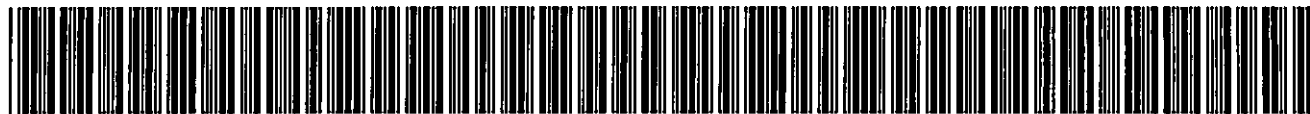


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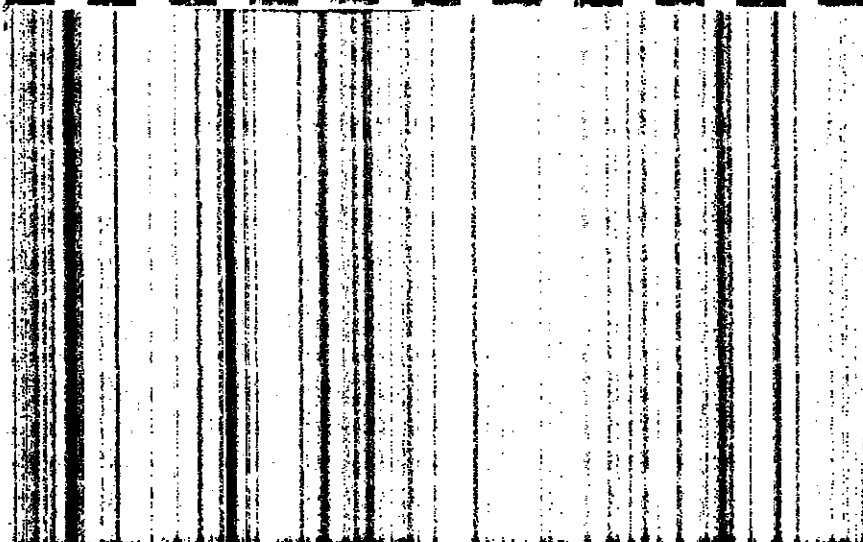
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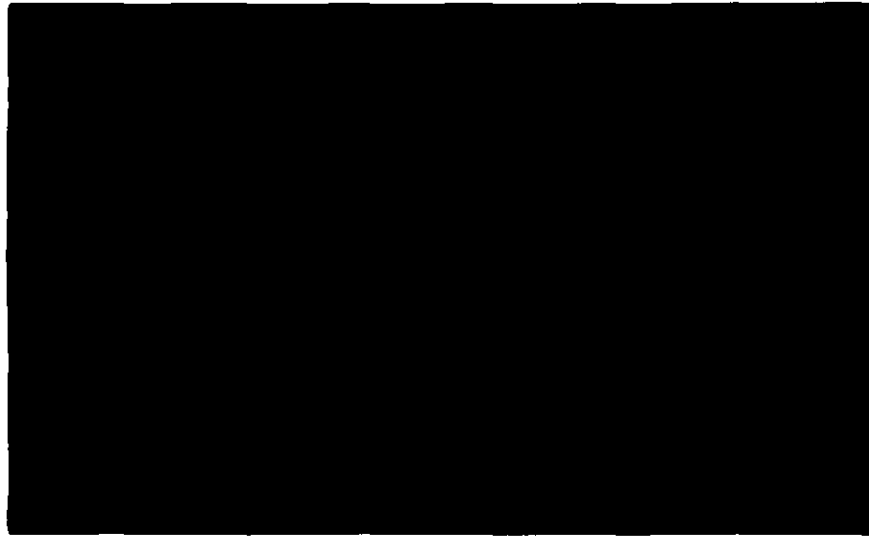


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ELECTIONS • RULE OF LAW • GOVERNANCE • CIVIL SOCIETY



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK



# **IFES MISSION STATEMENT**

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 UZBEKISTAN**

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

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

**PREPARED BY:**

**ANTHONY BOWYER**  
**IFES SENIOR PROGRAM OFFICER**  
**CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS**

**JILL QUINN**  
**IFES PROGRAM OFFICER**  
**KYRGYZSTAN**

**IRINA VOLCHANSKY**  
**PROGRAM ASSISTANT**  
**CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS**

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**INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS**  
**1101 15<sup>TH</sup> STREET NW, THIRD FLOOR**  
**WASHINGTON, DC 20005**



**MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK**

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

**Final Project Report**

**REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN**

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

### **Final Project Report**

### **REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN**

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

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

#### **I. INTRODUCTION**

In July 1997, IFES was awarded \$800,000 to conduct programming in Uzbekistan as part of ENI Cooperative Agreement EE-A-00-97-00034-00 focusing on technical election assistance and civil society. Under the auspices of that agreement, IFES presented the Central Election Commission (CEC), Oliy Majlis (Parliament), and Uzbek Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) with a written comprehensive technical review of the election law to provide electoral authorities with a critical, objective analysis of the electoral code with respect to international standards, and offer recommendations for possible improvements to the code. In September 1998, IFES, together with OSCE/ODIHR, the Uzbek Presidential Commission on Human Rights, the Oliy Majlis, and the CEC, conducted a two-day conference on electoral systems, practices, and legal issues. Together with information IFES provided on elections commission structures prior to the adoption of a new law on the Uzbek CEC, IFES was able to render timely and relevant input on the evolution of the Uzbek electoral system.

In January 1998, IFES formally opened an office in Tashkent, allowing IFES to serve as a dependable resource of information for the Central Election Commission, the Oliy Majlis, NGOs, and others working in the area of electoral sector reform and civic education. In July 1999, IFES and its local NGO partner, the Public Education Center (PEC) conducted a 10-day Summer Democracy Camp for students representing all regions of Uzbekistan. The project promoted greater activeness in democracy-building among the future leaders of Uzbekistan, and encouraged these young leaders to take an active interest in the peaceful and democratic evolution of their country. IFES continued to play an important role in the development of civil society in Uzbekistan through its civic and voter education projects. IFES was able to contribute to the OSCE's Education for Women project by providing information on Civic and Voter Education for the project and by publishing and distributing a brochure on women's rights for the training sessions in the regions. In cooperation with the survey research firm *Expert*, IFES conducted a target survey of five regions in 1999, which generated results critical to the next phases of IFES' civic education program targeting secondary school students. With the survey data, IFES became better able to target programs increasing involvement and understanding of young citizens' role in the building of democracy.

In fall of 1999, IFES initiated a pilot project in four secondary schools in the Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan using a textbook, anthology and teacher's manual focusing on democracy and civic education. The experimental venture included a teacher's training seminar in Nukus, which commenced with the holding of mock student elections in December 1999. During the following summer, IFES initiated a second summer democracy camp for secondary school students in Karakalpakstan. In August 2000, IFES was awarded a new Cooperative Agreement through the USAID/CAR mission to carry on secondary school-based civics

textbooks and civic education work focusing on the development and implementation of tertiary-level civic education modules and teacher training seminars, as well as secondary school Student Action Committee (SAC) activities and additional summer camps. Throughout the fall of 2000, IFES continued to work with the Ministry of Education, the Republican Education Center and a number of NGOs on the approval of the new IFES civic education textbook and prepared numerous student-oriented activities and materials. Though the project was discontinued in 2001 due to a shift in USAID funding priorities, IFES developed lasting partnerships and made contributions that positively affected the difficult task of democracy development in Uzbekistan. This report seeks to capsule those efforts over the three-year period of this Cooperative Agreement.

