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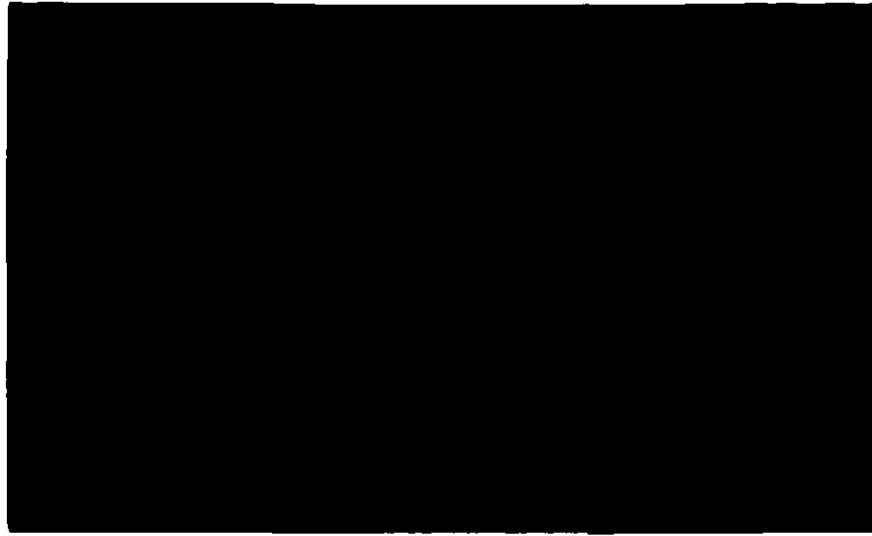


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MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK



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The purpose of IFES is to provide technical assistance in the promotion of democracy worldwide and to serve as a clearinghouse for information about democratic development and elections. IFES is dedicated to the success of democracy throughout the world, believing that it is the preferred form of government. At the same time, IFES firmly believes that each nation requesting assistance must take into consideration its unique social, cultural, and environmental influences. The Foundation recognizes that democracy is a dynamic process with no single blueprint. IFES is nonpartisan, multinational, and interdisciplinary in its approach.

REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

FINAL PROJECT REPORT
USAID COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT
No. EE-A-00-97-00034-00

October 1, 1997-September 30, 2002

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MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS

REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

USAID Cooperative Agreement EE-A-00-97-00034-00
October 1, 1997 – September 30, 2002

ATTACHMENT: DISPOSITION OF EQUIPMENT AND DURABLE GOODS

Please note that all items on the attached equipment and furniture list, procured by IFES under Cooperative Agreement # EE-A-00-97-00034-00 for the Republic of Kazakhstan, has been transferred to IFES's program in that country under new Cooperative Agreement #119-A-00-00-00039-00. All equipment and furniture listed therein will be used in support of IFES' ongoing assistance activities in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan
IFES/ALMATY EQUIPMENT

Category	Description	Model/Serial #	Date of acquisition	Cost	Location	Condition	Comments	M:
Computer Desktop	IBM Aptiva 510	510 2168-62P; 23 WD917	From DC		Almaty	Good	Finance	USA
Computer Desktop	Gateway 2000	4DX2-66 2900283			Almaty	Poor	Consultant	USA
Computer Desktop	Compaq 5166	3511v5	From DC		Almaty	Poor		USA
Computer Desktop	Aptiva 535	2144-67P23BG2WP	From DC		Almaty	Good	Baghlan	USA
Computer Desktop	Boston PC P-166		Apr. 98		Astana	New		
Computer Desktop	Boston PC P-166	S/N 000023	Apr. 98	\$813	Almaty	New	Oksana	
Computer Desktop	Gateway 2000;	Vivitron 1572; CPD-15F13; 8109290	Oct. 98	\$480	Almaty	New	Eilis	
Computer Desktop	Amdek	AM/732 LEx; 2j4v7700518		\$480	Almaty	New	Gulnara	
Computer Keyboard	IBM	M2; 7798402			Almaty	Good	Gulnara	
Computer Keyboard	Gateway	2189013-XX-XXX; 01027520G1188			Almaty	New		
Computer Keyboard	Compaq	RT 101; 120375-001B			Almaty	New		
Computer Keyboard	IBM	M27781834			Almaty	Good		
Computer Keyboard	Boston PC		Apr. 98		Almaty			
Computer Keyboard	Compaq	BOB B00B 39FF0JB			Almaty			
Computer Keyboard		HGBITS 9001; 9712203186			Almaty		Oksana	
Computer Keyboard	Amkol	H 000849162			Almaty			
Computer Laptop	Toshiba Satellite Pro 425 CDT PA	PA 12254XCD09615143-1			Almaty	Good		
Computer Laptop	Toshiba 486				Almaty	Poor		
Computer Monitor	IBM	445A552BCD5AA			Almaty	New		
Computer Monitor	CTX	15626M			Almaty	Good		
Computer Monitor	Gateway CPD- 15F138109290				Almaty	Good		

Category	Description	Model/Serial #	Date of acquisition	Cost	Location	Condition	Comments	Made
Computer Monitor	Samsung	CVM4967PH8WDC10133			Almaty	Good		
Computer Monitor	Boston PC		Apr. 98		Almaty	New		
Computer Monitor	Amdek	AM/732 Lex; 2J4V7700399			Almaty	New	Oksana	
Computer Monitor	Amdek	AM/732 Lex; 2J4V7700640			Almaty	New	Consultant	
Computer Printer	HP DeskJet 560	C2168 A SG 4701612G			Almaty	Good		
Computer Printer	Canon BJ-10SX	K10068			Almaty	Poor		
Computer Printer	HP LaserJet4P	USH4002527C2037A			Almaty	Good		
Computer Printer	HP DeskJet 670		Apr. 98		Almaty			
Computer Printer	HP LaserJet 1100				Almaty	New		
Computer Scanner	ScanJet HP	C6260ASG764140XY	From DC		Almaty	New		
Facsimile Machine	Panasonic	KX-F90B; 2KAHE 164			Almaty	Good		
Facsimile Machine	Panasonic	KX-F130	Mar. 98		Almaty	New		
Overhead Projector	3M 9000	AHAS99115777			Almaty	Good		
Photocopier	Rank Xerox 5316	A1478; EN60950; 82/499/EEC		\$3275	Almaty	Fair		
Telephone	Panasonic	KX- T4311BX6HAKA051988		\$165	Almaty	New		
Telephone	Panasonic	KX-T7050	01-08-98	\$80	Almaty	New		
Telephone	Panasonic	KX-T7050	01-08-98	\$80	Almaty	New		
Telephone	Panasonic	KX-T7050	01-08-98	\$80	Almaty	New		
Telephone	Panasonic	KX-T7050	01-08-98	\$80	Almaty	New		
Telephone	Panasonic	KX-T7050	01-08-98	\$80	Almaty	New		
Telephone Cellular	Motorola	Micro T-A-C Ultra-line			Almaty			
Telephone Cellular	Philips	TCA 620 MD; 2280148664		\$656	Almaty	New		
Telephone Cellular	Philips	TCA 620 MD; 22801486547		\$656	Almaty	New		
Television	Hitachi	CMT2179; S41005085	From DC		Almaty	New		
UPS Power Protector	APC 400				Almaty			

Category	Description	Model/Serial #	Date of acquisition	Cost	Location	Condition	Comments	Made
Power Protector	APC 400				Almaty			
Power Protector	APC 1000				Almaty			
VR	Toshiba V-980	MS25224862			Almaty			
Video Camera	Hitachi Vm-2780E	40601911			Almaty			
Printer Motorola	Scriptor LXI-C	0408993		\$150	Almaty			
Printer Motorola	Scriptor LXI-C	0417308		\$150	Almaty			
Printer Motorola	Scriptor LX 4	0416859		\$150	Almaty			
Computer Speakers	Altec			\$23	Almaty		China	
Computer Speakers		SP-325 QCOK408		\$23	Almaty			
Computer Speakers		SP-325 QCOK408		\$23	Almaty			
Video TV Converter		5506W; 2DIEFM005			Almaty			
Home mini-station	Panasonic				Almaty			

IFES/Almaty Furniture

Category	Description	Model/Serial #	Date of acquisition	Cost	Location	Condition	Comments
Bookcase	5 shelf black		01-08-98		Almaty		
Bookcase	5 shelf black		01-08-98		Almaty		
Bookcase	5 shelf black		01-08-98		Almaty		
Bookcase	5 shelf black				Almaty		
Bookcase	6 shelf black				Almaty		
Bookcase	6 shelf black				Almaty		
Bookcase	6 shelf black				Almaty		
Bookcase	6 shelf white				Almaty		
Bookcase	6 shelf white				Almaty		
Cabinet	2 door black		Sep. 97	\$344	Almaty	New	
Cabinet	2 door black				Almaty		
Cabinet	2 door black/glass				Almaty		
Cabinet	2 door black/glass		Apr. 98	\$168	Almaty		
Coat Rack	Black/chrome				Almaty	Good	
Coat Rack	Black/chrome				Almaty		
Conference table	Large, tan wood	Hand made		\$165.78	Almaty		
Conference table	Large, tan wood			\$345.06	Almaty		
Conference table	Small, tan wood, round			\$343.05	Almaty		
Copier table + TV set table	Tan,black			\$245.21	Almaty		
Desk	Black executive				Almaty		
Desk	Black executive				Almaty		
Desk	Black, w/return				Almaty		
Desk	Black computer				Almaty		
Desk Chair	Executive, grey				Almaty		
Desk Chair	Secretary, grey				Almaty		
Desk Chair	Secretary, grey				Almaty		
Desk Chair	Grey swivel		01-08-98		Almaty		
Desk Chair	Grey swivel		01-08-98		Almaty		

