, the Partnership for Social Initiatives, the Democracy Coalition Project, the Former Prisoners for Human Rights, and the Social Research Center. The group issued a statement of their guiding principles at a press conference held on 19 December, and IFES presented the voter registration project to the group the next day.

#### *Impact Statement*

The IFES Civic Education in Schools Program made significant progress in the last two months of 2002. Initial training for all CEPCs was completed and the participant schools were selected. The program aims to stimulate active citizenship on the part of secondary school students in the target regions and to democratize the administration of schools.

The expected outcome is a more active and effective learning environment that produces more responsible and involved citizens. Through its partnerships with CEP/SCOUT and other organizations in the education field, IFES is leveraging its own resources to reach a wider audience and increase the impact of the program.

IFES' elections program in November and December focused on providing technical support to the CEC for the by-elections and moving forward with the development of a pilot voter registration system. By-election efforts included the drafting of a Precinct Election Guide and supplying of copies of the election law to all commission levels, as well as providing technical advice to election administrators and observing election day events.

IFES' technical assistance efforts ensure that election administrators, other election stakeholders, and the public have access to expertise on the law and good procedural practice, ultimately yielding more effective application of the law and better management of the electoral process.

## **KAZAKHSTAN**

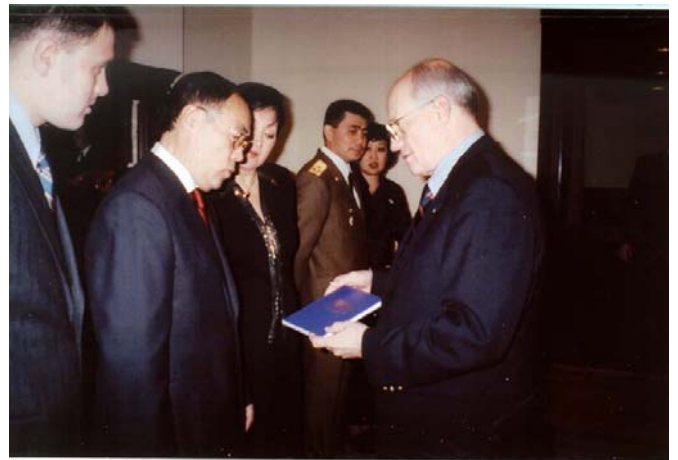
### *IFES Meets Ambassador of Kazakhstan*

During a reception hosted by the Embassy of Kazakhstan on 11 December in honor of Independence Day, visiting IFES/Kazakhstan Program Manager Ed Morgan presented Ambassador Kanat Saudabayev with a hardbound copy of the revised IFES Civic Education textbook. Also attending the event were IFES/Washington Senior Program Officer Anthony Bowyer, Program Assistant Irina Volchansky, and Project Intern Assel Rustemova. Ambassador Saudabayev expressed his appreciation and support for the ongoing IFES civic education program in his country. Morgan and Bowyer also renewed contacts with Kadisha Dairova, education specialist at the embassy, who has served as a go-between for IFES with the Ministry of Education.

### *Teacher Training*

IFES/Kazakhstan also successfully completed a series of teacher training sessions around the country for the student democracy course/textbook project, totaling fourteen training sessions over the 2-month period. Six of these sessions were conducted by IFES/Kazakhstan Senior Program Coordinator Marat Bigaliev, while the remaining eight were handled by IFES regional coordinators.

The trainings ran very smoothly and introduced teachers to the tools and techniques necessary to teach the IFES civic education course, which is based on an interactive methodology. The main tool introduced during these trainings was the IFES Teacher's Training Manual, which is an important teacher's aide as it saves up to 50-60% of the teacher's preparation time for class lessons. At the same time, IFES civic education materials allow teachers to work creatively and to make lesson preparations more varied and interesting. Moreover, thanks to the interactive methods of education, teachers can become more like moderators than disciplinarians or lec-



*IFES Project Manager Ed Morgan presents Ambassador Kanat Saudabayev with a copy of the latest version of the IFES Civic Education Textbook during a reception in Washington, D.C.*



*Teachers assembled in November for a teacher training in Pavlodar, Kazakhstan.*

turers during the lessons, thereby giving students more opportunities to interact with their peers, to research and share experiences, to be more active, to think critically, and to become the main players during the class periods. The style of IFES education materials pays more attention to the students' personal life experiences and is easily adaptable to their level. Among the exercises in the teacher's manual are many examples that encourage students to be creative, to be proactive, to think about the future of the society and the country, and to be both patriotic and progressive.