## **II. OFFICE AND PERSONNEL**

IFES opened a country office in Tashkent in January 1998. For the duration of this Agreement, the office was staffed primarily by highly qualified country nationals. IFES maintained a Regional Project Manager for Central Asia based in Almaty, Kazakhstan who was responsible for overseeing the project, which necessitated making regular trips to Tashkent. From 1997 to 1999 IFES' Regional Project Manager for Central Asia was Thomas Leckinger. Leckinger oversaw the formal expansion of IFES into Uzbekistan, though IFES projects such as the Public Opinion Survey had been ongoing prior to that time. The IFES onsite presence in Tashkent immediately enhanced the credibility of the project, and showed an important commitment to the Government of Uzbekistan, specifically, the Central Election Commission and the Ministry of Education. IFES' local country nationals met with colleagues from the international community, U.S. government and Uzbek government on a regular basis, with the Project Manager making regular trips to Tashkent as necessary. At various times since 1997, IFES sent consultants to Tashkent to work on specific, short-term projects. IFES Legal Consultant Jack Martin traveled to Tashkent to discuss election law reform, Judith Davis conducted a voter education project in 1998, and Christoph Stephe led a Democracy Summer Camp in summer 2000. In early 2000 IFES introduced a new Project Manager for Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Eilis Ward. Ms. Ward was responsible for running the programs in both countries, which were similar in scope. Following Ms. Ward's tenure, Jeffrey Carlson arrived to guide the project through what would become its final phase. Despite entering into a new Cooperative Agreement in October 2000, IFES' presence in Uzbekistan was discontinued in the spring of 2001 due to a reprioritization of funding by USAID. IFES' funds under the previous agreement had expired late in 2000, though the work begun under that agreement was hoped to have been expanded upon as part of the new agreement.

IFES' main international partner in Uzbekistan during the period of this Cooperative Agreement was the OSCE, with whom it had a close cooperation in elections issues, civic education, and gender programming. IFES also had contacts with the Konrad Adenauer foundation, United Nations, European Union representatives, and others. IFES worked perhaps most closely with its USAID-funded colleagues, including the American Bar Association, Eurasia Foundation, Internews, and Counterpart Consortium. Local partners were numerous and focused mainly in the Tashkent area and in the Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan, where IFES maintained an onsite presence for many months. The most prominent local partner in Tashkent was the *Public Education Center*, with whom IFES conducted its first-ever democracy summer camp in July, 1999 in Syr-Darya. IFES also cooperated with a consortium of NGOs in Karakalpakstan to

conduct its second Uzbekistan summer camp in July 2000. One other consistent local partner was *Expert*, a research firm with whom IFES collaborated on a 1996 baseline survey of democracy indicators and again on a 1999 survey of civic education in five regions of Uzbekistan. The partnership extended beyond conducting surveys, and *Expert* became a frequent contact and source of information on political matters taking place in the country.

### III. PROGRAMMATIC ACTIVITIES

#### A. Technical Election Assistance

From the beginning of the Agreement, IFES held a solid working relationship with the Central Election Commission of Uzbekistan and focused its programming largely on election-related issues, including election law and voter information. Work in the electoral sphere for IFES in Uzbekistan quickly phased out, however, due to a lack of commitment to reform exhibited by the Government of Uzbekistan. The CEC, for its part, attempted to attract IFES' support for several initiatives organized and orchestrated by them to promote international support for electoral reform. But the efforts proved to be hollow, and organizations like IFES, as well as OSCE, became disillusioned about prospects of any real progress in this sector. Moreover, U.S. policy on Uzbekistan vis-à-vis elections and the issue of the treatment of the political opposition quickly soured, forcing IFES to consult with the Embassy directly prior to any contacts being made with the CEC. The restrictions, valid or otherwise, undermined IFES' image with the Uzbeks and effectively rendered IFES a non-factor in those electoral reform efforts undertaken. IFES did recognize the need for prudence and caution when considering election matters in Uzbekistan, and made every attempt to restrict and limit communications with the CEC. By the end of the Agreement, virtually all cooperative efforts with the CEC had halted, with IFES' attention turned instead to promoting its civic education program for high school students.

In autumn 1997, IFES presented the Central Election Commission, Oliy Majlis (Parliament), and Uzbek Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) with a written comprehensive *technical review of the election law* to provide electoral authorities with a critical, objective analysis of the electoral code with respect to international standards and offer recommendations for possible improvements to the code. Building upon a 1994 IFES analysis of the existing Uzbek election law ("Election to the Oliy Majlis: A Technical Review of Law and Procedure," by Linda Edgeworth,) IFES conducted a further assessment of the election law. The 1997 assessment concluded that the existing election law provided a minimalist but workable framework for the conduct of elections. The IFES analysis also concluded that while the basic text of the law itself may be adequate, significant problems had been observed in the implementation of that law, which called into question whether elections could be considered free and fair.

IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator Elena Wolf traveled to Ferghana Oblast to *observe a by-election* to the Oliy Majlis, also in autumn 1997. Wolf was joined by ODIHR/Tashkent Representative Rainer Hermann, OSCE/Tashkent Specialist Bess Brown and Acting Head of the Secretariat for Elections to the Oliy Majlis Anvar Sadullaev. The election in Ferghana Oblast was part of a series of by-elections that took place across Uzbekistan to fill seventeen vacant seats. These were the first elections in the country to employ recently revised electoral



legislation, which the Oliy Majlis adopted in June of that year. Despite the fact that only one candidate was on the ballot, the election in Ferghana was marked by a genuinely high voter turnout.

In October 1998 IFES, together with OSCE/ODIHR, the Uzbek Presidential Commission on Human Rights, the Oliy Majlis, and the CEC, conducted a two-day *Election Law Conference* on electoral systems, practices, and legal issues. The symposium, which took place in Tashkent on October 15-16, allowed IFES to render timely and relevant input on the evolution of the Uzbek electoral code. The conference, opened by US Ambassador to Uzbekistan Joseph Pressel, focused on international standards in election legislation and the need for additional legislative reform in Uzbekistan beyond the amendments adopted during the past summer. IFES Regional Project Manager Tom Leckinger and IFES Legal Consultant Jack Martin presented papers at the conference on the need for transparency in the electoral process.

After the conference, IFES received a number of informational requests from the National Center for Human Rights and the Central Election Commission. The CEC sought aid from IFES to help them prepare for an inaugural addition of an informational newsletter they were seeking to publish. IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator Elena Wolf provided the CEC with information on the history of elections, including recent elections in the NIS and Eastern Europe. The CEC press service expressed an interest in obtaining more information on national electoral processes and referenda in the NIS, US and the G7 countries. The National Center for Human Rights began publishing a brochure that included the presentations of all of the experts that took part in the Election Law Conference

The Election Law Conference also provided an opportunity for legislators and election law officials to discuss the current state of the Uzbek election law and system of elections. Several deputies of the Oliy Majlis presented their views on the current election system and called for continued discussion on defining the role and responsibilities of the Central Election Commission. Furthermore, having taken part in the Election Law Conference in October, the leaders of the Tashkent-based NGO *Public Education Center* learned a great deal about the electoral issues at work in Uzbekistan and how international assistance providers such as IFES can provide support for positive change.

The IFES recommendations led to a major change in the law governing selection of the Chair of the CEC. The change in legislation, approved by the Oliy Majlis, served to encourage establishment of the Central Election Commission as a non-biased, independent body. The move was seen as an important step in assuring the voting population of the integrity of the system of elections, starting at the top. Though subsequent elections were judged to be largely undemocratic by the international community, promoting the independence of the CEC was seen as a critical first step needed to improve credibility in the election system. More than three years later, the CEC was still engaged in efforts to enhance its independence.

*A seminar on training domestic observers* for future elections took place from February 15-16, 1999 in the Presidential Academy of State and Social Structure in Tashkent. IFES Project Coordinator Lola Maksudova participated in the event, which was organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the OSCE. During the two days of the seminar, participants were

informed about the election process in Uzbekistan, including the legislative foundation of the elections in Uzbekistan, international standards of democratic elections, and the code of conduct and duties of international and domestic observers.

In October of 1999, the Central Election Commission of Uzbekistan created an Election News Conciliation Council to coordinate the activities of mass media during the election campaign. The main purpose of the Council was to coordinate and ensure political party and independent candidates' equal rights to access mass media during their election campaigns. IFES and others were given the opportunity to comment on this *election outreach project* and were invited to monitor the December 5 elections to the Oliy Majlis.

*Elections to the Oliy Majlis* were held on December 5, 1999. Because of serious concerns that the broad electoral framework could not permit a truly pluralistic and competitive election, IFES did not deploy observers on Election Day. According to an OSCE preliminary statement, the Khokims (local governmental structures for which appointments are made directly by the President of the republic at regional, district and city levels) were heavily involved in and exercised overwhelming influence on the electoral process, including having a key role in the nomination of candidates and the conduct of elections.

