

**COMPLETION REPORT
FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROCESS
IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR 1996**

Contract: AEP 5468-I-00-6003-00, Delivery Order No. 02

Contractor: The International Foundation for Election Systems

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Voter Education Program for 1996

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) was invited by USAID to conduct a comprehensive Voter Education Project in central Bosnia under the election provisions included in the Dayton Peace Accords which were signed on November 21, 1995. The IFES on-site project was initially planned to begin six months prior to the 1996 national elections, however, due to several delays in the approval process, only ten weeks were ultimately available to fulfill the original mandate.

Delivery Order No. 2 of Contract No. AEP 5468-I-00-6003-00 between the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the International Foundation for Election Services (IFES) was signed on 9 July. The effective dates of this Delivery Order (DO) were 25 June to 31 October 1996. On 29 October the completion date was extended to 31 December 1996 due to the then-rescheduled Municipal Elections set for mid-November 1996.

As required by the terms of the DO, IFES fielded a team consisting of a Project Director, three Training Supervisors, and one Media/Communications Specialist. This Technical Assistance team was supported by a local cadre of fifteen (15) Local Trainers, three (3) Program Assistants, one Senior Local Office Manager, a Staff Accountant, and other support staff.

The mission of the IFES/Zenica Voter Education Project was to inform the eligible voting population, in the two central Bosnia cantons of Zenica-Doboj and Middle Bosnia, on the voting process, and importance of participation in the September 14, 1996 elections.

The population of IFES' target area was approximately 724,000 composed mostly of Bosnian Muslims with only 7 of the 22 municipalities (opchinas) dominated by Bosnian Croats. Only a small percentage of Bosnian Serbs remained in this area as a result of the war.

While Municipal Elections were postponed on August 27, 1996, balloting did proceed to fill the offices of the Presidency and National House of Representatives of BiH, the Federation Presidency and House of Representatives, and the Cantonal Assemblies.

Within three weeks of IFES' arrival in Bosnia, the expatriate team, comprised of Project Director Ed Morgan, Training Supervisors Michael Frith and Sarah Farnsworth, and Media Specialist Sally Hunter, had the first group of IFES Local Trainers actively engaged in voter education training sessions. Preceding these sessions the Zenica Project Manager held meetings with local mayors and each of the two Cantonal Presidents to explain the role of IFES in Bosnia. All project activity was conducted from the Resource Center (base of operations) in the city of Zenica, 40 miles north of Sarajevo.

With 15 local trainers and 3 program assistants, IFES/Zenica directly reached over 3,500 voters in

six weeks through in-depth, voter education group discussions and presentations. To achieve this, special effort was made to develop IFES' own voter education materials which included Training Flash Cards, Posters, an Introductory Brochure, and a comprehensive Voter Information Guide. By the last week of the voter education campaign, three television spots and three radio spots had been produced and aired on most media outlets in the central Bosnia region.

In addition to more than 300 voter education and discussion sessions, the IFES Project supported 24 refugee reading centers by collecting a number of local newspapers and distributing nonpartisan election materials produced by IFES, OSCE and USAID/OTI.

A separate outreach effort to reach families of 5,600 school children was conducted through the use of a questionnaire distributed through eleven schools in the Zenica area.

It is difficult to calculate how many voters the Project reached, particularly in the absence of *Nielsen-type* television surveys and unofficial "traffic counts" of citizens reading posters and brochures IFES designed, produced, and posted. However, as a result of the documented attendance at IFES' voter education sessions, the distribution of more than 20,000 IFES Voter Information Guides and more than 30,000 posters, approximately 800 sets of IFES-designed Flash Cards, and the broadcast of media spots on 11 local stations throughout central Bosnia, a conservative estimate of citizens reached could be placed between 50,000 to 100,000.

II. BACKGROUND

The Dayton Accords mandated that elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) take place within 6-9 months of the signing of the Peace Agreement, or September 14, 1996 at the very latest. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) was designated to supervise these elections.

In preparation for these elections, the OSCE undertook a limited voter education program. In order to counter the widespread apathy towards the elections and political leaders in general, USAID solicited a proposal for a comprehensive voter education project to be conducted in central BiH.

IFES received the RFP on 7 May and submitted a proposal on 21 May. Due to a change in USAID priorities, a shift resulted in the IFES Resource Center's location from Mostar in west Herzegovina to Zenica in central Bosnia. This alteration, according to USAID, was based on financial constraints which not only reduced the duration of the activity, but the breadth of the regional coverage. Based on these decisions, USAID formally revised the statement of work on 11 June. IFES submitted a revised proposal on 14 June followed by a series of negotiations with the USAID Contracts Office in Washington, D.C. which ended in further program and cost estimate revisions. The final Delivery Order No. 02 under Contract AEP-5468-I-00-6003 in the amount of \$694,744 was signed on 9 July with an effective start date retroactive to 25 June 1996. Under this DO the original

completion date was set at 31 October 1996.

III. ACTIVITY DESCRIPTION AND CONTRACT REQUIREMENTS¹

A. Purpose

To assist the OSCE and other international organizations in increasing the number of people who are actively involved in the election process (attending candidate fora, participating in discussion groups on campaign issues, implement GOTV efforts) and vote in an informed way.

B. Activity Description

Under this Voter Education Project, IFES will undertake a comprehensive voter education campaign to inform and engage people in the elections.

Various methods will be used to educate and motivate individuals including:

- 1) Establishing a voter education Resource Center in Zenica, with two mobile training teams with the technological, physical, and logistic support to “fan-out” in west-central Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). In view of the time constraint and language considerations and in order to maximize the impact of the program, it is essential that activities be focused on the west-central region of BiH. Should USAID determine that a critical training need exists beyond this area, IFES will attempt to address the need. The IFES Resource Center will be equipped with computer and reproduction technologies to facilitate the production of educational and training materials as well as provide informational and sample materials on electoral laws and procedures, on civic and voter education programs, and on related training programs. NGOs, the PEC, members of the media, professional educators, and political parties will be able to use the IFES Resource Center to facilitate their activities. At the end of the project, IFES will recommend to USAID options for the disposition of materials and equipment (e.g., a local university, the PEC, indigenous NGOs, etc.) for future use in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 2) Through the IFES Resource Center, information and resources will be made available to NGOs and other groups which are implementing programs to increase the effective participation of residents of BiH in the upcoming national and local elections in the fall of 1996. Materials and resources to be provided to NGOs and the Provisional Election

¹The following text is verbatim from the IFES-USAID Contract and outlines the final approved IFES scope of work, deliverables and personnel requirements.

Commission (PEC) may include:

- (a) Information and advice on training, public information, civic education, voter education, and electoral procedures from senior advisors in those areas;
- (b) A wide selection of informational materials including examples of civic and voter education material and election laws and regulations from around the world;
- (c) Guidance on the voter information tasks of the PEC, as requested, such as press releases, press conferences and public meetings;
- (d) Computer, printing and audiovisual design equipment and supplies; and
- (e) Material resources for NGOs and PEC activities, as appropriate needs and opportunities arise and resources allow.