Category	Description	Model/Serial #	Date of acquisition	Cost	Location	Condition	Comments
Desk Chair	Grey swivel		01-08-98		Almaty		
Desk Chair	Black swivel		01-08-98		Almaty		
Desk Chair	Black swivel		01-08-98		Almaty		
Desk drawer unit	Black wood		01-08-98		Almaty		Gulnara's
Desk drawer unit	Black wood				Almaty		Oksana's
Desk drawer unit	Black wood				Almaty		Eilis's
Desk drawer unit	Black wood				Almaty		Eilis's
File cabinet	4 drawer grey				Almaty		
File cabinet	4 drawer grey				Almaty		
File cabinet	4 drawer grey				Almaty		
File cabinet	2 drawer black		New		Almaty		
File cabinet	2 drawer grey		Good		Almaty		
File cabinet	Black/brown, wood				Almaty		
File cabinet	Black/brown, wood				Almaty		
Kitchen base cabinet	Brown, wood, gray top				Almaty		
Kitchen wall cabinet	Brown, wood				Almaty		
Kitchen wall cabinet	Brown, wood				Almaty		Sveta
Kitchen wall cabinet	Brown, wood				Almaty		Sveta
Living room chair	Brown, cloth				Almaty		
Living room chair	Brown, cloth				Almaty		
Living room divan	Brown, cloth				Almaty		
Visitor's chair	Black/chrome-8 units at the office				Almaty		
Visitor's chair	Black/chrome-4 units at the guest quarter				Almaty		
Computer table for consultants	Hand made			\$389.44	Almaty	Good	Finance room,
Air conditioner					Almaty		
Carpet, octagonal					Almaty		
Carpet, runner					Almaty		
Carpet, square					Almaty		

Category	Description	Model/Serial #	Date of acquisition	Cost	Location	Condition	Comments
Coffee maker					Almaty		
Electric fry pan					Almaty		
Floor lamp	Black				Almaty		
Floor lamp	White				Almaty		
Heater	HD 3445	9307			Almaty		
Heater	HD 3445	9307			Almaty		
Humidifier	Cartino HF-608HC	94600986			Almaty		
Office Partition	Grey, free standing				Almaty		
Office Partition	Grey, free standing				Almaty		
Office Partition	Grey, free standing				Almaty		
Office Partition	Grey, free standing				Almaty		
Office Partition	Grey, free standing				Almaty		
Refrigerator	Snaige 117-2	44513			Almaty		
Vacuum Cleaner	LG V-4040HT	704KV02480	Jul. 97	\$153	Almaty	New	
Washing Machine				\$249.65	Almaty		
Water dispenser	BioFamily				Almaty		
Heater	DBK			\$376.4	Almaty		
Heater	DBK			\$376.4	Almaty		
Heater	Philips				Almaty		
Microwave	Oven Daewoo			\$196	Almaty		
Fan				\$115	Almaty		
Fan	Wahson			\$115	Almaty		
Fan	Clatronic				Almaty		
Fan	Supra				Almaty		
Portable Heater	2 units			\$83	Almaty		

International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)

Final Project Report

REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

October 1, 1997 – September 30, 2002

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

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International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)

Final Project Report

REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

October 1, 1997 – December 31, 2001

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

I. INTRODUCTION

IFES established a regional office in Almaty, Kazakhstan in November 1994 to foster a long-term commitment in providing democracy assistance to Kazakhstan and the rest of Central Asia. In addition to election monitoring projects, IFES has produced analyses of the election law, held conferences on election redistricting, conducted voter education events, hosted a region-wide conference on election administration and conducted numerous liaison missions with the Central Election Commission (CEC). IFES has also organized national and regional seminars promoting strategies for citizen involvement in building civil society, including stimulating support for the creation of local coalitions of NGOs. Election observation reports were produced in 1994, 1995, 1997 and 1999.

In 1995 and 1996, IFES conducted nationwide public opinion surveys of attitudes toward democracy, civil society, institution building, and multi-party elections. Results of the surveys encouraged IFES to create and hold a series of national and regional NGO training seminars in such areas as leadership, communication, and civic participation in the spring of 1996. In October 1997, IFES collaborated with the CEC and the local station *Khabar* to produce the first-ever televised candidate debate in Kazakhstan for a by-election. In December 1998, IFES worked with local partners to increase the amount of information available to the electorate on the election process by producing a series of electronic, informational public service announcements and providing translated civic education materials from the Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) project.

In 1999, IFES also focused on creating an active interest in elections and civic participation. IFES collaborated with international and local partners to conduct a successful domestic observer training series in which more than 2,500 observers received accreditation for observing the first and second round Majilis and Maslikhat elections. Election monitors provided a valuable counterbalance on election day that led to greater transparency and accountability on the part of election officials at all levels.

IFES is currently working to promote educational development in Kazakhstan through a curriculum development project designed to improve instruction and information on democracy in Kazakhstan's secondary school. In 1999, IFES produced a Civic Education textbook, along with a teacher's manual and supplementary materials, for its curriculum on democracy and citizenship that was supported by the Ministry of Education. The curriculum, beginning with a student mock election project, was initiated in 34 pilot schools across Kazakhstan in time for the Fall 1999-Winter 2000. In Spring 2000, a teacher's review session was held, as well as a student Olympiad of students from the pilot schools. The resulting discussions concluded with the

support of the Ministry of Education and a pledge to expand the project to include 500+ schools beginning with the Fall 2000. A series of adaptations and enhancements of the text were completed in the summer of 2000, followed by the printing of 15,000 copies of the textbook in the Kazakh and Russian languages. The textbooks and accompanying teacher's manual was distributed to participating schools by the commencement of the 2000-2001 school year.

II. OFFICE AND PERSONNEL

Upon conclusion of the new, three-year cooperative agreement in the late summer of 1997, IFES had as its Project Manager Theodore Bratrud, who guided the program through its transitional phase. At that time IFES maintained one, central office in Almaty for its work in four Central Asian countries. This was due to funding considerations as well as the fact that the USAID Regional Office is also located in Almaty. Thomas Leckinger was hired to replace Bratrud, and served as Regional Project Manager until Autumn 1999. IFES maintained a sub-office in the new capital of Astana for twelve months in 1998 and 1999 after the Central Election Commission moved its offices there. Marat Bigaliev, IFES' local staff Project Coordinator, headed the Astana office. Bigaliev assumed interim managerial duties in late 1999 following a stint by Washington-based Program Officer Anthony Bowyer as Acting Project Manager. Bigaliev was joined by Dr. Eilis Ward in February 2000, who became full-time Project Manager and guided IFES' new civic education programs through the end of the Cooperative Agreement.

During the conducting of programming under this Agreement, IFES established or continued strong working partnerships with a number of local NGOs, international organizations, and local government officials and ministries. Among local NGOs, IFES worked with those supporting election projects and civic education such as the *Center for Support of Democracy*, *Detar*, *Association of Young Leaders*, the *Association of Initiative Schools*, and others working on a regional level in the country. IFES collaborated with international organizations such as OSCE, the United Nations Development Program and partners from the USAID family, such as NDI, Eurasia, *Counterpart*, *Internews*, and the *Academy for Educational Development*. IFES fortified its close ties with the Central Election Commission and established a solid working relationship with the Ministry of Education and Altinsaryn Institute (part of the Academy of Sciences) in the conduct of its civic education program. IFES also worked with individual parliamentarians to discuss election law reforms and other election-related initiatives.

III. PROGRAMMATIC ACTIVITIES

A. Electoral Technical Assistance

ELECTION OBSERVATION AND ASSISTANCE

In October 1997, IFES was involved in extensive collaboration efforts with the CEC and the local station *Khabar* to produce the ***first-ever televised candidate debate in Kazakhstan for a by-election***.

In July of 1998, IFES/Central Asia continued to work with the USIS country offices in planning ***tours for Central Asian election officials and NGO representatives to the United States*** in Fall 1998 to study various aspects of the upcoming congressional and gubernatorial campaigns. IFES prepared plans for groups to study political party campaign management, election administration, candidate debates, women in politics, and media coverage of campaigns.

IFES/Astana Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev also assisted Cindy Crain, a USIS voter education consultant, to complete a two-week mission to conduct ***voter education workshops*** for NGOs. IFES assisted in arranging and conducting several workshops, served as a liaison with the Central Election Commission, and provided logistical support for her mission.