Lola Maksudova participated in a *round table discussion* conducted by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and Public Opinion Center on preliminary results of the Oliy Majlis elections following a second round of voting on December 26, 1999. 249 of the 250 total seats were filled, with the People's Democratic Party taking 48 seats, the National Democratic Party Fidokolar 24, Vatan Tarakkiyoti 20, the Adolat Social-Democratic Party 11, and the Democratic Party Milli Tiklanish 10. All of these parties are strong supporters of the government, and there did not and do not exist any legally-registered opposition parties. An additional 110 deputies represented governing structures, with 16 representing initiative groups. According to preliminary results, women won only 5% of seats to the Parliament and about 20% to lower-level offices.

## **B. NGO Development**

In the course of its work on civic education, IFES had an opportunity to work with a number of domestic NGOs. Partnerships with NGOs were developed on IFES projects such as the Democracy Summer Camps and other student activities, simultaneously helping NGOs to become more sustainable and improve communications and partnerships with fellow NGOs. One of the hallmarks of the local NGO community in Uzbekistan has been the divisiveness between NGO leaders, due primarily to professional rivalry. Also characteristic of Uzbek NGOs has been the phenomenon of the "government organized NGOs" ("GONGOs"), which have competed for limited resources. The pressures on truly independent NGOs were great, and though without a specific programmatic focus, IFES helped independent NGO partners to enhance their legitimacy and prominence through collaboration on several projects, which included letting the NGOs take the lead and incorporating them in discussions with local government.

In October 1998, IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator Elena Wolf met with the *Public Education Center (PEC)*, an NGO actively working with a network of teachers across Uzbekistan

conducting training programs in Civil Rights. The Public Education Center expressed interest in cooperating with IFES in the sphere of *civic education*, and they requested information on the programs IFES is implementing elsewhere in Central Asia. Elena Wolf provided them with information on training seminars conducted by the Center for Support of Democracy in Kazakhstan and by the sociological research center Sharq of Tajikistan.

An IFES-PEC partnership came to fruition in January 1999, when the two organizations conducted a *three-day seminar* called "Present Status and Future Development of NGOs in the Republic of Uzbekistan" in Tashkent for approximately 30 representatives of local NGOs. The main issues of the seminar included: NGO involvement in the political process, focusing on the range of voter and civic education initiatives, and planning for outreach events in the regions outside the capital.

IFES Voter Education Consultant Judith Davis, Project Manager Tom Leckinger, Natalia Chumakova of the *Center for Support of Democracy* (Almaty), and Dr. Alla Kuvatova of the *NGO Traditions and Modernity* (Dushanbe) conducted a range of *NGO capacity-building training activities* in Tashkent in the spring of 1999, including a discussion of how to collaborate effectively with NGOs in other Central Asian Republics. Each participating NGO received the recently completed Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) voter education guide, translated into Russian. The event brought together Uzbekistani NGO leaders and allowed them to meet leading counterparts from neighboring countries to develop potential areas of cooperation in encouraging citizens to become more active members of public advocacy organizations and promote positive social change.

In February 2000, Lola Maksudova served as a facilitator at a February OSCE *training/meeting on NGO Strategy Development*, attended by representatives of all major international donors, including USAID. The NGO Strategy meeting was the first internationally sponsored meeting designed to build donor consensus and a local NGO coalition in Uzbekistan. Most of the prominent, national NGOs of Uzbekistan attended and worked to conclude a coordination council, agreeing to work in three directions: technical information cooperation, improvement of legislation framework and NGO sustainable development.

### C. Gender Issues

IFES had an opportunity to participate in a number of gender-focused activities during the course of this Agreement. Although not a distinct and specific part of its mandate, IFES integrated a gender focus into its civic education activities with students. Additionally, IFES staff in Tashkent were asked to participate in round tables and other NGO events in Tashkent and in the Ferghana Valley, as sponsored by other international and local organizations.

In April 1999, with Uzbekistan declaring 1999 the "Year of the Woman," IFES sought to promote increased awareness of gender roles in a democratic society. IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator Lola Maksudova initiated contact with a number of independent Uzbek NGOs to *discuss cooperative activities in the area of civic education and democracy development*, with particular emphasis on increasing involvement of women in politics and society. Maksudova held a meeting with Larisa Rossinskaya, Chairwoman of the Bektemir Rayon NGO *Kridi*, a

rehabilitation center for women and children, to discuss the role of women's NGOs and the development of civil society in Uzbekistan. *Kridi* requested IFES support in a range of seminars centered on the protection and promotion of women's rights. IFES, with its emphasis on civic education in Uzbekistan, considered the work of women's organizations paramount in the ongoing development of the private sector in Uzbekistan.

Lola Maksudova met with Marina Sereda, spokesperson for a group of leading women's NGOs to discuss possible IFES participation in a multilateral initiative with OSCE to promote women's rights, women in politics, and women's involvement in civil society. Sereda held a follow-up meeting with Sabine Freizer, OSCE specialist in gender issues, who outlined a program on gender issues. IFES was invited to play a large role in producing a series of seminars on integration of these issues and democratization. The main focus of the project was to encourage women to be more involved in politics and participate in civil society and to strengthen independent public advocacy organizations.

In November 1999, Lola Maksudova participated as an IFES representative and facilitator of the third phase of the OSCE-sponsored project on Civic and Legal Education for Women, which IFES supported additionally by providing ACE project materials and basic voter information resources. The third phase of the project focused on *training seminars for potential leaders* of NGOs and government officials. Women leaders of Uzbekistan were trained in the skills of creating a network, team building and advocacy. IFES was able to contribute to the OSCE's Education for Women project by providing information on Civic and Voter Education for the project and by publishing and distributing the brochure on Women's rights for the training sessions in the regions. It was anticipated that IFES would be able to make an ongoing contribution to this critical sector of democracy development.

Lola Maksudova also had a chance to participate in a *Gender Issues Coordination Meeting* held by the SOROS Foundation in December 1999. International donor organizations were invited to attend the meeting in order to discuss future coordination of work on gender issues and cooperation with women's NGOs. Maksudova agreed with other international organizations in stating that in order for curriculum design and other projects initiated by women's NGOs to be more effective, a needs assessment should first be undertaken. Taking into consideration that women's NGOs during this period were among the most effective NGOs in Uzbekistan, many international organizations focused their activities on women's programs. One such organization was the Nukus-based NGO *Renaissance*, with whom IFES later worked in the area of civic education in Karakalpakstan.

#### **D. Public Opinion Research**

During the period of this Agreement, IFES conducted one public opinion survey in advance of its civic education program. The survey sought to a certain extent to build upon its 1996 baseline survey, but was mainly intended to gauge the level of civic awareness among young people in five targeted regions of the country where IFES had intended to conduct programmatic activities, in keeping with the USAID desire to do more work outside of the capital, Tashkent, and Tashkent Oblast. Though results were intended to be used in supporting outreach programs for students and teachers in these regions, IFES was ultimately forced to revise its programmatic focus.

Inroads were made in the Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan and forays were made with schools in Bukhara region, though the program was re-tailored prior to these initiatives being advanced to full fruition due to an intervention by the national Ministry of Public Education. Nonetheless, the survey results were widely shared and used to better determine the ongoing interests and needs of young persons in the advancement of civic education in select regions of the country.

In August 1999, the Tashkent-based sociological research firm *Expert* commenced fieldwork for the *IFES Public Opinion Survey* in five regions of Uzbekistan. The survey, designed to measure public opinion on topics such as civil society, non-governmental organizations, and civic participation in democracy-building, was conducted in key oblasts in which a follow-on seminar series would be focused. Data collected was compared to results from IFES' 1996 Baseline Survey of Democracy Indicators to track changes in public opinion and perceptions of progress in the development of a democratic society. Results were to be used to support civic awareness in the follow-on seminar series. The survey contained 60 questions and included 1000 respondents, half of them being 16-24-year olds and the other half consisting of the adult population over 24. The survey was conducted in Tashkent City, Samarkand, Samarkand Oblast, Bukhara, Bukhara Oblast, Ferghana, Ferghana Oblast and the autonomous republic of Karakalpakstan. "Expert" and IFES agreed on the final version of the field questionnaire, and interviewing was undertaken.