The OSCE may also undertake a series of voter education programs designed to encourage and motivate registration, develop citizen awareness of the electoral process, and encourage voting. Locally produced videotapes and radio cassettes will be distributed to private and state radio and television stations for airing as part of a public service campaign under development. The OSCE may also produce printed materials with the same general message as the TV and radio spots for wide distribution. The IFES Voter Education Project will be coordinated with the OSCE's efforts, and with similar campaigns to be mounted by NDI and IRI in other geographic areas, so as to avoid duplication of effort and confusion in the messages made available to the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

3) IFES will design and organize training workshops and seminars throughout southern Bosnia and Herzegovina. IFES will train a minimum of 15 Bosnians in the Center, who will in turn act as trainers for voter education and motivation workshops and seminars organized by the contractor for NGOs and civic leaders. A minimum of 3 training-of-trainers sessions will be run through the IFES Center. The mobile training teams, in close coordination with the Center, will assist in identifying, coordinating, and training of the 15 key trainers.

NDI will be implementing a civic/voter education program in Bosnia, working primarily with the Tuzla Citizens Forum, the Serbian Citizens Council, and the Croatian Peoples Council. The contractor under this delivery order will target smaller civic-oriented NGOs and groups other than these main civic organizations. A special effort will be made to encourage women to be involved in the electoral process. In smaller communities which do not have active NGOs, the program may train community leaders rather than formal NGOs. As part of this effort, the contractor will develop voter education training manuals and materials to be used and disseminated by the voter education trainers to train others in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In addition to the 3 training-of-trainer workshops conducted in the Center, a minimum of 25 voter education seminars conducted by the newly trained Bosnian trainers and the Mobile teams will be delivered for NGOs and community leaders coming from the regions surrounding the center. These seminars will be coordinated with the IFES Resource Center and other international training organizations in order to reach the largest number of people. Literature and posters shall be distributed at the seminars, ensuring that information is disseminated beyond the participants in the seminars. Evaluations will be conducted at the end of each seminar/workshop through the use of post-event evaluation forms and compilation and analysis of data.

C. Deliverables

1. Approved work plan/schedule for implementation (COTR, USAID/Washington [ENI and G Bureaus]);
2. Monthly project reports containing: review of progress, constraints, and issues with recommendations to address them with respect to impact, goals and benchmarks (COTR, USAID/Washington);
3. Verbal briefings when requested by COTR and USAID/Washington;
4. Quarterly progress reports and final report as required by the IQC contract under which this delivery order is made;
5. The IFES Voter Education Resource Center established in Zenica will be open for the full length of the project. Two (2) mobile voter education teams, coordinated by the Center will travel throughout west-central Bosnia and Herzegovina implementing a series of at least 10 voter education seminars;
6. Approximately 15 Bosnians trained as trainers in voter education and civic activism;
7. At least 25 voter education seminars are organized to motivate citizens to vote in an informed way as noted earlier; and
8. At the end of the project, a list of the most promising civic-oriented NGOs and/or community leaders for use by USAID in future NGO development programs will be shared with the COTR and USAID/Washington.

IV. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

A. Mobilization

Immediately upon signature of the DO, IFES established contracts with consultants named in the Project proposal: Ed Morgan, Project Director; Mike Frith, Sarah Farnsworth and Paul Prettitore, Trainers; Sally Hunter, Media/Communications Specialist; and Stephen Connolly, Project Manager. (When a case was unexpectedly called to Court, Paul Prettitore, an attorney specializing in human rights cases, was prevented from mobilizing with the rest of the Technical Assistance team. Mr. Prettitore was eventually replaced by a qualified local-hire Trainer/Supervisor as discussed later in this report).

The Area of Responsibility (AOR) assigned to IFES comprised two cantons in the center of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Zenica-Doboj (No. 6) and Middle Bosnia, the Lhasva and Vrbas Valleys (No. 4), as shown in Appendix Q.

The mission of the IFES-Zenica VEP was to inform the eligible voting population in the AOR as to the voting process involved in the September 14, 1996 election and to encourage as many voters as possible to exercise their voting right.

It should be noted that this part of the world has little experience with free and open democratic elections. Its recent 50-year experience was under a totalitarian Communist regime preceded by authoritarian rule spanning many centuries under Byzantine, Ottoman, Hapsburg, and Yugoslavian Royal influence. The most recent election prior to this was a referendum within Bosnia and Herzegovina on February 29 to March 1, 1992, on the issue of its independence as a republic separate from Yugoslavia. Since the aftermath of this election was 3 ½ years of open warfare, the idea of another election was greeted by many with apprehension and skepticism.

It was important to keep in mind that less than ten months earlier massive killings were taking place in our AOR. Ignoring the fact that deep feelings lay beneath the surface of smiles and apparently friendly conversation was to conduct oneself in a naive, foolish and dangerous manner. The pain of indigenous hatred cannot be tempered, let alone eradicated, in ten weeks. The shootings and beatings reported in the IFES AOR during the course of Project activity, while possibly random, were, nevertheless, not idle events. Also noteworthy of the atmosphere is the 11:00 P.M. curfew imposed on most cities and towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A fair representation of what had occurred within the last year in the area of Bosnia in which we were operating is reflected in the book by Silber and Little, published in 1995, Yugoslavia, Death of a Nation. Excerpts of chapter 22 deal with our AOR and are included in the Appendix M.

The IFES base of operation for this Voter Education Project (VEP) was in Zenica, the third largest city in BiH. Zenica, which translates as “the pupil of the eye,” is located in the geographic center of the country and became the largest newly planned city in post WWII Yugoslavia. With a 1991 population of 145,000, it also is the site of the largest steel and metallurgical plant in all of former Yugoslavia (which comprised BiH, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia).

Bosnia is named for the Bosna River which flows North from Sarajevo to the Sava River and is its border with Croatia and Serbia. Along with Croatia and Serbia, Bosnia was settled by Slavs in the late sixth century, thereby sharing a common language. By the mid-seventh century Croatian and Serbian tribes, both dominated by elements of Iranian origin, invaded and took over various regions within Bosnia and through miscegenation shared the same ethnic origins. Bosnia served as a mountainous frontier between Croatia, linked to Rome and the Catholic Church, and Serbia, tied to Constantinople and Eastern Orthodoxy. In the 1430s the Ottoman Empire pushed westward from Turkey, encouraging many locals to convert to Islam, thereby establishing the third major religious component in this area. Today, Bosnians share ethnic background and language. Religious background is the principal difference among those living in Bosnia and this is somewhat muted with over 30% of the urban population representing mixed marriages. A second distinction is the use of the Latin alphabet by Bosniaks and Croats while the Serbs use the Cyrillic alphabet.

Most of the people in IFES’ AOR live along one of three basins through which flow the Vrbas, Lasva, and Bosna Rivers (Appendix R). The entire country is divided into two principal parts, known as “entities”: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. These are subdivided into 109 local jurisdictions known as opchinas. Unlike Srpska, the Federation is further subdivided into ten cantons which are equivalent to mini-states and into which opchinas are assigned.