In cooperation with Counterpart Consortium, *Internews*, and NDI, IFES/Central Asia worked to organize a candidate debate training project in early September, using scheduled by-elections in each of the Central Asian republics as pilot projects for a broad effort in connection with the parliamentary elections scheduled for next year.

During August of 1998, IFES/Kazakhstan worked with Natalia Chumakova, Director of the Center for Support of Democracy (CSD), in gathering information to design a series of ***voter education workshops and seminars*** to be conducted across Kazakhstan. The first of these seminars was scheduled to be held in Almaty on October 12-13; to be addressed were such issues as regulations on election observers, voter education initiatives, and transparency of the election process. With the support of IFES, CSD planned to conduct similar seminars in each oblast of Kazakhstan before the end of 1998.

In September 1998, IFES/Central Asia staff focused their efforts on plans for a ***Regional Election Administration Conference*** in Almaty on November 17-20, which would include election officials from each oblast and autonomous republic in the Central Asian states. The country delegations were to be led by the chairpersons of the Central Election Commissions and were to include a member of Parliament involved in electoral legislation issues. The conference was designed to provide training for election administrators through small group workshops, covering such varied topics as adjudication of electoral grievances, campaign finance, and voter education. The conference was to be co-sponsored by OSCE/ODIHR, UNEAD/UNDP, and the SOROS Foundation. Leanne McDonald and Anthony Bowyer of IFES/Washington met in New York with representatives from ODIHR, UNEAD, and UNDP to discuss the conference agenda, approve country delegations, and finalize a preliminary list of international speakers.

In October 1998, IFES/Kazakhstan, together with its partner, the Center of Support for Democracy, launched its planned series of initiatives on election issues throughout Kazakhstan with a highly successful ***seminar*** on October 12-13 in Astana. US Ambassador to Kazakhstan Elizabeth Jones opened the event, which featured a broad range of electoral topics for the participants who were selected from NGOs across Kazakhstan. A portion of the seminar

involved presentations by donor agencies concerning their priorities and application processes for funding.

In November 1998, IFES, in cooperation with OSCE, UN/UNDP, and the SOROS Foundation offices in Central Asia, conducted a *conference for Central Asian Regional Election Administrators* titled "Election Administration: Regional Experience and Comparative Perspectives" in Almaty from November 17-20, 1998. Election officials were invited to participate as part of the country delegations from each of the Oblasts and Autonomous Republics of Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, along with representatives of the parliament and Central Election Commission of each republic. The conference allowed elections officials at this level to convene for the first time and participate in a region-wide event.

The primary goal of the conference was to increase the level of professionalism at the Oblast and lower levels in the following areas: overall standards of election administration, resolving electoral disputes through transparency and openness, and developing effective approaches for voter education. Thus, there were several topics in particular which attracted the interest and attention of the delegates, including; issues of candidate registration, adjudication of grievances, campaign finance, special voting procedures and targeting voter education.

One of the greatest successes of the conference was the collaborative relationship-building that took place between and among members of the country delegations. Many delegates reported that this was their first experience meeting counterparts from other countries in the region, as well as other Oblast election officials from their own country. Many expressed the desire for greater contact and cross-border cooperation, including holding regular meetings to discuss and compare electoral experiences. One immediate result was the integration of ideas on how to train lower-level election officials within each country and better administer and resolve problem issues in individual Oblasts.

Upon conclusion of the conference several individual country participants indicated that they would work upon returning to their home countries to undertake improvement in voter education, training of lower-level election officials, conditions for domestic monitors and international observers, and use of special voting procedures (foremost among them the use of the mobile ballot box), while at the same time pushing for change in the election code. Of greatest importance was increasing the performance of local election commissions (city, precinct) and strict implementation of electoral regulations.

Overall, the conference presented the opportunity for interaction and contact among the participants themselves and with international experts and other observers. Some of the representatives from both national and Oblast levels were quick to point out that elections in their respective republics meet international standards, but far more admitted that they have a long way to go in order to achieve what one participant referred to as "real, meaningful" elections.

In November 1998, Marat Bigaliev and Tom Leckinger of IFES participated in a *town meeting* between citizens of Shymkent and their elected representatives from the parliament on

November 7. The event, sponsored by ABA/CEELI and organized by the Southern Kazakhstan Association of Lawyers, focused on a wide range of issues, including the status of elections and plans to introduce legislation which would permit local executive officials to be elected rather than appointed by the president. Over 100 citizens attended the event and posed a series of timely questions to the parliamentarians. The meeting was very successful, and plans for similar efforts in other areas of Kazakhstan and Central Asia were made.

In addition, IFES/Kazakhstan, in coordination with the Center of Support for Democracy (CSD), continued its planned series of initiatives on election issues throughout the country, by conducting a *seminar* on November 14-15 in Kostanai. The event featured a broad range of electoral discussion topics for the participants, who were drawn from NGOs across northern Kazakhstan. Judith Davis, IFES Voter Education Consultant, assisted as a guest speaker for the seminar, which was organized by Marat Bigaliev of IFES and the CSD. The primary goal of the series has been to raise issues regarding representative democracy and generate interest in the electoral process among the electorate, as well as provide a stronger basis for the development of domestic electorate watchdog organizations. Participants in Kostanai exhibited a great amount of interest and enthusiasm, and by the end of the two-day event appeared ready to propose greater integration among local NGOs to monitor elections and hold local election authorities accountable.

In December 1998, Judith Davis, IFES Voter Education Consultant, arrived in Almaty to participate in the *Conference for Regional Election Officials* and initiate a civic education program designed to provide information to the electorate about new voting procedures and other changes in the election law. Davis developed an action plan for producing a series of Public Service Announcements (PSAs) and print media articles, augmented by information from the IFES-IDEA-UN Administration and Cost of Elections Project (ACE). The plan called for the design and production of three television and five radio PSAs, with all material produced in both Russian and Kazakh languages. All PSAs were to be translated and dubbed into Kyrgyz, Tajik, and Uzbek, allowing IFES to promote usage of them in other Central Asian republics. At the Election Officials Conference, Ms. Davis offered presentations on the topic "Informing the Electorate," including an overview of "What every voter needs to know," and conducted a small group discussion on developing effective voter information for the print media.

The Ecological Project Group, a Kazakhstani production studio contracted by IFES, began working on the first TV PSA called "Family Dinner," discussing the secret ballot and family voting. In addition, two radio teams in Almaty and one radio station in Astana began writing scenarios on general election topics to be aired as radio PSAs.

October 1999 was the key month for the IFES *domestic election observer training* project. More than 2,500 domestic observers, trained by IFES, NDI and domestic NGO partner organizations *Center for Support of Democracy* and *DETAR* received accreditation for observing the first round Majilis and Maslikhat elections on October 10 and the run-off elections on October 24, 1999. In all regions, independent regional captains were designated with the responsibilities of establishing a local center for domestic observer teams, conducting additional training for volunteers, coordinating among all independent domestic observers on election day and for final reporting to the domestic observer headquarter in Almaty, which consisted of the

heads of the two main local NGO partners. During the training session, representatives of the Central Election Commission, along with the Chairperson of the Oblast election commission, answered questions posed by observer trainees concerning the election law and specific rights of observers. Following an explanation of the new system of proportional representation and party list voting, participants took part in a practical training exercise to familiarize them with possible voting scenarios and how to properly address observed instances of electoral irregularity. The training sessions concluded with the awarding of participant certificates and the selection of a team captain to lead the overall observer team effort on election day and report back to the central headquarters in Almaty.

A preliminary report by the NGO monitoring headquarter office was released based on information received from the independent monitoring teams, trained and supported by IFES and NDI, who observed both rounds of the elections. According to the report, most of the problems reported were in connection with the lack of election transparency. Additionally, official turnout as reported by the election commissions often exceeded that as noted by observers. The independent observer teams expressed concern over interference in the election process at all levels and in particular the work of precinct election commissions. Also cited was uncertainty in the recording of protocols by the rayon election commissions after delivery from the polling stations. A final report on the observing of the independent monitoring teams was to be produced by the beginning of November.

IFES deployed a team of *international observers* on October 10, 1999: Anthony Bowyer, Acting Project Manager IFES/Kazakhstan in Uralsk; Marat Bigaliev, Project Coordinator IFES/Kazakhstan in Ust-Kamenogorsk; Lola Maksudova, Project Coordinator IFES/Uzbekistan in Aktobe; and Svetlana Eselbaeva, from the IFES NGO partner *Center for Support of Democracy* in Petropavlovsk. IFES teams in each of the regions worked very closely with the regional captains and independent domestic observers.

Former Prime Minister and Chairman of the Republican National Party of Kazakhstan Akezhan Kazhegeldin visited IFES/Washington on April 22, 2000. Kazhegeldin met with IFES President Richard Soudriette, IFES Europe and Asia Director Juliana Pilon, Program Officer Anthony Bowyer and Program Assistant Elena Wolf to reiterate RNPk commitment to democratic transition. Kazhegeldin implied that his party would field candidates in October's parliamentary elections, though he himself remained prohibited from personally seeking a seat in the parliament. When questioned whether or not the RNPk would be able to take advantage of the 10 seats available via proportional representation, Kazhegeldin implied that it would be a possibility should the Party succeed in its efforts to register in greater than half of all oblasts in the country. Kazhegeldin urged IFES not to give up its important role in contributing to the development of democratic institutions in Kazakhstan and reform in election legislation.