The trainings further exposed the lack of good civics textbooks in schools (especially in rural and Kazakh-language schools), which again underscored the need for IFES textbooks and manuals. There were only a few schoolteachers participating who previously knew about the IFES course, but by the end of the trainings all of them were willing to introduce the IFES course into their school curriculum. The Kazakh speaking teachers especially liked the teacher's manual, because there had not been such a document previously developed and produced in the Kazakh language. Teachers pointed out that the youth and rural populations are among the groups most lacking information about the election procedures and the voting system in Kazakhstan.

Therefore, the textbook and teacher's manual, which includes election-related information and exercises, have proven to be very important. Teachers also indicated that they plan to use the interactive methods from the IFES materials in other school subjects like geography, law, economics, and ethics. Finally, teachers recommended that IFES develop a curriculum plan for its textbook and propose to the Ministry of Education to include the civics course as an obligatory subject.

#### *Student Action Committees (SACs) and Student Local Government Day (SLGD)*

With the addition of Oleg Bakmutov to the IFES/Kazakhstan staff, efforts to strengthen the Student Action Committee project intensified. As IFES' new SAC coordina-

tor, Bakmutov updated the SAC manual for teachers and held several meetings with teachers and students in Semey, Oskemen, Astana, Almaty, and Shymkent. A new, dedicated e-mail address was created for the IFES SAC program in Kazakhstan in order to promote feedback on an ongoing basis: ifes-sac@mail.ru.

IFES/Kazakhstan Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev contacted several municipalities interested in participating in the Student Local Government Day initiative. To date, municipalities in Oskemen, Ekibastuz, Kostanai, and Zhezkazgan have expressed their readiness to take part in the 2003 SLGD program, which will commence in January. Decisions were anticipated from the remaining two candidates – Taldykorgan and Shymkent – in early January. This will be the third annual series of SLGDs conducted by IFES in Kazakhstan. In year one IFES conducted SLGDs in Pavlodar and Atyrau, and in year two in Oskemen and Aktau.

#### *Latest School Participant Statistics*

After completing teacher training, IFES/Kazakhstan is pleased to report that it has exceeded its earlier estimate of additional schools included in the civics course project for the 2002–2003 school year. While IFES anticipated adding 150 new schools, it actually succeeded in attracting 251 new schools - an increase of 67% over target. The number of schools in Kazakhstan now using the IFES civics course is 577.

#### *Civic Education Course Survey*

The first draft of a proposed questionnaire to measure the effectiveness of the civics course project among students and teachers was prepared at the end of December. The survey is intended to elicit the opinions of the teachers who teach the IFES civics course and the students who have taken the course as part of their studies in the tenth or eleventh form. The survey will assist USAID in performance monitoring of the project and additionally provided critical feedback to the Ministry of Education and Science, who will hopefully support the course's inclusion in the mandatory curriculum for Kazakhstani schools.

#### *Full Series of Reports on IFES/Kazakhstan Work Completed*

IFES/Kazakhstan completed the full set of materials highlighting its five principal education-related areas of activity in Kazakhstan: Civics Course, Student Action Committees, Civics Tournaments, Student Local Government Days, and Democracy Summer Camps.

These reports are available in Russian, Kazakh, and English. It is hoped that they will be helpful in promoting IFES activities among interested parties such as teachers and school administrators in Kazakhstan. It is also expected that these items will be useful to IFES/Washington in "exporting" IFES work in Kazakhstan to other regions in the world.



### *Continued Support from the Ministry of Education and Science*

On 29 November Senior Program Coordinator Marat Bigaliev and Project Manager Ed Morgan met with Nuraly S. Bekturganov, Vice Minister of Education and formerly the Minister of Education who signed the Memorandum of Understanding with IFES in June 2001. Mr. Bekturganov indicated that he is pleased with the program's current progress and assured of his continued support.

