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**International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)**

**Final Project Report**

**REPUBLIC OF TAJIKISTAN**

**October 1, 1997 – September 30, 2002**

**USAID Cooperative Agreement EE-A-00-97-00034-00**

**Secondary Civic Education and Gender  
Report (2000) (in English)**



**International Foundation for Election Systems**

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1101 15th STREET, N.W. • THIRD FLOOR • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 828-8507 • FAX (202) 452-0804

## **Secondary Civic Education & Gender Consultancy**

### **IFES Tajikistan**

**August 18-September 8 2000**

**L.M.Handrahan  
L.M.Handrahan@lse.ac.uk**

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## Zerkala Material

### Introduction

Modern day Tajikistan cannot be understood without an examination of the past for, more than any other Central Asian state, Tajikistan failed to amalgamate harmoniously into the Soviet create nation-state. The vicious and brutal civil war that ravaged Tajikistan from 1991-1997 mirrored factions, alliances, and tensions that were created at the beginning of the twentieth century as the Bolsheviks and then the Soviets claimed Central Asia. Modern day problems with Afghanistan's supply of arms and military training camps for Tajik fighters is a tradition that has occurred at least since King Amanullah's time when Enver Pasha, Turkey's former military commander, received such assistance for his *basmachis*, Muslim freedom fighters or bandits, during 1921-22. The *basmachi* movement, at that time, received popular support due to a brutal Soviet Tashkent sacking of Khokhand in 1918, which followed on the heels of a famine, claiming at least 100,000 lives between 1916-1918, precipitated by the Bolsheviks requisitioned food and cotton and Russian army conscription policies during World War One.

In addition to the post-Soviet identity, economic, and socio-political crisis that individuals of other Central Asian states face, Tajik citizens must also bear the burden of serious physiological trauma resulting from the recent savage war where mass rape, torture, massacre, summary executions, ethnic cleansing, and terror where the norm. For the youth of Tajikistan, this is the context of their life. Those eighteen and under will have little memory of peace. With the wounds of war are still fresh, the peace agreement still shaky, and the loss of intellectual and spiritual leadership—as those who were able fled the country did—the youth of Tajikistan are entering adulthood on very difficult terms.

### Tajikistan Country Background

All development projects in Tajikistan must begin with a challenging baseline that includes three fundamental factors.

First, of all the Soviet republics, Tajikistan was the poorest. The war has cost Tajikistan an estimated \$7 billion dollars of damage (Helton OSI, 1998: vi), as infrastructure was either destroyed or neglected. The human development index (HDI) at 0.629 in 1991 dropped to 0.540 by 1998. This HDI rating places Tajikistan at a low 108<sup>th</sup> with only sixty-six countries in the world in worse condition. There is no sector of Tajik society that escaped destruction.

Second, although the peace agreement was signed 27 June 1997, as of August 2000 events such as hostage taking at the supreme court in Dushanbe when a notorious murder was found guilty, rebel Muslim fighters launching war in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan from Tajik territory, and the OSCE recall of their field staff to Dushanbe all indicate how fragile the "peace" is in Tajikistan. Criminal networks and armed rebels still hold considerable power and are a factor and potential barrier to stability.

Third, the physiological affect of the war and the ongoing stress and tension in society cannot be under estimated. As one foreign consultant said, "People here get up each morning, conduct their daily life, and walk around as if they were normal but everyone here has been gravely traumatized by what they experienced during the war."

## **IFES Tajikistan Office**

IFES began activities in Tajikistan with the 1994 presidential elections, followed by a 1996 nation-wide public opinion survey of attitudes toward democracy, the free market, institution-building, and the national reconciliation process. IFES then opened an office in Dushanbe during January 1998 and has continued democracy programming, primarily political party development and election systems assistance, since that time. IFES' USAID funded projects include, technical assistance, administrative and professional training for election officials and judges, election observer training, political party development, voter education, and civic education. Gender issues are systematically integrated into all of IFES's programmatic themes.

## **Civic Education in Tajikistan**

### **State of Education Sector**

All programming in the education sector must take into account two critical factors that are not a consideration for other Central Asian Republics (CARs). First, the civil war caused an estimated \$100 million of physical damage to schools alone. Second, government expenditure on education since the war has steadily decreased with Tajikistan spending less on education than any other CAR. This combination is resulting in deteriorating school infrastructure and a collapsing system of education.

For example, many schools remain unheated during the winter. Class size is large. There is a severe shortage of teaching material. An estimated 4,000 qualified personnel left Tajikistan during the civil war and many others, since then, have left the schools in search of better paying jobs within Tajikistan. Students, disproportionately female, are also leaving school. The proportion of students aged 15-18 attending school decreased from over 50 percent in 1990 to 36 percent in 1998 (see the Falkingham, 2000-ADB Report). In addition, to this depressed baseline civic education is a sensitive subject for any country, such as the other CARs, having under gone recent drastic changes in identity and ideology. In Tajikistan, the sensitivity of educating about history, the transition, and identity is heightened due to the brutality with which the Tajik transition occurred.

### **Civic Education and IFES Programs**

In order to prepare future democratic leaders, IFES recognizes the need to provide technical assistance to young adults, the final year of secondary school or 11<sup>th</sup> grade, in order that the upcoming generation of Tajikistan are provided an introduction to positive citizenship, the rights and responsibilities, and their role in Tajikistan's future society. To these ends, IFES began to prepare a new civic education for secondary schools project, based on the IFES/Kazakhstan-style curriculum development project, in April 2000. By May 2000, the Tajik NGO Sharq had been selected to conduct a series of focus groups with secondary students and their teachers, with the aim of informing the development of the civic education project. Sharq's report "Civic Disciplines at School, Necessity of Textbooks and Teaching Aid on Courses of Civic Disciplines" [hereinafter the Sharq Report], was completed by June 2000. The IFES August civic education consultant, and this report, are meant to assess the current state of secondary civic education by other international donors, target areas for multi-donor cooperation and identify areas of potential overlap or donor conflict to be avoided, outline the logistical and administrative next steps for an IFES civic education pilot project, understand Tajik governmental procedures for approving such a pilot project, and identify potential IFES pilot schools.