The municipal and cantonal assemblies choose their respective mayors and presidents who in turn appoint their cabinets which are often balanced to reflect the ethnic makeup of their areas.

While some of the jurisdictional authority has been worked out among these various levels of government, there are still many questions and overlapping interests as indicated by the following chart.

<u>Division of Powers</u>	<u>Major functions will be divided as follows:</u>		
<u>Federation</u>	<u>Shared Fed/Canton</u>	<u>Canton</u>	<u>Municipality/Opchina</u>
* Foreign Affairs	* Human Rights	* Residual Power	* Self-Rule on
* Citizenship	* Environmental Policy	including:	Local Matters
* Economic Policy	Communications	* Policing	
* Commerce and Customs	* And Transport	* Education	Canton may delegate:
* Finance	* Social Welfare	* Culture	* Education
* Int'l and Inter-Cantonal Crime	* Immigration	* Housing	
* Energy Policy	* Tourism	* Social Welfare	* Culture
* Taxation for Federal Purposes	* Natural Resources	* Public Services	* Tourism
		* Land Use	* Local Business
		* Taxation for Cantonal Purposes	* Radio and TV
		* Radio and TV	

The population of 724,000 within our AOR equaled approximately 1/6 of the pre-war census of BiH and occupied 1/7 of its land area. By the time the Project commenced in mid-July, the ethnic composition of this area was predominately Muslim with some municipalities, particularly in the Vrbas and Lasva Valleys, either dominated by Croats or split into two jurisdictions with each part being governed by the ethnic group dominating that part of town. Only a small percentage of Serbs remained in our two cantons during and after the war and most of these were from or part of mixed marriages.

This mission was further complicated by the different levels of government offices to be filled and the more than 50 political parties and coalitions proffering candidates for various offices. Within IFES' AOR there were candidates for six government sections:

- C President of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- C National House of Representatives
- C President of the Federation of BiH
- C Federation House of Representatives
- C Cantonal Assemblies
- C Municipal Assemblies

On August 27 the municipal portion of the election was postponed until later in the fall of 1996, adding more questions and confusion to the process.

The cumbersome nature of the ballot was dictated by the sheer volume of parties, positions and personalities. The rules for the election process itself, both for the campaign and the election day

polling station procedure were difficult to grasp, first, because they were complex, and second, because they were being created and changed during the campaign up to election day.

Ed Morgan and Michael Frith traveled to BiH on 10 July arriving 11 July; Sally Hunter, Sarah Farnsworth and Steve Connolly followed on 15 July bringing a significant percentage of the approved project commodities including computers and office supplies. While the technical staff initiated activities, Steve Connolly made administrative arrangements including local hire contracts and establishing the Zenica Resource Center’s lease. He also obtained USAID approval for a significant increase in local trainer time, to permit training activities to continue for the duration of the activity, and for replacing one of the original expatriate trainers, Paul Prettitore, with a locally hired Trainer/Supervisor.

Contract Amendment/Extension

Shortly after the 14 September national elections, it was agreed with USAID Contracting Officer Technical Representative (COTR) Susan Kosinski that a no-cost extension for purposes of preparing materials for the then-scheduled fall Municipal Elections, at that time scheduled for November 1996, was a reasonable use of remaining project funds. A proposal for the extension was submitted on 25 October and approved on 29 October. The revised activity completion date was then set for 31 December.

B. Accomplishments

1. Summary of Accomplishments

In addition to achieving all Deliverables required by the Delivery Order as shown in the chart found in Section V.B.2, project staff employed an assortment of other tools to educate and motivate the electorate. The following chart summarizes informational items produced and disseminated via various media (print, radio, television), as well as various training sessions and meetings not specifically required by the DO.

DEVELOPMENT AND DELIVERY OF VOTER EDUCATION MATERIALS		
Voter Education Posters	2,000	“Feel Your Power...Get Involved in the Elections” Voter Awareness Poster produced.
Voter Education Posters (Cyrillic Translation)	30,000	“Feel Your Power...Get Involved in the Elections” Voter Awareness Poster reproduced with OTI and IFOR assistance into Cyrillic for distribution in the RS.

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Voter Information Q&A “Flashcards”	500 sets of 48 in Bos. 500 sets in Croatian	IFES/Zenica has produced a 48 card set of VE Training Flashcards, printed in Bosnian, Croatian, and English for IFES-led training sessions. Copies were shared with the OSCE VE Division.
IFES/Zenica Introduction Brochure	2,000	A “Feel Your Power” two-sided information brochure was produced and widely disseminated. The brochure discussed IFES’ VE role in BiH. Preparation of this piece was led by IFES’ local staff to assure a clear, locally acceptable message.
Voter Information Guide Brochure	10,000	IFES produced a guide for voters on electoral structures, the roll of poll workers and monitors. This was designed as a tri-fold, two-sided handout which may be reproduced by other international groups.
Voter Information Guide Reprint Agreement(s)	10,000	In cooperation with ABA, NDI and OSCE, more than 10,000 additional copies were printed for use outside IFES/Zenica’s primary region.
Voter Education Videos and “Bumpers”	3	IFES/Zenica produced short information and motivation video spots to be aired in the Zenica-Doboj/Middle Bosnia Cantons.
Voter Education Radio Pieces and “Bumpers”	3	IFES/Zenica developed several short information and motivation audio pieces which were shared with local radio stations in the two Cantons. “Flashcard-based” voice-overs were used to challenge voters on key elements of the electoral process.
Local School Flashcard Training Sessions	11	IFES maintained contact with a number of local teachers at several local schools to capitalize on their skills. IFES “Flashcards” and informational material was shared with schools to be introduced to civics classes in early September.
IFES-led Polling Station Procedures Session	(several)	OSCE held an IFES training session in the second week of August at the IFES/Zenica office. Ten members of the IFES local staff attended and afterwards initiated a series of “Station Procedure Sessions” in Zenica.

Mass Media Interviews	5	IFES/Zenica local and international staff were contacted by local press organizations (OSCE Radio “Fern” (Sarajevo), Radio Beta (Zenica), and TV-Zenica for an introduction to IFES’ work and numerous on-air Q&A interviews.
IFES/Zenica Reading Centers	24 Refugee Centers	Throughout the city of Zenica, one of the most populous cities in the Federation, IFES arranged for 24 citywide Reading Centers where voters will find IFES and OSCE Voter Education materials. Copies of nonpartisan reference documents and local newspapers were also made available by IFES for general reading. Materials were updated on a weekly basis.
OSCE Polling Station Procedures Training Session	1	OSCE held an IFES training session in the second week of August at the IFES/Zenica office with 10 members of the IFES local staff in attendance.
Opchina Mayors Visited	22 of 22 (100%)	Beginning at the outset of IFES’ arrival, Ed Morgan initiated meetings with Opchina Mayors and Cantonal Presidents (2). Each were visited by 20 August. This interaction opened a number of avenues to VE sessions and facilities and prevented undue outside intervention concerns on the part of these local leaders.
Cantonal Presidents Visited	2 of 2 (100%)	
IFES/Zenica “Walk-ins”	(numerous)	IFES/Zenica arranged the entrance to the resource Center to invite walk-in voter information sessions. Video and print material was shared with citizens.