### *IFES Resource Centers*

In December, IFES established its sixth resource center. The Association of Local NGOs in Kostanai set aside an area for IFES materials that were sent early this month. Resource Centers now exist in Shymkent, Atyrau, Karaganda, Oske-men, Almaty, and Kostanai.

### *Impact Summary*

By the end of 2002, IFES/Kazakhstan made significant progress in all areas of its programming, including the civics course, teacher training, SAC and SLGD development, and expansion of its resource centers. The events of the last two months showed that IFES/Kazakhstan programming has strong support both at the ministerial level and among its main beneficiaries – teachers and students.

At the same time, these events also highlighted the continuing need for a nationwide IFES civics course and accompanying school activities. Through extended contacts with teachers, students and government officials throughout Kazakhstan; the dissemination of reports regarding IFES' work; an expanded training program; and lobbying at the Ministry of Education, IFES hopes to continue accomplishing the goal of providing education and training for students and educators.

## **KYRGYSTAN**

### *Secondary Civic Education*

As of December 2002, IFES was working with 167 pilot schools teaching the civics education course in grades 10 and 11. So far the program has reached about 6,460 students.

The Russian version of Part II of the civics textbook, which includes specific chapters on democratic development, women in politics, local government in Kyrgyzstan, the nature of state corruption and process and methodology of conflict resolution, has been distributed to more than 70% of the Russian pilot schools.

The distribution of Russian textbooks will be completed in January. The Kyrgyz edition is now at the printers, and the distribution is timed to commence following the Russian textbook. Translation of the textbook into the Uzbek language will also start in January with printing and distribution to follow.

### *Teacher training*

Two teacher training events took place in December: one in Bishkek for pilot schools located in the north, and another training for those in the south. The two teacher trainings were attended by teachers from 31 pilot schools. The trainings highlighted classroom management techniques, evaluation mechanism in civic education, curriculum design, and a review of the IFES produced teacher's guide. At the end of the training each teacher was issued a copy of a CD-ROM and supplementary reading materials (about 270 pages) containing secondary and tertiary level civics education articles. These reading materials aim to assist the pilot teachers with background information and academic articles IFES has prepared from external and IFES resources.

IFES/Bishkek staff also provided teacher training for IFES/Tajikistan. The successful training for 25 pilot schools located around Dushanbe was based on the first part of the Tajik civics education textbook.

### *Civics Education Newsletter*

The IFES Civic Education teachers' newsletter is being published monthly in the three languages. So far, six editions have been produced and distributed. Compared to the previous months, teachers have been becoming more actively involved in the newsletter sending their responses.

### *Teacher support*

Pilot schoolteachers, who traveled to Kiev for study tour in April 2002, initiated a follow-up activity that aims to develop a concept paper on civic education in the Kyrgyz Republic. The content of the concept paper will apply lessons learned in Ukraine and develop groundwork for a national curriculum strategy on civic education. Currently, three concept papers are proposed for the Ministry of Education's review. This initiative was put together in the form of a proposal to Academy for Education Development (AED/USAID) for funding. As of the end of the year, the proposal has been sent to AED-Kazakhstan for approval for funding.

### *School Visits*

As most of the pilot schools are about to complete Part I of the textbook, IFES staff are doing school visits. The purpose of these visits is to get feedback on the textbook from teachers, students, and school administrations. School visit reports, along with teachers' and students' chapter-by-chapter evaluation forms, help IFES staff review the pilot publication of the textbook. A final review, scheduled for late February, will be handed over to the Ministry of Education and Culture for the final manuscript approval. Ten schools (five in the south and five in the north) were visited in November.

### *Student Action Committees*

The Student Action Committee (SAC) program aims to achieve the following objectives:

- SACs build bridges of partnerships with different organizations, such as local governmental bodies, NGOs, public organizations.
- Students realize the importance of socially active positions while participating in socially important decision making.
- By establishing SACs, students learn and put into practice the basics of democracy.
- SACs help students to research their local community and its problems.
- Having gaining practical skills in joint team activities, SAC participants work on community problems.

In November IFES conducted two SAC trainings for senior students from secondary schools at two separate locations in the south of Kyrgyzstan, one in Aksy and the other in Osh.

