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PERFORMANCE PROGRAM, PHASE II (MEPP II)**

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**Final Report for
Political Process Assistance Review**

Submitted to:

Claudia Pastor
Program Analyst
USAID/IRAQ/PRO
Baghdad, Iraq

Telephone: (202) 216-6276, x1039 • Facsimile: 202-216-3062 • E-mail: cpastor@usaid.gov

Submitted by:

**Robert H. Brandstetter
Victoria Fontan, Ph.D.**

International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc.

8614 Westwood Center Drive • Suite 400 • Vienna, VA 22182 • USA
Telephone: 703-749-0100 • Facsimile: 703-749-0110 • E-mail: ibtci@ibtci.com

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List of Acronyms

ABA	American Bar Association
CC	Convention Centre
CCFE	Civic Coalition for Free Elections
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEPPS	Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening
CINEM	Iraqi Non-Partisan Domestic Election Monitors
ConComm	Constitutional Committee
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DVE	Disabled Voter Education program
DG	Democracy and Governance
EIN	Election Information Network
EUESP	European Union Electoral Support Program
EVER	Election, Violence, Education and Resolution
FOCM	Free Officers and Civilian Movement
GCOC	Governing Council Outreach Center
IBTCI	International Business and Technology Consultants, Inc.
IDC	Iraqi Democratic Congress
IDG	Independent Democratic Gathering
IFES	International Foundation for Election Systems/Democracy at Large
IRI	International Republican Institute
IECI	Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq
INA	Iraqi National Accord
INA	Interim National Assembly
IMN	Iraqi Media Network
I-VOTE	Iraqi Voter Outreach Training and Education
IWV	Iraq Without Violence
LOE	Level of Effort
MEPP II	Monitoring and Evaluation Performance Program II
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NNVE	Network for Non-Violent Elections in Iraq
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PDC	Provincial Democracy Centers
RDC	Regional Democracy Centers
RWC	Rafadeen Women's Coalition
SCIRI	Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq
SO	Strategic Objective
SOW	Scope of Work
SUNY/CID	State University of New York/ Center for International Development
TAL	Transitional Administrative Law
TNA	Transitional National Assembly
UAF	United Arab Front
UIA	United Iraqi Alliance
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
USAID	United States Agency for International Development



Executive Summary

Background

In order to assist Iraq's transition to democracy, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) initiated a comprehensive program to improve the effectiveness and build the legitimacy of Iraqi government officials and institutions. This program also included technical assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI). Implementation of the program was accomplished through a Cooperative Agreement with the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS). The agreement was signed in July 2004 and will run until the end of February 2006. The current budget is \$155,580,000.

CEPPS consists of three members: the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the International Foundation for Elections Systems (IFES). Under the CEPPS umbrella, three separate agreements were signed with the members in order to implement the following activities:

1. Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development Assistance (REE-A-00-04-00050-00);
2. Domestic Oversight and Voter Education Activities for Iraqi Electoral Processes (AFP-A-00-04-00014-00); and
3. Electoral Technical Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (267-A-00-04-00405-00, under DGC-A-00-01-0004-00).

To implement these activities, a division of labor was made between NDI, IRI and IFES according to their relative strengths and experience. NDI took the lead role in implementing the Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development Assistance activity with the support of IRI, and two sub-grantees, the American Bar Association (ABA) and the State University of New York/Center for International Development (SUNY/CID). NDI took the lead for Domestic Oversight with support from IFES, while IRI took responsibility for Voter Education, with the support of NDI and IFES. The lead for the third activity, Electoral Technical Assistance to the IECI, was taken by IFES.

Scope of Work

The purpose of this review is to assess assistance provided under the three agreements and provide USAID/Iraq with an analysis of achievements, challenges and opportunities for future political development assistance to Iraq.

After an initial ten days in Washington to review documents, and to interview staff in the headquarters of NDI, IRI, IFES and USAID, as well as other experts who had worked in Iraq, a two person team deployed to Baghdad on October 21. The team spent the next 25 days meeting and interviewing a wide array of participants active in Iraqi political processes. These included the three principal NGOs implementing the project, sub grantees and many of their local partners. Team members interviewed members of parliament, the legislative and executive staff members, members of the Constitutional Committee and representatives of bilateral and multinational donors. Security constraints limited most of the field work to the International Zone. The team trained six Iraqi Field Monitors. These monitors collected election and political process information in 13 strategic cities throughout the country.

A draft report was supplied to USAID/IR on 17 November. The team departed Iraq on 18 November and submitted the final review report to USAID/Iraq on December 13, 2005.

Key Findings

1. *Did these programs achieve their stated results?*

The overall purpose of the three CEPPS programs was to improve the effectiveness and build the legitimacy of Iraqi government officials and institutions, including assistance to the electoral process. For the most part, these programs achieved substantial success, given the political, security and time

constraints in which they have been operating. However, not all of the programs fulfilled their stated results. Those programs whose primary focus has been on elections have achieved their stated results, as two successful nationwide elections have witnessed. The lack of a national election commission as well as a limited UN intervention suggests that the CEPPS intervention contributed positively to the successful election results.

Those programs whose primary focus has been on institution building—strengthening the capacities of the legislative and executive branches of the transitional governments, and assistance to the constitutional drafting process—have not achieved their long term results. This was primarily for three reasons: the original project results were too ambitious given the short time frame; there was a lack of technical and professional capacity among the Iraqis; and, the interim period between the end of the CPA and the election of the Representative Council was a time of intense, internal political activity which delayed practical decision-making on institutional issues. The constitution drafting assistance activity did not anticipate the exclusion of constitutional experts from key decision making meetings and the highly political nature of these meetings.

The programs designed to assist voter education and constitution drafting also fell short of reaching their stated results. These shortcomings were not due to the CEPPS implementing partners, but rather unanticipated problems including an under-estimation of the influence of clerics and traditional leaders and the Sunni election boycott.

2. *What was the impact of these achievements on the relevant Democracy/ Government (D/G) Intermediate Results (IRs) and Strategic Objective (SO)?*

Because of the special nature of the USAID Iraqi mission and its relationship to the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) no formal USAID strategy document for Iraq with relevant IRs and SOs was ever created. However, Goal Two of the Agency's overall strategic plan is: "Democracy and good governance strengthened". This goal has four objectives: rule of law and respect for human rights of women strengthened; credible and competitive political processes encouraged; development of active civil society promoted; and, transparent and accountable government institutions encouraged.

The CEPPS program has had a significant impact on all of these objectives and thus had an impact on the growth of democracy and good governance in Iraq. IRI has given strong support to the Rafadeen Women's Coalition (RWC), a group of 36 women's organizations, which has been a strong advocate for women's rights in the legislature and in the constitution. NDI has supported an Engendering Committee, a coalition of 40 NGOs which has focused on women's rights, and gender awareness issues. NDI, IRI and IFES's activities with election monitoring, voter education and conflict mitigation have had an important impact on encouraging credible and competitive political processes. Thousands of Iraqis have been involved in programs such as the Election Information Network (EIN), the I-VOTE program, the Coalition of Iraqi Nonpartisan Election Monitors (CINEM) as well as the Engendering Committee and the RWC. The CEPPS partners have provided all of these groups with management and budget training, public relations and other organizational skills which have contributed immeasurably to the development of civil society in Iraq.

The election monitoring activities of NDI, IRI and IFES have all contributed to transparency and accountability in elections. NDI/SUNY has also made a significant contribution to transparency and accountability in the legislative and executive branches of government, by writing job descriptions for key legislative staff positions. IRI's media programs have also had an impact on the transparency and accountability of both journalists and legislators. The IFES EVER project has collected and collated data on election related violence, and widely distributed its findings.

3. *What explains the successes and/or failures?*

The successes of the CEPPS programs are the result of a multitude of factors. The implementing partners have managed well designed and well run programs, staffed by dedicated and responsible people. When possible, benchmarks were met and indicators appear to have accurately measured progress. For its part, USAID has also been most responsive and flexible to the needs of the partners and

the constant fluctuations in the environment. The fact that these programs are a high priority of the US Government and that adequate funds have been provided to carry out all aspects of these programs has also been a major factor of the success. The Coalition Forces have also provided security and logistics at critical times during the election processes, contributing much to the success of the elections. The alacrity and ability of the partners in managing a multifaceted, national democratization program in the midst of an insurgency must be considered as one of the major successes of the program. No significant programmatic failures were found.

4. *How could these programs have done better?*

Given the unique conditions in which the CEPPS program is operating, it is difficult to suggest how the programmatic aspects of the program could be improved. In the area of program reporting, however, there is need for some improvement. The CEPPS agreement requires quarterly reporting, but with no uniform format or outline. There are three separate agreements in which all three partners contribute different inputs.

The information in these reports is copious and account for each partner's activities during the given quarter, however, in their present format they are exceedingly difficult to collate and compare to program objectives, results, benchmarks and activities. The IBTCI Review Team suggests that a common format be made by USAID for each agreement which includes pertinent reporting topics, and that each partner fashions their reporting to these topics. The IBTCI Review Team also recommends research be done on how media can most effectively influence Iraqi voters.

5. *Has the program reached the population (including women and Sunnis) across Iraq and what is the effect in strategic cities and areas?*

The Domestic Oversight and Voter Education Activities agreement called for the design of a nationwide voter education and monitoring campaign, which specifically included youth, women and the disabled. This campaign was primarily implemented through three coalitions of Iraqi Civil Society Organizations (CSO). Election monitors reached 80% of the polling stations in the country, and IFES EVER monitors recorded election related violence in all 18 governorates.

From all indications, voter education messages reached all 18 governorates. On the other hand, Field Monitors' reports and IRI polling suggested that fewer people were influenced by voter education than expected. This was especially true in the southern governorates and in areas of the Sunni boycott in January. Women and Sunni Arabs were effectively targeted in all of the CEPPS programs.

Lessons Learned

The IBTCI Review Team identified the following lessons learned:

- National institutional building is a long term commitment.
- Iraqi society is marked by a high level of political participation.
- An increasingly organized citizenry has shown a high degree of competence to carry out election monitoring and observation and political advocacy.
- A well-organized election can occur simultaneously with acts of terrorism and low-intensity civil unrest.
- A truncated political calendar has a high potential to polarize a population.
- With proper organization and motivation, a legitimate election can succeed in an abbreviated time frame.
- With adequate resources, election monitoring can be highly effective.
- Cultural sensitivity needs to be applied in relation to gender-mainstreaming.



General Recommendations

The IBTCI Review Team made the following general recommendations:

- It is essential that the assistance of the CEPPS program to improve the effectiveness of government officials and institutions be continued for at least another 24 months.
- Every effort should be made to involve the UN in capacity building processes began by CEPPS.
- A new CEPPS cooperative agreement with the three partners, IRI, NDI, and IFES, should include a standardized reporting format that each partner submits quarterly to USAID. These reports should follow a format that meets the reporting requirements of USAID.
- USAID should convene a monthly meeting with the CEPPS partners to share and exchange information about the progress of the agreement.
- Research needs to be done to determine the most effective ways of communicating with Iraqi voters and citizens.