In December 1999, *Expert* finished and submitted to IFES/Washington a *technical report on the public opinion survey project* conducted for IFES. Data discussing issues of volunteerism among young adults was released at the USAID partner round table discussion in Tashkent. The goal of that meeting was to familiarize Vivian Gray, the new Director of Democracy and Governance Program for Europe and Eurasia Bureau of USAID, with existing democracy work in Uzbekistan and areas of opportunity for continued and expanded engagement.

The survey sought to measure understanding of democracy and citizenship, with a focus on perception of information being received on rights of citizens and the tenets of democratic governance. Results indicated a need for information on civic education issues and exposed a critical materials shortage in schools. The survey generated results critical to the next phase of IFES' planned civic education program, which was to target secondary school students for civic education activities and classwork. Results showed that students in the five surveyed regions had some information on their rights as citizens, but that those rights and constitutional guarantees were not always recognized. IFES' plans to conduct follow-up sessions, as part of its regional civic education project, were refocused as a result of an intervention by the Ministry of Education in Tashkent. With IFES' mock elections and curriculum development initiative stimulating interest in elections and active civic participation among pilot school students in Karakalpakstan, results of the survey helped IFES to focus its activities on basic citizenship and rights issues.

## **E. Civic Education**

IFES geared an increasing proportion of its programming activities to civic education for students at the secondary school level in Uzbekistan. In keeping with the USAID initiative for

IFES to work more outside of the Tashkent region, IFES set up a sub-office in Nukus, Karakalpakstan. IFES established an extremely close working relationship with the Karakalpak Ministry of Education, which appeared to have some degree of autonomy in decisions of curriculum development in the Autonomous Republic. The Minister and his staff expressed a keen personal interest in IFES working in Nukus, and provided assurances that IFES would be able to operate with little interference from the central government in Tashkent. With sights set on a long and fruitful cooperation with the Ministry in Nukus and with a number of NGOs and local pilot schools in Karakalpakstan, IFES focused its energies primarily on this region for the conducting of its programs and development of new initiatives. Envisioned was a gradual expansion into other key regions, such as Bukhara, and contacts among teachers and local NGOs there were established.

Democracy Summer Camps were also conducted in two locations, which included students from around the country. The Camps provided a blueprint for the organization of similar camps in three other Central Asian republics, which focused on hands-on student learning as a way to understand and appreciate the principles of democracy.

## TEACHER TRAINING

In October 1999, the Karakalpak Ministry of Education sent a letter of support and formal approval to IFES and its Nukus-based NGO partner *Renaissance* regarding IFES' plans to conduct a curriculum development *teacher-training seminar* in Nukus at the end of November. As a result, the Ministry of Education created a working group of 3 experts to assist in implementing the curriculum development project and teachers training seminar. The project first received interest from the Karakalpak Ministry of Education in August following the participation of one of its representatives as an observer at a training event for Kazakhstani pilot schoolteachers in Almaty. Karakalpak Minister of Education Sultanov agreed to the concept of holding mock student elections prior to the beginning of the course in January 2000 as a way of creating student interest in the December 1999 elections to the Oliy Majlis and January 2000 presidential elections. Renaissance Director Gulnara Dosumova worked with IFES/Uzbekistan Project Coordinator Lola Maksudova to organize and coordinate the November training event.

IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator Lola Maksudova and IFES/Almaty Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev, in cooperation with Nukus-based NGO partner Renaissance, conducted a one-and-a-half-day *teacher training seminar* on November 25-26, 1999 for teachers from pilot schools in Nukus. The pilot schools participated in an experimental curriculum project for secondary schools modeled after the IFES program in Kazakhstan. Thirty-eight teachers from secondary schools, representatives from different levels of the Karakalpak Ministry of Education, and NGO representatives participated in the training seminar, in which a textbook for 11<sup>th</sup> grade students was formally introduced.

The first day of the seminar featured introductory remarks from Ministry of Education representative Igilik Kosymbetov and was devoted to the introduction of the IFES draft textbook What is Democracy? The opening day included group discussions on the positive and problematic issues of the textbook and teacher's manual. In general, participants felt that the textbook itself was very substantial and rich in content, with a sufficient number of examples and

study cases from all over the world. Suggestions were offered by participants to adapt some of the material to the Karakalpak and Uzbek context. Participating teachers resolved to adapt the IFES textbook for Karakalpakstan and take the initiative to translate it into the Karakalpak language.

The second day of the seminar covered textbook chapters on electoral systems, the role of political parties and movements, party platforms, election campaigns, and the role of mass media, NGOs and the electorate in the election process. IFES Consultant Svetlana Eselbaeva shared her experience as an NGO representative during the parliamentary elections in Kazakhstan. IFES staff members Maksudova and Bigaliev gave examples based on their experiences conducting mock elections and working as international observers in the countries of Eastern Europe and Kazakhstan.

Teachers participated in a collaborative group exercise, dividing into three groups to form mock political parties. Each party made presentations introducing the platform of their self-created party and outlining their campaign strategy for a future election. The participants of the seminar showed great initiative, an eagerness to learn, and were supportive of the interactive method of teaching that they in turn will use with their students.

Participants characterized the teacher training seminar in Nukus as a very positive experience that would help introduction of an experimental curriculum into four pilot schools for the second academic semester. Overall, the teachers expressed the strong belief that IFES should expand this project, as each teacher and Ministerial representative indicated their interest in the material and methodology presented. Karakalpak Minister of Education Sultanov pledged to review the results of the project at the end of the school year and make a determination at that time whether or not the materials would be adopted for general usage. Ministry of Education representative Kosymbetov expressed his intention to continue cooperation with IFES on the curriculum development project in Karakalpakstan, advocating immediate translation of the textbook into the Karakalpak language as part of a follow-up seminar activity and citing IFES' contribution to the long-term development of democracy in Uzbekistan.

Recognizing the importance of including civic education into an already full curriculum, IFES developed a series of civic education modules slated for incorporation into existing curriculum at institutions of higher education. The modules were designed to give teachers of law, philosophy, social science, and pedagogy a set of information resources to draw upon. Topics were to include civil society, structure and functions of government, nationhood, the family, gender issues, human rights, political history, economics, legal norms, and elections. A program of teacher training in the instruction of civic education was designed to complement the introduction of these modules. In this way, IFES believed it could introduce civic education into institutions of higher learning in the most effective manner.

## CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

In January 2000, Karakalpak Minister of Education Sultanov expressed his support for implementation of the *civic education course* in participating pilot secondary schools in Nukus. Minister Sultanov reinforced his eagerness to further develop the textbook to meet the specific

cultural and historical dynamics of Karakalpakstan and Uzbekistan. As a follow up to a teacher-training seminar in Nukus conducted by IFES and the local NGO *Renaissance* in November, teachers in participating schools conducted student mock elections in their classes in which students formed political parties and competed in school-wide student body elections. High student interest in the project was enhanced by discussions of the national elections taking place in Uzbekistan and local elections in Karakalpakstan. The mock elections conducted in December and January were prelude to the introduction of the textbook and accompanying materials on democracy, which began to be used in January at the beginning of the second academic semester. This experimental course was to continue through the remainder of the school year, with evaluations and ongoing monitoring determining whether it would be recommended as a mandatory course for the 2000-01 school year. IFES pledged to work with the Ministry of Education and NGO *Renaissance* to conduct performance monitoring and, as necessary, adaptation and editing of all materials.

In April 2000, IFES Project Manager for Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan Eilis Ward met with Minister of Education Sultanov to brief him on the textbook and civics course IFES has proposed to introduce in fully in fall 2000. Following adaptation of the text, in order to make it more specific for use in Karakalpakstan and Uzbekistan, a pilot course would begin in Nukus high schools using the text and accompanying course syllabus. Local authors were contacted to assist with the adaptation, which was to be translated into Russian, Karakalpak, and later into Uzbek. Minister's Assistant Kosymbetov agreed to submit contributions on pre- and early-modern Uzbek society. He also provided written text on the development of the Uzbek and Karakalpak nations, and on the environmental issues arising from the Aral Sea disaster. Mr. Kosymbetov also oversaw translation of the text into Karakalpak.