## **International Donors**

A number of donors (including the Asian Development Bank, The World Bank, Aga Khan, Save the Children UK and US, Soros, Swiss Development Coordination, United Methodists Community Rehabilitation, UNDP, UNESCO, and UNICEF) are supporting the education sector in Tajikistan. Support breaks down into three general categories; (1) civic/political, (2) educational reform, and (3)-institutional/material support. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) will be opening a reported \$22 million Poverty Reduction Project in Tajikistan, as of September 2000, which includes the two programmatic themes of health care and education. This makes ADB the largest donor in the education sector, followed by the World Bank which has a \$5 million dollar educational support project, with a potential \$25 million Social Sector Reform Programme (with education component) planned for the future.

The Soros Foundation is attempting to create a Strategic Research Unit (SRU) that would function as a vetting committee within the MOE, with a mirror NGO outside of the MOE, in order to support the Tajik government in creating a strategic and comprehensive educational reform program (see attached Soros proposal). To date, no MOU has been signed for this project. There remained a great deal of confusion, both within the Government and with other international donors, whether the Soros SRU would become a reality by October 2000, as Soros hopes, or not.

The international donors have established, 30 June 2000, a Coordination Committee on Education in Tajikistan chair by UNICEF (see attachments for minutes of the meeting). Programmatic details of each agency are listed in the appendix of the meeting's minutes. The most pressing problems facing the education sector in Tajikistan were identified by this committee as: non-attendance, especially among girls, and drop-out, introducing more active learning approaches in schools, and lack of basic tools (such as textbooks) and other basic material support. This first donor coordination meeting resulted in three main areas identified as areas of joint cooperation; (1) better parenting and pre-school education, (2) improving secondary school environment, and school/class management and life skills, and (3) education sector data processing and analysis. These three principal areas for coordinated support form sub-working groups of the committee for all donors interested in cooperative projects.

## **Tajik Government**

Within the Government of Tajikistan there appears to be confusion and rumored power struggles over issues of educational reform and assistance. This is likely to increase with the anticipated influx of ADB and World Bank multi-million dollar projects. While IFES has a significant contribution to make, it should be recognized that donors larger than IFES, (i.e. ADB and WB) will be requiring and receiving a large percentage of the MOE's time and attention.

Thus far, it appears that each international donor is making their own individual arrangements with, or in some cases without, the MOE. Save the Children/UK, for example, has signed MOUs with the regional MOE offices and has not signed any overall MOU with the National MOE.



Eurasia Foundation requires its pilot schools to obtain the MOU from the MOE directly before Eurasia releases funds and begins programming with their pilot schools. The World Bank's Project Implementation Unit (PLU) is located within the MOE, with its director a former MOE employee.

Moreover, although Soros claims there is no SRU now and thus a demonstrated need for a governmental coordination working group, according to Dr. Tatyana Bozrikova, The Adviser to the President of Tajikistan on the Relations with Public Associations (NGOs) and Interethnic Relations, there already exists a Governmental plan for a state curriculum on Human and Civic Rights. Dr. Bozrikova also reported that a State Working Group has been formed and has nearly completed this curriculum, although no other donor, NGO, nor government worker had provided this information.

The MOE told IFES that all civic education projects must now be approved by the Civil Subjects Laboratory of Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy [hereinafter the Pedagogy]. According to the Pedagogy, approval means adhering to all Pedagogy demands and working only through and with the Pedagogy "lab" and staff, with the Pedagogy controlling all aspects of the project. However, no other international donors have been known to be sent to the Pedagogy.

## **Gender Considerations**

*"Rural women are regularly denied even basic primary education for reasons such as lack of books and clothes and shoes to wear. Most schools are in dire need of rehabilitation and competent professional educators. Most talented educators have left the schools due to lack of salary or minimal salary. Education of girls is no longer a state obligation and people are returning to the belief that "girls do not need to be educated." Particularly girls who have reached the age of puberty are kept at home by their male guardians and not allowed to go to school. Their mothers would like to send them to school but they usually cannot cross or disagree with their husbands and in-laws. This will produce alarmingly high rates of illiteracy among the adult female population of Tajikistan in 5 and 15 years. Rural women must have access to basic education at a low cost; they must not be discouraged from attending schools. The importance of women's education needs to be re-instated by agencies of public authority such as Mullahs, the Hukumat and the central governmental body." (SDC Report)*

As in all other sectors, women and gender relations between men and women, have suffered not only due to the "transition" from the former Soviet Union but also due to the brutality of the war and the special risks and vulnerabilities that both transition and war place on women. Moreover, there is, in some areas of Tajikistan, an increased "Islamic" identity which is discouraging education for girls. To these ends, IFES civic education curriculum must carefully consider gender/women in each civic education topic within the curriculum and make a particular effort to include and encourage gender equality, special needs of girls and women, and female education.

Any Senior Advisory Board and Curriculum Development Group should include at least two gender specialist who can ensure that gender/women's concerns are included within the curriculum. This would be particularly beneficial if supported by women's rights in the Koran, thus negating false assumptions by many that the Koran and Islam are necessarily detrimental for women. Including an academic specialist on women's rights in the Koran might be an excellent addition to the curriculum. Dr. V. Moghadam, at XXXX, perhaps the leading specialist on women and Islam in Central Asia, would be an excellent addition.