On April 28, 2000 IFES/Almaty, in close cooperation with the Center for Support of Democracy (CSD) and the Public Policy Research Center of the Kazakhstan Institute for Management, Economy and Strategic Research (KIMEP), as well as TACIS and the British Know-How Fund, conducted a *symposium* entitled "Kazakhstan in the next Millennium: A Look at Domestic and Foreign Affairs". The full-day symposium, consisting of four thematic panels dealing with diverse but related topics, included a panel devoted to elections. Over 100 participants

representing the Government of Kazakhstan, opposition political parties, NGOs, media, members of academia, and international community donors and NGOs, participated. IFES, in conjunction with the CSD, organized the panel on "Local Elections: A Comparative View of the Kazakh and U.S. Election Systems." Natalia Chumakova (Vice Director, CSD) served as moderator, while IFES/Astana Program Coordinator Marat Bigaliev presented a paper on "The Participation of Kazakhstani Voters in Local Elections." Svetlana Eselbaeva, Director of the CSD, who has also participated in a training and observation tour of the U.S. Congressional election in 1999, introduced the participants with her impressions and experience of local elections in the United States. Bigaliev outlined his views on reasons for voter apathy during local elections in Kazakhstan and prescribed that greater efforts be directed at voter outreach on the part of local election commissions and candidates in order to increase interest and support in electoral participation.

In May 2000, in Astana, the *IFES team met with Minister of Justice Mukhamedjanov, and Mr. Kotlov, Head of the International Law Committee of the MOJ*. Juliana Pilon outlined IFES' work in the voter/civic education sector. Mukhamedjanov expressed his willingness to collaborate with IFES on a number of initiatives prior to the upcoming parliamentary elections, including revision of NGO and mass media laws, continued election law development, voter motivation projects, and development of a voter education booklet and civic education textbook for Kazakhstan. Marat Tazhin, the Secretary of the Security Council under the Presidential Apparatus, assured IFES of his support to help with publishing of a separate voter education booklet through the state-printing house, and indicated his support with the translation of materials into the Kazakh language.

Juliana Pilon met Central Election Commission Chairwoman Zagipa Balieva and CEC Secretary Elena Kuleshova in Almaty. The meeting helped solidify plans for joint efforts on the creation of the IFES voter education student elections text, booklet, and a mock-election project for students in the 10th and 11th grades, for whom the curriculum is intended. Chairwoman Balieva underscored the need to conduct mock-election projects not only in secondary schools but also at the kindergarten level, colleges, institutes and the universities. The CEC indicated its commitment to work with IFES and help encourage the further development of civic education projects. The exposure to elections of young and future voters was seen as a priority of the CEC, and Balieva indicated that President Nazarbaev, with whom she has discussed the details of the IFES curriculum development project and who is aware of IFES initiatives in Kazakhstan, praised IFES' support in democracy-building.

ELECTION TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

In July 1998, IFES/Kazakhstan Project Assistant Marat Bigaliev met with Chairwoman Zagipa Balieva of the Central Election Commission to *discuss election law provisions*, which stated that a candidate must win an election by receiving greater than 50% of the votes cast. In Chairwoman Balieva's opinion, this rule should have been abolished and replaced by a simple plurality rule, a modification that would significantly reduce the necessity for run-off elections.

IFES/Kazakhstan, in cooperation with NDI and several local NGOs, also formed a *working group* to discuss public awareness efforts of possible amendments to the election law, particularly with respect to the rights of domestic election observers. Existing legislation was

not considered to adequately address this issue, and while domestic observers were allowed as a matter of practice, their rights varied widely among polling stations.

On September 30, 1998, President Nursultan Nazarbayev announced a series of proposed amendments to the Constitution and election-related legislation that would significantly improve the transparency of the political process. Of particular note was the effect that the proposed changes could have had on the work of local election-orientated NGOs, domestic monitors, political parties, and watchdog groups, which would stand to gain greater access to the political and electoral process. IFES issued an *official statement from its Washington office on the remarks made by the President*, which cited the reduction of the quorum rule for elections, the reduction or elimination of the fee for candidate registration, increased opportunities for election observation, and the fuller integration of political parties, NGOs, and women into the political and electoral process. IFES declared the proposed changes positive, if eventually institutionalized, in enhancing transparency, accountability, and the development of Kazakhstan's democracy.

In November 1998, Ambassador Leon Weil, a member of the IFES Board of Directors, IFES/Central Asia Regional Project Manager Thomas Leckinger, IFES/Central Asia Program Officer Anthony Bowyer, Program Assistant Deepika Dayal, Public Information Officer Torie Keller, and IFES/Kazakhstan staff Marat Bigaliev and Saule Buldekbaeva participated in a *meeting with Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev*. President Nazarbayev thanked IFES for supporting democratic development in Kazakhstan and for sponsoring, along with the OSCE, UN/UNDP, and SOROS, the Conference for Regional Election Officials. President Nazarbayev praised a recent event in Shymkent organized by IFES and the American Bar Association in which citizens asked questions of their representatives in the Majilis in an open forum, and he indicated his full support of greater openness and contact between citizens and their elected representatives.

On June 21, 1999, a joint session of the *Parliament passed several changes to the Election Law proposed by President Nazarbayev as a result of IFES' and OSCE' recommendations*. Among the amendments was a change to the Code of Administrative Infringements, which prevented political participation by unregistered public movements. This provision was abandoned. According to the new provision, the contributed election fee is to be returned to a candidate if he or she is elected the President of the Republic, a deputy of the Senate or Majilis, or if the candidate receives not less than seven percent of the votes. In all other cases the contributed fee will not be returned and is to be considered revenue for the national budget. Parliament remained in session for an additional month to consider laws governing local elections. Upon resolution of these issues, the CEC worked to determine the date for the election of local Maslikhats. IFES pledged to provide ongoing commentary on election law development and related issues.

On April 28, 2000, at the second joint session of the Majilis, parliamentary deputies discussed and passed changes and amendments to five basic laws affecting elections and interaction between branches of power. The main election amendments included: reducing the registration fee for candidates for deputy in the Senate and Majilis from 100 times to 50 times the monthly wage, abolishing the provision that elections are considered to have been held if more than 50

percent of the population voted, campaign finance funding for political parties and vote counting, an introduction of a mixed system of voting in which 10 seats in the Majilis are elected using party lists. Article 4 of the Decree on Elections, which prohibits candidates from registering to run in the election if they have administrative violations, was not amended, and though the principle of “one person, one vote” was explicitly mentioned among the revisions, the concept of proxy voting has been formalized in a separate amendment to the Decree on Elections. IFES worked to provide deputies with *copies of past election observation reports* which detailed concerns with many issues ultimately addressed in the new draft. The timeline for consideration of a revised election code, however, allowed very little time for commentary by the international community, and the version passed in the Majilis awaiting ultimate Presidential approval. Furthermore, President Nazarbayev announced that direct elections of local akims (governors) would begin in the year 2000. The first pilot election of a local akim was scheduled for May 29, 1999 in the Chemolgan settlement of Karasay, Almaty Oblast. The current election law does not contain provisions relating to the election of local governors.

In May 2000, by invitation of the CEC of Kazakhstan, IFES/Kazakhstan Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev made *presentations* at a series of seminars for political parties conducted by the Central Election Commission. The CEC planned to conduct 9 seminars during June to discuss the role of political parties under the new election law and the system of proportional representation introduced into the code for elections to the Majilis.

ACE PROJECT

In December 1999, IFES/Kazakhstan received a grant from the Eurasia Foundation to translate and print in Russian the “*Vote Counting*” section of the *ACE CD-ROM*. The translation was undertaken under the guidance and supervision of IFES/Kazakhstan and the IFES ACE Project team in Washington. The ACE Translation group has submitted all of the material on Vote Counting on February 10, 2000. The translators shared their views with regard to the quality of the English version of the text for updating and revising the ACE project. IFES then commenced the process of editing and printing the text of the Russian version.

In June 2000, in an effort to translate into Russian modules of the IFES – UN International IDEA Administration and Cost Selections Project (ACE), IFES sought cooperation with international partners in Almaty and Moscow. Once translated, the Russian-language ACE material was to be placed on the Internet where it could serve as an ongoing resource and election information database to Russian-speaking countries. Similar plans were made for ACE to be translated into French and Spanish.

B. Civic Education

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

In October 1999, IFES/Kazakhstan completed *preparations for its curriculum development project*. During the month, all supporting materials related to the IFES curriculum course for secondary schools, including a textbook, supplementary anthology of readings, teacher guidelines, and teacher and student evaluation forms, were translated into Russian and Kazakh languages and published in two printing houses.