In May 2000 IFES Project Manager Eilis Ward and Project Assistant Dmitry Shevkun met Gulandon Alimova, Director of the Republican Education Center (REC) in Tashkent, to discuss the process required for approval of the *IFES textbook and civics and democracy course* and an expanded project in the fall. The REC served under the Ministry of Education, with its primary function being primarily textbook production. It also worked on teacher methodology and organized courses and seminars for teachers, with a particular emphasis on teacher training. Alimova stressed that any textbook for secondary school students in Uzbekistan must include information on conflict resolution, extremism and ethnicity. While the formal approval process was expected to take a reasonable amount of time, IFES was encouraged by the optimism expressed by Ms. Alimova as to the merit of the project.

In June 2000, IFES continued preparations for the introduction of a *secondary school civic education curriculum* on an expanded pilot level in September 2000. After identifying the new pilot schools to participate in the second-stage curriculum project, IFES began preliminary preparations for a teacher-training seminar that was scheduled for August. Local contributors drafted sections of the textbook on the history, political system and voting practices of Karakalpakstan. In July, the textbook was scheduled for translation into Karakalpak, Uzbek and Russian, with printing commencing shortly thereafter.

IFES anticipated that the materials and course would be used as part of the mainstream curriculum of Karakalpakstan after the pilot project had been completed. In addition to the



curriculum, IFES planned to sponsor a network of student action committees (SACs) during the Fall 2000 semester, to allow students to address problems of local concern with elected officials. Preliminary discussions were held outlining additional areas of potential cooperation between educators, local officials and NGOs.

In July 2000, Project Manager Eilis Ward and Lola Maksudova traveled to Nukus to assess the possibility of advancing the *civic education program development* in Karakalpakstan. Meetings with Education Minister Sultanov, and Igilik Kosymbetov, as well as with several NGOs and teachers from the pilot schools, were highly productive. The general response for IFES conducting civic education projects was positive and encouraging from all partners.

With the help of Counterpart's NGO Support Center and its leader Palmurza Khojabekov, Eilis Ward and Lola Maksudova had an excellent opportunity to meet representatives of Nukus NGOs who were linked to the development of civic education projects in Karakalpakstan. Two of them were engaged in civic education projects in Nukus: the NGO *Renaissance* and the *Center for Public Research*.

In August 2000, IFES revised the *civic education textbook* and course project, which originally had been slated to commence in Karakalpakstan in the form of an expanded pilot semester during the 2000-2001 school year. Political circumstances forced IFES to submit the project for approval to the Ministry of Education in Tashkent, based on a directive delivered to IFES by the Education Minister of Karakalpakstan. Adaptations to the general sections of the text continued in the month of August in order to make the textbook more responsive to the needs of students in Uzbekistan. These changes included specific information provided on the history, traditions, politics and laws of Uzbekistan, in addition to emphasizing other issues of topical discussion relevant to the situation in Uzbekistan, such as security issues and the environment. The book was partially based on a similar textbook that was introduced in Kazakhstan in 1999. Karakalpak and Uzbek translators worked on translating the general chapters on democratic systems and civil society taken from the Kazakhstan version. Local NGO partners as well as academicians in the Ministry of Education in Karakalpakstan were included in a group preparing adaptations of the text and advising on matters of content. Although the project suffered a setback with the intervention of the national Ministry of Education, causing delays of unpredictable duration, it was hoped the approval process would ultimately be realized and IFES may proceed with the pilot course as planned.

Throughout September 2000, IFES activities focused on preparing the *civic education course* for introduction during the upcoming school year. While IFES submitted the Civics and Democracy textbook to the Ministry of Education in Tashkent for review in August, IFES had not yet been granted formal approval to proceed with the course. Should the text have gained ministerial approval, a formal Memorandum of Understanding was to have been concluded with the Ministry to formalize a working relationship on the project. Textbook adaptations continued in September to include material specific to the history, culture and sociological issues of Uzbekistan. IFES Project Coordinator Julia Dashkevich continued the editing process of material received from academic sources in Karakalpakstan.

Unfortunately, the secondary school textbook project did not move beyond this point, as USAID would ask for a workplan modification later that year, requesting a re-shifting of the focus of the project and deferred the secondary curriculum initiative to OSI/Soros. IFES attempted to collaborate with OSI on a high school civics textbook and course project at the same time as it pursued a university-based civics project. Meanwhile, other efforts continued for secondary school students, such as the Student Action Committee program to be discussed later.

#### DEMOCRACY SUMMER CAMPS

In July 1999, the Minister of Education of Uzbekistan assured IFES of his full support for a proposed student Democracy Summer Camp. Lola Maksudova met with Muborak Tashpulatova of the *Public Education Center* (PEC), IFES' primary partner, to discuss final arrangements for the project. The camp was designed to introduce young citizens to democratic ideals and civil society through the study of democratic structures and the role played by citizens and officials in the process of democracy building.

IFES the *Public Education Center* successfully conducted the 10-day *Youth Summer Democracy Camp*, which took place from July 1-11, 1999 at Syr-Darya. Approximately 110 students and 30 trainers participated in the Camp, which took place at the Chinaz Sanatorium. The Camp brought together talented "future leaders" from each oblast of Uzbekistan, and the Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan to focus on democracy development activities designed to enhance their understanding and expectations for living in a democratic society.

The Camp schedule was full, with the participants starting their day early in the mornings and not finishing until late in the evenings. IFES/Central Asia Regional Program Coordinator Saule Buldekbaeva and IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator Lola Maksudova represented IFES at the opening ceremony and IFES/Central Asia Project Manager Tom Leckinger represented IFES at the closing ceremony and election day ceremonies.

To encourage positive interactions, the participants worked in mixed groups with peers from different ethnicities, regions, languages, and educational backgrounds. Despite the differences, the group-work interactions were successful, with participants from different backgrounds enthusiastically communicating with each other. Every working session was interpreted in both Uzbek and Russian by the PEC trainers.

The majority of the sessions concentrated primarily on election staff and voter education material. The participants of the project were involved in the following working sessions:

"Why do we need elections?" Each group nominated its own candidate for presidency and prepared its own program for the election campaign.

"The Role of Political Parties in Democratic Elections"

"Creating the Draft Constitution"

"Electing Members of the CEC"

"Citizens' Rights in Elections"

"Creating the State Symbol"

"Presidential Candidate Debates"

One of the most impressive parts of the project was the Election Day, in which camp participants elected their Camp President. The first round started with three candidates, and by the end of the first round, two candidates were left: Akram Sakhibov from Termez and Leonid Geffond from Tashkent. As a learning tool, IFES staff and PEC teachers posed mock dilemmas dealing with the election process to the students throughout the sessions, which students successfully resolved.

Representatives from the Eurasia Foundation, OSCE, and National Center of Human Rights observed the mock elections event, and USAID representatives (Alex Newton from USAID/Almaty and Liana Ibragimova, USAID/Tashkent) participated in the final Camp session in which participants discussed their opinions on elections. At the conclusion of the Camp, participating teachers from different regions throughout Uzbekistan pledged to organize similar projects in their regions, stressing that hands-on “democracy in action” activities are the most effective way for both children and teachers to learn about democracy and interact with new people from all regions and oblasts within the Republic.

The Uzbek newspaper “Narodnoye Slovo” (“People’s Word”) published an article about the IFES Democracy Summer Camp on August 11, 1999. The article, written by renowned journalist Tatyana Bloshenko, was entitled “Games played by our children, children playing games.” The article described the ten days children spent in Chinaz building their own democratic society and learning the basic democratic principles including the right to vote and the right to be elected.

In April 2000, Lola Maksudova contacted Arzoim Abdirova, a leader of the *Center of Public Research* regarding IFES’ *Democracy Summer Camp* for primary and secondary schools students from Karakalpakstan. Mrs. Abdirova recommended bringing students from 11 regions of Karakalpakstan. IFES also planned to invite students from Bukhara and Kokand.