To these ends, all gender/women considerations within the curricula should be in compliance with international standards of women's rights, i.e. CEDAW, UDHR, and the UN Charter. Cultural should be considered to the extent it is in support of internationally recognized standards of human rights, outlined within these documents. Encouraging "cultural" in terms of presenting institutions detrimental to women, such as polygamy, as "acceptable" forms of family structure is neither beneficial, in compliance with international standards, nor correct (in terms of the practice of polygamy is detrimental to women and children as many women are abandoned and/or maltreated when husband acquire a "new" wife"). However, at the same time, it should be recognized that a woman can have a positive Muslim identity and still maintain human rights afforded to her and recognized by the international community. Civic curriculum should seek to address these complex and sensitive issues and provide a positive model for young men and women of Tajikistan, regarding a positive, progressive identity, Islam, and civic identity in the Tajik secular state.

## **Recommended Plan of Action for Civic Education**

### **Objectives**

Given the crisis of identity occurring in all of the post Soviet republics, heightening in those republicans with a majority of Muslim citizens, and with special consideration in Tajikistan due to the brutal civil war, the IFES civic education curriculum's overriding objective should be to create a civics course that promotes a positive, progressive, and peaceful identity for the young adults of Tajikistan. The link between civil society, human rights, democracy and peace and economic prosperity should be made clearly.

Special consideration, not needed for the other Central Asian countries, should be given to war and peace and the particularly history of Tajikistan. This topic needs to be dealt with political and cultural sensitivity. An American style approach of "discussing all openly" is not useful in Tajikistan where family matters are extremely private and people may be in both trauma and denial. International experts on physiology and the trauma of war would be beneficial in guiding this section of the curriculum. Wounds are fresh in Tajikistan and there is virtually no family that escaped trauma. Therefore, issues that in civics curricula that might promote healthy debate in other countries, have the potential to re-traumatize and/or create unnecessary or unhealthy conflict in Tajikistan. As forces that only recently killed each other are now in government together, civic education in Tajikistan must proceed with extreme sensitivity. Moreover, neither can the issue of the war be ignored. A healthy civics curricula will address the war in a manner

that aids students in overcoming fear, confusion, and trauma, particularly as these issues are linked with their own sense of ethnic, religious, cultural, community, and national identity. To these ends, linking with *Facing History and Ourselves* and Medicines Sans Frontier might be beneficial.

The curricula should begin with the most fundamental question all teenagers ask of themselves, "Who am I?" Following this, "Who is my family?" "Who is in my community?" "Who is a citizen of Tajikistan?" "Who is a member of the world?" This framework should emphasize, at every junction, the rights and corresponding responsibilities attached to individual, family, community, national, and international identities and belongings. International human rights declarations and norms should guide the moral and ethnical tone of the curriculum, while specific Tajik history, identity, positive community structures, and national laws and government should be included. The end result should be students finishing the civics course have a more positive and confident sense of themselves as Tajik citizens, the future of their country, and their rights, responsibilities, and role in developing Tajikistan in the twenty-first century.

### **Senior Advisory Board**

A Senior Advisory Group should be set up that would include international donors, key governmental leaders, and international academic experts. The Senior Advisory Committee would meet once a month and help guide the project from a strategic point of view. In addition, these Advisory Board would provide support and "protection" to the project. The time commitment would not be large, in addition to monthly meeting of one hour, the Advisory Committee Members would be expected to provide one guest lecture to a pilot school on a civics topic of their choice. Other than that, Advisory Board members would be expected to make telephone calls and lobby on behalf of the project when needed.

The Advisory Board members would gain prestige from the association with the project and IFES would gain from their name and support. Their names would go on the letterhead of the project, the resulting textbooks, and acknowledge in all printed material. Invitations to join should be sent from the President of IFES/Washington to each personally. Members might include:

- Munira Inoyantova, Special Representative to the President and former Minister of Education (as potential president of IFES' Senior Advisory board)
- Falko, Tatiana, Country Representative, The Eurasia Foundation
- Izabela Michalak-Malekzade, OSCE Dusti Field Officer
- Zafar Teshayev, Acting Director ECHO European Community Humanitarian Office (Muskie Fellow)
- Dr. Ziyoev, Head of Civil Subjects Laboratory of Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy
- Mamajanova, Matluba, Country Director, American Councils for International Education
- Abdul Bashir Rashidov, Deputy Minister of Education
- Anvar Munbvarov, Second Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Muskie Fellow)
- Dr. V. Moghadam, XXX University, USA

- Tony Bowyer, IFES Program Officer, Central Asia
- USAID Representative in Dushanbe
- Ph.D. student or academic expert, affiliated with a Western education institute, on Tajikistan

All of these people, with the exception of USAID representative and Dr. Moghadam, have been interviewed during the August consultancy and have indicated a high level of interest and/or already requested to be included in future IFES activities on the civic education project.

### **Curriculum Development Committee (CDC)**

A separate Curriculum Development Committee should be selected to create the pilot curriculum. This group should be approved by IFES, with suggestions from the Senior Advisory Committee, but with IFES maintaining final approval. These people will be expected to meet weekly and contribute significant amount of time to the project. They will need to be paid. Committee assignments should be made by the IFES project manager, specifically outlining all duties, time commitments, and signing contracts with each member of this CDC. A chair should be selected by IFES. Each member will be expected to write at least one chapter for the curriculum.