2. Achievement of Deliverables

A summary of Contract deliverables and their achievement is represented in the following chart:

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#	DELIVERABLE	Required	DESCRIPTION
		Achieved	
1	Workplan	1 1 (plus revision)	The original Work Plan was submitted 24 July, following initiation of field activities. A revised Work Plan, incorporating activities called for under the no-cost extension, was submitted on 31 October.
2	Monthly Activity Reports	6 6	The sixth and final Monthly Report was submitted on 7 January.
3	USAID Briefings	as requested Numerous	IFES/W staff and IFES/Zenica staff have responded to numerous requests for in-person briefings and status reports with USAID's ENI, OTI, and DG decisions since the project was initiated.
4a	Quarterly Progress Reports	2 2	As required by the IQC, Quarterly Reports covering the periods ending 30 September and 31 December were submitted.
4b	Final Report	1 1	As required by the IQC, this Completion Report covers the entire period of Project activities.
5a	Resource Center	1 1	IFES opened the Zenica Resource Center on 4 August. The Center remained open throughout the remainder of the original period of activity.
5b	International Mobile Teams	2 2	Two teams of Internationally-led trainers were deployed during the 2nd week of project activity in Middle Bosnia and Zenica-Doboj Cantons which include 22 Opchinas.
5c	Field (Mobile) TOT Workshops	10 20- Zenica 65- Field	IFES/Zenica Mobile Teams held a series of TOT Sessions during their field missions to allow for non-Zenica based sessions.
6	Local Voter Education Trainers Hired and Instructed	15 15	IFES' cadre of locally hired VE Trainers were 8 exposed to at least 6 days of training on their role, training strategies, and an evaluation of skills lesson. This group consisted of Bosniaks and Croats.

7	Voter Education Seminars	25 228 Seminars regionally	As of PACD, VE Seminars were held in 22 Opchinas within the two Cantons within the IFES mandate. There were from 3 to 92 participants per session; a total of 2599 individuals benefitted directly.
8	List of NGOs	1 1	A list of the most promising civic-oriented NGOs and/or leaders is attached to this report (see Appendix J)
	Weekly Project Reports	25	IFES/W, at the request of USAID, has produced detailed weekly reports throughout the period of activities.
	Zenica “Training-of-Trainers” (TOT) Workshops	3 groups trained	In a series of TOT Workshops, IFES/Zenica local trainers were trained to take on the role of a local trainer. Materials developed by IFES/Zenica were used to assist in these workshops. Similar materials were used in the field by mobile teams and their local teams. These sessions included a local-language definition of IFES in BiH and an election day procedural “walk-through.”

3. Program Activity

The first part of the IFES-Zenica team (Morgan and Frith) arrived in Sarajevo on Friday, July 12th, and were met by Igor Beros who served as office manager, but was also at various times driver, translator, recruiter, and indispensable source of much information.

The next day, while Beros and Frith went to Zenica looking for possible office locations, Morgan was briefed at USAID about the shooting of a State Dept. Staff member that occurred the previous night during her return to Sarajevo after having dinner in Kiseljak, 25 km out of the city. This event was of particular interest since Kiseljak was the southernmost municipality within the IFES AOR.

While this incident served as a chilling reminder of the hazardous environment in which the Project operated, it should be noted that we never felt we were in imminent danger. In spite of the presence of IFOR, the Dayton Agreement Implementation Force, we did observe restrictions on freedom of movement and had one or two encounters that reminded us of potential sources of difficulty.

In the course of our travels throughout central Bosnia we saw IFOR military units from many countries. Zenica was under the protection of the Turkish “Garibaldi” Brigade within the American Sector. Our activities also extended into the British and French Sectors (see Appendix S).

Until the balance of the team (Connolly, Farnsworth, and Hunter) arrived the following Wednesday with 24 cartons of equipment, we continued to check out office sites, screen local hire applicants and orient ourselves as to local conditions. We met other NGO staff and key people already operating within our AOR such as the field staff of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Community Monitor Mission (ECMM).

On July 18, we set up our operations in the Hotel Internacional in Zenica and began interviewing candidates for the local-hire trainer positions and other positions called for under the terms of the Contract. The following Monday, 22 July, training began with the first eight selectees. Over the next few weeks an additional ten trainers were added from other areas within our two cantons and trained in two subsequently established groups.

Ultimately our training staff consisted of 15 trainers and 3 program assistants. These individuals represented a variety of backgrounds from current university students to engineering, architectural, management, and teaching professions although none had previously conducted training or adult education.

Due to the ethnic sensitivities used to provoke the recent war, we attempted to assemble as equally balanced a group as possible: 9 Bosnians, 7 Croats, 1 Serb Bosnian, and 1 Serb Croat. Of these, 9 were men and 9 were women. Several spoke English which obviated the need for additional translators. Since the expatriate staff was not conversant in Serbo-Croatian, the initial training sessions took longer until the first group of trainers understood our mission and approach and could themselves lead subsequent training orientation sessions with new recruits.

B. Methodology

1. Program

The training program was designed and implemented by Training Supervisors Sarah Farnsworth and Michael Frith. The initial group of local trainers underwent an intensive two-week orientation with much of the time spent in the field. This cadre of trainers also served as a focus group in the design of materials needed to explain the Project goals and in the creation of materials required to explain the election process to our constituency, the voting public (see Appendix S).

The training curriculum was an abbreviated version of the standard human development training of trainers model. It involved team-building exercises, personal and group empowerment, communication skills training, and field training - all within the framework of the experiential cycle of learning - and including elements of action research. Each element of training was situationally dictated, and the human relations aspects differed between the three training groups to reflect the

changing characteristics of recruits and to match the dynamic needs of each group. The teaching methodology was overt and integral with the curriculum. It was expected that our trainees would become trainers in an expanded program.

The initial experiential training elements of the first round of training in Zenica were modeled on the focus group which was shifted into the action research mode universally used in group-based information/empowerment campaigns. The community and personal problems impinging on a free and fair election became the substance of a list of topics that were the starting points for introducing ideas to a functioning Voter Education Group (VEG) that was renamed by the new trainers in their lexicon as Grupa Obuka Gradana (GOG). All training consisted of two phases: the first included fieldwork, but was heavily laced with adult learning theory and applied group dynamics; and the second included elements of organizational development training enabling the group to plan, implement, and evaluate their own programs.

With input from the trainers we developed several valuable tools created by two local highly skilled young men, Velimir Alic and Igor Nuk, who worked with our media consultant, Sally Hunter. They came to us with an attractive computer generated TV spot proposal. Since we did not have a TV budget, this was adapted into the poster “Feel Your Power” which proved to be very popular. (See Appendix I, item 36).

It became apparent early in our effort that we needed a printed handout explaining in Serbo-Croatian what IFES is and what we were doing in Bosnia. After several hours of discussion over a few days, interspersed within the training sessions, the local staff wrote and designed an “Introduction to Who We Are” piece completely “in-house.” (See Appendix I, item 35).