One of the most active members of the *Center for Public Research*, Muhabbat Shlymbetova, agreed to coordinate the organization of clubs for youth, similar to the “Green tie club” based in Gymnasium 1. Members of the club were actively involved in the youth movement of the region and are currently conducting inter-school debates. It was agreed with Ms. Shlymbetova that the clubs for youth would be organized in pilot schools and that every team would bring 5 issues of concern for discussion at the Summer Camp.

IFES also received a detailed proposal from the Nukus-based NGO *Renaissance* to participate in the Summer Camp. IFES Program Officer Anthony Bowyer contacted Gulnara Dosumova requesting a representative from Renaissance to work on organizing a coalition of local NGO organizers for the Camp. Mr. Bowyer also spoke with Minister of Education of Karakalpakstan Bekdulla Sultanov to solicit his support for the Camp. The conversation followed face-to-face meetings between Minister Sultanov and IFES Project Manager Eilis Ward in Nukus. Minister Sultanov agreed to support the event as part of IFES’ civic education strategy for Karakalpakstan, and offered to assist the local organizers in whatever way necessary.

IFES personnel took two business trips to Karakalpakstan in May 2000 to discuss the proposal for the *Democracy Summer Camp*. The trips emphasized two points: First, that the Summer

Camp would provide a sustainable model not just in terms of costs but also in terms of solidifying local resources and skills, and second, that IFES was concerned with building on existing relationships in the region; primarily the teachers who have received IFES training on the initial piloting of the textbook in the schools in Nukus during the past winter.

It was agreed to draw in the skills and expertise of existing NGOs who are actually working or have the potential to work on the themes of the Summer Camp: environmental issues, human rights and conflict resolution. (The themes were suggested by students in one of the schools in Nukus that participated in the textbook pilot process). This process was designed to encourage capacity building and collaboration among the local NGOs. In addition, local (funding) support was sought in an attempt to provide a sustainable funding base for the operation.

IFES drew upon the contact list of teachers who received training to provide both local coordinating personnel and assistants/facilitators/counselors for the Summer Camp. The local NGO organizational coalition for the Camp was finalized, with Remma Gabitova and Mukhabbat Shlymbatova jointly coordinating student qualifying exams preparing the Camp agenda, locating trainers, and addressing logistical concerns. IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator Dmitry Shevkun traveled to Nukus and assisted IFES/Nukus Program Assistant Julia Dashkevich in completing arrangements to hold the Camp at the Altyn-dan Sanatorium outside of Nukus. Shevkun and Dashkevich held regular meetings with the local NGO organizers and the Ministry of Education to address all outstanding concerns.

Decisions regarding the Camp received the support of Education Minister Sultanov, with whom IFES maintained close communication throughout the planning process. IFES/Uzbekistan country Representative Christoph Stephe, IFES Program Assistant Maggie McDonough, and local staff, along with local NGO partners, finalized plans for the Camp, scheduled for July 17 – 24, 2000. IFES representatives led a coordination team that completed a detailed action plan for the Camp, the selection of student, teacher and NGO participants in the Camp and the organization of a training program for participants.

In July 2000, the IFES *Democracy Summer Camp* was held at the ‘Altyn-Dan’ Sanatorium. Close to 40 students from Karakalpakstan, Kokand, and Bukhara participated in Camp activities, which were intended to introduce to participating students the virtues and rules of democratic governance, as well as the values of political rights and civil liberties. During the week-long camp, the participants, including teachers and students from Karakalpakstan, Bukhara and Kokand, were involved in a series of lectures and discussions concentrating on issues such as human, political and economic rights, the role of the citizen in a democratic society, civic responsibility and activism, and leadership. The Nukus-based NGOs *Shagala* and *Wild Nature of the Aral Sea Region* conducted workshops on the International Convention on the Rights of the Child and ecological problems in Karakalpakstan, respectively. In addition to lectures and discussion activities, students conducted an election for Camp president, in which participants played the roles of political party candidates and leaders, media representatives and election commission officials. The pre-election activities culminated in a mock vote, which was held on the fifth day of the Camp. Representatives from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.S. Embassy, and other international organizations operating in Uzbekistan were invited to serve in the capacity of election observers on election day. IFES, represented by

Uzbekistan Country Representative Christoph Stephe, and its local NGO partners/organizers stressed the learning-by-doing aspect during the Camp. In one student interactive exercise, students were challenged to build their own political society, by agreeing on a name, flag, and constitution for their 'country.' Students named representatives of a temporary governmental body, which appointed a Central Election Commission (CEC) and passed a law on elections. The students also founded four political parties and nominated presidential candidates.

At the end of the summer camp, an exit exam that tested the learning experience of the students was given, with results measuring the progress attained by the students in understanding key concepts of democracy and democratic governance. Students participated in all activities with a high degree of motivation and excitement. The success of the mock election segment of the camp clearly showed that the students had learned a great deal about the rules of free and fair elections.

USAID and the U.S. Embassy expressed their ongoing support for the Summer Camp projects and other civic education initiatives. The Camp served as a model for promoting greater student involvement in democracy building throughout Uzbekistan which could forge a new generation of leaders.

The IFES 2000 Summer Democracy Camp in Nukus employed lessons learned from IFES' 1999 Summer Camp in Syr-Darya to produce a successful, inclusive event. The Camp served as a model for future, similar events and employed a successful formula of combining expertise of local NGO experts with a framework that generated a positive, hands-on learning experience for students. There were many practical issues of daily life in Karakalpakstan that often go neglected by international assistance providers, and IFES attempted to induce an open discussion among students on how to address societal concerns in their everyday lives. IFES remained committed to focusing on Karakalpakstan as part of its civic education initiative, and the enthusiasm of students gave hope that future activities will be well received and supported. Students and teacher-mentors from Bukhara and Kokand also encouraged the introduction of IFES civic education materials in their regions. A strategy of post-summer civic education work in those regions followed after the event. After conclusion of the Camp, a strategy was discussed with local NGO partners on how to conduct similar camps in the future, with the eventual goal of making them self-sufficient events.

#### STUDENT ACTIVITIES

In January 2000, Lola Maksudova spoke with Victoria Ashirova from the Samarkand-based NGO *Ayol*, which specialized in women's and youth issues. The two discussed IFES' proposed ***Student Action Committee Project*** (SAC), with Ashirova promising to develop an implementation plan for the project in Samarkand. IFES viewed *Ayol* as a strong local partner NGO with whom it could work on the Action Committees and other future projects.

The IFES draft 2000 workplan was discussed at a meeting with incoming USAID/Uzbekistan Democracy Officer Jennifer Brick in January 2000. Lola Maksudova shared some of IFES' ideas regarding an initiative to create "Student Action Committees" in Samarkand and Kokand. The SACs, to be created in select schools in partnership with local NGOs and school directors, would match student leaders with newly-elected members of the local government to create one-on-one

contact and give students hands-on experience in the work of local officials. A strategy for addressing issues of concern to the students would be created along with an implementation plan involving local government and the private sector, thus exposing students to the workings of government and civil society. IFES also planned to promote the concept in Nukus, where it would serve as a natural extension of the curriculum project. Ms. Brick expressed support for the idea as well as a proposal to conduct a Democracy Summer Camp in Nukus, modeled after the IFES 1999 national camp, and recommended seeking partnerships for the summer camp with other international donors in order to defray costs.

IFES continued to meet with representatives of schools in Karakalpakstan and around Tashkent. Contacts were established with schools and school directors with the goal of introducing *Student Action Committees* on a pilot basis in early 2001. The SACs were seen as separate and self-containing projects, and not reliant on the success of the civics and democracy textbook and course project.

The SAC program came to fruition later in 2000 as IFES developed the first SAC Training Manual for any of its Central Asian Republics programs. The implementation manual was developed by IFES Country Representative Jeffrey Carlson and Project Coordinator Dmitry Shevkun. Following translation of the document into Uzbek, training of SAC teacher-mentors took place in the city of Ferghana for participating pilot schools in that city. It was decided, following the reevaluation of IFES programmatic priorities as well as geographical focus, that Ferghana would become the pilot region for the SAC program. Training took place in four schools in Ferghana city, with SACs being conducted successfully with 20 students per class in early 2001. IFES was unable to follow up this work due to the closing of its project in Uzbekistan, though later inquiries by IFES returned very favorable results of the program, which teachers and students alike requested be extended.