Within the CDC, including the IFES project manager, an editing committee should be created. A senior and single editor should be either selected from the committee, hired international, or depending on who the IFES project manager is, be the IFES project manager. The editor of the final curricula should be provided explicated control of the entire process and final content of the curricula and should be fluent in Russian and English.

Tasks of the CDC should include: examining the Kazak model, examining sample curricula from other international and national institutions, drafting a chapter by chapter outline for the Tajik curriculum, creating and announcing a Call for Contributions that is national, regional, and international.

The Call for Contributions of chapters should be precise. Each contributor should be provided a reading list, a sample chapter, strict guidelines, included precise word count, style sheet, etc. must be included. It should be clear that only chapters that are accepted, after review by the CDC, will be included. If a chapter is selected by the CDC only then will payment and acknowledgement be provided.

A graduate student in Washington DC and one in Dushanbe should be hired to conduct a literature review for the CDC, collecting other examples of secondary civic education curriculum and post-conflict curriculum to use as a base for the CDC and contributing authors. The IFES project manager should ensure that all resulting chapters and the final curricula are in compliance with international standards and models.

An electronic listserv should be set up for all contributors, CDC, the editing committee of the CDC, and senior advisory committee, to enable IFES to communicate effectively through out the process.

CDC members might include:

- Nuriddin S. Karshiboev, Chair National Association of Independent Mass Media in Tajikistan
- Alisher Rahmonberdiev, Information and Education Center *Manija*, NGO (Trainer)
- Kahramon Bakaev, Zerkalo: The Center of Sociological Research
- Dr. Mamadazimov Abdugani, Chair of National Association of Political Scientists of Tajikistan
- Gulijahon Bobsdikova, Chair, Association of University Women of Republic of Tajikistan
- Ella Ryazanova, President Association of Salzburg Seminars Alumni
- Dr. Muchiba M. Yakubova, President Association of Women Scientist of Tajikistan and Director of the Center for the Rehabilitation of Women
- G. Murzoeva, Director, Modar
- Latif Hadyaev, Director, Mehr Association
- Dr. Ziyoev, Head of Civil Subjects Laboratory of Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy

All of these people have been interviewed during the August consultancy and have indicated a high level of interest and/or already requested to be included in future IFES activities on the civic education project.

### **International Donor Partnership**

The international donors in Tajikistan most receptive to a partnership with IFES include: Save the Children/UK, OSCE, and The Aga Khan Foundation. Partnerships with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank would also be beneficial. Specific partnerships include sharing pilot schools, as mentioned below, and with the OSCE's field office in Dusti. Additionally, Save and OSCE in particular, are interested in IFES pilot students also being involved with their extra curricula activities. See attachments for OSCE/Dusti's Forum for Young Democrats project and Save's Children, Citizenship, and Governance Project.

### **Pilot Schools**

It is recommended that IFES consider using World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Aga Khan, and Save the Children/UK pilot schools as IFES pilot schools. Save, Aga Khan, and the World Bank have all indicated that they are receptive to this type of partnership. Next steps include further discussions and a precise selection of schools by the IFES project manager and Dr. Rafique Keshavjee of Aga Khan, Mr. Emir of Save/UK, Michael Mills of The World Bank, Yanni Boucher of The Asian Development Bank. The OSCE pilot school would be in Dusti. Two pilot schools from each international donor (except for the OSCE) for a total of nine IFES pilot schools, would be an adequate number of IFES pilot schools, with two in Dushanbe and the rest outside of Dushanbe.

It is recommended that each pilot school have a corresponding secondary partner school in the US in order to provide a global linkage. Secondary schools might included: a school with Dr. John Woodall's Unity Project at Judge Baker Center for Children at Harvard University (617-265-2850), Facing History and Ourselves teacher Steve Woodsum (207--685-9094) in Brunswick Maine (and/or another FHO school selected by FHO US headquarters), two schools in California selected by the Department of Education of California, two schools school in Boulder, Colorado (since it is the sister city to Dushanbe) selected by the Department of Education of Colorado, two schools from Concord Massachusetts, selected by the Department of Education of Massachusetts. IFES/Washington could make these inquires and selections in order to facilitate communication for IFES/Dushanbe.

### **Plan of Action with Minister of Education**

It is anticipated that relations with the MOE may not be easy or efficient. Under no circumstances should IFES agree to the current state of affairs which is that all decisions, personnel, and curriculum will be controlled by Dr. Ziyoev, Head of Civil Subjects Laboratory of Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy. The Deputy Minister of Education has told IFES that the new procedures at the MOE indicate that all donors wishing to implement civic education project must work with and gain approval from the Pedagogy. Including Dr. Ziyoev on the CDC is the recommended extend that IFES honor this and maintain polite relations with both the Pedagogy and the MOE.

Several courses of action may solve the difficulty of obtaining an MOU from the MOE. First, asking Munira Inoyantova, Special Representative to the President, to call the Deputy Minister personally and lobbying on IFES's behalf for an MOU. Second, IFES might require the pilot schools to obtain MOU from their regional MOE. Third, if collaboration is arranged with a larger donor, such as the World Bank, IFES's MOU might come under their MOU.

It has been said that the new Minister of Education is not as interested in educational as Munira Inoyantova was when she was Minister of Education. Moreover, Inoyantova has specifically requested that IFES keep her closely involved as she has a very personal interest in educational reform and is supportive of IFES' project. However, dealing with the MOE is anticipated to be a sensitive and time-consuming affair. Moreover, the fact that the EBRD has rated Tajikistan as the most corrupt country in the NIS (Falkingham ADB Report, 2000) must be taken into account in all aspects of development work.