REVIEW OF THE CONSORTIUM FOR ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PROCESS STRENGTHENING (CEPPS)

FINAL REPORT

1. Introduction

The Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) is the US Agency for International Development's (USAID) primary means to strengthen the political processes in Iraq. CEPPS is a legal entity incorporated in Washington, DC. It has a global agreement with USAID to receive funds, and manage and implement programs. The members of the consortium that USAID has contracted to support the democratic transition in Iraq are: the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI); the International Republican Institute (IRI); and IFES, the International Foundation for Election Systems.

To date, USAID has awarded CEPPS \$155,580,000 for the implementation of three activities in Iraq:

- a. Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development Assistance (REE-A-00-04-00050-00);
- b. Domestic Oversight and Voter Education Activities for Iraqi Electoral Processes (AFP-A-00-04-00014-00); and
- c. Electoral Technical Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI) (267-A-00-04-00405-00, under DGC-A-00-01-0004-00).

Agreements were signed between CEPPS and IRI on 9 July and with NDI on 26 July, 2004. A separate agreement was signed with IFES on September 15, 2004. These agreements end on February 28, 2005.

To implement these activities, tasks were divided between NDI, IRI and IFES according to their relative strengths and experience. The divisions are:

- NDI with support from IRI and two sub-grantees - the American Bar Association paired with the Iraq Legal Development Program (ABA/ILDP), and the State University of New York/Center for International Development (SUNY/CID) - undertook the Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development Assistance Program. The budget for this program was \$675,000.
- NDI, with collaboration from IRI and IFES, assumed responsibility for the Domestic Oversight and Election Observation program. The total budget for this activity was \$69,320,000, with allocations being: NDI - \$21,000,000; IFES - \$14,200,000; and IRI - \$34,120,000.
- IRI was responsible for Voter Education activities with a budget of \$45,310,000.
- IFES, was responsible for providing technical assistance to the IECI, and received \$41,000,000 for this activity..

2. CEPPS Organization

The original project document for the Domestic Oversight and Voter Education Activities for Iraqi Electoral Processes specified a country coordinator to coordinate all of the CEPPS activities of the three partners; this position was never filled. USAID/IR told the team that USAID and the three partners could not agree on a candidate to fill the position.

The IBTCI Review Team was told during its Baghdad interviews that there were some disagreements, particularly during the start up period, with regards to overlapping constituencies and domestic oversight issues between NDI and IRI, but that these differences were resolved by the partners themselves.

For their part, the CEPPS partners believed that the nature of the CEPPS relationship defined their roles and responsibilities, and there was no need for a single coordinator in the field. On the other hand, differences over turf are more acute involving activities under the Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development Assistance Program. For example, IRI had responsibility for establishing a legislative research service (the Research Directorate/RD) while NDI had responsibility for establishing a legislative library. The two could be expected to be housed together. NDI, through its sub-grantee, SUNY, has transitioned responsibility for the legislative library to IRI to integrate into the RD. Public outreach and constituent relations for the legislature is another area of some contention since both NDI and IRI have CEPPS defined activities with public outreach and both have been actively working with political parties and candidates. The partners claim that these issues have been resolved in the field informally.

There appears to be a clear difference in management style between the two partners. Each organization has a country director in Baghdad and a senior project director at headquarters who is backed up by support staff. However, NDI seems to be much more field directed, with the country director being responsible for decisions at all levels. IRI, on the other hand, appears to be much more managed and directed from headquarters.

The coordination of the financial, accounting and quarterly reporting for all of the CEPPS Cooperative Agreements is done through a CEPPS Manager/Coordinator who is an IRI employee in Washington. The overall responsibility for CEPPS is held in an Executive Project Council, composed of the presidents of the three organizations.

3. Review Schedule and Methodology

Evaluation Methodology and Schedule

Methodology

Desk research

The evaluation team, assembled by International Business and Technical Consultants, Inc. (IBTCI), under its Iraq MEPP-II Project contract with USAID, began its work in Washington, on 10 October. A team of three consultants gathered documents and conducted interviews in the headquarters of NDI, IRI, IFES and USAID. The method chosen to initiate the assessment was one of progressive focusing through a systematic analysis of co-operative agreements in relation to activity reports and materials gathered from Iraqi partners. During the preparation of a preliminary draft report, the team attempted to match each proposed activity with corresponding actual activities. (See Annexes III, IV and V).

Field research

Due to an administrative error outside IBTCI's control, one of the three team members did not receive country clearance for Iraq until November 15, which was too late for him to contribute to the efforts in the field. As a consequence, a two person team deployed to Baghdad on the 21st of October. The team member who lacked country clearance completed compilation of tables of proposed and actual project activities in Washington, D.C. The two team members in the field spent the next 25 days reading documents and interviewing a wide array of people who are participating in the Iraqi political process. This effort was meant to verify achievements recorded in activity reports. To corroborate achievements, USAID staff referred the IBTCI Review Team to the three CEPPS partner NGO grantees, Iraqi partner sub-grantee organizations, individual partners, project recipients and Iraqi voters and interest groups.

Two focus group meetings were organized outside the International Zone to comply with SOW requirements (see Annex I for the SOW) for collection of data from Iraqi women and members of the Sunni community. On these occasions, an evaluation team member spent half a day with a group of nine women from the Saiidiya District of Baghdad and half a day with a group of seven Sunni men from Doloja, Fallujah and Samarra. Discussions focused on women and Sunni politics and were conducted with the help of an interpreter. Team members also interviewed Iraqi members of parliament, legislative



and executive staff members, members of the ConComm and representatives of bilateral and multinational donors. For nationwide interviews with voters, the team utilized a team of Iraqi field monitors.

Methodology Used for Iraqi Field Monitors

Training

Field Monitor training began after the IBTCI Review Team had categorized CEPPS partner assertions of success. This allowed field worker methodology to be developed so that Iraqi Field Monitors could help corroborate these assertions. As a result, the Iraqi Field Monitors received training, performed field work, and summarized findings during the period October 31st through November 10th, 2005. The IBTCI Review Team trained the Field Monitors on October 31st. In the training, the team introduced the project to the Field Monitors as well as the requirements that they would be asked to fulfill. At first, the Field Monitors were introduced to the specifics of qualitative as opposed to quantitative research methodology. Field Monitors were presented with a questionnaire that was elaborated, pilot-tested and re-calibrated by the IBTCI Review Team in collaboration with an Iraqi translator. Training stressed the paramount importance of interviewer ability to record the substance of respondent answers. As it became clear that the Field Monitors had never employed an unstructured questionnaire approach to interviewing and information gathering, the IBTCI Review Team included mock interviews in the training session.

Deployment

Field Monitors were deployed to 13 of the 14 strategic cities as listed by USAID (Annex IX). Fallujah was not visited but one Field Monitor made telephone interviews to voters in this city. To maximize output as well as to compare and contrast results among cities, each interviewer conducted two field trips, each to a different city.

Local Sources

The security situation prevented the Field Monitors from contacting election officials and supervisors, and any type of government official in strategic cities outside Baghdad. One of the three CEPPS partners, IFES, made clear to the IBTCI Review Team that details of IECI field personnel and representatives could not be shared with anyone outside the electoral process. This rule, though needed to ensure the security of election officials, reduced Field Monitor access to valuable sources of information. The IBTCI Review Team therefore redirected the Field Monitors towards random interviews of Iraqi voters.

The security situation also prompted the Field Monitors to resort to various types of concealment to carry out their mission in relative safety. Interviewers sometimes explained that they were carrying out sociological research for a college degree or suggested that they were working for television channel *al-Jazeera*. Unfortunately, these methods, though necessary, restricted the interviews to basic questioning.

Some 350 Iraqis were interviewed by the team of Field Monitors. Most information gathered amounted to anecdotal feedback on voter education and participation in the electoral process. Interviewers recorded their interview data in notepads and this information was compiled in field monitor debriefings after completion of field missions.

4. Report Findings

Overview

Findings are categorized below as “General” and as “Specific” to correspond to the general and specific questions in the SOW, which is presented in Annex I.

4.1 General Findings Related to Five SOW Questions

4.1.1 Did these programs achieve their stated results?

The overall purpose of the three CEPPS awards was to improve the effectiveness and build the legitimacy of Iraqi government officials and institutions, including the electoral process. For the most part, these programs have achieved substantial success, given the constraints and circumstances in which they have been operating. However, not all the programs have fulfilled their stated results. Those programs that have focused on elections and election related activities (specifically the Domestic Oversight and Conflict Mitigation Programs [AFP-A-00-04-00014-00], and support of the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI)¹ [267-A-00-04-00405-00, under DGC-A-00-01-0004-00]), have indeed achieved their stated results, as two successful national elections have witnessed. The lack of any national election body as well as the limited UN or other international election assistance strongly suggests that CEPPS intervention contributed very positively to the election process.

However, the institution building programs [REE-A-00-04-00050-00], that is, those programs that focus on the legislative and executive branches of government and assistance to the IECI, [267-A-00-04-00405-00, under DGC-A-00-01-0004-00] have not achieved their long term results. Less than anticipated institution building is due to three major problems.

First, the original project document did not take into account the inherently, long term nature of institution building; as a consequence they express unreasonably expansive short-term objectives. Second, early assessments exaggerated the technical and professional capacity of Iraqis. Third, during the interim period between the end of the CPA and establishment of the new Representative Council the leadership of the legislature and government was preoccupied with intense, internal, political activity. This activity delayed practical decision-making on institutional issues. These three handicaps to institution building are not the fault of the implementing partners.

The programs, designed to assist voter education and constitutional drafting, also fell short of reaching their stated results. These shortcomings were also not due to the CEPPS implementing partners. Instead they were due to unanticipated problems including an under-estimation of the influence of clerics and traditional leadership and the Sunni election boycott. The constitutional drafting assistance activity did not anticipate the exclusion of constitutional experts from the final decision making meetings and the political nature of this process.

Results Achieved

A. Elections

While the United Nations (UN) had the mandate to assist in the newly created IECI, it relied on the close collaboration of IFES to carry out this charge. IFES provided the bulk of the technical assistance which included helping to establish the legal framework, training staff and poll workers throughout the country, ordering and distributing commodities and arranging with the Coalition Forces for the complicated logistics and security support necessary to support two elections. A nationwide general election was held in January 2005 with some 58% of the eligible voters participating and, despite a very short timeframe, a referendum on a new constitution was held in October 2005 with 66% of voters participating. Both of these elections were held in the midst of widespread insurgent violence. That the elections met international standards is a testament to the technical and political skills that IFES brought to the IECI and the election process in general.

IFES election assistance consisted of the following activities:

- Preparing a comprehensive operational concept and cost estimate for voter registration in 2004 and three election events in 2005.
- Working with the UN to help establish the IECI.

¹ IECI is not a permanent body and will have to be reconstituted anew after the December elections. The IECI has been successful in the short term as the national election institution.

- Embedding 14 technical experts within the IECI in full partnership with the UN.
- Providing technical expertise necessary for the establishment of the electoral legal framework.
- Ensuring delivery of election public information and commodity procurements, including voter registration kits, printing and shipment of voter registry, and voter education information.
- Implementing a comprehensive, country-wide voter education with Sunni Arab targeting.
- Liaising with the Coalition Forces to arrange for logistics and security particularly for the election period.