IFES/Kazakhstan Acting Project Manager Anthony Bowyer and Country Coordinator Marat Bigaliev met in Astana with several representatives of the Ministry of Education, including Chairwoman Rysty Zhumabekova and Nagzhan Rakhimzhanova, the Head of the Ministry's Methodological Committee. The IFES team familiarized the Ministry with the Kazakh language version of the textbook and anthology and presented for review the new teacher's manual and evaluation forms for teachers. Following final review and approval, Rakhimzhanova pledged to issue a letter to the 34 pilot schools instructing them to begin the course starting in the second quarter, on or about November 15, 1999. In addition, IFES agreed to submit all materials to the Altynsarin Methodological Institute for independent review.

In November 1999, pilot schools participating in the curriculum project began using materials for the *civic education course* during the second school quarter in cooperation with the Committee for Secondary Education of the Ministry of Education. In November, IFES/Almaty completed the distribution of civic education materials to 34 pilot schools (27 Russian-speaking and 7 Kazakh-speaking) throughout the country. Each pilot school received a copy of all supporting materials related to the IFES curriculum course in Russian or Kazakh prior to the first day of the second academic quarter, including: textbooks, teacher's manuals, several copies of the anthology for the school, and evaluation forms for teachers, students and parents.

IFES and the Ministry of Education gave pilot school teachers an opportunity to modify the recommended lesson plans or independently create lesson plans and the order of course themes within their own schools, using the materials provided. The process of assessment of the knowledge gained by the students (final examination, tests, etc.) was also left to each teacher's discretion and was to be measured by giving comparative examinations to groups participating in the pilot project and those who were not part of the sample study.

IFES requested that teachers fill out a questionnaire on each section or lesson. The questionnaire's data would allow IFES to make a qualitative assessment of the effectiveness of the program. The final program report included the assessment of the effectiveness of the experimental educational course in accordance with the criteria and standards of the Committee on Education of the Ministry of Education of Kazakhstan. In November 1999, IFES also introduced the civic education textbook, anthology, and teachers' manual to the Altynsarin Methodological Institute for *review and evaluation*.

Monitoring of the progress of the IFES pilot curriculum and civic education course took place in December 1999, with *visits* by IFES project staff to several local schools. Marat Bigaliev and IFES curriculum advisor Khasan Shinva developed three more surveys to be used in the evaluation of the pilot course, including a comparative survey for the students studying with the IFES textbook; a survey for parents to analyze knowledge gained by their children; and a survey designed to measure teacher satisfaction with the teacher's manual and instructional guidelines. All surveys were distributed to participating pilot schools across the country.

In December 1999, Marat Bigaliev was invited to attend a *meeting of the Altynsarin Institute's Scientific Joint Committee*, at which representatives of the Education/Methodological Council and the Laboratory for Social and Cultural Education considered and discussed the IFES' textbook, anthology and teacher's manual. As a result of the discussion, all members of the

joint committee voted for approving IFES materials, with recommendation for further introducing them to the secondary schools, gymnasiums, lyceums, professional colleges, institutes, and universities. The recommendation for acceptance was contingent upon revisions being made to the text and accompanying materials, including enhancement of the glossary of terms and inclusion of material on Kazakh history and state-building.

Three more schools were added to the list of participating IFES pilot schools: Kazakh language school # 136 from Almaty; the Kazakh lyceum from Kokshetau, and school # 23 from Semipalatinsk. The administration and teachers of the above-mentioned schools decided to introduce the IFES CE materials between January 2000 and the beginning of the third quarter. The new schools were provided with sufficient copies of all materials.

In addition, the Association of Initiative Schools (AIS) of Kazakhstan had emerged as one of IFES' most important local partners in the CE sphere in Kazakhstan. Of IFES' 34-plus pilot schools, 11 belong to AIS. By invitation of the Association, Marat Bigaliev attended the **National Seminar** "Strategy of School Development" in Karaganda. IFES was invited to the seminar in order to familiarize participants with its CE curriculum development project that it had been implementing in close cooperation with AIS. Bigaliev introduced the IFES project while Mrs. Shamen Akhimbekova, director of AIS, mentioned her support for the project. Akhimbekova expressed a great interest in continuing to work with IFES in order to explore other joint CE programs in the future and pledged her support for curriculum development.

In January 2000, IFES received an **official review** on the civic education (CE) curriculum from the Altynsarin Methodological Institute of Education. According to the Institute's final decision, the document, textbook, and all educational and methodological materials for "Civic Education: The Primer" were approved and recommended for publication as an elective educational subject in secondary schools. The review noted that the materials containing information of sociological, political, philosophic and legal character made the course both timely and important. The curriculum was intended to educate secondary school students in citizenship, the role of the state and other issues that arise in a civil society. Based on the review of the Methodological Institute, IFES efforts shifted to adapting the textbook and the accompanying materials to the Kazakhstani experience.

During the same month, IFES representatives **visited two pilot schools** to observe the civic education materials in use. Marat Bigaliev, together with Alex Newton, ODT Director, USAID/CAR, visited the classical gymnasium # 46. Lidya Rybakova, a teacher at the gymnasium, has been closely collaborating with IFES. She attended the CE training seminar and participated as the IFES nominee on the CE study tour to the U.S. IFES and USAID representatives observed the last lesson from the series of "State and Political Power". During the lesson, 11th grade students presented the results of their research projects conducted during the previous three classes. Research subjects included "Types of Political Systems", "The Structure of Government – Comparative", "The Structure of Government – Kazakhstan". Five groups presented the following topics: 1. Comparing different types of national governments – Germany, Spain and Kazakhstan; 2. Exploring different types of sub-national organizations, such as UN, EU, NATO and ASEAN; 3. The role of political parties in Kazakhstan; 4. Comparing

different types of political power; 5. The last group was responsible for the analyses of each group's presentation and for the final overview and conclusion.

While researching, students had to engage in group activities, individual assignments and initiatives, as well as develop analytical skills to further explore additional topics. Students used various types of research such as brainstorming, interviews broadcast by the local TV station at gymnasiums, surveys, mass media monitoring, etc. At the end of each group presentation, presenters were questioned by their peers and teacher. Students explained why they chose their topics, what special challenges they faced while researching, whether their findings were surprising, etc. Practical assignments and interactive methods of teaching from the IFES teacher's manual were very useful and productive for a variety of textbook themes and topics. Students were able to go beyond a basic understanding of the material and learn to analyze and forecast results, see the differences, advantages and disadvantages of political processes. Finally, students were able to improve their oral presentation and speaking skills as well as their ability to ask questions.

By invitation of the pilot school-gymnasium # 38 from Almaty Oblast, Marat Bigaliev and Baghlan Yerzhan observed how the IFES textbook was being introduced in 11th grade classes. Narymova Leila, a CE teacher, had been introducing the IFES CE materials in accordance with the educational plan of the school-gymnasium since November 1999. In this school, 111 students were studying civic education using IFES textbooks. During the observation, students worked in small groups, and participated in discussions and group presentations on individual topics of a certain theme. During the presentations, the special mass media group questioned all of the groups.

In February 2000, preparations commenced for a March civic education event, including both a Civic Education Tournament for top Kazakhstani civic education students and a teachers' seminar on the CE curriculum. IFES staff met with Shamen Akhimbekova, Director of the Association of Initiative Schools, in order to discuss a draft format for the tournament among IFES pilot school students. Shamen Akhimbekova provided IFES with a detailed format of the 1.5-day tournament, including tests, written assignments and final oral presentations by students. Most of the test questions and assignments were based on the IFES textbook and readings. The civic education tournament and teacher's meeting tentatively was scheduled for the end of March. IFES Vice-President Juliana Pilon planned to attend the tournament as one of the presenters and judges.

IFES/Kazakhstan staff also met Lyudmila Adilova, Candidate of Historical Sciences at the Kazakh National State University "Al-Pharabi", to discuss a *student mock elections* project at the university level. Adilova had an interest in cooperating with IFES on conducting "Elections of a University' Akim". According to the program proposed by Adilova, more than 360 students were going to be involved in the electoral process. IFES would provide them with technical information related to election law, campaigning and electoral administration.

IFES' efforts in February focused on continued *expansion of the curriculum development project*. On February 7, 2000, Marat Bigaliev and Baghlan Yerzhan met with Zhukeshev Kanat Muratbekovich, a member of the Educational Methodical Council from the Altynsarin Institute,

who recommended the IFES Civics textbook for publication. Mr. Zhukeshev shared the plans of the Ministry of Education on development of a new subject called the “Fundamentals of Social Science,” or “Civics,” comprising 102 academic hours, and said that IFES civics program could be offered as an alternative subject or for special schools oriented for social and humanitarian science. He also said that there is a great demand in subjects of law.