### **IFES Project Management**

There are several options for hiring a civic education project manager. First, there is former Muskie Fellow, Zafar Teshayev who is Acting Director of ECHO European Community Humanitarian Office. Zafar is the only Tajik Muskie Fellow to have done his graduate degree in education. Although he degree is not yet complete, (he had to leave early due to family concerns) he is in the process of finishing the degree via correspondence. Zafar was a second school teacher before he went to the US and he finished teacher training school in Tajikistan. His English, Tajik, and Russian are fluent.

IFES might consider attempting to hire Zafar away from ECHO by hiring him on the same level as IFES would hire an international person for the position. Zafar, perhaps more than anyone else, understands the situation of secondary education in Tajikistan, the MOE, the politics, the personalities, and international standards. He would make an innovative choice that would not only ensure that greater success for the IFES project but would also serve to build on funds that the US government has already spent on educational reform in Tajikistan, via the Muskie Program.

IFES might also consider Simon Jenkins, from New Zealand, former project director of the UNHCR/Counterpart Tolerance Education project in Kyrgyzstan. Simon, also a former teacher, spent four years in Kyrgyzstan designing and implementing an excellent primary and secondary curriculum. Although it is unlikely Jenkins would be able to assume the role of permanent project manager, he would make an excellent choice as a temporary project manager and/or consultant. Jenkins does not speak Russian or Tajik.

## **Timeline**

It is highly unlikely that an adequate pilot curriculum, training of the teachers, and MOE approval can be ready by January 2001. A more likely timeline might be expect the pilot curriculum to be complete by February-March 2001, teacher training by May-July 2001, pilot implementation by September 2001, project evaluation December 2001-February 2002, textbook publication complete by June 2002, full teacher training by August 2002, final implementation of complete curriculum at all schools in Tajikistan September 2002. Of course, this is difficult to gauge due to the uncertain security situation in Tajikistan. The timeline could be shorter or longer depending on stability of Tajikistan, the politics at the MOE, and the depth of curriculum development required.

## **Programmatic Considerations**

Programmatic recommendations include the following activities that might serve to strengthen the civic education curriculum:

- Local newspapers sponsor a guest column for students and teacher to write about civic issues that they are discussing in class. Ask the National Association of Independent Mass Media in Tajikistan (NAIMM) to help sponsor such an initiative. Each month one pilot school would be responsible for a column. Topics and a time frame would be outlined by NAIMM in advance.
- The Curriculum Development Committee might work with Save the Children/UK's television program to create a television series following the progress of the IFES Civic Education Program. A series of television shows could look at the work of the Curriculum Development Committee, the creation of textbooks, the training of teachers, the pilot schools and their students, etc.

- The Kazak curricula has a student Olympia at the end of each year for the best students from each school. A prize might be awarded, in order to provide both incentive and actual implementation of knowledge, by way of the best student from each school receiving a week long “guest” internship in IFES Tajik office.
- A final competition between the best students from each schools might be held with the winner and his/her teacher being awarded a trip to IFES/Washington for a two-three week long internship. This would provide incentive to use and study the curriculum.
- The students and teachers involved in the civics curriculum might be included in actual IFES election monitoring teams.
- The CDC might work with ACTR to get Muskies and FSA/Flex students involved in extra curricula activities in the pilot schools.
- A long term study might be set up to track the progress of the students who take the civic class in order to determine long-term results.
- The textbook needs to include more pictures, text boxes, and games. *The Challenge of Democracy* is a good model (1992 Janda, Berry and Goldman) to base the design of the IFES curriculum on.
- An expert in Tajik, Uzbek and Russian classic literature might be consulted for quotes and examples of morals and ethics matching international human rights standards. This would provide a multi-ethnic historical context.
- Textbooks need to be developed in accordance with Tajik, Uzbek, and Russian culture and language.
- Overall, Marat from IFES/Kazakstan provided important technical information about the process of administrating the project. It may be worth inviting him to Tajikistan (or Moukim IFES/Tajikistan to Almaty) for two days to work with Moukim on technical/administrative issues.
- Consider bringing the best students and their teachers from Almaty to Tajikistan for TOT work.
- The text needs to focus on connections between peace and civil society and economic prosperity.
- The text needs to focus on identity crisis and identity issues in general.
- The text needs to focus on achievement and future benefits of human development.



## **Recommendations for Future Action**

### ***Tajik Government***

- IFES needs to obtain the MOE's Education Standard from the Deputy MOE and all other relevant decrees that either the MOE or the President have made about education in Tajikistan.
- IFES needs to follow-up with Munira Inoyantova and determine if there are specific NGOs that she might recommend avoiding. Alternatively, put another way, IFES should ask her in a follow-up telephone call what NGOs she would recommend working with.
- IFES needs to obtain Munira Inoyantova's recommended list of academics for curriculum development in a follow-up telephone call.
- IFES should contact the State of California and Colorado and acquire some of their high school civics models. Perhaps, their might even be limited funding from the State, or a private donor, if more formalized links were made between Tajikistan and California/Colorado's civic education process.
- IFES needs to inquire with the Deputy Minister, or a follow-up with Munira Inoyantova about the group of social scientist currently writing the new and definitive Tajik History Textbooks to be used countrywide. This should be examined as a model of the process that the government may be favoring for curriculum development and textbook distribution.
- IFES needs to find a way of including the Pedagogy in order to fulfill governmental requirements while at the same time, working around the Pedagogy's restricting and unacceptable requirements
- IFES needs to follow up with the so-called State Working Group that has already nearly completed a civics textbook. Sharipova Gulia (21-40-29) and Rajabi Mahmud in the President's office (24-76-44).
- IFES needs to meet with Casimova Soniva at the MOE, highly recommended by Zafar of ECHO.