The three CEPPS partners had a significant impact on the credibility and legitimacy of the election process by helping to train election monitors, election-related violence monitors and observers. IRI also conducted voter education and an extensive public awareness campaign about constitutional issues.

NDI, IRI and IFES domestic monitoring and voter education consisted of the following activities:

- Training 15,000 political party agent observers mobilized on Election Day in January 2005.
- Training and deploying approximately 10,000 accredited domestic monitors throughout Iraq in January 2005.
- Producing and distributing 1.35 million pamphlets and supplements on the constitution in both Arabic and Kurdish; broadcasting town hall meetings with members of the constitutional drafting committee on television; and producing and distributing constitutional promotion posters.
- Conducting Sunni outreach of 861 constitutional sessions for over 25,000 people in Sunni Arab areas.
- Conducting over 1,000 voter education sessions on the constitution reaching 43,300 individuals across Iraq, including women and Sunni Arabs. In total, conducting some 4,770 constitutional workshops reaching 142,601 people throughout Iraq.
- Providing women's advocacy groups with a \$500,000 grant to a coalition of more than 30 women's organizations to promote women's rights in a constitutional democracy.
- Promoting minority rights by providing a \$10,000 grant to a minority rights organization to lobby for the inclusion of minority rights in the constitution. Minority rights were included in the constitution as petitioned by the local organization.
- Establishing the Iraq Without Violence (IWV) network of NGOs under the IFES EVER program, to monitor violence and mitigate election-related violence.

B. Results not Fully Achieved

Other components of the CEPPS program, while still considered successful given the constraints noted above, did not achieve all of their stated results.

IRI Voter Education:

IRI's voter education activities included a full range of contemporary media technology to get out messages into the public domain about voting, the election, and the constitution. Methods used included radio and TV broadcasts, internet, polling posters and focus group results, booklets on the constitution and printed handouts. While this program reached a wide spectrum of the population, the IBTCI Review Team's field research suggests that these programs were not completely successful (See Section 4.1.5 for further information). Particularly in the south, voter outreach did not achieve its planned result of promoting democratic discussion among Iraqis citizens.

Moreover, while voter participation was high (see Annex VII for voter turnout figures), IBTCI Field Monitors learned through interviews it was more often influenced by religious leaders than by an understanding of democratic values and political issues surrounding the electoral process, elections and the constitution. In addition, several Iraqi voters who were interviewed noted that public outreach with regard to the technicalities of the voting was not always successful. Many people didn't understand how the actual voting process worked in the polling stations, when the polls were open, and so on. This was particularly true for the January election. Also, some of the publicity, posters, pamphlets and fliers were considered too complicated for many voters to understand.

NDI and IRI Institution-building:

Two other CEPPS/NDI and IRI forms of assistance were critical. Their assistance established a functioning institutional structure to orient Transitional National Assembly (TNA) members to their duties and responsibilities as legislators. Their assistance also established and equipped a nascent civil service dedicated to providing support to these TNA members and the TNA itself. NDI's sub grantee, SUNY, has done an admirable job to date of providing assistance to legislators. It also helped develop a legislative civil service.

Currently, IRI is supplying a critical support element to both the NA and the civil service by helping to create a Research Directorate (RD) which will provide up-to-date research on the myriad of issues dealt with by a modern legislature. IRI has also tried to establish an appropriate press and public outreach program for the legislative and executive branches. It is to be combined in a joint Government Communications Directorate (GCD). The function of this office will be to improve government outreach and intergovernmental communications.

The foundations of trust and confidence in both IRI and NDI/SUNY for much future activity in the governance area have been developed during the first phase of the program and much foundation work has been done. However, the stated results of creating a national assembly capable of fulfilling its function in the democratic transition of Iraq, were too ambitious for a program of this importance to be achieved in such a short, interim, time frame.

Moreover, internal Iraqi politics, and the non-existent or low and uneven capacity of these institutions have contributed to the lack of achievement of stated program results, as noted above. Nevertheless, much was achieved, including:

- Providing the NAs Speaker's Office and the Secretary General's Office a series of NA organizational charts with a range of decision-making options and positions which were used by the Speaker and Presidency Council to create a new NA structure.
- Working with the NA's Human Resources Department (HRD), SUNY drafted a comprehensive NA Human Resources Policies and Procedures Manual, and trained 12 NA department heads in the advantages and procedures of using the HRD.
- In consultation with stakeholders, drafting 22 job descriptions for key NA leadership and staff positions.
- Training of staff and orienting MPs on Rules of Procedure (RoP) implementation and reforms as may be needed.
- Drafting a simplified guide to the RoP for use in training NA staff.
- Procuring and installing a sound system for the floor of the NA and trained a staff to use and maintain it.
- Conducting a two week long parliamentary skills workshops training 46 NA staff, and another series of orientations for 88 staff members.
- Conducting two workshops in legislative drafting for key staff.
- Leading a study tour to Germany for four MPs and staff members to examine independent libraries and research, government administration, and media and finance in federal structures.

C. Support to Executive Authority

The CEPPS/NDI agreement has had an equally important mandate to provide infrastructural support to the executive branch of government. The current leadership is transitional. A new representative body to be elected in December 2005 will replace it. NDI has met and discussed with the leadership such issues as staffing, policy design and coordination, government coordination with governorate and municipal bodies, technical assistance on gender-related legislation and technical assistance on key democratic reform legislation. Not surprisingly, given the current political and security situation in the country, the establishment of permanent, functioning offices of the president and prime minister has not been a high priority of the leadership. Consequently, NDI has not initiated much activity in this area. A draft MOU

providing for organizational restructuring is circulating in the executive offices. Until such an agreement is signed, NDI cannot begin to implement its work plan.

NDI and IRI Constitution Drafting:

The constitution drafting process was conducted under the auspices of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI). The process appears to have suffered from a lack of leadership and a flawed assumption by the international community that it would play a major role in the drafting process. A vacuum in leadership created distrust and unnecessary rivalries among the international partners participating in the process. This rivalry contributed to diminishing the influence and effectiveness of international assistance. Additionally, the compressed time period for the constitutional drafting process—from late June to August 15—also contributed to the difficulties of the entire drafting process.

In spite of these difficulties, NDI and IRI were able to contribute significantly to the drafting process and increasing public awareness of constitutional issues. The CEPPS inputs included:

- Providing 13 international constitutional experts to the Constitutional Committee (ConComm) to assist in the drafting process. Holding regular consultations with members of the drafting committee and provided legal commentary on draft articles.
- Facilitating public input into the constitutional drafting process through the dissemination, collection and analysis of over 120,000 public questionnaires. The findings were presented to members of the drafting committee.
- Conducting over 3,600 constitutional dialogues in all 18 governorates reaching nearly 93,500 people. In total, some 4,770 constitutional workshops were held reaching 142,601 people throughout the country.
- Assisting women leaders from the NA (including members of the ConComm) provincial councils, and civil society organizations to advocate for fundamental rights of women being included in the constitution.
- Developing the capacity of the national government to conduct constituent outreach by assisting in the development of a national communications strategy and convening of national press conferences.
- Facilitating the development of rules of procedure for the ConComm.

One complaint, although not verified, was that the survey data referenced above in bullet two were not precise. Another complaint is that the information was not adequately shared among the international drafting partners. On the other hand, both IRI and NDI received praise from a UN official for the extensive public outreach they provided in disseminating information about the constitutional drafting process and the draft constitution itself. The praise was due to the effective NGO network that had been established in the monitoring and voter education activities. From August 8, 2005, constitutional negotiations were taken out of the ConComm and conducted in private. Unscheduled meetings often excluded Sunni Arabs. Access by outside advisors was also restricted. Although NDI contributed significantly to the process, in the end, the constitution drafting was wholly Iraqi driven and highly political. Hence, the crucial constitution drafting process was closed to outside assistance, which lessened the impact of NDI's technical assistance.

4.1.2 What was the impact of these achievements on the relevant Democracy/ Government (D/G) Intermediate Results (IRs) and Strategic Objective (SO)?

In an era of temporary political institutions, persistent conflict, and widespread uncertainty about the stability, legitimacy, and longevity of the Iraqi government, developmental successes have varied. The U.S. national interest in Iraq is to create a stable, democratic nation with a free-market economy, at peace with its neighbors. This will have far-reaching impacts on an unstable region with little experience in democracy.



Although USAID was an active participant in the pre-liberation planning of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), the Mission became largely an implementing agency of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), when the latter succeeded ORHA in May 2003. The Mission had little voice in the programming of funding for Iraq, though it was successful in increasing funding for democracy-building activities. With the demise of the CPA, on June 28, 2004, the Department of State assumed responsibility for Iraq's reconstruction, and the Mission was successful in working with all parties to realign the priorities of the reconstruction program. As priorities have shifted to counter the insurgency, the Mission became an active and respected participant in the realignments necessary to meet the challenges.

USAID's Strategic Plan provides an outline for meeting Iraq reconstruction challenges. The CEPPS programs are designed to improve the effectiveness and build the legitimacy of Iraqi government officials, institutions and electoral process, as noted above. Hence, the CEPPS program is an important instrument to achieve one of the Agency's major goals in its strategic plan:

Democracy and good governance strengthened

This goal has four objectives:

- Rule of law and respect for human rights of women as well as men strengthened
- Credible and competitive political processes encouraged
- The development of politically active civil society promoted
- More transparent and accountable government institutions encouraged

The CEPPS program has had an impact on all of these objectives and has thereby contributed to growth of democracy and good governance in Iraq.

The CEPPS domestic monitoring, voter education and conflict mitigation programs have encouraged credible and competitive political processes. These three programs have trained thousands of volunteers on the principles and practices of the democratic process, as well as involving them in the practical aspects of actual voting and poll watching. More than 33,000 people have participated in election monitoring, and have worked in some 80% of the polling stations nationwide. Field monitors have verified that this has given people a powerful sense of participating in the democratic process. Monitors and observers at polling stations have added credibility to the political process by participating in valid, internationally accepted elections.

These activities are important to the capacity building of institutions which is reinforcing the democratic process.

By involving thousands of Iraqis in programs such as the Election Information Network (EIN), the I-VOTE program, the Coalition of Iraqi Nonpartisan Election Monitors (CINEM), the Engendering Committee, and the Rafadeen Women's Coalition (RWC), ordinary people are becoming actively involved in a variety of civil society activities. The CEPPS partners have provided these groups with management training, budgetary training, public relations and other necessary organizational skills. Iraqi society is highly political, and the training that these politically related groups is receiving, is helping to generate active civil society organizations. As people develop capacity, the impact on society of these coalitions, caucuses, NGO/CSOs will increase.

Both IRI and NDI have provided strong support to women's groups whose focus has been on voter education and advocating the human rights of women. Advocacy has included the right of women to be represented in the NA and for representation in the ConComm. IRI helped establish the RWC; a group of 36 women's organizations noted above, is one of the strongest and most active women's group in the country. With the aid of IRI, the RWC established a monitoring capability to provide oversight on the ConComm. It also developed a public outreach facility to report on women's rights. RWC is a strong advocate for enabling legislation under the new constitution protecting women's rights, particularly personal status laws.