#### **IV. MATERIALS PRODUCED**

**(materials can be found in IFES/Washington D.C. office)**

- Analysis of the Amendments to the Law on Elections to the Oily Majlis (1998)
- Suggested Discussion Topics for the Election Law Roundtable (1998)
- Public Opinion Survey Technical Report (1999)
- Civic Education Teacher's Training Seminar in Nukus, Karakalpakstan (1999)
- Nukus Democracy Summer Camp (DSC) Report (2000)
- Nukus DSC Exit Exam Questionnaire and Results (2000)
- Student Action Committee Training Manual (2001)

#### **V. IMPACT AND EVALUATION**

In the course of its work in the sectors of education and technical election assistance IFES sought to measure the impact of all programs quantitatively as well as qualitatively. While the former is certainly easier to assess, it is ultimately the latter that may be more relevant. The environment in Uzbekistan proved challenging to IFES during the course of this Agreement, as it no doubt did to the other organizations also supporting democratic development in the country. The impact of elections work was particularly challenging to measure, especially given the restrictive electoral and political climate in Uzbekistan. IFES sought to have meaningful impact on the election reform process in the country, and considers the efforts to engage the Central Election

Commission in productive dialogue successful in that the CEC recognized the deficiencies in the current law and system, and possessed the desire to render improvements. The election law analysis and election law development discussions challenged the CEC and members of the Oliy Majlis to recognize the restrictive atmosphere in which elections are conducted and take steps to open the process to all interested parties and candidates. Only five political parties in Uzbekistan are officially registered, and all of those are loyal to President Islam Karimov. While full inclusion of opposition parties or candidates into local and national elections may have been a goal to be worked towards in Uzbekistan, more immediate changes in the election code and the organization of the Central Election Commission were achievable. The discussion generated by the election law report among electoral authorities led to the pledge to consider and adopt many of the recommendations provided by IFES, including streamlining the voting process and allowing greater involvement of domestic election observers.

The election law analysis was, in general, favorably received by the electoral authorities in Uzbekistan. IFES attempted to further encourage election officials by inviting representatives of all Uzbek Wiloyats (regions) to participate in a Regional Election Administration Conference along with members of the Central Election Commission. Despite pledges of full attendance, only one representative of the Uzbek CEC participated in the event. The CEC representative was fully engaged and an active participant at the event, and presented himself as a vehicle for change among decision-makers in Tashkent. After the conference the CEC held a number of election law discussion groups, though the eventual impact of those events was less than certain.

The Democracy Summer Camps held in 1999 and 2000 were the first to be conducted by IFES in Uzbekistan, with the 1999 Syr-Darya Camp also being the first Summer Camp ever conducted by IFES in all of Central Asia. In all, over 150 students participated in the camps, along with upwards of 40 trainers. For students at the Syr-Darya Camp representing remote locations of Uzbekistan, the Camp represented the first opportunity to participate in an event of this magnitude with peers from around the country. While the level of knowledge of democracy among students from rural regions was more limited than those from urban areas, their enthusiasm more than made up for any knowledge gaps. Students in both camps displayed an extremely high level of energy, and by camp's end all had demonstrated a significantly improved understanding of and appreciation for democracy and the importance of being active citizens, making informed choices, and expressing one's voice. The Syr-Darya Camp provided a successful, interactive format that would be replicated by IFES in three other Central Asian republics.

Students at the Summer Camp in Karakalpakstan represented several surrounding regions, and participated in a series of interactive role-playing exercises as part of the Camp instruction. The exercises were designed to broaden the minds of these young leaders and challenge them to understand and appreciate the rights of citizens while using their energies and talents to promote community betterment. IFES worked to create local capacity for conducting future Summer Camps by partnering and encouraging local NGOs to team up in the effort. The *Wild Nature of the Aral Sea* and *Shagala* NGOs were contracted to provide training services during the camp, with multiple trainers from those and other NGOs participating. IFES learned that the rivalry among local NGOs in Karakalpakstan was often intense, and worked with a number of leading education NGOs to develop a common approach to promoting student awareness and activism. It

was anticipated that the NGOs would use the experience to forge new, collaborative working relationships and be in a position to conduct future, joint events without direct IFES support. IFES designated representatives of locally prominent NGOs as co-leaders of the Camp, giving them comparable influence and responsibility. Throughout the course of its civic education work, IFES worked to involve local education NGOs as equal and important players vis-a- vis the education ministry, teachers, and school administrators.

The Karakalpakstan civic education efforts were designed based on the IFES program designed in Kazakhstan. Applying a similar student-based interactive methodology, draft materials were created for instruction in civics and democracy for use in secondary schools of the Karakalpakstan Autonomous Republic (AR). IFES received an invitation from the Karakalpak Ministry of Education to work in the AR after the Minister and Deputy Minister visited IFES' Teacher Training program in Almaty and met with teachers and students. Draft civic education modules were created for piloting in several schools in Nukus in the Karakalpak, Uzbek and Russian languages, with several of the student exercises trial-tested at the Karakalpak Democracy Summer Camp.

The end of the Cooperative Agreement saw IFES poised to continue its civic education work as the primary focus of its assistance activities in Uzbekistan. While cooperative efforts in secondary school civic education were sought with both local and international partners, new initiatives were being considered to develop civic education modules for use in universities. All projects were being conducted in close cooperation with USAID and in accordance with the approved IFES workplan.

## **VI. RECOMMENDATIONS & CHALLENGES**

While efforts at an extended program were initiated in Karakalpakstan, with the intention of eventually exporting the project to the rest of Uzbekistan, near the end of the Cooperative Agreement period it became clear that those plans were subject to influence from other factors. The civics textbook project was initially trial-tested in four schools in Karakalpakstan, a number that was to have increased significantly after a teacher-training session to be held in the late summer of 2000. However, the Karakalpak Ministry of Education was forced by authorities in Tashkent to rescind its support for the project on the grounds that the National Ministry of Public Education in Tashkent had to first review and approve the initiative. This had not been a problem to that point, as the Ministry in Nukus exercised relative autonomy in the decision-making in education programs being conducted on the territory of the AR. However, it was made clear that any ongoing efforts would, from that point, first have to be cleared and approved by Tashkent, a process that would require several months. The Ministry in Nukus was, with great regret, unable to continue any of the projects until said approval was provided by Tashkent. Hence the teacher training session was canceled, and, along with it, the piloting of the civics textbook for that schoolyear.

The continuation of the project was pursued through Tashkent, and towards the end of the Agreement significant progress had been made with the Ministry of Education to resume secondary school civic education work. Projects such as the Student Action Committees were not subject to the same rigors of approval as were the textbook project, and several SAC activities were planned for schools in the Ferghana Valley. The textbook project faced other obstacles,



however, as it turned out that OSI/Soros had undertaken a similar textbook initiative for high school students across the country, though which had not yet come to fruition. IFES did not hear of the OSI project, and only became aware of it after IFES retooled its own project to make it a national effort instead of restricted to Karakalpakstan. Thus, the OSI project had not achieved any status in Karakalpakstan to that point, though the IFES project was ready to be implemented there. Moreover, USAID was insistent that any expansion of the IFES project had to be predicated on a successful piloting in Karakalpakstan, which created a dilemma. Adding to the difficulty was the fact that OSI was less than receptive to the notion of a partnership with IFES on the civics textbook project, even though the projects were not strictly similar. The combination of USAID priorities, Uzbek government bureaucracy, and OSI weariness caused the secondary civics project to be left in a state of uncertainty as the Cooperative Agreement came to a close.

As mentioned earlier, the Central Election Commission of Uzbekistan was a relatively weak institution completely subservient to the Oliy Majlis, which was, in turn, subservient to President Karimov. As such it lacked independent decision-making or any kind of institutional autonomy. While the Acting Chairman and later the Chairman of the Commission were, on the surface, promoting of electoral sector reform, they had relatively few concrete steps forward to show for their efforts. IFES' efforts and encouragement did serve to spur debate at the level of the CEC, however, with the CEC becoming a strong supporter of IFES in the country and viewing IFES as a reliable source of unbiased, non-partisan experience and information on worldwide electoral reform. IFES recommendations led to the CEC's conclusion that it needed to be more independent, a goal towards which it tried to work thereafter.