In April 2000, IFES/Central Asia Regional Project Manager Tom Leckinger, Regional Program Coordinator Saule Buldekbaeva, and Baghlan Yerzhan, Regional Communications Coordinator, participated in a *meeting with new Chairperson of the Committee on Education*, Mrs. Rysty Zhumabekova, to discuss the IFES curriculum development project. Mrs. Zhumabekova expressed her interest and support for the project, and promised to review the IFES draft textbook and appoint a liaison from her committee to help coordinate and manage its implementation. The book was scheduled to be edited taking into consideration feedback received from Kazakhstan's teachers and scholars in order to produce a text to best reflect country-specific issues as well as educate high school students about democracy and their duty as citizens.

Leckinger, IFES Program Officer Anthony Bowyer, and Buldekbaeva met with USIS Director Richard Brown and Public Affairs Officer Vivian Walker to discuss the IFES textbook and curriculum development project. Brown and Walker presented information on the USIS-sponsored “Project Citizen” initiative focusing on teaching students about their rights as citizens vis-à-vis the government and of the importance of government accountability. They suggested that the IFES draft textbook, which focuses on the elements of a democratic system for students in the 10th and 11th levels, and the accompanying curriculum be broken into two parts to be taught over two years. Moreover, it was determined that the text, as written at that time, was a general progression from the existing texts used at lower levels. Walker underscored the need for teachers of higher education to review the text, an idea already proposed by IFES to the Department of Education.

In May 2000, Dr. Juliana Pilon, IFES Vice-President, visited Kazakhstan as the next step in the development of the civic education curriculum project. Dr. Pilon participated in a number of meetings with governmental officials from the Presidential Apparatus, Department of Education, Ministry of Justice, local schoolteachers, and international organizations working in the civic education sector in Kazakhstan.

Leckinger, Bowyer and Buldekbaeva met with Nazilya Irgebayeva, Special Liaison with the Department of Education, at her office in Almaty. Mrs. Irgebayeva was appointed as the official liaison of the Department of Education with IFES following an earlier introductory session held between Leckinger and Education Chair Rysty Zhumabekova. Irgebayeva indicated that the IFES text could be integrated into the “State and Law” curriculum, taught in the 9th-11th grades in Kazakhstan. Irgebayeva was presented a Kazakh-language translation of the IFES text and indicated that she would pass it on to the Department of Education’s Methodological Department for *analysis and review*. Following a review and revision of the basic text, the book and curriculum were planned to be adopted to meet specific needs of the students of Kazakhstan, with each chapter focusing on relevant Kazakhstani laws and norms. Upon adoption of the text, incorporating material provided by local, independent authors, it was decided a curriculum

would be prepared to provide the basis for teaching training. The training was projected to take place after the selection of 32 schools nationwide to host the pilot project.

Key meetings were held with the Chairperson of the Committee of Secondary Education Rysty Zhumabekova and with the Head of the Department of General and Secondary Education Mr. Amirbek Rakhimzhanov. Zhumabekova expressed her ongoing interest and support in the IFES curriculum project and pledged to work as expediently as possible to complete and approve an election-oriented section of the student text in time for the beginning of the new school year on September 1, and in advance of Senate and Majilis elections scheduled for September and October. Zhumabekova underscored the existing lack of a good civic education textbook for high-school-level students and indicated the importance and use value of the IFES project. Rakhimzhanov and the IFES team discussed and worked out the process of review and revision of the submitted draft IFES text as well as a timeline of key due dates in the review process.

While in Almaty, Pilon met with several local teachers of civic education, who discussed in great detail those topics particularly useful for inclusion in the IFES-sponsored civic education curriculum for students, including: a glossary of election terms, supplementary materials and additional readings, adaptation of existing material for Kazakhstan-specific needs, and other working issues for the next several months. The teachers indicated that the IFES textbook coincided with the state standards of Kazakhstan for curriculum courses, which is the main requirement of the Ministry of Education.

In July 2000, the completed Russian-language IFES civic education textbook (edited and re-written) was delivered to the *Complex* printing house on July 18th, and layout and design began. All illustrations and tables were included, and an ISBN number was secured. *Printing* of the 300-page completed Kazakh-language text followed several days later. It was estimated that the first 5,000 copies of the Russian edition would become available by the second week of August. The total print run was to be 15,000 and the remainder of the books was to be available by the end of August in time for distribution to the pilot schools for the beginning of the expanded pilot phase of the IFES project.

With the assistance of the Ministry of Education, 84 schools were identified to participate in the next pilot testing phase and use the textbook beginning in September 2000. These schools were clustered around five centers: Astana, Almaty, Semey, Shymkent, and Aktobe. IFES made a concerted effort to ensure representative ratios of city to rural schools, and of Russian-language schools to Kazakh-language schools. The clustering of the schools facilitated teacher-training, programmatic follow-up and created an informal support network among teachers. This was reflected in the training sessions held in August to prepare teachers in the methodology of teaching the course. The training seminars, conducted in the five cluster regions, included overviews of the IFES textbook, related practical exercises and teaching strategies. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education received a review and recommendations on the revised textbook from the Altynsarin Methodological Institute and subsequently issued a decree granting official support of the project.

In September 2000, IFES/Kazakhstan staff facilitated *introduction of the 2nd edition IFES Civics and Democracy textbook* for the 2000-2001 school year. The 2nd edition of the textbook

was revised based on the input and recommendations of students, teachers, and other scholars, and disseminated to participating schools for an expanded pilot phase. IFES had received written authorization from Ministry of Education officials to complete the distribution of the civic education textbook and materials in preparation for their use during the new school year.

A series of *teacher training sessions* were held prior to the beginning of the school year. IFES Project Manager Eilis Ward, Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev and Communications Coordinator Karlygash Balapanova traveled to participating regions to provide instruction to teachers in the methodology of using the textbook and teaching the democracy and civics course. In addition, IFES focused on completing the distribution of nearly 7,500 copies of the textbook - including approximately 2,000 copies in the Kazakh language and 5,500 copies in the Russian language - to special "profile" schools in Almaty, Semey, Aktobe, Karaganda and Shymkent. These profile schools were recommended by the Ministry of Education and selected based on their special and advanced instruction of civic education as a topic. While many of the 8000-or-so secondary schools in Kazakhstan do not yet have a civic education curriculum, IFES is hopeful that the subject will be introduced to all schools in the country as a separate and specific requirement. An additional 7,500 copies of the textbook were to become available for distribution in both languages in early October after a second printing.

IFES/Kazakhstan Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev, together with USAID/CAR Director of Democracy and Transition Office Katheryn Stratos and USAID/CAR Program Assistant Igor Tupitsyn, had an opportunity to observe a student group exercise at an IFES pilot school in Taldy-Kurgan. A student group in Taldy-Kurgan school #1 conducted a practical exercise from the IFES-produced civics and democracy textbook "Writing a Constitution On a Desert Island," in which it created a governing document for a hypothetical country. Students were divided into groups and made presentations in front of teachers and fellow classmates. Each group was able to gain critical feedback from teachers and classmates and derive a set of lessons learned from the exercise by comparing methodological approaches. Teachers and students alike indicated that these constitution-writing and other textbook exercises had been useful, informative, and challenging to the students for the development of critical thinking skills. IFES placed significant emphasis on the student group exercises as part of its civics and democracy course; viewing such practical, hands-on activities as the one of the optimal learning tools. Several teachers and school administrators expressed an interest in additional IFES programs planned under its current Cooperative Agreement, including Student Action Committees and Student Government Day, and made useful recommendations and proposals for the conduct of those projects.

In October 2000, Shamen Akhimbekova, Director of School #1 in Taldy-Kurgan and the head of the Association of the Initiative Schools, requested that IFES provide her school with additional textbooks for her students including ninth graders. Ludmila Kholina, a civics teacher of School #11 in the village of Erkin, also expressed her interest in IFES working on textbooks for younger students, though at that time the IFES civics and democracy textbook remained focused on tenth and eleventh graders.

Along with monitoring pilot school activities during the new school year, IFES staff in Kazakhstan had been entertaining ideas on how to expand the scope of the project.

IFES/Kazakhstan Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev met with Julia Savynykh, a civics teacher of School #134 in Almaty and a specialist in civic education since 1997. Ms. Savynykh was willing to work with the Republican Institute for Teachers' Qualifications, the Skills Improvement Institute, and the Almaty Department of Education, and to introduce an experimental course using the IFES textbook in the ninth to eleventh grades as a sequential program. Based on discussions and proclamations made by the Center for Conflict Resolution and the OSCE, it appeared that a movement was underway to create a national civics curriculum for fifth to eleventh graders, including a series of sequential textbooks. Though the Savynykh initiative would be conducted experimentally outside of this network, any results would be shared with IFES' other international and local partners. After completion of the hypothetical course, Savynykh had agreed to approach the Ministry of Education to address using the IFES course as a core course for future state textbooks.

TEACHER TRAINING

In October 1999, USIS approved the following nominees suggested by IFES to participate in a *civic education study tour of the United States*: Lydia Rybakova, teacher and IFES civic education specialist from Almaty; Maria Pfetzer, civic education teacher from school # 30, Astana; and Shamen Akhimbekova, the Head of the Association of Innovative Schools from Taldy-Korgan. The group departed for the United States for two weeks in late October to study methods of instruction on civic education and citizenship.