NDI has supported an Engendering Committee, a coalition of 40 NGOs, which has focused activities on women's rights, cross-cultural women's issues, and gender awareness issues. In June 2005, NDI supported a 16 member women's delegation on a study visit to South Africa to confer with South Africans on strategies to ensure women's issues are included in the ConComm discussions, and other gender related issues. In July 2005, members of the Engendering Committee had an extensive meeting with Dr. Hamoudi, the Chairman of the ConComm to discuss women's issues and women's rights and the constitution. IRI and IFES have also had programs to assist disabled people to organize and advocate for their rights. Women have clearly been empowered to advocate for their rights as a result of the CEPPS intervention.

The election activities in the CEPPS programs are models for transparency and accountability in government institutions. They help make citizens aware of the standards of credible elections and who is responsible for maintaining these standards. The CEPPS governance program conveys concepts and procedures for legislative and executive transparency and accountability. The NDI/SUNY activity has extended this transparency and accountability to creation of hiring standards. The Government is beginning to use written qualification requirements to hire qualified staff for key legislative staff positions. This practice is an important step towards a competence-based civil service.

IRI's media efforts which are directed at training press and public information offices in the legislature and executive branches have helped advance a culture of transparency and accountability. Similarly, the IFES EVER project, by gathering and collating data on election related violence, has promulgated clear standards of proper election respect for personal voter rights.

In sum, the CEPPS programs have made an impact on strengthening democracy and good governance in Iraq, thereby making an important contribution to the reconstruction of the country.

4.1.3 What explains the successes and/or failures?

The successes of the CEPPS programs are the result of a multitude of factors. In the first place, the implementing partners managed well-designed and well-run programs. Detailed reports from CEPPS partners indicate that benchmarks were met and program indicators have accurately measured progress. The partners were also able, in most cases, to recruit dedicated, competent people, who were responsive and flexible to constantly changing situations in an unstable environment. In spite of inherent tensions in organizational philosophy and areas of possible duplication and overlap in implementation among the three members, according to the partners these issues were sorted out to the satisfaction of each, and potential conflicts were avoided. USAID has also not reported any major problems arising from this issue. For its part, USAID has also been most responsive and flexible to the needs of the partners and the constant fluctuations in the environment. The fact that these programs are a high priority of the US Government and adequate funds have been provided to carry out all aspects of these programs has also been a major factor of their success. The alacrity and ability of the partners in managing a multifaceted, national democratization program in the midst of an insurgency must also be considered as one the major successes of the program. Lastly, the successes of the various individual programs have relied on the dedication and courage of Iraqi men and women, both staff members of CEPPS programs and participants in a multitude of NGOs/CSOs throughout the country.

It must also be acknowledged that all of the successes of the CEPPS program have taken place under the umbrella of security provided by the Coalition Forces. CEPPS partners have expressed gratitude for the assistance of the Coalition Forces for providing security, logistics, and other civil society support, especially at critical times like elections. Without this general security cover, it is doubtful that the CEPPS program could have even been initiated.

Given the multitude and breadth of the tasks to be done, the short time frame in which to do them, and the general security situation, the IBTCI Review Team does not think that a different mix of resources

would have achieved significantly different results. The CEPPS partners did not suggest to the IBTCI Review Team that the mix of resources was inappropriate. Indeed, as noted, the leadership and flexibility of the programs to respond to fluid conditions allowed for rapid self corrections. USAID has also been flexible in allowing changes in work plans and providing additional funding, as conditions necessitated. Obviously, the 20% or so of the budget that went into paying for security services could have been used in different ways programmatically, perhaps by arranging many more foreign study trips, for example.

At the macro level, the IBTCI Review Team has not found what it would consider major failures in any of the CEPPS programs. At a lower level, one of the sub-grantees, the American Bar Association/ Iraq Legal Development Program (ABA/ILDP) which had a significant role to play in legislative training and support of women's activities, was unable to fulfill its agreement because of security restrictions placed on consultants by its board of directors. This temporarily caused a considerable gap in the agreement work plan until NDI, the lead partner, was able to fill the needs by using its own resources. The SUNY/CID component of the NDI program was also delayed some nine months in starting. An earlier start would have made a difference with commodity assessments and purchases. Some training programs could also have been initiated earlier. However, given the intensity and high priority of both the Iraqi leadership and rank and file to focus on internal politics during this time, the IBTCI Review Team does not think that significantly more support to the TNA would have been achieved.

4.1.4 How could these programs have done better?

The CEPPS programs began operating in unique circumstances, as noted. A high level of insurgent violence required unprecedented security precautions. There were three elections to prepare for in a brief 18 month period. There was an interim government and legislature which were pre-occupied with internal politics and the next elections. And, lastly, there was intense international pressure to draft and adopt a new constitution in a short, eight week period. Given these circumstances, it is difficult to suggest how the programmatic design could have been improved upon. Nevertheless, there were more discrete programmatic issues that could have gone better.

The disjunction caused by the ABA's withdrawal from the governance program initially created a major problem for NDI's program. The ABA brought a special expertise to Iraq, in such areas as technical assistance on reform and gender-related legislation, executive branch legislation drafting, and technical constitutional assistance to the ConComm. This expertise was difficult to replace. While NDI was able to fill this gap, a great deal of time, energy and productive activity was lost. SUNY/CID's delayed beginning also slowed the implementation of the legislative program, as noted above.

One important improvement that the program needs is a better reporting mechanism. The CEPPS agreement requires that each partner submit quarterly reports. As there are three separate programs, there are three separate reports. In two of these programs there is a mix of activities involving multiple partners. The information in these reports is necessarily copious in order to account for each partner's activities during a given time period.

However, the reports, in their present form are exceedingly difficult to collate and relate to program activity objectives, results and benchmarks. In order to appropriately and accurately account for the myriad of CEPPS activities, USAID needs to develop a common, uniform, format and insist that each partner submit separate reports using this format. Minimally, the format should include the essential elements that USAID needs to track program implementation progress occurring in each CEPPS Cooperative Agreement. Perhaps the best model for this is a format that conforms to USAID's effective and evolving log frame and results-based reporting systems.

Systemization in tracking progress and in dissemination of indicators of results is one of the major added values that USAID can provide to the spending of public funds. Moreover, the transparency that USAID's monitoring and evaluation systems create help promote CEPPS achievements. The IBTCI Review Team



does not envision USAID reporting requirements to significantly increase the CEPPS partners' reporting effort.

While comments above were made about the lack of a country coordinator for the program, the IBTCI Review Team has not seen any evidence that such a position would improve the efficiency or effectiveness of any of the programs. There was an assumption by the CEPPS partners that the cooperative agreements adequately defined the roles of the partners that there was no need for formal coordination in the field. As was pointed out numerous times to the team by the individual partners, there has not been any conflict or problem among the three partners that has not been worked out satisfactorily in the field between the partners themselves. Furthermore, these partners have worked together effectively on numerous occasions in the past without an overall country coordinator. The bottom line is that the consortium has worked well, as their achievements testify, and the IBTCI Review Team is persuaded that the old aphorism "If it isn't broken, don't fix it," is apt for the CEPPS program during the next phase.

4.1.5 Has the program reached the population across Iraq and what is the effect in strategic cities and areas?

The primary outreach vehicle for the CEPPS program was The Domestic Oversight and Voter Education Activities Agreement. This agreement called for a nationwide election monitoring program, an extensive voter education campaign and creation of a violence monitoring program to track election related violence. Each partner devised its own national outreach strategy for the three scheduled elections. The three separate campaigns were primarily carried out through a variety of Iraqi Civil Society Organizations (CSO) coalitions supported by the CEPPS partners:

NDI	Iraqi Non-Partisan Domestic Election Monitors (CINEM) plus Iraqi Election Information Network (EIN)
IRI	Iraqi Voter Outreach Training and Education (I-VOTE)
IFES	Iraq Without Violence (IWV)

NDI also helped establish the Iraqi Election Information Network (EIN), which is an umbrella organization for all election monitoring. This organization is now the largest domestic monitoring body in the country, consisting of more than 150 Iraqi civic groups, including CINEM.

For the January elections, using materials developed by CINEM, EIN trained, supervised and deployed 9,890 accredited monitors throughout the 18 governorates in Iraq. In the absence of an international monitoring presence, EIN's efforts verified the credibility and transparency of the three elections. An after action report notes that EIN's monitors were on site in 2,871 polling centers, or 80% of all polling centers in the country, accounting for 5,587 polling stations. The election was conducted without major flaws and met basic international election standards.

NDI also:

- o Conducted some 3,500 civic dialogues nationwide on constitutional issues as preparation for the constitutional referendum in October,
- o Trained over 300 constitutional facilitators who conducted some 300 constitutional forums throughout the country,
- o Developed and distributed 80,000 copies of the booklet "Engendering the Constitution" (in Arabic and Kurdish), which gives an overview of constitutional issues.

IRI brought together a group of 63 NGOs to establish the Iraqi Voter Outreach Training and Education (I-VOTE) coalition in November 2004. The I-VOTE coalition established the Civic Coalition for Free Elections (CCFE). CCFE partners, with IRI support, conducted over 1000 workshops/town hall meetings with some 50,000 participants. IRI also printed some 365,000 pieces of material, including brochures, t-shirts, posters and calendars. Following the January election, IRI distributed 375,000 CCFE victory

posters throughout Iraq. An additional 100,000 GOTV CCFE posters describing the electoral process were produced by CCFE partners. IRI also arranged for more than 700 election related commercials to be broadcast over Iraqi media.

In coordination with CCFE, IRI:

- Facilitated over 1,500 constitutional workshops in all 18 governorates, reaching more than 60,000 citizens,
- Prepared and distributed 150,000 pamphlets entitled “Constitution for Everyone” written in Arabic and Kurdish,
- Used its media expertise to organize 30 minute televised talk shows with members of the ConComm,
- Produced two public service announcements through ConComm for the media, to urge public participation in the constitution drafting process.

The IFES EVER program developed and trained an extensive network of monitors to report on election related violence. The monitors worked closely with political parties, election management bodies, police and military authorities. Monitors from the EVER program were stationed in all 18 governorates with at least one monitor in major city of each governorate for the January election.

Both IFES and IRI have also had voter education programs targeting the handicapped. IRI and NDI supported very active women’s coalitions which have also performed extensive outreach throughout the country.

All indications are that the outreach programs of the CEPPS partners were national - reaching all of the strategic cities and regions. The IBTCI Review Team’s Field Monitors verified that IRI constitution-related posters, for example, were displayed in the cities that they visited. They also reported that voter respondents had watched TV ads about the constitution.

Impacts of all of this extensive voter education and information campaign are mixed, as IRI’s own polling shows. In January, for example, polling showed that 35% of the respondents reported that they had, seen, read or heard about the elections in the media.² In September, before the constitutional referendum, polling shows a clear divergence between the amount of public information available concerning the constitution and the constitutional process and the impact it had on voters.

Only 2% of the respondents said that radio influenced their decision to vote in this referendum. Moreover, and in summary, 3% said newspaper ads influenced them, and 9% said Iraqi TV influenced them, while 44% said that no one influenced them or they did not know. Some 29% of respondents reported that they had read, seen, heard about the contents of the constitution, while 71% said that they had not read, seen or heard very much about the constitution.