Subsequent directives delivered to IFES by the U.S. Embassy/Tashkent frowned on election-sector work, mandating that all requests and communication with the CEC, Oliy Majlis or other governmental body dealing with elections first be processed through the Embassy. This obviously created difficulties for IFES, as it was put in the odd position of having to explain to the Uzbek authorities why an "independent" NGO had to answer to the Embassy on matters of communication and program. While the Embassy's position on electoral assistance in Uzbekistan was appreciated, the policy of non-engagement on any level ultimately served to undermine IFES' credibility as a non-partisan assistance provider.

In future dealings in Uzbekistan, IFES recommends that the election sphere be considered as a possible target of assistance. A limited, targeted project with the CEC with modest results could serve to keep the U.S. constructively engaged while the Uzbek government restores its credibility with U.S. authorities and at the same time pushes for positive change, however small. A strategy of complete disengagement was not likely to work in this instance, though certainly granting too much legitimacy to a flawed electoral system was equally as undesirable.

Though working through the education ministries in Uzbekistan is not always an easy task, any successful education project would have to be approved by either the Ministry of Public Education or the Ministry of Higher, Specialized Secondary Education. These ministries were as laden with bureaucracy and red tape as any other, but were certainly no worse than other government ministries. IFES' recommendation would be to persist in working with these ministries, and their local counterparts, and push for the acceptance and approval of

groundbreaking education initiatives. Efforts may need to begin small, as IFES' own efforts in Karakalpakstan, but with the correct pressure exerted results and progress could be achieved. Disengagement from the education ministries entirely would certainly achieve no favorable result, and would represent a hasty, knee-jerk reaction. Moreover, with some potential international partners working at least partially successfully with the education officials, all possible avenues of opportunity should be explored by USG for working in this sector in Uzbekistan. Difficult though the ministries may be, the education sector has received quite a lot of favorable attention and support from President Karimov that can only provide opportunity and possibilities for those wishing to get involved.

## **VII. CONCLUSION**

IFES developed programs in Uzbekistan during this Cooperative Agreement based on opportunities and demonstrated needs in the areas of elections and civic education. The 1999 Public Opinion Survey reinforced the needs of students and teachers in secondary schools in key regions where USAID was particularly interested in establishing a working presence. One of those regions, Karakalpakstan, provided fertile ground for the conducting of a number of initiatives in the area of education. The needs in the education sector in the AR Karakalpakstan and the rest of Uzbekistan are vast, and it has and will remain IFES' strong interest to continue pursuing opportunities to affect positive change in this sector in Uzbekistan.

Elections work in Uzbekistan remains especially challenging given the uncertain commitment of the government to meaningful and positive change. The CEC remains a dependent body subservient to the parliament whose efforts to promote change have been met with resistance. IFES feels that concentrated, targeted assistance can be effective in this sector, even if modest in scope, provided the will of the United States Government to promote electoral sector evolution returns.

Working with the government on the promotion of change in both IFES interest areas is inevitable, should the programs truly have a large impact. Smaller-scale projects have been conducted or are planned on a school-by-school basis (such as the SACs) which can have a very positive impact on the students and teachers involved, and which do not require a large-scale commitment on the part of the GoU or USG. However, it goes without saying that maximizing available opportunities, such as the ones identified by IFES during the course of this Cooperative Agreement, would be best served by working from both the top-down as well as the bottom-up. IFES very much looks forward to the possibility of continuing its work in Uzbekistan and helping USAID foster democracy development in Uzbekistan one piece at a time.

# **INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS**

## **REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN**

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 Uzbekistan, 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 Uzbekistan.

**Office Equipment Inventory  
IFES/Uzbekistan**

Item	Serial Number	Value
Safe (made in Uzbekistan)	ordinary	*\$200
Telephone/Fax Machine (Japan)	7ACHG412731	*\$640
Telephone (Panasonic, Malaysia)	7FCKC0428	*\$95
Tefal Gold (France) tea kettle	2085/1	*\$40
Electric heater (Uzbekistan)	ERMPB	*\$400
Water Boiling Tank Thermex (Italy)	Model 50 SN 00398424486	\$66
Vacuum Cleaner (Japan)	S6061331	\$96.57
Printer	FRGQ343171	\$300
Desktop Computer - Monitor LG Color 15" - Processor PII 350 MHz - Keyboard - Mouse - UPS	002NT11826 - J91005091 98426957 GB9642352619	\$840
Desktop Computer - Processor (with Modem) - Monitor - Mouse (Genius) - Keyboard (China)	000050 2J4V7700373 - 9711148339	*\$1200
Desktop Computer - Monitor Daewoo 15" - Processor PIII, 700 - Keyboard - Mouse - PC Speakers	GCO8330223 107083 H000869369 - -	\$991.26
UPS	LR136A034	\$106.21
UPS	00901603	\$106.21
Network cards		\$91.03
Cable 40m and T-connectors (3x)		\$35.82
Network Accessories		\$14.94
Power Filters (3x)		\$68.97
Panasonic Telephone	OFBFA266875	\$30.34
Panasonic Telephone	OBCFA224953	\$30.34
Computer Desk	-	\$172.41

Power Conditioner	Tsvet-2	*\$50
Mouse (Genius)	-	\$36.21
Scanner Mustek 1200 CP	J1037D03730	\$220
<b>Total</b>		<b>\$5831.31</b>

\* Item values marked with asterisk are the approximate numbers, derived from the average prices for each particular kind of equipment at the time of acquisition.

Uzbekistan

Miscellaneous

updated  
6/17/99

Control #	Category	Description	Model/Serial #	Date of Acquisition	Cost	Location	Condition	Comments
	Air Conditioner	Phillips	4R4320B		227	Almaty	Good	
	Carpet, octagonal					Almaty		
	Carpet, runner					Almaty		
	Carpet, square					Almaty		
	Coffee maker			Mar-98		Almaty		
	Fan			Aug-98	30	Almaty	New	
	Fan			Aug-98	30	Almaty	New	
	Fan			Aug-98	30	Almaty	New	
	Fan			Aug-98	30	Almaty	New	
	Floor Lamp	black				Almaty		
	Floor Lamp	white				Almaty		
	Heater	HD 3445	9307			Almaty	New	
	Heater	HD 3445	9307			Almaty	New	
	Heater			Oct-98	123	Almaty	New	
	Heater			Oct-98	123	Almaty	New	
	Heater			Oct-98	123	Almaty	New	
	Heater			Oct-97	42	Almaty	Good	
	Heater			Oct-97	42	Almaty	Good	
	Humidifier	Cartino HF-608HC	94600986			Almaty	Fair	
	Microwave Oven		408F1300045	Aug-98	196	Almaty	Good	
	Office Partition	grey, free standing				Almaty	Good	Loan to AED
	Office Partition	grey, free standing				Almaty	Good	Loan to AED
	Office Partition	grey, free standing				Almaty	Good	Loan to AED
	Office Partition	grey, free standing				Almaty	Good	Loan to AED
	Office Partition	grey, free standing				Almaty	Good	Loan to AED
	Refrigerator	Snaige 117-2	44513			Almaty	Good	
	Vacuum Cleaner	LG V-4040HT	704KV02480	Jul-97		Almaty	New	\$153
	Washing Machine					Almaty	Fair	
	Water dispenser	BioFamily		Sep-98	250	Almaty	New	
	Electric fry pan			Mar-98		Dushanbe		
	Water boiler	Thermex 50	SN00398424486	Oct-98	66	Tashkent	Good	
	Vacuum Cleaner	Hitachi	CV2500		96.57	Tashkent	Good	
	Fan				30	Tashkent	Good	

Miscellaneous

Heater		ERMPB		62.4	Tashkent	Good	
Safe	grey			215.38	Tashkent	Good	
Tefal Gold kettle		208		133.13	Tashkent	Good	
Iron doors& window bars			Mar-98	464	Tashkent	Good	

# 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.





**MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK**

**INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS**

1101 15th Street, N.W. • Third Floor

Washington D.C. 20005

202 • 828 • 8507 FAX 202 • 452 • 0804

[www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org)