### ***International Donors***

- Aga Khan is doing interesting work. Dr. Rafique Keshavjee was highly encouraging about sharing pilot schools and/or some other type of collaboration. They were open to working together should either party determine this is beneficial and they were open with their information. IFES may wish to visit their pilot schools and talk with the

teachers that have been involved in the process to get their ideas. Perhaps some of the better teachers might be considered as curriculum developers for IFES as well.

- IFES needs to consider if teaming up with Soros would or would not be beneficial for IFES. Zhuro said IFES could, hypothetical, be in charge of 11<sup>th</sup> grade civics curricula completely. As OSI is mainly interested in curriculum development work as a mechanism, i.e. sponsoring curriculum development and methodology skill building workshops. OSI is not planning a secondary curriculum but rather providing the mechanism for strategy and development to ensure that the MOE has the capacity to foster national curricula development. To these ends, IFES/Washington should examine Soros's proposal (see attached) and proceed with caution. A partnership may be beneficial but it is also as likely to be difficult. Caution is needed as all interviewed had expressed concerns about rumor linking the local Soros office with unprofessional and/or difficult behavior. These may be unfounded rumors of the kind that were spread about Soros/Kyrgyzstan.
- IFES should maintain contact with UNICEF and attending the next Donor Taskforce, slated for September 22, 2000.
- IFES should consider using Eurasia's journalist component for some models or units within the IFES curriculum and if IFES moves towards university level, working with Eurasia might be useful. IFES may also consider working with Eurasia's Women's School of Civil Society Leadership, to recruit curriculum writers and/or advisory board members.
- IFES should maintain contact with UNDP and UNHCHR mission regarding their anticipated human rights programming. This information can be used for material for the curriculum.
- IFES should meet with the World Bank/London and Washington in order to determine if using the WB's pilot schools as our pilot schools makes sense.
- IFES should participate in the World Bank's upcoming conference in October on educational reform in Tajikistan. IFES might consider presenting the results of the Sharq public opinion surveys at this conference.
- IFES should consider how to use return Muskie and FSA/FLEX students in their curriculum development project. ACTR already has a partnership with the WB's pilot schools to provide extra curricula activities relating to civic education.

## **Conclusions**

From the meetings held during the August 2000 consultancy and the meetings held by IFES staff prior to August, it appears that no other donor is attempting to support an 11<sup>th</sup> grade civic education curriculum. Therefore, IFES does have a niche in this respect. While, IFES may have a special contribution to make towards educational reform in Tajikistan; however, IFES is not the lead donor on education. With the ADB, the World Bank, Aga Khan, and Soros spending multi-millions of dollars in educational assistance in Tajikistan, IFES might consider strategic partnerships with one or more of the larger, and traditional education donors. Strategic partnerships might benefit IFES in two regards. First, linking IFES's programs with a larger donor may enable IFES to gain greater credibility/audience with the MOE and/or allow IFES to by-pass obtaining a MOU directly from the MOE, as this may be subsumed under a larger donor's MOU. Second, IFES's knowledge and skill base has been in election sector. While, civic education is a natural branch of IFES's experience, linking with a donor who has a history of educational reform and development may allow IFES's own educational project to be enhanced. All of the international donors appeared to welcome IFES's particular knowledge and skill base as a donor into the educational sector and many donors seemed eager to cooperate with IFES by forming partnerships of some kind.

Dealing with the government of Tajikistan does not appear to be a straight forward process. With the government, itself, in a state of growth, and considering the "power sharing" arrangements necessary to maintain the peace accord, the Tajik government, naturally has many considerations. Moreover, with a recent and massive influx of foreign assistance the Tajik government is, naturally, in the beginning phases of coordination. IFES programmatic logistics need to take this into account and approach governmental relations with a great deal of patience and tolerance. To this end, a generous time frame for gaining governmental approval is necessary. Finally, given the depressed physical, psychological, and professional infrastructure affecting the education sector and the sensitive nature of teaching about Tajikistan most recent history and future identity, civic education curriculum development in Tajikistan may progress at a slower pace than in other CARs.

## **Gender in Tajikistan**

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Women have been disproportionately affected by the transitions in all of the post-Soviet republics; however, in Tajikistan, the war has exacerbated this situation. Lack of physical and sexual security during the war, and currently, economic impoverishment, declining political participation, and drastically increasing discrimination in access to education and health care services are among the new realities women and girl children face in Tajikistan. There is no lack of substantial gender analysis in Tajikistan. The Asian Development Bank, The WID Bureau, the World Health Survey, and the SDC's report, among others, all provided excellent information on the desperate situation of women in Tajikistan (see attached documents). It is these documents and the interviews conducted during the consultants time that form a base line for suggestions on how IFES programming might contribute to amelioration of the increasingly drastic gender gap in all areas of life in Tajikistan.

### **Gender and IFES Programs**

While there has been no lack of international and national analysis of the situation regarding gender gaps and differences in Tajikistan, with women and the girl child, disproportional affected in all sectors, the question remain how can IFES contribute to improving the status of women in Tajikistan? To this end, IFES has already supported a women's political leadership school, thereby addressing the need to correct the dramatic change in the gender balance within politics, with women rapidly disappearing from the national and local political life. During the last Parliamentary (Majlisi Oli) election campaign, only 17 out of 365 registered candidates were women (5 percent). A total of 181 deputies were elected, of whom only five were women (3 percent) (Table 3.1). Under IFES' traditional programming, legal and procedural reform, voter/civic education, and political party development, there are a number of activities that would address the need to provide special attention to women.