In sum, while election and violence monitoring and voter education programs involved thousands of people, and perhaps many more in a ripple effect, the actual impact of this information on people’s decisions about voting and about their knowledge of the constitution and the constitutional process, does not seem proportional to the cost and effort. Lack of voter recognition of media messages suggests the need for research to identify more effective media instruments and techniques.

4.2 Specific Findings

4.2.1 Prepare a brief assessment of the political environment in Iraq, including a discussion of the enabling environment for and the constraints to providing technical assistance in the areas of legislative strengthening and electoral and political processes.

² The CEPPS programs, of course, were not the only sources of information about the election.



Iraq's political environment and political institutions were badly broken after thirty years of rule by Saddam Hussein. The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) attempted to provide the country with a road map to regain its independence and sovereignty by promulgating the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL). The TAL was approved by the Governing Council in February 2004, and outlines the structure of the Iraqi Transitional Government, which began on June 30, 2004 and will end on December 31, 2005. The TAL has served as an interim constitution, and as such, it mandates a system of government that is republican, federal, democratic and pluralistic, with powers shared between the federal government and regional governments. The federal government consists of the National Assembly (NA), the Presidency Council, the Council of Ministers, including the Prime Minister, and a judicial authority.

The main responsibility of the NA is to legislate and exert oversight over the executive authority. The NA consists of 275 members, of which 25% are women, and is a self-governing body with its own rules of procedure, its own president and two deputy presidents. The executive authority is composed of the Presidency Council, and the Council of Ministers, including the Prime Minister, who is the presiding officer. The duty of the Presidency Council is to represent the sovereignty of Iraq and oversees its highest affairs. The Presidency Council names the Prime Minister as well as the Council of Ministers. The government also has an independent Federal Judicial Authority.

The federal system recognizes the Kurdistan Regional Government as the official government of three of northern governorates, and recognizes that the 18 governorates will remain unchanged during the life of the transitional period.

The TAL authorizes the NA to draft a permanent constitution of Iraq, which was to be presented to the public in a national referendum no later than 15 August 2005. Prior to the referendum, the TAL required the draft constitution to be published and widely distributed to encourage public debate. Constitution approval in the October referendum set the stage for elections of a permanent government on or before 15 December, and a new government to assume office no later than 31 December 2005.

The CEPPS program was designed to help enable the TAL to become an effective interim fundamental law. As noted above, there are three agreements with the three CEPPS partners to implement programs to enable the interim TAL. These programs fall into the categories of technical election assistance, domestic election monitoring, technical constitutional assistance, and voter education. There are three major electoral milestones on which the interim TAL depends: elections for the members of the NA which took place in January 2005; the referendum on the draft constitution on 15 October; and December elections to choose representatives for the new, four year government. The CEPPS partners—NDI, IRI, and IFES—have played an indispensable role in these elections, as is detailed in this report.

NDI and IRI are also in the process of building the capacity of the interim NA to fulfill its function as the country's legislative body during the transitional period, as well as the capacity of the executive authority to fill its role as the country's national leadership.

Constraints on the CEPPS partners efforts are formidable, but lack of security due to the widespread insurgency is perhaps the most severe. Low levels of technical skills and experience of elected parliamentarians, officials in the executive branch of government, and in the legislative civil service are also major constraints. Intense internal political competition in both the legislative branch and the executive branch is perhaps the third most severe constraint on providing technical assistance.

Wider political constraints have also effected the implementation of the programs of the CEPPS partners. For the government to be perceived as legitimate, it needs to be responsive to public needs. For example, it must reach out to the public and explain its role in the rehabilitation of the country. In this regard, four issues currently dominate the Iraqi political landscape: federalism, national identity, de-Baathification, and the role of Islam in the state. Federalism, though not an immediate concern to many Iraqis at the end of major operations in April 2003, is a major issue now. At the forefront of this debate, the Kurdish community insists on maintaining its autonomous status and its regional assembly. In addition, some in the majority Shia community have suggested the creation of a "Shiastan" in the south of

the country. Such developments would be perceived to disadvantage the Sunni community. Hence, federalism is a fundamental issue which has profound implications for national identity.

The new constitution outlaws the Baath Party and consequently fuels a sense of ethnic polarization. Sunni Arabs fear they may be punished for their past association with a party they claim they had no choice but to join. Another concern noted by members of the Iraqi political community is the fact that the constitution states both that Islam will be the "basic source of legislation," and that no law can contradict the "principles of democracy." Many politicians and pundits remain puzzled by this apparent ambiguity, and question its likely resolution.

The issue of Islam also serves the interests of feudal and religious actors who have refused to participate in the democratic process and boycotted the January 2005 elections. These leaders have supported the insurgency, particularly in those regions with large Sunni populations. While Sunni participation in the October 2005 referendum has increased in comparison to January 2005 (see Annex VII), insurgent attacks have also increased in their intensity since the liberation of Iraq.

In regions such as Anbar, Salahaddin and Dyala governorates, any involvement with the political process was seen as collusion with the occupation. However, increased participation in the October referendum suggests the emergence of a more sophisticated electorate within the Sunni community. This increased participation can be attributed to the realization on the part of many Sunnis that the boycott of the January 2005 election did not serve their best interests. The addition of Sunnis to the constitutional drafting committee, as well as the recommendation by the Islamic Party to vote "Yes" for the constitution, may encourage Sunnis voter participation. The campaign for the December 2005 elections is likely to provide a valid platform to debate Sunni fears of being isolated. A greater participation in the political process by all groups in Iraq could positively influence the CEPPS legislative and executive strengthening programs. It could hasten achievement of the CEPPS goal of strengthening the legitimacy of the Representative Council.

4.2.2 Summarize and describe activities and strategies employed for achieving results, with particular emphasis on how actual activities compared to planned activities as defined in the agreements (proposals) and work plans.

A summary and description of activities, strategies, and results is given for each of the three cooperative agreements. A comparison between actual and planned activities was carried out after extensive review of cooperative agreements matched with activity reports and interviews with local and international staff and Iraqi beneficiaries of the programs. Annexes, in the form of tables, listing planned and actual activities of the entire program are provided as attachments to this report. (See Annexes III, IV and V).

A. Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development: [REE-A-00-04-00050-00]

There were seven planned results for this Cooperative Agreement:

1. The TNA is nominally capable of fulfilling its function in the democratic transition of Iraq as outlined by the TAL.
2. Leadership of the TNA is capable of executing its responsibilities to ensure the smooth functioning of the legislative body.
3. Members of the TNA are capable of lawmaking, oversight and fulfilling their representative functions outlined in the TAL.
4. The staff of the TNA is capable of supporting the efforts of Members and the leadership of the Assembly.

5. Staff of the Transitional Executive Authority has the capacity to efficiently meet the needs of the executive.
6. There is a widespread awareness among CSOs about the constitutional process and the avenues for public input into the constitutional processes.
7. There is adequate institutional development for effective, country-wide conduct of the referendum on the constitution.

Strategic areas of activity will be listed under each of the results that were planned.

Result 1: The TNA is nominally capable of fulfilling its function in the democratic transition of Iraq as outlined by the TAL.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 1 included:

- Development of an operational and organizational strategic plan for the TNA.
- Procurement, installment and utilization of voting, recording and communication systems by the TNA.
- Drafting and approval of parliamentary rules of procedure (RoP).
- Development and approval of budgetary processes allowing for input by the legislature.
- Creation and development of a functioning Legislative Support Unit and Library.
- Creation and maintenance of a parliamentary website.

Planned activities included:

- Legislative drafting courses and workshops for TNA staff.
- Workshops and seminars on administrative processes.
- Training on RoP in legislative process.
- Training on administrative transparency for staff.
- Procurement of equipment for TNA.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- Completion of a TNA Member Orientation Manual.
- The technical capacities needed for a functioning NA are in place: audio and visual system installed, IT capability provided; multifunctional voting system purchased to be installed in December; and VSAT satellite Internet connection installed.
- Speaker's Office approves amendments to structure of TNA staff.
- Study mission to Germany for 4 MPs and 10 staff members.
- Series of NA organizational charts with range of decision-making options and positions drafted and presented to the Speaker and Presidency Council for consideration.
- A comprehensive NA Human Resources Policies and Procedures Manual was drafted, as well as 22 job descriptions for key NA leadership and staff positions were written.
- Legislative staff training needs identified, and a NA Professional Staff Development Manual has been produced.
- A Simplified Guide to the RoP has been produced.
- Parliamentary skills workshops for NA staff held in Amman and Baghdad for 46 staff.
- Workshops on budget oversight/fiscal analysis, legislative drafting, database management, administrative transparency with key NA staff.
- An IT staff policy drafted and a commodity package made, i.e., PCs, laptops, training and maintenance.

Result 2: Leadership of the TNA is capable of executing its responsibilities to ensure the smooth functioning of the legislative body.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 2 included:

- Job descriptions for institutional leaders are written, and the positions are filled.
- Creation of communication lines between legislature and executive were established.
- Establishment of relationships between TNA leadership and international parliamentary associations.

Implementation of these activities is awaiting the approval of the Iraqi parliamentary leadership.

Result 3: Members of the TNA are capable of lawmaking, oversight and fulfilling their representative functions outlined in the TAL.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 3 included:

- MPs acquire basic knowledge and use of parliamentary rules and procedures.
- MPs acquire awareness of their basic responsibilities as parliamentarians.
- MPs are able to read and understand legislative language.
- MPs learn the budget process and the role of the TNA, and the connection with the executive.
- Party caucuses are able to contribute significantly to legislation.
- Development of a parliamentary women's caucus.
- Development of legislation protecting women's rights.

Planned activities included:

- New member orientation program.
- Professional conference for members of TNA.
- Focus group and polling results will inform MPs about voter attitudes and expectations.
- Women included in all of NDI training.
- Development of separate and distinct training program for women legislators.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- Orientation seminar for MPs.
- Workshops for MPs on issues related to legislative affairs.
- Workshops on practical aspects of oversight led by Kevin Deveau, MP/Nova Scotia/Canada.
- Workshop on RoP in legislative process led by John Phelps, Chief Clerk for Florida State Legislature.
- By end of June 2005, 105 of 275 MPs received some training by NDI.
- TNA orientation session for 12 women MPs.

Result 4: The staff of the TNA is capable of supporting the efforts of MPs and the leadership of the Assembly.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 4 included:

- Staff trained to use parliamentary rules and procedures.
- Staff trained to understand their roles and responsibilities.
- Staff knows how to read and use legislative language.
- Staff knows budget process and role of TNA, and the oversight of the executive.
- Staff provides support to committees.

Planned activities included:

- Creation of dynamic website with current information about committees, legislation, schedules for public hearings, comments on proposed legislation.