July 23 was IFES’ first training oriented venture into the field with a visit to Busovaca where we encountered a meeting with the police that put us on notice about the atmosphere in which we are working. The next day saw our trainers divided into three teams visiting Kacuni, Merhurci, and Kiseljak accompanied by the international team’s Trainers and Media Specialist.

By July 25, Project Director Morgan held meetings with Franjo Rajkovic, the Mayor(Nacelink) of the Croatian part of Vitez. This was the first of a series of more than 30 such meetings with Mayors, Cantonal Presidents and other local officials and organizers to explain what IFES’ role was and why IFES was in BiH. It was also an opportunity to describe how IFES planned to reach out to the local population. Sessions were held to lay the groundwork for the teams, but did not always result in full cooperation. At the conclusion of each meeting, a letter of introduction was requested from the Mayor or Cantonal President to serve as an indication that these officials were familiar with IFES and that indeed we had met and confirmed our intent. It should be noted that IFES did not consider a positive response as necessary to undertake training - only a door opener and introduction. It is necessary to keep in mind that this society continues to be unstable and many people are highly

suspicious of newcomers. Copies of these letters were a visible tool to allay many concerns as to our legitimacy. Although they had a useful effect overall, not all officials complied with this request. While five mayors declined out of the 22 IFES visited, only one proved to be an overt obstructionist.

These meetings with local officials were essential as a means of heading off anticipated interference and therefore were a priority from the beginning. However, coordinating meetings at USAID and OSCE were also important as well as the Monday UNHCR meetings with more than 40 local and international NGOs operating within IFES' AOR. Particularly useful were the reports disseminated at these sessions from IFOR, IPTF, and others conducting field activities.

As the project progressed, the need for additional educational tools became apparent and the IFES staff continued to rise to the challenge to provide these necessities. After the poster and brochure, a set of 48 flash cards was devised to explain and discuss the election process and begin to address the fundamental elements of a democratic society. IFES printed over 500 sets in Bosnian and 500 sets in Croatian distributing them in a number of training sessions for use by attendees to further explain the process to colleagues, family members and neighbors after the actual session.

In the course of our work IFES met with a myriad of organizations that represented the various interests in the society including sports and chess clubs, cultural groups (including mixed marriages and Muslim women's groups), and career-related organizations such as bus and taxi drivers, small animal breeders, teachers, and factory workers. The average education level of our audiences varied from eighth grade in small, remote villages, to twelfth grade in a number of cities and towns. A smaller percentage included those with university, advanced, or technical type training.

By the end of the first week in August IFES was set up fully in the new office space (see Appendix T). The first 8 local trainers completed their training and already conducted eight sessions in the immediate Zenica area. A second group of five recruits from the Lasva Valley began their training.

Meanwhile, the IFES Media Group, now joined by Tarik Begic, serving as a translator and liaison with the local media, continued to work on Flash Cards and began work on the IFES television spot that was distributed as a public service announcement (PSA). This was undertaken due to the fact that IFES did not have the budget to purchase actual broadcast time. The Media Team also developed a list of local radio and TV stations for outreach before election day (see Appendix T).

It became apparent by this time that any voter education material needed for IFES' voter education sessions was not going to be available in a timely manner from other sources - namely the OSCE. During the course of his midterm review, Senior Program Officer Scott Lansell observed the situation and concurred with this assessment after meeting with OSCE Voter Education Department

staffers in Sarajevo. Based on this situation, IFES undertook developing a significant amount of hard material on our own and informed other groups engaged in similar activity, including NDI, based in Tuzla and numerous OSCE field offices that our material was available or in production. While we received limited material from others, it is safe to say that over 90% of the work product was directly due to IFES' initiative, knowledge, and creativity with direct stylistic and content input from local trainers and staffers in Zenica.

This effort resulted in an attractive, useful, folded, four-color Voter Information Guide which was in great demand after it "hit the street" in the month prior to the election (See Appendix I, Item 39). Despite its complexity and the lack of readily available information, this item was judged by all who saw it as one of the most informative pieces of voter information on the election nationwide. Meanwhile, the IFES poster, which began to circulate more than a month in advance of the election, attracted such attention that it was decided by USAID and IFOR that it would be reprinted in Cyrillic for distribution in Republika Srpska. (See Appendix I, Item 37)

By the third week in August all trainers were on board and fully functioning (see Appendix T). The nine two- person teams soon required more transportation than our two vehicles could permit. Even though these vehicles were exclusively dedicated to this use, logistics of reaching widely scattered villages by the teams meant additional vehicles were required. This requirement was addressed by renting cars on an "as needed" basis.

At this point we developed a schedule that kept track of everyone and also prioritized our schedule in order to maximize our penetration. This chart shows the comparative population of the 22 opchinas which totaled 724,000 (see Appendix X).

This evaluation was useful in determining deployment of staff resources. Decisions regarding where to position project personnel without placing them at undue risk also took into consideration information made available by the OSCE, IFOR, OTI, and the IPTF. Only one relatively remote village was decreed by IFOR as "off-limits" due to the hostile presence of militant mujahadine who had infiltrated the area during the war and continued to reside there.

Various measures were taken to address the security concern. The UNHCR decision that IFES was not a humanitarian organization and therefore local staff were not eligible for UNHCR ID cards made it necessary to create a project ID for all local hire employees. Mobile radios for the Land Rovers and a base station installed in the office permitted the project to maintain contact with personnel as they traveled throughout the AOR.

As the September 14 election date approached, IFES anticipated higher anxiety levels and the possibility of violence being directed at anyone dealing with the elections. This possibility, coupled with the fact that the greater density of population was closer to Zenica, led to IFES' decision to

schedule the last two weeks of activity in higher population areas close to our base of operation.

In spite of justifiable apprehensions and, in some instances, overt warnings, the IFES teams were very successful in fulfilling their missions of promoting information on the 1996 elections. Through intensive discussions with groups of voters that generally ran from 1 to 1 ½ hours and ranged in size from a few to nearly one hundred voters, we were able to inform and educate and encourage their participation in these elections.

As our teams returned to our headquarters in Zenica, at the end of each day, they would gather at one of the adjacent cafes and discuss their experiences. Cafes were one of the few signs of a fledgling private sector developing in Bosnia. By 8 o'clock every night the seven cafes along the street where our office was located reverberated with the two latest tunes of the summer of 1996, "Coco Jumbo" and "The Macarena."

For those who wanted to shower at the end of the day, it was necessary to do so while both the electricity and the water were on at the same time. This meant we had to get home between 4:00 P.M. and 7:00 P.M. and then return to the office to complete our day which usually ran until at least 8:00 PM, but often went right up to the 11:00 P.M. curfew.

Scenes from three of the more than 300 voter education sessions IFES conducted in central Bosnia during July, August and early September 1996 appear in Appendix U. These were held from Monday thru Saturday in settings such as factories, school classrooms, backyards, community buildings and various work sites and recreational areas. For a list of all the villages and towns visited by IFES teams see Appendix N.