### **Legal and Procedural Reform**

*"People in the rural areas often make reference to the Shari'ah without really knowing what it stipulates. Women for example do not know that the Shari'ah entitles them to choose divorce, inherit property, demand custody of children and alimony and refuse a second wife. Some of the men know that the women are entitled to these rights however they do not want the women to find out as otherwise women will become difficult to control! Women must gain access to Islam information about Islamic legal, social and religious principles concerning gender so that they can question the "traditions" that are imposed upon them. For example, women cannot under any Islamic code be denied education or be barred from the mosque." (SDC Report)*

The SDC report has produced some essential recommendations for other donors wishing to create gender programming in Tajikistan. One of the SDC's key recommendations relates to the need for an campaign providing information about the Shar'iah and the Legal Code. In addition to building Women's Rights and Islam into IFES' civic education curriculum, IFES could, working with a national NGO such as Modar, conduct a program to train judges, local government officials, local religious leaders, school directors, and regional MOEs on women's rights within Islam. IFES might also fund either the League of Women living under Muslim Law (UK based) or Women and Islam (Asia Human Rights Watch) to come to Tajikistan, possibly in conjunction with an other donor, and work with Modar to assist in developing such a project.

### **Voter/Civic Education**

In addition to gender sensitivity within IFES' civic education curriculum, a major contribution to the average women's life in politics would be an IFES sponsored voter education project on the problem of family voting. Family voting, where by a man in the home votes for the all the women without the woman/women even going to the polls themselves, is a serious problem in Tajikistan. Before the next election IFES could sponsor a program with women's NGOs to create a voter education program about the rights of women to cast their own vote and the illegality of family voting:

- Visual Information Material-Television and radio spots
- Printed Information Material-Newspaper Advertisements
- Posters-IFES can underwrite the printing and distribution of posters

### **Political Party Development**

IFES undertook a "Women Candidate Training Seminar – January 25-27, 2000." This work is highly important should be continued. In off election years IFES could sponsor a *Political Party Platforms and Gender Policy* series of trainings and workshops at the national and local level. This project would serve to address the recommendation by the SDC report relating to a lack of leadership and representation of women within political parties and work with political party leaders and women's NGOs to increase both the representation of women within political parties and the inclusion of gender issues within political party platforms.

### **Recommendations for Future Action**

- IFES may consider supporting a Women in the White House project for Tajikistan. This would make an interesting gender dimension to IFES' political party development and may be attractive to other donors, (including, UNIFEM, Danish Aid, League of Women Voters, etc.) fostering a joint gender and politics project.

- Traditions and Modernity may be used for part of a Gender Task Force within IFES' future curriculum development team to ensure that gender is considered not only as a separate chapter but in a comprehensive manner across all topics.
- When the OSCE replaces their Gender Position, IFES needs a meeting with this new person on possible cooperation with OSCE on gender issues. OSCE was the lead international donor on gender issues until the position went empty.
- IFES needs to be very sensitive to the power dynamics apparently surrounding the gender issues, UNIFEM, the WID Bureau, etc., and proceed with caution to gather information and consider what precise role/contribution, IFES might make in this sector.
- SDC is involved in judicial training, human rights advisory, support of the UNHCHR mission to Tajikistan, each SDC project has an NGO component, victim support center for women, and a legal clinic for vulnerable populations, among other projects. SDC would be glad to examine ways to work together, perhaps on family voting issues, with IFES.
- IFES's agreement to fund Modar's latest women's rights project should include language that these translations and material also be available for use with IFES' civic education curriculum. Additionally, IFES might require Modar to do a literature review of how much of these women's and children's law and international standards have already been translated.
- IFES might also contribute to the IOM's request for multi-donor support for the first research on trafficking in women (see attached). The results of this survey could provide information to IFES' civic education curriculum and may support additional IFES sponsored legal training for judges on trafficking in women.

## **Conclusion**

IFES' traditional sector, elections and political party development, has a special role to play in provided greater access to women and women's issues within political party and representations, as well as voting procedures. IFES should strive to capitalize on its technical expertise in elections, voter education, and political party development and gender. While most of the other donors are focusing on violence, welfare, crisis support, micro-credit, and health for women none seem to be addressing the lack of balance in women in political and policy arenas, at both the local and national level. Therefore, IFES could provide a significant contribution in this regard.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ACTR— American Councils for International Education  
ADB — Asian Development Bank  
AKF — Aga Khan Foundation  
CARs — Central Asian republics  
CDC — Curriculum Development Committee  
FHO— Facing History and Ourselves  
FSU — Former Soviet Union  
GBAO — Gorno-Badakhshan  
GDI — Gender-related Development Index  
HDI — Human Development Index  
ICG — International Crisis Group  
IOM— International Organization for Migration  
NGO — nongovernment organization  
NAIMM — National Association of Independent Mass Media in Tajikistan  
NPAAW — National Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women  
MOE— Minister of Education  
MOU— Memorandum of Understanding  
OSCE— Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe  
PIU — Project Implementation Unit  
Save — Save the Children  
SDC — Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation  
SRU — Strategic Research Unit  
SSA — State Statistical Agency  
TA — technical assistance  
TJR<sub>s</sub> — Tajikistan ruble  
UNDP — United Nations Development Programme  
UNESCO — United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization  
UNFPA — United Nations Population Fund  
UNHCR — United Nations High Commission on Refugees  
UNICEF — United Nations Children's Fund  
USAID — United States Agency for International Development  
VAW — violence against women  
WB — The World Bank  
WHO — World Health Organization  
WID — women in development

## List of People Interviewed

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Acknowledgement is due to the following people who provided information, time, and insight on matters of civic education and gender in Tajikistan.