- Build capacity of legislative committees to conduct public hearings.
- Assistance to TNA secretariat on development of materials on obtaining public input to legislation and training on how to respond to citizen input.
- Series of discussions between NGOs and legislative committees on how the two groups could work together on public policy issues.
- Development of a guide for NGOs and citizens on how to testify before a parliamentary hearing.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- Week long general administrative training for 16 staff in Amman.
- Individual assessment of TNA staff.
- Basic parliamentary skills workshop for 8 new staff members.
- Legislative drafting workshop for senior staff.
- Development of TNA Human Resources Office.
- Basic skills workshop for senior staff members.
- Media training for head of TNA Media and Protocol Office and staff of NA Public Affairs Office.
- NA staff seminar on HR Policies and Procedures.
- Administrative workshop for heads of administrative departments.
- Workshop on handling media in crisis situations.
- Training on legislative drafting for NA staff members.
- Data base management training for staff members.
- Administrative transparency training for senior staff.
- Assessment of 120 staff qualifications finished and current review of NA structure and relationship between various departments.

Result 5: Staff of the Transitional Executive Authority has the capacity to efficiently meet the needs of the executive.

Strategy employed for achieving Result 5 included:

- An assessment is conducted to determine staffing and organization of executive office; this is approved by the Office of the Prime Minister and USAID.

Planned activities included:

- Staff training to understand their roles and responsibilities.
- Staff training to read and employ legislative language.
- Staff training to understand role of Executive and oversight role of TNA.
- Staff training on basic skills for budgetary analysis and drafting legislation.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- Staff training for one week in Amman.
- Efforts made to draft an MOU to be approved by PM which would define NDI's role and allow training to begin.

Results 6 and 7: There is a widespread awareness among CSOs about the constitutional process and the avenues for public input into the constitutional processes and there is adequate institutional development for effective, country-wide conduct of the referendum on the constitution.

Strategies employed for achieving Results 6 and 7 included:

- The use of multiple means to inform the public of contents of the constitution and create a means for people to express their opinions to the ConComm.
- CSOs actively involved in educating communities about constitutional process.
- Provide technical assistance to ConComm as requested.

- Inclusion of women representatives in all aspects of constitution drafting process.

Planned activities included:

- Creation of an interactive website on the Iraqi constitution.
- Convene a program for members of the legal and NGO community to develop and implement public education activities related to the constitution.
- Coordinate with Forum of Federation to hold seminars for MPs on constitution drafting and fiscal federalism and shared resources.
- Create a constitutional dialogue program which would involve all 18 governorates.
- Conduct focus groups to discuss constitution.
- Conduct national opinion polls on constitution.
- Initiated a communications and public outreach media program for the ConComm.
- Assist ConComm to disseminate information about constitutional process.
- Prioritize requests for procurement by ConComm and communicate unfunded procurement to international donor community.
- Provide constitutional experts available to ConComm as requested.
- Produce publication on 'Women's Rights in the Muslim World'.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- Interactive website launched (www.dustouriliraq.net).
- Conducted 36 focus groups in 15 Iraqi cities.
- Numerous meetings, seminars and consultancies with members of the ConComm.
- Distribution of books on constitutions to MPs.
- Workshop on Iraqi Women's Legal Rights and survey methodology in Jordan.
- Workshop in Jordan for 15 women (NGO community and TNA members) on trainer-of-trainer methods and gender issues.
- Constitution and governance information sessions with NGOs.
- Conference on federalism for 51 MPs.
- Study mission to South Africa for 39 women to learn of RSA system of guaranteeing women's rights and other gender specific issues.
- Conference on Women's Constitutional Rights for 29 women.
- Numerous meetings, workshops, training related to Engendering the Constitution.

B. Domestic Oversight and Voter Education for Iraqi Electoral Processes [AFP-A-00-04-00014-00]

There were seven planned results for this agreement:

1. Domestic election monitors observe and judge the Iraqi campaigns and electoral processes.
2. Iraqi political parties accept the processes and outcomes of the electoral events of 2004-2005.
3. Civic organizations create an Iraqi coalition that conducts effective voter education programs for the 2005 series of elections, promote discussion of issues among Iraqi citizens, and encourage general citizen participation in the elections.
4. The Iraqi voter education coalition mobilizes important voting groups to register and vote in the elections.
5. Important Iraqi voting groups advocate on behalf of their interests during the 2005 elections process.
6. Empowered Iraqi institutions commit to democratic government.
7. Iraqi civil society organizations (CSOs) develop the tools needed to implement programs aimed at identifying, monitoring and, where possible, mitigating and preventing election-related violence.

Strategic areas of activity will be listed under each of the results that were planned.

Result 1: Domestic election monitors observed and judged the Iraqi campaigns and electoral processes.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 1 included:

- Facilitate creation of an indigenous Iraqi elections monitoring network to help build Iraqi public “ownership” of election results.
- Support network leadership and domestic monitors and build their capacities as needed.
- Promote network visibility to build its credibility and raise public confidence in the electoral events.
- Use monitoring network findings to improve preparations for subsequent electoral events.

Planned activities included:

- CEPPS members carry out a coordinated baseline assessment of CSOs focused on commitment of groups and individuals to democracy.
- NDI helps creates, trains and gives technical support the Coalition of Iraqi Nonpartisan Election Monitors (CINEM), and also builds its capacity in the form of train-the-trainer sessions.
- NDI will help network leaders design training and observer materials in both Arabic and Kurdish.
- NDI will help network leaders design a sound communication system, design data-related systems, establish a data analysis center, collect and analyze results, and establish a strategy for publicizing findings.
- NDI will award sub-grants to monitoring network organizations as appropriate, and require regular financial and programmatic reporting of activities.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- A new grant program launched focusing on the promotion of NGO activities.
- CINEM launched on Oct 14.
- Civil Society Newsletter is issued.
- Key documents in support of Election Information Network (EIN) produced, including TOT Guidelines.
- Training session in Amman for IEN's Board of Directors.
- 63 people from 40 NGO's trained as monitors and TOTs.
- Election monitoring video produced in Arabic and Kurdish.
- EIN deployed 9,890 monitors in 18 governorates for December elections, covering 80% of the polling centers.
- Study mission to Croatia for EIN N. Region Coordinator & NDI local staff.
- People recruited to monitor IECEI voter registration process.
- EIN monitored the national referendum in 9,051 nation wide polling stations with 9,474 trained monitors and 1000 volunteers.

For this result, actual activities matched planned activities.

Result 2: Iraqi political parties accepted the processes and outcomes of the electoral events of 2004-2005.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 2 included:

- Facilitate creation of Iraqi partisan election monitors (party poll-watchers).
- Educate party leadership about the advantages to them of fielding party poll-watchers.
- Support party poll-watchers and build their capacities as needed.
- Encourage party poll-watchers to raise party confidence in the electoral events.

- Use party poll-watcher findings to improve party preparations for subsequent electoral events.

Planned activities included:

- IRI will train a target number of party poll-watchers on polling station operations, voting and counting, and complaints and appeals.
- IRI will prepare and print a party poll-watcher manual, with a target completion date 30 days prior to the start of the official campaign period.
- IRI will create and produce a VCD or DVD to complement the party poll-watcher manual.
- IRI will send a delegation of political party representatives to observe Indonesia's presidential run-off election on September 20, 2004.
- IRI will consult with political parties, one-on-one, to help them advocate in their own interest in subsequent discussions with the IECl.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- Over 20 groups of party agents were trained as poll watchers.
- A party poll watching manual was produced and distributed.
- Political parties were consulted on how to best advocate their interests with the IECl.
- Nine Iraqi delegates made a month long study mission to Indonesia and participated in the monitoring of Indonesia's national election.

Result 3: Civic organizations created an Iraqi coalition that conducted effective voter education programs for the 2005 series of elections, promoted discussion of issues among Iraqi citizens, and encouraged general citizen participation in the elections.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 3 included:

- Empower Iraqis committed to the elections process to educate their compatriots about this process in ways familiar and meaningful to Iraqis.
- Support the efforts of the voter education coalition and build their capacities as needed.
- Promote Iraqi-driven voter education activities to raise public understanding of the issues, processes, and importance of the 2005 electoral events.

Planned activities included:

- IRI will identify and recruit a network of CSOs capable of implementing a national voter education campaign, tentatively named I-VOTE.
- IRI will prepare a code-of-conduct for I-VOTE members and track member performance to ensure that all recipients adhere to I-VOTE guidelines.
- IRI will hold a training conference for I-VOTE civic groups on basic organizational techniques. It will also work with selected organizations on capacity skills.
- IRI will primarily cover direct costs of GOTV campaign expenses.
- IRI will receive from I-VOTE CSOs a series of reports following each election detailing successful techniques and outlining suggestions for future voter education programs.
- IRI will conduct an exit poll on each Election Day.
- IFES will address the needs of disabled voters.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- IRI arranged for over voter 700 commercials of 13 hours of duration.
- IRI printed and distributed 50,000 posters in Sadr City.
- IRI established I-Vote coalition of 63 NGOs.
- I-VOTE established Civic Coalition for Free Elections (CCFE).
- As part of IRI's countrywide voter education campaign, IFES EVER introduced the Disabled Voter Education program (DVE), working with approximately 20 CSOs and addressing disability issues and advocating for greater physical and social access to polling sites.

Result 4: The Iraqi voter education coalition mobilized important voting groups to register and vote in the elections.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 4 included:

- Support the voter education activities of existing Iraqi organizations that promote the needs of important voting groups.
- Facilitate the creation of additional Iraqi organizations committed to promoting the needs of important voting groups, and support their voter education activities.
- Provide such organizations access to effective mass communication tools.

Planned activities included:

- IRI will support efforts by CCFE to organize a series of educational activities throughout Iraq.
- CCFE programs produced in IRI's media center will explain the process of developing a constitution.
- IRI will work with the youth coalition to develop TV spots.
- IRI will assist the RWC in producing their first public service television programs.
- IRI will directly support and assist the RWC gender equality advocacy campaign.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- CCFE Programs produced in IRI's media centre explained the process of developing a constitution in the form of weekly press conferences, special press conferences and discussion shows.
- IRI worked with the youth coalition to develop TV spots.
- IRI supported efforts by RWC to use the RWC monthly conference to serve as a forum for learning successful methods of conducting women's political advocacy. It also conducted a nationwide survey targeting Iraqi women.
- IRI supported efforts by RWC to conduct awareness-raising activities and advocated for gender equality in the constitution-drafting process.

For this result, actual activities matched planned activities.

Result 5: Important Iraqi voting groups advocated on behalf of their interests during the 2005 elections process.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 5 included:

- Educate representatives of key Iraqi voting groups about constitution-drafting.
- Encourage these representatives to promote their agendas during the 2005 electoral processes.
- Build the capacities of these important Iraqi voting groups to enable them to serve as effective advocates.
- Provide direct support to such advocacy efforts.

Planned activities included:

- IRI will track voter attitudes and awareness through monthly surveys during the constitution development awareness campaign.
- IRI will encourage Civic Coalition for Free Elections (CCFE) organizations to implement campaigns to raise awareness on the constitution-drafting process. It will also hold a nationwide training for CCFE.
- IRI will develop printed materials in concert with CCFE that will promote the constitution-drafting process and elucidate the "ABC's" of a constitution.
- IRI will oversee youth coalition member activities and will provide youth coalition members with a series of training on media relations.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- IRI conducted 12 national opinion polls throughout the country.
- CCFE, a civic coalition of 76 NGOs set up in August 2004 was assisted by IRI on the implementation of a constitution-drafting awareness campaign. A series of 1,000 workshops were conducted by CCFE throughout the country for more than 60,000 people.
- 725,000 of “Everything you should know about the constitution” booklets have been printed and distributed by CCFE.
- IRI fostered the establishment of youth coalitions throughout Iraq while focusing on training on media relations. Media spots were also aired on the issue.