Newly trained active students are organizing their own SACs in schools in southern Kyrgyzstan. Since the end of the last SAC training on 3 December, four students have contacted IFES specialists requesting a form for proposal writing for the application of funding for school-based activities. All students were given information about possible methods of funding their particular activities through application to AED and Mercy Corps along with contact information.

#### *Constitutional Reform in Kyrgyzstan*

IFES staff prepared a program and coordinated the first meeting of a “pros and cons” public committee. Following consideration of political, procedural, and legal matters pertaining to the committee’s work, the members were in full agreement to pursue the project as suggested by IFES, including media interviews, a public survey, and a possible TV ‘talkback’ show to inform voters. A press release was prepared and approved by the committee followed by a press conference at Kabar News Agency with three of the public committee members supporting IFES.



*Public committee members participate in a press conference on IFES activity in the upcoming referendum on constitutional reform at Kabar New Agency in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.*

Late in December IFES met with the chairman of the CEC, Mr. Imanbayev, to discuss referendum activities. Mr. Imanbayev advised that he had two proposals for changes to the constitution. The first was a plan to change the nature and composition of Precinct Election Committees (PEC) by obliging political parties to staff the PECs rather than relying on the current method of the CEC appointing government officials. Secondly, Mr. Imanbayev prefers to retain the bicameral parliament with some changes, including the indirect election of the members of the upper house. While these proposals are not included in the current constitutional reforms, the chairman indicated his expectation that there could be many changes made to the constitutional reform process before it has concluded.

The main reason for Mr. Imanbayev’s belief that the currently proposed constitutional reforms may change is the recent presidential decree that a new expert group, which includes several people well known to IFES/Bishkek, would be established. The expert group would conduct an “analysis of proposals and remarks to the Constitution of Kyrgyzstan, as well as work out new version of the Constitution of Kyrgyzstan”.

On the assumption that many changes could be made by the expert group, and if there is no delay in the holding of the ballot, the public committee and IFES may have an incredibly short time for public input on the new proposals and for preparation of a ‘pros and cons’ leaflet.

#### *Impact Summary*

IFES has 167 pilot schools teaching the civics education course to students at years 10-11 in all areas of Kyrgyzstan. With the introduction of the second part of the IFES textbook in Russian, IFES was able to add more schools and diversify its base of participating secondary institutions. All teachers continue to confirm a high level of participation and commitment to the program. Particularly encouraging was the sight of students and teachers eagerly participating in building democracy in Kyrgyzstan.

The second part of the textbook is more comprehensive and is gaining a solid reputation particularly with the teachers confirming to IFES that it will provide significant additional domestic, practical, and democratic information and student activities. With the continuing assistance to teachers through the teacher newsletter and supplementary readings, IFES is achieving its objectives in this area.

IFES staff was pleased to receive requests for assistance from SAC program students wishing to expand activities in their schools. These requests reinforce the worthiness of the program and encourage IFES to continue pursuing the expansion of the project.

IFES staff have assisted in setting up a Public Committee to oversee the preparation of ‘pro and cons’ information for the

expected constitutional referendum. IFES has attracted well-known and respected public figures including deputies and university professors to join the committee. By the end of December it was clear there would be some changes to the proposals. IFES kept abreast of the emerging developments in constitutional reform and will continue to focus on making the Public Committee a practical means of providing critical information to the voting population.

## TAJIKISTAN

### *Political Party Development Seminar in Khujand*

On 22 November IFES, in cooperation with the local NGO "Civil Society Center," conducted a Political Party Development (PPD) seminar in Khujand on "Creating Effective Grassroots Political Organizers" with representatives of all available local political party branches. The Ideology Office of the Hukumat, OSCE/Khujand, the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan/Khujand, and the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan/Khujand participated in the event.

The seminar included four sessions with discussions and challenging exercises that covered topics such as "Outline of the Hukumat of the Republic of Tajikistan," "Political Parties," "Participation of Citizens," "Party Platform vs. New Ideas," "Non partisan cooperation between political parties," "Polls, Surveys, Focus Groups," "Political Campaign Speech – Know your Venue," and "Non verbal Communication." At the end of each session participants had an opportunity to discuss in depth the topics covered, openly express their views on the issues raised, and exchange information and lessons learned. The exercises served to stimulate thinking and promote mutual understanding and creative problem-solving. The seminar was part of IFES' ongoing efforts to promote the strengthening and professionalization of regional branches of political parties, in order to strengthen overall capacity and institutional development.