Citizens attending the IFES Voter Education Sessions were attentive, thoughtful, and inquisitive. For the most part, participants hoped to be exposed to and be reassured about the newly constructed election process. In several instances, particularly those sessions held closer to the Herceg-Bosna regions (Bosnian-Croat ethnicity), IFES had to guard against partisans wanting to dominate the discussion, either by monopolizing the time during the sessions with lengthy comments, or attempting to foreclose discussion by saying they were fully informed on electoral matters when, clearly, they were not. This ignorance often extended to local election commission members attending these sessions who should have known more.

By the last week in August all the meetings with local officials had been held. While the issues they raised about the election varied slightly from one jurisdiction to another, concerns were generally similar and did not vary based on their ethnic or religious background. The map included as Appendix V illustrates the current ethnic composition of each opschina. Pie charts in Appendix P compare the ethnic composition of each opschina between the 1991 census and the 1996 estimated population.

Mayors were primarily concerned about the possibility of manipulation of voters through the use of the OSCE's P2 Registration Forms. OSCE P2 Forms allowed voters to declare their intention to live somewhere other than where they were then living or where had lived at the time of the 1991 census. This declaration of intent to live in a particular opchina in the future allowed voters to receive a ballot for their "intended" new residence which inspired political leaders to encourage many voters to exercise this option thereby influencing the outcome of local races by manipulating thousands of absentee votes.

Another concern was the still unresolved boundary lines in 44 of the 109 opchinas. It appeared that what was sought was a confirmation of the "ethnic cleansing" that had taken place as a result of the war. Personal security and freedom of movement were also raised. Many Mayors were chosen by the party in power when the war ended in November 1995 rather than being selected by duly elected municipal assemblies. Some were party activists while others were former paramilitary commanders and therefore anyone listening to their comments had to be aware of the reasons and agendas behind their views.

On August 27, an event occurred that created concern to the IFES Team, namely a demonstrable hostility to our program in the city of Bugojno in the Vrbas Valley. The issue in Bugojno remained unresolved by Election Day and had centered around IFES' inability to interact with the voters in the same manner as had been accomplished in the 21 other opchinas. The local Mayor had apparently issued an order banning all voter education other than what had been provided by political parties, which, in this opchina, specifically meant the Mayor's SDA (Stranka Demokratska Action) party which dominated the area.

When the IFES Team returned from Bugojno a memorandum outlining the delays and obstructions to our efforts was prepared and forwarded to the OSCE Election Appeals Sub-Commission in Sarajevo. This memorandum documented meetings with the Mayor and his Chief of Staff and the reaction IFES received in the community upon our arrival. On September 10, the opinion and decision included as Appendix W were issued.

Coincidentally, during this same time period, another example of the hostile mood in this region occurred with the hijacking of a four-wheel drive vehicle driven by a staff member of another NGO. On the outskirts of Bugojno, an apparent police vehicle with a blue flashing light stopped this vehicle and after the driver presented the papers requested he was pushed to the ground and the vehicle was driven off by another occupant of the "police vehicle."

Meanwhile, in Zenica, the IFES staff worked with the new Flash Cards and the new Voter Information Guide and attended a mine awareness training session. Our local supervisor, Sadmira Jovovic, who was promoted to this position when the U.S.-hire trainer/supervisor was unable to join IFES in-country, created a list of 30 local organizations she believed have the potential to undertake

future civic education activities in the Zenica area (see Appendix J). We also identified 24 Refugee Collective Centers as sites for IFES-sponsored Reading Centers which were provided with about 7 DM worth of local newspapers each week leading up to election day.

Simultaneously with the training activity, the IFES Media Team was busy in the loft of the Zenica Resource Center/Office creating a series of television and radio spots. They began recording interviews with local staff for use by *Radio Beta* in Zenica explaining IFES' mission. We also learned that several radio stations were using the Flash Cards on the air and were holding contests with listeners.

In the weeks leading up to the September elections, it became apparent that the then-scheduled local elections were to be postponed. This alleviated some of the pressure coming from the concerns of a number of Mayors (as indicated above). It was interesting to note that the three dominant national parties, the SDA, HDZ (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica) and the SDS (Srpska Demokratska Stranka), would win in their respective areas. The SDA was the party of Izetbegovic with Bosnian Muslim followers. HDZ was lead by Rajic representing the Bosnian Croats. The SDS was the party of the Bosnian Serbs headed by Karadzic throughout most of the campaign.

The last outreach activity IFES conducted during this project involved a questionnaire aimed at the families of children in grades 5 - 8. IFES treated this as a pilot project which was undertaken in 11 schools in the Zenica area. Of the 5,240 questionnaires distributed, 2,696 were filled out and returned. Its purpose was to engage the families in discussions on the election and promote voter participation. (See Appendix O for questionnaire.) While it would have been useful to distribute these throughout IFES' two cantons, the cost of printing and distributing 150,000 was prohibitive and, since it dealt with the schools, was within the mission of the NGO *Civitas*.

A final activity, conducted by the Media Team, included a poster contest in Zenica. Two winners were chosen from the many creative entrants.

IFES conducted its voter education outreach activity through September 12 determining that the project fell under the definition of political activity under the election rules and therefore requiring us to cease outreach activities 24 hours prior to the polls opening on that Saturday. Friday was devoted to administrative work, including staff evaluations. IFES staff prepared a final local staff evaluation at which time the local trainers and support staff were given certificates of appreciation and letters of recommendation.

Post-Election Activity

The initial IFES team disbanded and departed Bosnia-Herzegovina by the end of September 1996. With the announcement of the date for the municipal elections now set for November 22, 1996, Ed

Morgan was dispatched to Bosnia on 12 October to reestablish IFES' training activities in Zenica under a no-cost extension of the original DO with USAID.

During his first week in Zenica after the national elections, a series of appointments were scheduled to re-interview the IFES local trainers in order to make selections for the second phase of the project. This was necessitated by the reduction of staffing allowance under the no-cost extension. Updates on the local conditions were also obtained through meetings with OSCE staff and a visit to NDI in Tuzla.

By October 21, it appeared that the Municipal Elections would be postponed once again . An announcement to that effect was made the very next day. In light of the success of the IFES project, as assessed by USAID and others, it was determined that any additional time in country was best spent evaluating the recently completed 10-week project in order to explore the possible expansion of the IFES Voter Education Project to include additional cities such as Banja Luka and Bihac. Visits with USAID, OSCE, and local contacts in Banja Luka and Bihac were conducted to determine how to proceed with expansion plans to these areas should it be requested by USAID.

In the course of the next 2 ½ weeks, up until Ed Morgan left Bosnia on November 8, attention was devoted to evaluations with IFES local staff, the IFES training sessions and materials, and open and frank discussions on how IFES might improve its effectiveness. Ten of the local trainers came to the IFES/Zenica Resource Center for three days to participate in this important exercise. Included in this evaluation effort was a separate discussion in Zenica between USAID project officers and the IFES local trainers.