Marat Bigaliev and Baghlan Yerzhan attended a *seminar* for the directors of high schools organized by the Association of Initiative Schools (AIS) of the Republic of Kazakhstan on February 8, 2000 at the pilot school #38, Almaty oblast. Within the program of the seminar, IFES representatives attended the lesson on "Elections and Referenda in Kazakhstan", which used interactive methods of teaching and IFES civic education textbook and reading materials. The teachers of the civics course said that they found IFES materials very useful and helpful because the issues presented were not covered in local textbooks. This was followed by a round table with participants of the seminar, where AIS and IFES made presentations.

In July 2000, a *new teacher's manual* was written to reflect the revised textbook. A Russian-language translation had already been completed, with a Kazakh-language translation commenced in July. This manual was to be copied and distributed during the forthcoming teachers' training sessions. The manual and the textbook would provide a complete course – no additional materials would be required either for the students or for the teachers to successfully teach and study the text.

In addition, a preliminary teacher-training program agenda was drafted and a Training of Trainers course was organized for IFES staff who served as the core group of trainers.

The IFES civic education project gained in stature in October as more schools expressed their interest in participating during the second academic semester, which was to begin in January 2001. The Kostanai Oblast Department of Education submitted a list of 28 profile schools (of higher learning) that they have recommended for inclusion in the new semester. IFES/Kazakhstan considered adding these schools, as well as schools from other regions, when it began a selection process for the winter 2001 semester. In October, numerous regional school

directors and teachers called IFES with words of gratitude and appreciation for the textbooks and teacher's manuals that they have been using since the opening of the new school year in September. The last of the 276 Kazakh and 690 Russian IFES textbooks were received from the printing house in October, and the remainder of the 82+ participating schools obtained all necessary materials.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

In October 1999, at the request of the MoE, Marat Bigaliev presented an update on the IFES *student mock elections initiative* taking place in the 34 pilot schools, which had been approved and supported by the Ministry as a lead-in project to the pilot course timed to coincide with the national elections to the Majilis and Senate. Some of the mock student elections were expected to continue into the month of November and lead into the beginning of the new IFES-sponsored course on civics and democracy in mid-November. Using materials developed by IFES as part of the new curriculum on democracy, teachers instructed their students in the exercise of developing political parties, preparing platforms, designing campaigns, executing voter information initiatives, and voting in a mock election. While students from several classes in the 11th grade divided into various political parties of their own choosing, other students from the 9th and 10th grades assumed the roles of voters, election observers, and election officials.

In school-gymnasium #9 in Aktobe, civic education teacher Galina Smertynuk, a participant in the IFES August 1999 three-day teacher training seminar in Almaty, conducted a student election that began with several lessons on elections as an expression of democratic choice and culminated in an all-school, daylong student election. Students in four classes in the 10th and 11th grades divided into five political parties and developed their own platforms to lure votes from the student body "electorate." Platforms and campaign strategies were developed for five student-created political parties: the Women's Party, Youth Party, Ecological Party, New Kazakhstani Party, and the Democratic Party, with the Women's Party emerging victorious after a particularly creative and successful campaign. The exercise included a group excursion to an actual polling station, a meeting with polling officials, and featured an "election observation" appearance by a member of the Okrug Election Commission. Candidate campaigning was conducted on a number of levels, including via the hanging of campaign posters, distribution of literature, and advertisements on school radio. Students from a nearby college also contributed their time to the project by providing guidance to their younger peers. The exercise even received local television coverage, as an excerpt was shown on Aktobe evening news telecast.

Many of the students involved in the project later compared the platforms they created for their fictitious parties with the platforms of candidates balloting for the Majilis, Oblast or city Maslikhat, and found that, in many cases, their own platforms were more concise and on-target. Best of all, students gained an interest in the election process underway in Kazakhstan by holding their own election, which served to further stimulate interest and opinion about the election process taking place for national and local government.

At Aktobe's school #21, a Kazakh-language pilot school, preparations were underway to hold the mock election exercise for students in the 10th grade. Teacher Zlikha Daumbekova indicated that the elections would take place in late October or early November. An exercise challenging

students to form political parties and platforms was completed during the last week of September, with four parties formed. The IFES mock elections materials were deemed useful, and the school director decreed that one hour per week would be devoted to the IFES-sponsored civics and democracy course, starting in mid-November.

Six IFES pilot schools in Uralsk, Almaty and Ust-Kamenogorsk and five pilot schools from Karaganda oblast also conducted their own student mock elections in October. Garifulla Karimov from Uralsk's school #5 prepared a program for his students, which included a visit with a candidate running for a seat in the West Kazakhstan Oblast Maslikhat. 75 students from three classes in the 11th grade competed as political parties nominating candidates, with students from the 9th and 10th grades voting on election day. Lidya Rybakova from Almaty school # 46 conducted several sessions where students met with the local election commission members in terms of preparation of students for the final mock elections at school, which took place in late October. The mock elections were covered broadly by independent school TV stations and local journalists. Marat Bigaliev monitored those elections as an IFES "international observer" and presented awards to the leaders of four winning parties and four independent candidates, as well as seven members of the school election committee.

In January 2000, IFES met with a number of local CE and youth organizations to develop joint projects targeting youth. IFES met with representatives of the Association of Initiative Schools, the Association of Young Leaders, the Youth Information Service (YIS) of Kazakhstan and the Civic Education Project to discuss possible initiatives. Discussions included ideas for Student Action Committees, town hall meetings, further continuation of mock election initiatives for older students and other projects that help youth to better understand the fundamentals of the democratic society, the working of local government, the non-government sector, and become better acquainted with their civic responsibilities in a democracy. YIS, for instance, provided IFES with the draft plan of the project "We choose Democracy" for students of higher education and secondary schools. "We choose Democracy" would seek to enhance the level of student participation through the consolidation of experience and participation in social life, extending youth group activities, drawing into the democratic processes. YIS hoped to select and train youth activists and civic leaders in 5-8 regions of Kazakhstan to provide open alternative opportunities for preparing for adulthood and participating in politics. The program would include developing educational program for trainers, student election commissions and a youth parliament, training a team of 10 trainers, conducting regional training seminars or workshops for developing school's and university's election commissions, and holding elections to the Youth Parliament in trained schools and universities.

IFES activities in March 2000 focused on the *Student Olympiad and Teacher Evaluation Conference*, planned for March 30 – 31. Fifty students and teachers took part in a Student Olympiad and Teacher's Conference held in the Teacher's Training Institute in Almaty. IFES Vice-President Juliana Pilon, the author of the civic education textbook that was introduced in pilot schools around Kazakhstan, was present for the conference and used the opportunity to talk with many students and teachers on the book and materials.

The Olympiad consisted of a written test dealing with subjects discussed in the IFES civic education curriculum. Based on the results of that test, four finalists were selected to make an

oral presentation on civil society in Kazakhstan. Students were also assigned to small discussion groups that focused on various issues relating to civil society in Kazakhstan. The four finalists made their oral presentations on Friday morning before the full audience. While the judges were outside evaluating the finalists, a general session was conducted with the students on how the textbook could be used as a tool for them to help construct a future civil society.

One highlight of the event was the awards ceremony, at which U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan Richard Jones presented, followed by a private meeting with the four finalists and their teachers. The students were provided with the opportunity of asking the Ambassador's opinion on various matters related to democracy in Kazakhstan. According to reports from USAID, the Ambassador was encouraged by the event and prepared to take up an offer from the finalists to visit their schools in the future. Contact names and addresses for all finalists and their teachers were provided to the Embassy.

During the Olympiad for the students, teachers of the civic education course were organized into six workshops derived from the themes that were determined to be critical for the review process: small group projects, design of the materials, language of the materials, methodology, Student Action Committees and the Teacher's Manual. All teachers were asked to provide an assessment based on their experience, on the problems they encountered and on their recommendations for the future. Detailed notes were taken from the workshops and from the general discussions to be used in the future stages of the textbook's evolution. Among the guests were the Minister of Education in Karakalpakstan, Uzbekistan and the President of the Altynsarin Institute, which reviewed the materials last year.

III. MATERIALS PRODUCED

(materials can be found in IFES/Almaty or IFES/Washington D.C. offices)

- Conference for Regional Election Administrators of the Central Asian States Participant Briefing Book "Election Administration: Regional Experience and Comparative Perspectives"; Almaty, Kazakhstan, November 17-20, 1998.
- What is Democracy? Civic Education Textbook (In Russian and Kazakh)
- Supplementary Anthology of Readings for Civic Education Textbook (In Russian and Kazakh)
- Teacher's Manual for Civic Education Textbook (In Russian and Kazakh)
- Teacher Evaluation Forms (In Russian and Kazakh)

V. IMPACT AND EVALUATION

IFES measures the impact of its program in Kazakhstan during the Agreement period by looking at the success achieved in the election assistance and civic education projects. The election assistance effort addressed the needs of the CEC as well as individual domestic election observers. The CEC entered a period of close engagement and courtship of international organizations, a relationship which IFES had already enjoyed with them. This reflected in the lessons learned after the March 1994 and December 1995 elections, in which the Commission was generally wary of international interventions and not fully appreciative of the value of assistance that could be offered by the international community. On an institutional level IFES achieved success in gaining recognition from the CEC and lower level electoral commissions of the importance of transparency and inclusiveness in the election process. The 1998 Regional

Election Officials' Conference brought together Oblast officials from Kazakhstan and the region for the first time and engaged them in a training specifically designed for them to improve management and administration of elections at a regional level. Of particular benefit was the relationship-building that took place at the Conference between Kazakh Oblast officials and those from different countries, and among the Kazakhstan officials themselves. This event served IFES later as well, as Oblast election officials welcomed teams of IFES trainers to the various regions to conduct domestic election observer training in advance of the 1999 parliamentary elections.