During the brainstorming session, participants discussed the development of two pamphlets: *A Guide for Grassroots Party Organizations* and *What Citizens Should Know*. The *Guide* highlighted a number of ideas and topical areas as priority areas of information that would be most useful to members of regional party branches. Regional political party representatives suggested discussing the need to promote the reputation and image of their party, establishing grassroots offices, establishing various departments (such as Youth, Women, and Communication), studying economic and social issues of the area, expanding and strengthening campaigns, preparing action plans, observing party regulations, conducting party sessions, preparing campaigners, and cooperating with NGOs and local Hukumats.

Other suggestions included involving new members, strengthening technical and financial base of the parties, surveying political awareness in the area, exchanging experience with other parties, promoting and educating leaders, conduct-

ing polls and regular seminars with the aim of teaching laws and decrees, preparing for participation in elections, and stimulating growth of party membership.

While discussing the pamphlet *What Citizens Should Know*, participants felt that it was critical to include information about the Constitution, the state language, national symbols, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments, the history of his/her nation, current laws and decrees, neighboring countries, goals and objectives of various political parties, national self-consciousness, citizens' civic responsibility, human values and mutual respect, national heroes, market demands, communications culture, rights, goals of international organizations, and customs and traditions of their nation. Using the suggestions provided by participants, these two documents were prepared for publication and use in future regional political party development sessions.

Overall, participants found the seminar very informative and important for the development of political parties in Tajikistan. A questionnaire for this event was designed by IFES/Tajikistan PPD Consultant Foster Tucker and given to the participants at the end of the day to analyze the seminar. In their responses, participants indicated that they would like to see additional seminars of this type conducted, especially in the remote rural parts of Tajikistan. In such locations, where radio and television is largely unavailable, new methods of encouraging the electorate to participate in elections are needed. It was also felt that a survey about elections would be warranted so that parties could learn about people's needs and work toward meeting them in their party platforms.

On 29 November IFES also conducted the second seminar on "Creating Effective Grassroots Political Organizers" in Dushanbe. Some 29 representatives from registered political parties in Shahrinav, Hissor, Faizabad, and Kofarnikhon Rayons participated.

### *Political Party Workshop in Qurghontepa*

On 2 December in Qurghontepa, IFES conducted a similar workshop on "Promotion of Primary Political Party Organizers and Assistance in Their Activities" in partnership with the local NGO "Khonai Umed". Activists and cadres from registered political parties in Yovon, Vakhsh and Vose districts participated in the workshop.

The seminar included four sessions that covered topics such as: "Outline of the Hukumat of the Republic of Tajikistan", "Political Parties", "Participation of Citizens", "Party Platform vs. New Ideas", "Nonpartisan Cooperation between Political Parties", "Polls, Surveys, Focus Groups", "Political Campaign Speech – Know your Venue", "Nonverbal Communication", "Brainstorming", and "Role Playing". In addition, IFES invited Jabbor Akhmedov of the Khujand NGO "Civil Society Center" to share information about creating similar NGOs with participants.

As in previous seminars, IFES distributed a set of handouts to each participant. In addition, the NGO “Khonai Umed” distributed brochures titled “What is Democracy”, “Right as a Base of Democracy and the Way of Society Development” and “International Instruments and Democracy”. Participants were very engaged and eager to discuss the topics and hand-out materials. A brainstorming exercise highlighted the workshop and provided a lively forum for the exchange of views and ideas. As in the Khujand workshop, the goal of the event was to strengthen the leadership abilities and professionalism of individuals and increase organizational capacity and viability. At the end of the seminar, all participants were given certificates and evaluation forms. Participants found the workshop very useful and asked IFES to expand a series of similar events in all districts of the region.

#### *School Based Activities Project*

A number of Student Action Committee (SAC) and Student Local Government Day (SLGD) trainings took place. On 19 November a training was conducted in Gafurov. In attendance were twenty-four teachers representing 21 schools, as well as one student and six local government officials from the courts, the militia, the prosecutor’s office, and Hukumat. In Isfara and Kanibadam, trainings took place on 21 and 22 November.