2. Evaluation

a. Staff

Methodology

Each of the IFES international training staff members independently rated each local training staff trainee on 16 desirable characteristics, using a five-point Likert scale. For the initial evaluation of the first 9 trainees on August 5, since both international trainers were familiar with all trainees, each person's scores were totaled and divided by 16 to obtain mean scores. High and low scores were noted and discussed. The expatriate trainers gave special attention to assist trainees to achieve higher ratings in the areas of concern. Overall scores proved to be satisfactory or better, with the exception of one trainee, whose attention was on assisting Sally Hunter establish the communication support program. She later joined in the second round of training in Travnik.

A second evaluation was made on September 2. This time, Sadmira (Seka) Jovovic, the coordinator of the Zenica urban voter education projects added her evaluation of the staff with which she had been working.

A final self-evaluation was made by the staff on September 13 – the day before the election. This was conducted entirely privately. Sample evaluations were solicited and anonymous copies of 10 forms were submitted and tabulated (below).

Criteria

IFES used the following 16 criteria to rate each trainee trainer. These criteria were also used in the self-evaluation.

1. Ability to clearly explain the project to small groups of voters.
2. Ability to clearly explain the project to Municipal officials and other leaders.
3. Self confidence. (This is widely lacking as a result, we believe, of four years of war preceded by the gradual collapse of a highly paternalistic regime.)
4. Motivation.
5. Ability to record and report accurately (Since this has yet to be formalized, a null result was registered on this dimension for all trainees)
6. Level of effort expended
7. Level of initiative (self starting, decision making)
8. Honesty with themselves
9. Honesty towards others
10. Punctuality
11. Ability to communicate cross culturally (sex, nationality, religion, partisanship)
12. Respect for others
13. Openness to other points of view
14. Listening ability
15. Identification with group members
16. Contribution to and support of group objectives

Results

The first table reflects an analysis of the trainees during the first training cycle.

TABLE I
Ranked Trainer Evaluation Scores

August 5th 1996

	Sarah	Mike	Av.
Gorana	3.5	4.6	4.0
Nino	4.0	3.5	3.8
Saba	3.6	3.5	3.6
Ivica	3.3	3.5	3.4
Maja	2.7	3.9	3.3
Mirsada	2.6	3.3	3.0
Heka	2.4	3.5	3.0
Mirad	3.1	2.6	2.9
Denisa	1.1	1.4	2.3

A second evaluation was conducted after the end of the last round of training (Table II). The diminution of variability of scores over time is typical of the performance rating of members of a flat, collaboratively managed program. Performance scores often tend to diverge over time in an organization that uses a hierarchy and a competitive reward system. IFES' findings provided a compelling argument for the choice of management structure for the field program.

Overall performance was at, or above, "above average" (4+) for all but three staff members. Interestingly, Nermin our dispatcher had not been in the training, but was able to bring his attitude and performance up to more than average, and the other two who scored somewhat lower than the others proved to be entirely reliable and very productive when working alone – no matter how difficult the circumstances. Their lower score reflected the lack of fit between their personal working styles and the strong bias in favor of the group-orientedness that was strongly supported in training. This proved to be of little concern as these two were content to undertake much of the solo work required in supporting the field program.

TABLE II
Ranked Trainer Evaluation Scores
September 2nd 1996

	Seka	Sarah	Mike	Av.
Denisa	4.9	4.1	4.3	4.4
Kaneta	4.8	4.0	4.3	4.4
Sejo	n	5.0	3.8	4.4
Hamza	n	4.0	4.5	4.3
Lelja	n	4.0	4.5	4.3
Maja	4.9	3.6	4.4	4.3
Miro	4.9	3.5	4.6	4.3
Saba	4.3	4.0	4.6	4.3
Zoran	4.1	4.0	4.7	4.3
Gorana	4.5	3.9	4.3	4.2
Aleksander	n	4.0	4.1	4.1
Heka	4.9	3.2	4.2	4.1
Ivica	3.9	3.6	4.6	4.0
Ivica II	n	3.6	4.3	4.0
Milka	n	4.0	4.1	4.0
Nino	3.9	3.7	4.3	4.0
Nermin	3.8	3.2	4.3	3.8
Mirad	3.9	3.1	4.1	3.7
Mirsada	3.4	2.9	4.0	3.4

Self Evaluation

IFES used a Likert scale form for self-evaluation (See sample attached). The five points in the rating scale were, 1 = Unsatisfactory, 2 = Poor, 3 = Average, 4 = Above average, and 5 = Excellent. Trainees marked two points on each scale item, one representing where they felt they were when they joined the project (A) and the second showing where they felt they were at the end (B). There was no place on the form for names and we emphasized the fact that this exercise was designed to help the trainees alone. Only when they had completed the evaluation with this understanding did we request anonymous photocopies. We received 10 and tabulated the contents:

1. Ability to clearly explain the project to small groups of voters.

Median A	Median B	Change
2.4	5.0	2.6 (52%)

Comments: Experience as much as training made for this improvement.

2. Ability to clearly explain the project to Municipal officials and other leaders.

Median A	Median B	Change
3.0	4.1	1.1 (27%)

Comments: For many, this was the toughest part of the job. Many found it harder to explain the program to officials than to VEG members, others expected and felt official resistance.

3. Self confidence

Median A	Median B	Change
1.8	4.4	2.6 (59%)

Comments: This was our main process goal for training: Only confident people to empower citizens.

4. Level of motivation

Median A	Median B	Change
3.8	4.9	1.1 (22%)

Comments: The level of motivation was high even during recruitment. While earning money was very important, the opportunity to do something constructive to rebuild Bosnian society was very attractive for most of the trainees.

5. Ability to record information and make accurate reports

Median A	Median B	Change
2.9	5.9	3.0 (51%)

Comments: Again, this is mostly a matter of experience.

6. Level of effort expended.

Median A	Median B	Change
3.4	4.1	0.7 (17%)

Comments: Almost everyone was critical of their (or the group's) productivity. Some blamed it on

themselves, others on the lack of logistical support. However, it was very high for this type of field work, and attested to the level of motivation.

7. Level of initiative (self-starting, taking action on your own decisions)

Median A	Median B	Change
4.8	4.3	-0.5 (-12%)

Comments: More important at the beginning of the project, when individual leadership was needed for the group to gain experience, self initiative was replaced by an increase in group goal orientation.

8. Your honesty with yourself

Median A	Median B	Change
3.7	4.1	0.4 (10%)

Comments: This item was included to increase reflection.

9. Your honesty towards others

Median A	Median B	Change
3.4	3.8	0.4 (11%)

Comments: Bosnians have a very strong social compact and behave in a lawful and considerate manner. We observed no signs of willful dishonesty among the staff. However, when attempts were made to introduce punitive measures for behavior misperceived as “taking advantage,” staff became openly hostile and managed to defeat every management ploy based on the assumption that they were dishonest.

10. Getting to meetings on time.

Median A	Median B	Change
4.1	4.0	-0.1 (3%)

Comments: Bosnians have their own pacing and are not as clock-bound as we are. As the project proceeded, the scheduling became more realistic. Arriving on time for a village meeting, a training pair would expect to have to wait 30 minutes for everyone to arrive. This can be a cause of unnecessary friction between staff and management.