For this result, actual activities matched planned activities.

Result 6: Iraqi institutions committed to democratic government grew stronger and more numerous.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 6 included:

- Build up the best existing Iraqi institutions committed to democratic processes
- Support efforts to establish useful institutions in additional communities, such as the six Provincial Democracy Centers (PDCs) that provide community points of contact for democracy, human rights, and women’s issues.
- Provide direct support to useful communications infrastructure to enable them to serve as balanced, alternate, and independent sources of news and elections-related information for the 2005 series of election events.

Planned activities included:

- IRI will provide material and technical support to the Regional Democracy Centers (RDC) in the form of equipment, staffing and staff capacity-building for two years.
- IRI will provide training to civic groups through RDC.
- IRI will support the operation of the printing press by providing the basic material for its operation.
- IRI will provide technical support through training to PDC staff in areas including organization, leadership development, and communications.
- IRI will provide support for two radio stations in the form of equipment and fund staff for the operation of the radio stations for two years.
- IRI staff will send two radio consultants per year to travel to Iraq to provide technical and programming support to radio staff.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- RDCs and PDCs have never been opened due to the restrictions imposed by the current security situation. IRI is still exploring possibilities trying to bridge this problem.
- After a review of the radio stations in question, it was concluded that these had evolved over time as openly religious. It was decided by IRI that these should no longer receive support. No further activity was carried out in support of any radio station in the field.

For this result, planned activities were not carried out due to the poor security situation.

Result 7: Iraqi civil society organizations (CSOs) developed the tools needed to implement programs aimed at identifying, monitoring and, where possible, mitigating and preventing election-related violence.

Strategies employed for achieving Result 7 included:

- Facilitate cooperative relationships and communication between Iraqi CSOs, the Iraqi Independent Elections Commission (IEC), police, security forces, political party representatives, and others committed to peaceful and successful elections to optimize their collective effectiveness.

- Promote agreement by civil society and government stakeholders on definitions of elections-related violence and strategies for pre-empting and addressing it.
- Encourage the creation of a purpose-driven Iraqi coalition dedicated to monitoring and mitigating election-related violence.
- Support the efforts of such a coalition and build their capacities as needed.
- Communicate to the general public the status of elections-related violence.

Planned activities included:

- IFES will facilitate the establishment of a network of Iraqi CSOs that will operate to monitor and mitigate election-related violence, tentatively identified as the Iraqi Alliance for Peaceful Elections (IAPE).
- IFES will develop and distribute background materials on Election Violence Monitoring and Mitigation on the IAPE project.
- IFES will conduct workshops to train representatives from Iraqi CSOs on the IAPE mandate, roles of member organizations, approaches to defining election violence in Iraq, techniques for monitoring election violence, introduction to the election violence database and techniques to help manage and mitigate political violence.
- IFES will assist IAPE members to promote communications between key election stakeholders with a view towards monitoring and mitigating election violence.
- IFES will work with IAPE to produce a “toolkit” of techniques and approaches to be used by IAPE’s members to apply agreed definitions to events in their area and to begin to monitor electoral conflict.
- IFES will design an election conflict and violence database that will record all incidents of violence leading up to the elections, and train IAPE members to administer, manage, and operate it.
- NDI will assess progress regarding a party code of conduct code.
- NDI will work to develop other violence mitigation mechanisms for political party participation.
- NDI will assess the contribution of political parties toward violence mitigation.

Actual activities undertaken to achieve this result included:

- IFES EVER introduced CSOs to IFES’ Election Violence Monitoring and Mitigation Program.
- IFES EVER assessed the institutional capacity of CSOs.
- IFES EVER carried out training in Election Violence Monitoring and Mitigation to Iraqi CSOs.
- IFES EVER established a Nonpartisan Alliance for Peaceful Elections: IFES EVER identified a core group of Iraqi CSOs, these CSOs now form the Network for Non-Violent Elections (NNVE), replacing the planned Iraqi Alliance for Peaceful Elections (IAPE). This network was later called Iraq Without Violence (IWV).
- IFES EVER designed and developed strategies to identify election violence.
- IFES EVER developed a toolkit for monitoring electoral conflict.
- IFES EVER developed a strategy for monitoring electoral conflict.
- IFES EVER designed and developed of Elections Violence Database.
- IFES EVER trained IWV staff in using the database to store and analyze information on election-related violence.
- IFES EVER collaborated with other organizations and individuals and disseminated information.

For this result, actual activities matched planned activities. It has come to the IBTCI Review Team’s attention that IFES EVER’s coverage of election-related violence was not as widespread throughout the country during the January elections as it was during the Referendum of October 2005. While IFES EVER never stated that it was to provide a country-wide picture when it initiated its activities, the subsequent effort to reach every part of the country, including the Anbar province, needs to be acknowledged (see Annex VIII for Anbar province reporting matrix). Follow-up programs ought to build on this momentum.

C. Electoral Technical Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI)
[Co-operative Agreement 267-A-00-04-00405-00, under DGC-A-00-01-0004-00]

The planned results for this agreement were threefold:

1. Technically successful elections conducted by IECI.
2. Capacity-building of IECI.
3. Legitimate election results building democratic culture.

This section will compare planned activities to actual activities according to the strategies that were employed to achieve results. There were six main strategies in the CEPPS Co-operative Agreement for Electoral Technical Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI). These were: 1) assistance to the administration, 2) operations, 3) public outreach, 4) capacity-building, 5) emergency procurement of commodities and 6) additional support to the UN. The information below is a summary of planned and actual activities. For specific activities, please refer to Table X supplied as an attachment to this document.

Strategy 1: Assistance to the Administration

IFES stated that it would provide IECI with assistance and advice regarding the provision of efficient and responsive administrative support to several aspects of the IECI's activities and operations.

Planned activities included assistance and advice in:

- Budget and finance
- Human resources
- Procurement and supply
- Information Technology and networking
- Communications
- Other administrative support

Actual activities undertaken included:

- Budget and finance: operating IECI budget.
- Human resources: job descriptions for IECI administration were drafted and recruitment best practices advised.
- Procurement and supply: all IECI procurement and supply needs were met.
- Information Technology and networking: IFES staff managed and maintained the IECI information technology network. It assisted the UN in recruiting an IT programmer.
- Communications: all aspects of communication were met as in the agreement.
- Other administrative support was provided when requested.

For this strategy, planned activities matched actual activities.

Strategy 2: Operations

IFES was to provide IECI with support and advice regarding its operational activities related to the registration and electoral process.

Planned activities included:

- Field co-ordination and support.
- Security co-ordination.
- Procedural development and training.
- Logistics.
- Data-management.

Actual activities included:

- Voter registration: registration update procedures along with registration update forms and training materials for the registration update were finalized by IFES.

- Field co-ordination and support was implemented, although related and precise information is missing.
- Security co-ordination for elections was achieved.
- Procedural development and training:
 - Cascade training and capacity-building was conducted with voter registration staff and electoral staff.
 - Regulations relating to political entity and candidates were set up.
 - IFES also assisted in the preparation and translation of certification procedures.
 - Elaboration and translation of polling procedures.
 - Elaboration of adjudication framework for electoral complaints.
- Logistics: a data management center was established and printing of several key electoral items was completed (ballots, regulations, voters' lists etc.). An itemized list of logistical support remains to be obtained.
- Data-management: data entry was successfully managed from migration of data from the oil-for-food program.

For this strategy, planned activities matched actual activities.

Strategy 3: Public outreach

IFES was to assist the IECI in its efforts to ensure that all electoral participants, including registrants, voters, the media, electoral contestants, and electoral observers, were fully informed about the electoral process and opportunities for participation.

Planned activities included:

- Liaison with political community.
- Certification of political contestants and observers.
- Development of voter education messages and products.
- Media relations.

Actual activities undertaken included:

- Liaison with political community was achieved through outreach initiatives.
- Certification of political contestants, entities and observers was achieved.
- Development of voter education messages and products. Plans for and actual public information messages were disseminated.
- Media relations with regard to technicalities of voting procedures were carried out.

For this strategy, planned activities matched actual activities.

Strategy 4: Capacity-building

Planned activities included:

- Assist the Capacity-Building Division of the IECI with the development of a formal training and institution building program.
- Assist with the coordination of professional development and capacity building of service providers, including internal courses, commercially available courses, and international specialists including IFES staff.

Actual activity undertaken included:

- Capacity-building was initiated and completed at various levels: technical staff, procurement staff, election officials, public information officers

For this strategy, planned activities matched actual activities. It is necessary to realize that, should the current IECI board and administration dissolve after the December 15th elections, identical capacity-building initiatives would have to be provided to the new IECI staff. Please refer to the recommendations part of this report for further details.

Strategy 5: Emergency procurement of commodities and services

Although most commodities and services should be procured by the IECI itself or through the trust fund established by the UN, it was agreed that a portion of the funds available under this award would constitute a small, emergency reserve, in situations where funds cannot be provided in a timely manner from either of the primary funding sources. This happened once in relation to IT support.

Strategy 6: Additional support to the UN

As the lead agency for international assistance to the electoral process, it was recognized that the UN might occasionally call upon IFES for other forms of support. Since this provision was *ad hoc*, there were no planned activities mentioned in the agreement. According to the UN, assistance has been provided by IFES when requested, in the form of IT support.

4.2.3 Describe the results or outcomes of the programs and compare them with the objectives and indicators set forth in their contracts and/or cooperative agreement, work plans and performance monitoring plans.**A. Government and Constitutional Development Agreement [REE-A-00-04-00050-00]**

The Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP) for the Iraq Government and Constitutional Development program submitted to USAID covering the period of July 26, 2004 to August 27, 2004 provides objectives and indicators for the measurement of program achievements. (This is the most recent PMP that was available to the IBTCI Review Team)

The PMP states three objectives:

1. To provide support to the Transitional National Assembly (TNA).
2. To provide support to the Interim and Transitional Iraqi Executive Authority.
3. To provide support to the Constitutional Development Process.

Objective 1: To provide support to the Transitional National Assembly (TNA)

This objective has four intended results:

1. The TNA is nominally capable of fulfilling its function in the democratic transition of Iraq as outlined by the Transitional Authority Law (TAL).
2. The leadership of the TNA is capable of executing its responsibilities to ensure the smooth functioning of the legislative body.
3. Members of the TNA are capable of lawmaking, oversight, and fulfilling their representative functions outlined in the TAL.
4. The staff of the TNA is capable of supporting the efforts of MPs and the leadership.

Each intended result has one or more indicators, and a number of benchmarks.

Result 1: The TNA is nominally capable of fulfilling its function in the democratic transition of Iraq as outlined by the Transitional Authority Law (TAL).

- A number of the benchmarks associated with this indicator have been reached or are in the process of being reached. These include: drafting of job descriptions, recruiting guidelines and human resources (HR) guidelines, conducting a broad range of training, the provision of much technical material on procedural by-laws, rules of procedures, roles of MPs and the provision of electronic equipment. However, the transitional period has not been long enough for either the operational or institutional structures of the legislative branch to become nominally functioning. More time is needed for the necessary capacity- building to take place for institutional structures to function independently.