Twenty-three teachers representing twenty schools, as well as five students and three local government officials from the local Hukumat attended the Isfara event. The Kanibadam training enjoyed the attendance of twenty-three teachers representing twenty schools, two participants from one of the 2002 Democracy Summer Camps, two journalists from the local TV station “Gulibodom”, and three local government officials from Hukumat. The TV station Gulibodom broadcasted the training sessions and conducted an interview with IFES/Tajikistan representatives at the end of the day.

IFES continued its SAC and SLGD trainings in Hissor, Kulyab and Shartouz. Twenty teachers, as well as six local government officials, attended the Hissor training. The Kulyab training was attended by nineteen teachers, seven local government officials, and six students, while fourteen teachers, six local government officials, and seven students participated in the Shartouz event.

IFES staff held several meetings with 2002 Democracy Summer Camp participants in the Istaravshan, Chkalovsk, Gafurov, Isfara, Kanibadam and Shartouz districts. IFES was happy to learn that through outreach skills learned at the summer camps, participants set up new SACs in Isfara, Kanibadam, and Shartouz. Madina Raupova, one of the students who organized the “Learning Democracy” training at school #6 in Chkalovsk, informed students and school’s administration of her experience in the summer camp and encouraged them to participate in future IFES camps. Mahmaddullo Nazarov, a civic education teacher from school-lyceum #1 in Shartouz, informed IFES that SACs were organized in school

# 6 and school-lyceum #1 in the city as a follow-on to the IFES trainings.

#### *Civic Education Textbook*

IFES continued revising its draft civics textbook for ninth graders and gathering the approval of local education authorities and school directors to conduct a pilot project in their schools. With support of Head of the Dushanbe Schools Department, Mrs. Gulbekova, Deputy Head of the Soghd Department of Education, Mr. Akhmad Zoda, and other education officials, IFES prepared a list of pilot schools, which was subsequently approved by the Ministry of Education. IFES staff Sayora Grezova and Kenesh Sainozarov conducted teacher training for teachers in seventeen pilot schools, and 600 copies of the textbook were printed for use in those schools. The course officially began its piloting phase at the beginning of the second semester. Deputy Minister of Education Mullachaev requested an additional 147,000 copies of the textbook for eventual use in an expanded number of schools.

#### *USAID Partners Conference in Washington*

Anthony Bowyer attended the USAID Democracy and Governance Partners Conference on 5-6 December and delivered a presentation on promoting political party development in Tajikistan. Igor Tupitsyn of USAID/CAR attended Bowyer’s presentation, which was part of the discussion of promoting democracy in the Islamic world. Bowyer and IFES colleague Jill Quinn later met Igor Tupitsyn to discuss programmatic issues for IFES’ ongoing projects in Central Asia.

#### *Impact Summary*

As IFES closed out calendar year 2002, it had made great strides in achieving its objective of working with regional party branches and promoting the strengthening of all political parties at the grassroots level. This was achieved through a series of seminars and individual trainings with local representatives of political parties on organizational structure, capacity, outreach and leadership issues. Throughout all workshops, participants showed concern about the well-being of their country and eagerness to learn effective and new methods of attracting interest in multi-party politics.

The civic education textbook/course initiative met a similarly enthusiastic response from students and teachers, who were eager to use new materials to learn about democracy, rights, and what role they as citizens can play in establishing a democratic culture in Tajikistan.

By the end of 2002, IFES had completed the first part of the textbook and was close to completing the second part, which will be piloted in the spring. Teacher training took place to prepare the teachers of the seventeen pilot schools, which were approved by the Ministry of Education. The Student Action Committee project got off to a good start in the new school year, with the Student Local Government Day program set to commence in January.





# IFES

EXTENDING THE REACH OF DEMOCRACY

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*IFES provides technical assistance in the promotion of democracy worldwide and serves as a clearinghouse for information about democratic development and elections. Since its inception in 1987, the Foundation has worked in more than 100 countries. IFES activities are made possible, in part, by the U.S. Agency for International Development.*

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