11. Your ability to communicate cross-culturally (with strangers from opposite sex, religion, etc.)

Median A	Median B	Change
4.7	4.9	0.2 (4%)

Comments: All Bosnians have to be able to negotiate cross culturally: the staff’s communication skills were uniformly high on arrival. Only very minor intervention was required in this area.

12. Respect for others

Median A	Median B	Change
3.1	4.1	1.0 (24%)

Comments: This grew mainly as a result of the experience our staff gained talking to people “on the other side.” Their ability to empathize with people who they may have formerly seen as enemies was impressive.

13. Openness to other points of view

Median A	Median B	Change
4.9	5.0	0.1 (2%)

Comments: Again, this seems to be a characteristic of all Bosnians. It may reflect the influence of Islam’s doctrine of tolerance on all the various ethnic and religious communities in the country.

14. Listening ability

Median A	Median B	Change
3.0	3.4	0.4 (12%)

Comments: This was one of the few areas of weakness in communication skills. It seems that many Bosnians tend to talk at once when they are in small groups. It was very simple for us to change the listening habits of our trainers. From our perspective, there was a much more pronounced change than the trainees reported.

15. Identification with group members.

Median A	Median B	Change
2.5	3.5	1.0 (29%)

Comments: This staff was composed of as disparate a mix as possible. Ethnicity, religion, sex, age, and educational levels were well represented. One of our process goals was to unite the group so that it could model the multiethnic cohesion required of future nation building.

16. Contribution to and support of group objectives.

Median A	Median B	Change
3.2	4.4	1.2 (27%)

Comments: Since the staff were the ones mainly responsible for setting our objectives within the broad scope of our mandate to improve the social climate of the election, it was easy for them to carry out their tasks. This was an essential binder to the self-management model we (the international technical staff) and the Bosnian staff embraced.

Conclusions

The results of the various staff evaluations and monitoring trips were very encouraging. IFES was confident that the process and content learning goals we had negotiated with our trainees were appropriate and were being met to our (and their) satisfaction.

b. Program

Recommendations from IFES on-site review and evaluation sessions held during the post-election period of October-November 1996 included the suggestions listed bellow. It should be noted that these ideas were voiced in the course of broad discussions and will require in-depth examination as was the case with all materials developed during the course of the Project.

1. Revise the IFES Introductory Brochure to illustrate our working presence in Bosnia in 1996, stress IFES' impartiality, and include world map showing IFES' activities.
2. Reduce Flash Card sets from 48 to 30 cards per set. Continue to encourage their use on the radio in quiz format with prizes such as baseball caps, pens, lighters, plastic bags.
3. Produce Flash Card sets and other material on Democracy and Human Rights in addition to Elections.
4. Emphasize the role of the citizen in a democratic society, rights and obligations.
5. Utilize two-person teams to schedule advance appointments in the cities and, where appropriate, conduct village GOGs on the spot. Work Sat. & Sun. in the villages.
6. Establish more liaison and dialogue among the teams.

7. Conduct more frequent evaluations of field work.
8. For future IFES posters, use unique trademark colors and develop new messages which could include statements and popular slogans such as:
 - C “Liberate yourself from fear”
 - C “Your vote is your future”
 - C “Change the world in a democratic way”
 - C “Give your vote for change”
 - C “Your vote is your future and responsibility”
9. With regard to the IFES Voter Information Guide, introduce a bit of humor, more pictorial, less text, application forms on back, tie into poster messages.
10. Produce a new brochure on democracy, new poster with message directed at democratization, and a new brochure on post-Dayton BiH.
11. Use a new training process of the trainers on the different aspects of democracy.
12. Establish a democracy library in the office/resource center -- adding to the BiH election materials already available.

C. Problems Encountered/Lessons Learned

I. The time constraint was the most important barrier to Project success. While the original proposal called for a six-month program, various factors resulted in there being available only ten weeks from project initiation to the 14 September election date. In spite of this curtailed period, all Deliverables were achieved and the Project contributed to local awareness of the elections.

ii. While local staff was both talented and capable they required close direction and supervision which can be somewhat tiring but, nevertheless, necessary. It is important to remember that these individuals are products of a totalitarian society that has never experienced the free movement common in western democracies. Alongside this freedom is a sense of responsibility that is also lacking in authoritarian countries. Therefore, tireless efforts must be maintained to keep

people focused on the goal and encouraged to gauge their successes as they strive to reach the goal. This is not a job for those who cannot maintain commitment to the task at hand.

iii. Assumptions regarding cooperation with local officials cannot be made. While IFES received cooperation throughout most of the areas, follow-up on initial meetings should be made to assure there are no misunderstandings. Successive meetings can also ferret out new issues and problems.

iv. A totally independent, self-contained operation is not feasible in the Bosnian context. Direct communication with Sarajevo, Washington, D.C. or other communities within the IFES AOR was not always possible. Organizations such as the OSCE and the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) allowed frequent access to their communications equipment. IFOR's presence was also useful in emergency situations.

v. Assistance and encouragement from the general population, usually regardless of ethnic background, was often forthcoming after our neutrality and good will were established.

D. Impact

IFES contacted more than 3,500 eligible voters directly through its more than 300 voter education sessions which ranged in attendance up to 92 people. In addition, 24 Refugee Reading Centers were supported through the distribution of election materials and local newspapers. A questionnaire was distributed to 5,600 children in eleven schools and returned by 2,700 children. Three television and radio spots were aired on at least 11 stations in the two Cantons. More than 800 sets of Flash Cards were distributed to groups of citizens and local organizations, in addition to being used as quiz devices by several radio stations in interactive formats. In addition to 20,000 Voter Information Guides developed by IFES/Zenica, 2,000 Bosnian and 30,000 Cyrillic IFES posters were distributed throughout central Bosnia and Republika Srpska.

In the absence of *Nielsen*-type broadcast surveys and traffic counts of those seeing IFES' posters and other election material it is difficult to calculate how many voters were reached. However, using an acceptable standard to extrapolate a reasonable number of people both reached directly in this endeavor, and, witnessed in successive discussions held by these same people with their friends, families, and colleagues, a conservative estimate would indicate that we reached a minimum audience of between 50,000 to 100,000 voters in Bosnia who would otherwise not have received neutral, objective information on the 1996 elections.

In addition to the number of Bosnian voters reached, IFES has left behind a small cadre of educated, well-trained, and highly motivated individuals able to serve as a resource for future projects. Their continued in-country presence allows them to be called upon for follow-up dialogue with

organizations as well as initiating discussions with new groups desiring information on voter education and the basic elements of a democratic society.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no tradition of democracy in the Balkans. Coupled with the mistrust engendered by nearly four years of warfare, this indicates the necessity of long term voter education/civic education activity. It is recommended that USAID support continued voter education programs geared toward the upcoming Municipal Elections in September 1997.

IFES also suggests that daily reports from groups now in the field as well as the international media highlight the continued turmoil in Bosnia-Herzegovina exemplified by aggression towards both citizens and property. On completion of the Municipal Elections, it is recommended that an in-depth civic education program be established if the tenuous foundation established is to result in the permanent implantation of democratic practices.