Abdugani, Dr. Mamadazimov. Chair of National Association of Political Scientists of Tajikistan  
[21-34-98/abdu@napt.td.silk.org](mailto:21-34-98/abdu@napt.td.silk.org)

Akhunova, Rano. Director, Women Voters, NGO 24-76-22

Bakoeva, Khiromon. Training Center Manager, UNIFEM [21-70-31/unifem@tajnet.com](mailto:21-70-31/unifem@tajnet.com)

Bazarova, Saodat K.. Human Development Officer, The World Bank 21-03-  
[81/sbazarova@worldbank.org](mailto:81/sbazarova@worldbank.org)

Bobsdikova, Gulijahon. Chair, Association of University Women of Republic of Tajikistan. [21-58-08/gulago@td.silk.org](mailto:21-58-08/gulago@td.silk.org)

Bozrikova, Dr. Tatyana. The Adviser to the President of Tajikistan on the Relations with Public Associations (NGOs) and Interethnic Relations 21-69-30

Branislav, Jekic. Acting Country Representative, UNICEF [21-82-61/bjekic@unicef.org](mailto:21-82-61/bjekic@unicef.org)

De Martino, Luigi. Country Representative, Swiss Coordination Office [24-73-16/idm@sd.c.tajnet.com](mailto:24-73-16/idm@sd.c.tajnet.com)

Emru, Ephan. Project Manager, Save the Children/UK [24-12-07/e\\_emru@scftajikistan.tajnet](mailto:24-12-07/e_emru@scftajikistan.tajnet)

Falko, Tatiana. Country Representative, The Eurasia Foundation [21-69-86/Tatiana@ef.td.silk.org](mailto:21-69-86/Tatiana@ef.td.silk.org)

Frotscher, Ann. Economic and Environmental Officer, OSCE [21-40-63/ann@OSCE.tajik.net](mailto:21-40-63/ann@OSCE.tajik.net)

Halimova, Zhura S.. Executive Director, Soros Foundation/Open Society Institute [21-19-58/zuhra.Halimova@osi.tajik.net](mailto:21-19-58/zuhra.Halimova@osi.tajik.net)

Inoyantova, Munira. Special Advisor to the President, Former Minister of Education

Jamaluddin, A.K.M. Commodity Program Coordinator, Save the Children/USA 23-108 [22-391/manager@savekt.vakhsh.td.silk.org](mailto:22-391/manager@savekt.vakhsh.td.silk.org)

Kahramon Bakaev, Zerkalo: The Center of Sociological Research [23-14-60/Bakozoda@tajik.net](mailto:23-14-60/Bakozoda@tajik.net)



Karshiboev, Nuriddin S. Chair National Association of Independent Mass Media in Tajikistan  
[278-532/malik@epart.tajnet.com](mailto:278-532/malik@epart.tajnet.com)

Keshavjee, Dr. Rafique. Director Humanities Project for Central Asia, The Aga Khan Trust for Culture  
[24-58-23/akhum@atge.automail.com](mailto:24-58-23/akhum@atge.automail.com)

Latifov, Jura. Executive Director, Project Implementation Uni-Education Learning and Innovation Project  
[23-45-83/piue@tajnet.com](mailto:23-45-83/piue@tajnet.com)

Mamajanova, Matluba. Educational Advisor/Country Director, American Councils for International Education  
[21-21-03/oseas@amc.td.silk.org](mailto:21-21-03/oseas@amc.td.silk.org)

Michalak-Malekzade, Izabela. OSCE Dusti Field Officer  
[21-40-63/sand@osce.tajik.net](mailto:21-40-63/sand@osce.tajik.net)

Mirzoeva, Violyat. Director of WID Bureau.

Munzim, Jahongir. Project Assistant, UNIFEM  
[21-70-31/unifem@tajnet.com](mailto:21-70-31/unifem@tajnet.com)

Murzoeva, G. Director, Modar  
[2-79-07/modar@td.silk.org](mailto:2-79-07/modar@td.silk.org)

Muzaffari, Muhammad Ali. Ph.D. Deputy Director Academic Affairs, Aga Khan Humanities Project for Central Asia  
[24-52-97/project@akefhum.td.silk.org](mailto:24-52-97/project@akefhum.td.silk.org)

Rahmonberdiev, Alisher. Information and Education Center *Manija*, NGO (Trainer)  
[278-532/malik@epart.tajnet.com](mailto:278-532/malik@epart.tajnet.com)

Ryazanova, Ella. President Association of Salzburg Seminars Alumni  
[21-74-57/vestnik@tajik.net](mailto:21-74-57/vestnik@tajik.net)

Teshayev, Zafar. Acting Director ECHO European Community Humanitarian Office  
[21-60-83/echo@tajnet.com](mailto:21-60-83/echo@tajnet.com)

Trives, Sebastian. Head of Khujand Field Office, OSCE  
[42-286/OSCE@office.khj.tajik.net](mailto:42-286/OSCE@office.khj.tajik.net)

Yakubova, Dr. Muchiba. President Association of Women Scientist of Tajikistan and Director of the Center for the Rehabilitation of Women  
[21-54-64/wastaj@wstaj.td.silk.glas.apc.org](mailto:21-54-64/wastaj@wstaj.td.silk.glas.apc.org)

Zadeh, Firuza Tursoun. Ph.D. Deputy Director Administration, Aga Khan Humanities Project for Central Asia  
[24-52-97/project@akefhum.td.silk.org](mailto:24-52-97/project@akefhum.td.silk.org)

Zhukova, Marina. Project Assistant, UNICEF  
[21-82-61/inbox@uniceftd.td.silk.org](mailto:21-82-61/inbox@uniceftd.td.silk.org)

Ziyoev, Dr. Head of Civil Subjects Laboratory of Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy

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