The domestic observer training project, conducted by IFES in partnership with NDI and with the full support of the CEC, succeeded in training upwards of 1500 pollwatchers nationwide. This was the first national election in Kazakhstan in which non-partisan domestic observers took part in large numbers. Although these observers still had to register with a Public Association in order to be fully credentialed, thereby calling into question their full impartiality, the 1999 elections saw the highest turnout of domestic observer "watchdogs" in the history of independent Kazakhstani elections. The observer training sessions armed the pollwatchers with handbooks, copies of the election law, and codes of behavioral conduct by which to guide themselves on election day. The result was a mass of well-informed, active election observers representing the ranks of independent monitors as well as party- and candidate-affiliated observers who increased the overall transparency and accountability of the voting process on election day.

The candidate debates initiated a new era of voter information in Kazakhstan, as viewers were acquainted with the power to compare and contrast prospective candidates in an efficient manner. The idea of "meeting the constituents" was extended to forums such as town hall meetings, which IFES co-sponsored with ABA in Shymkent. Never before had ordinary citizens attained such direct access to elected officials, with the resulting interaction and debate forcing the officials and candidates to respond directly. Citizens were very direct and open in their questions and criticisms, but respected the officials and candidates for participating with them as a group. These projects showed that citizens and elected officials could interact without fear and in an atmosphere of mutual respect and recognition, with the promise of future interactions with deputies in the Majilis or representatives of Maslikhats.

Kazakhstan also became the cradle of IFES' blossoming civic education program in Central Asia.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS & CHALLENGES

The textbook project commenced under this agreement should be given long-term support in order to flourish and take root in the standard scholastic curriculum. The strong support of the Ministry of Education would appear to be the optimal vehicle for eventual standardization of the material in the national curriculum. IFES had, by the end of calendar year 2001, negotiated a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Education in Astana, an achievement that took many months of back-and-forth discussion. But the agreement served to cement the use of the textbook on an increasing basis, with the number of pilot schools set to increase every year. The Ministry should be engaged on a regular basis in order for the textbook project to maintain positive inertia. This engagement may require the extra effort of IFES staff, as the Ministry's

frequent personnel changes mean that many new persons in roles of responsibility within the Ministry are not always familiar with IFES' work or its textbook project.

Including the Ministry in the annual Student Civic Education Tournament ("Olympiad") is a good way of getting them to reinforce their commitment to the project and have them assume ownership of the overall project. The objective of the project is to gradually turn it over to the Ministry, who will be able to render modifications to the textbook on a regular basis in subsequent volumes based on the input of the team of contributors created originally by IFES. Though full coverage in secondary schools nationwide may be some time away, IFES expected the number of participating schools to continue growing on an annual basis, and USAID, as well as other donors for printing of the books, should be assured that progress will continue. Particularly encouraging was the response from the participating Kazakh-language teachers and schools, whose numbers are expected to increase most dramatically over the next few years. As such, IFES has prioritized both the Kazakh and Russian language versions of the textbook and accompanying materials, which has drawn most favorable reaction from the Ministry. The textbook, classroom materials, lesson plans, supplementary readings, teacher manuals and other associated printed matter should continue to be translated, printed and distributed in the Kazakh language as widely as possible to meet the needs especially of southern and rural schools. Donors will be asked to recognize this need when solicited for contributions.

The textbook project, while a separate and independent activity, has opened the door for other student-based civic education projects that IFES was planning by the end of this Cooperative Agreement. The Student Action Committees, Student Local Government Days, and Democracy Summer Camps are all projects that feed from but are not dependent upon the textbook. Having the Ministry's overall support certainly helps those efforts, of course. With a primary goal being the active engagement of students in areas of civic responsibility outside of the classroom, these activities hold promise for creating a new mentality among students in the upper grades of high schools. Also, the student projects have not drawn much scrutiny from the powers-that-be, and rather have received solid local support and tacit approval from the Ministry. It is the work on the local levels, and the corresponding support from local teachers, school directors, students and local education officials, that will prove essential in the success of the program. The student activities can function without the seal of approval from the Ministry, unlike the textbook project, though, as mentioned, the overall support (cemented in the Memorandum of Understanding) helps the cause.

Elections work is not expected to be bountiful in the coming period. Therefore, IFES is not proposing an extensive effort of technical election assistance. Rather, IFES considers that opportunities must be carefully chosen and supported on a case-by-case basis after close discussion with USAID. There may be momentum towards revising the election code or polling procedures, an effort most assuredly to be led by the OSCE. IFES must remain a part of the discussion and attend any working groups or other fora on elections and election system reform that take place. The CEC will most likely shelve the elections discussion for some time, but at a point in the future they are likely to resume in earnest their efforts to gain international acceptance. Where there is a window of opportunity, IFES should be ready to propose targeted assistance. This may take the form of a by-election observation or being part of a larger debate

on aspects of the elections process that holds reasonable and realistic prospects of success and positive reform.

The parliamentary elections of 1999 must be judged as an improvement over the 1995 elections, with more domestic observers taking part, a more sophisticated voting process having been put in place, and greater transparency at local levels. However, similar results were achieved in the vote's final outcome, thereby calling into question the real progress made in four years' time. Nevertheless, the changes and improvements on the local level must not be ignored, and IFES feels it contributed to the positive changes through its work with the CEC and in partnership with NDI/OSCE on domestic observer training. One success in and of itself was the creation of an increased level of expectation and awareness among the general population that should carry over into the next election cycle. In due course, especially with the hope of development of a more permanent, organized opposition, the voting public will no longer tolerate the heavy-handed measures taken by the current administration to influence the outcome of the election process. IFES must be prepared to continue its work in this realm at the appropriate time and place in the coming period.

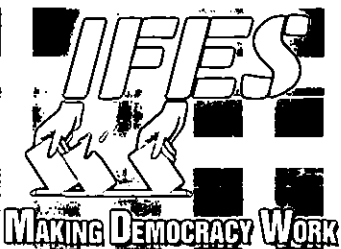
VII. CONCLUSION

IFES commenced work on the new Cooperative Agreement by transitioning from its *Strategies for Citizen Involvement* NGO work to other civil society development and election assistance initiatives. With less than two years until national parliamentary elections were to be held, and just over one year until presidential elections, it intensified its efforts on the election technical assistance front. Reviews of election laws and procedures were completed and discussions with the CEC were held on numerous occasions. IFES sought to monitor by-elections and local elections to examine them as test cases for improvement of the election system. The multi-national elections conference of November 1998, held in Almaty, brought together representatives of regional election commissions from all the countries of Central Asia. In the case of the host country Kazakhstan, the Oblast election officials had their first chance to meet as a group and discuss issues such as voter education, voter registration, adjudication of grievances and election law reform.

At the same time that technical assistance efforts were engaged, IFES continued working to involve ordinary citizens in the process of democratic governance by encouraging their participation as domestic monitors and active participants in elections and local governance. Training programs and educational outreach helped to bring greater attention to the developmental needs of Kazakhstani democracy while supporting a cadre of local watchdog NGOs. It was with two of those NGOs that IFES and NDI partnered to conduct nationwide domestic observer training in 1999 in advance of parliamentary elections. IFES also began partnerships at this time with local NGOs supporting civic education, and initiated contact with the Ministry of Education through the *Association of Initiative Schools* NGO. IFES and the Association worked to conduct teacher-training for the IFES pilot textbook course, which took place in October 1999. For the next year, in the aftermath of the parliamentary elections through the end of 2000 and the end of the Cooperative Agreement, IFES developed and piloted its civics and democracy textbook and course. This textbook would later become the inspiration for similar books in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and form the driving force of IFES programming for a new Agreement signed in September 2000.

IFES

As one of the world's premier democracy and governance assistance organizations, IFES provides needs-based, targeted, technical assistance designed and implemented through effective partnerships with donors and beneficiaries. Founded in 1987 as a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, IFES has provided integrated, collaborative solutions in the areas of democratic institution building and participatory governance in more than 120 countries worldwide. IFES' Washington headquarters houses eighty-five employees specializing regionally in Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Middle East, and Europe, as well as functionally in rule of law, civil society, good governance, election administration, applied research, gender issues, public information technology solutions, and more. IFES' staff offers vast country-specific experience and facility in more than 30 languages. IFES employs an additional 120 people in twenty-five field locations.



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