Result 2: The leadership of the TNA is capable of executing its responsibilities to ensure the smooth functioning of the legislative body.

- In spite of reaching several benchmarks such as orientation training for members of the leadership and an improved understanding of the roles of representation in democracy, rules of procedure, parliamentary administration and basic legislative skill development, and so forth, the parliamentary leadership is not yet capable of ensuring the smooth functioning of the parliament. The absence of democracy or a functioning legislative body during the previous regime, as well as the fact that many newly elected MPs had been living abroad and were not political actors means that there is a lack of technical legislative experience. This legislative deficit was not due to any shortcomings in the efforts of NDI/SUNY.

Result 3: Members of the TNA are capable of lawmaking, oversight, and fulfilling their representative functions outlined in the TAL.

- In spite of training for MPs on lawmaking and fulfilling legislative functions, this result has also not yet been satisfactorily achieved. Again, not because of the lack of efforts by CEPPS to hold training, provide rules of procedure, and so on, but because of the current Iraqi political ferment and the lack of time.

Result 4: The staff of the TNA is capable of supporting the efforts of MPs and the leadership.

- This result is closely related to Result 1. Benchmarks have been reached, with staff orientations and training conducted, guidelines and manuals produced and distributed. However, the TNA staff is nowhere near being capable of supporting the leadership and MPs in fulfilling their duties.

Objective 2: Support to the Interim and Transitional Iraqi Executive Authority (TEA)

Result: The staff of the TEA has the capacity to efficiently meet the needs of the executive.

- Available documentation indicates that while CEPPS reached many benchmark activities with training, translation of books and documents, assessment of the legal status of women and Iraq's compliance with international standards of gender equality, support to Iraqi think tanks, and translations of significant books and documents, the overall assessment is that this result is still far from being met. Again, this type of activity needs considerably more time for training, maturity, and responsibility to develop into a functioning support staff.

Objective 3: Support to the Constitutional Development Process

Result: There was widespread awareness among civil society about the constitutional process and the avenues for public input into the constitutional processes.

- CSOs were actively involved in educating communities about the constitutional process and opportunities for public input. Over 100,000 written comments from all regions of the country were collected and analyzed by CEPPS and passed on to the ConComm. There was also an extensive media and training campaign to educate voters about the constitutional process. Nevertheless, there were large areas in the country where people were not aware of the constitutional process, and it is unclear what impact these activities actually had on voters. Moreover, people were not as aware of substantive issues such as the role of women in the constitutional development process, and the role of the Sunnis in the process was not as well known as they might have been.

B. Domestic Oversight and Voter Education for Iraqi Electoral Processes [AFP-A-00-04-00014-00]

There were four objectives for this cooperative agreement:

1. Promote the legitimacy and transparency of the electoral process through developing the capacity of civil society organizations and political entities to observe and analyze a series of electoral

events and widely disseminate analysis of the execution of the processes to Iraqi citizens and the international community.

2. Provide technical assistance, training, and materials to Iraqi civil society organizations to design and conduct country-wide domestic voter education campaigns that appropriately and effectively inform and mobilize voters.
3. Proactively administer a conflict management and mitigation program, which identifies potential areas of politically motivated conflict as relates to the electoral process.
4. Respond to critical and possibly changing priorities related to election assistance.

There were eight planned results for this cooperative agreement:

1. Domestic election monitors observe and judge the Iraqi campaigns and electoral processes.
2. Iraqi political parties accept the processes and outcomes of the electoral events of 2004-2005.
3. Civic organizations create an Iraqi coalition that conducts effective voter education programs for the 2005 series of elections, promote discussion of issues among Iraqi citizens, and encourage general citizen participation in the elections.
4. The Iraqi voter education coalition mobilizes important voting groups to register and vote in the elections.
5. Important Iraqi voting groups advocate on behalf of their interests during the 2005 elections process.
6. Empowered Iraqi institutions commit to democratic government.
7. Iraqi civil society organizations (CSOs) develop the tools needed to implement programs aimed at identifying, monitoring and, where possible, mitigating and preventing election-related violence.
8. CEPPS partners adjust to unexpected events and find ways to implement the domestic election monitoring, voter education, and conflict mitigation programs described above despite the external demands imposed by changing political and operational environments.

Lastly, there were 17 indicators:

1. Competency of Iraqi election-monitoring CSOs in observing campaign and electoral processes.
2. Effective participation of volunteer monitors.
3. Parties' increased capacity to train party agents in practical aspects of the New Iraqi electoral law and procedures in advance of elections.
4. Effective participation of parties in electoral events by fielding candidate and party poll watchers.
5. Formation of network of CSOs to educate Iraqis about voting rights and procedures.
6. Iraqi CSOs demonstrate competency in conducting effective voter outreach and education campaigns.
7. Formation of network of CSOs to design and administer a conflict management and mitigation program.
8. Training materials designed and produced and training program design completed and implemented.
9. Demonstrated competency of Iraqi CSOs in conducting conflict monitoring and mitigation activities.
10. Election Violence Database designed, operational and IAPE members trained.
11. Results from monitoring activities reported to the IEI, police and security services and the public.
12. Local initiatives working towards the resolution of election violence undertaken.
13. Development and enforcement of political party code of conduct.
14. Effective contribution of parties to mitigation of election-related violence.
15. Creation of mechanisms for effective and co-operative actions created.
16. Increase in capacity of CSOs and individuals to conduct focus-group research.
17. Opinion research informs CSO activities.

All results were met and the objectives achieved in this agreement, apart from voter outreach. Following the observations and results of Field Monitor visits to 13 strategic cities throughout Iraq, it was reported that many Iraqis were not reached by voter outreach initiatives. This was due to the fact that media spots

were not aired with enough frequency and consistency throughout campaign periods (See “High Priority Assistance Needs” in section 4.2.7 and Annex VI). Also, posters were deemed to be too complicated for many Iraqis to understand and the language used in the posters was not understood. No specific example has been provided by the team of Field Monitors.

C. *Electoral Technical Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI) [267-A-00-04-00405-00, under DGC-A-00-01-0004-00]*

There were two objectives for this program:

1. Support the IECI and its election administration in the technical and administrative development and operational implementation of the full transitional election cycle.
2. Provide election commodities and technical support for the infrastructure development of the election administration at the national, governorate and sub-governorate levels.

There were three intended results:

1. IECI conducts technically successful elections as required by the TAL;
2. IECI develops as an institution so as to require progressively less international technical assistance; and
3. Credible and legitimate election results lead to wide acceptance by political and civic entities.

Lastly, there were eight indicators:

- i. IECI develops and approves operational plan and budget.
- ii. IECI adopts regulations and procedures.
- iii. IECI opens offices in all governorates and at sub-governorate levels, as appropriate.
- iv. IECI establishes a credible and transparent voters' roll.
- v. IECI manages an effective voter education campaign.
- vi. IECI opens accessible and efficient polling locations.
- vii. IECI conducts a transparent count of ballots and tabulation of results.
- viii. IECI staff demonstrates increasing professional and institutional capacity over the election cycle, thus requiring less international technical assistance.

All of the results were met and the objectives were achieved. However, circumstances beyond the control of IFES have reduced the long-term impact of the activities that were carried out.

These circumstances included:

- Status of the IECI: The status of the IECI was one of the issues that was put aside for the new NA to discuss after the December 15th elections. It is common practice in many countries for the professional staff of electoral commissions to remain unchanged when the Commissioners change. A permanent, professional electoral staff is affirmed by legislation. It is the opinion of some, however, that this may well happen after the December 15th elections. IFES hopes not to lose the capacity built so far, which would happen if IECI staff is completely changed.
- Election fraud reports before December 15th elections: While accusations of election fraud have been officially made after both elections, (some 430 complaints after the January election and 130 after the referendum) the fact that other complaints have not been officially made with the Complaints Unit of the IECI might suggest that the objective of some of these complaints might have been to cast doubt over the fairness of the election results. Indeed, many believe particularly among the Sunnis that there was wide spread election fraud. The Field Monitors reported a majority of their informants did not believe that the Nineve Province, for example, approved the constitution in the October referendum. According to IFES, the short time-frame

between elections, especially the referendum and the December elections may leave the Complaints Unit unable to fully investigate and report all of the alleged fraud cases.

- Politicization of the IECI Kurdistan regional Office: It has been brought to the team's attention through interviews with IFES staff that the IECI regional office for Iraqi Kurdistan has been heavily politicized. Its 'independence' has therefore been questioned by figures of the local opposition, board members within the IECI itself in Baghdad and international observers. Due to language issues, the aforementioned office has remained semi-independent since the inception of the IECI.

4.2.4 Describe the assumptions implicit in the IFES, IRI, NDI chosen implementation strategies, and an assessment of the appropriateness and strength of the chosen implementation strategies.

Given the unstable political and social environment in Iraq at the outset of the CEPPS program, a number of assumptions were made about this situation in general and the operating environment in particular. General assumptions were made in the original project documents, while others were articulated in meetings in meetings and interviews with the implementing partners. In accordance with the SOW, the IBTCI Review Team has tried to assess the appropriateness and inappropriateness of these assumptions according to the team's knowledge and judgment of the operating environment.

General CEPPS assumptions:

- Iraqi organizations lack the experience and the capacity to support and monitor a nationwide, free and fair elections process, and thus the possibility of unchecked elections-related fraud or violence is high.
- Only by involving a large number of citizens in the political process and by providing a forum for public debate on the future of Iraq can the legitimacy of the political process be bolstered.
- The Iraqi political environment, in general, and electoral process, in particular, will remain highly unpredictable, and significant changes or delays in the elections calendar will likely occur.
- CEPPS will utilize existing contacts and relationships to link and coordinate indigenous organizations' interest in the proposed activities.
- Few Iraqi organizations are likely to be able to contribute to more than one coalition.
- Creating a monitoring culture in Iraq may help deter the exclusion of groups from future elections and deter violence.
- The unfolding constitution and election processes are an ideal opportunity to engage Iraqis in burgeoning democratic practices.
- Work will take place throughout all 18 governorates.
- All work will be repeated for each of the three elections planned for 2005.

IFES Assumptions:

Appropriate assumptions

- UN would play a significant role in the electoral process.
- All official communication would pass through the CEPPS administrator.
- They would need to depend more than otherwise on Iraqi-led activity due to the security situation.
- Allotting a third of their budget for security would be sufficient.
- Faster implementation of their activities than turned out to be the case.



Inappropriate assumptions

- There would be continuity in IECI membership after training.
- A country co-coordinator would be hired.
- USAID would be consolidating information received from the CEPPS implementing partners.
- The Security situation would improve over time.

IRI Assumptions:

Appropriate assumptions

- Conditions in Iraq would require maximum flexibility on the part of USAID.
- Participation by ABA as outlined in project documents.
- The collegial rivalry among the CEPPS implementing partners would benefit the program.
- On the basis of research, voter turn out would be high.

Inappropriate assumptions

- Effective political party development would diminish the political role of tribal, ethnic and religious groups.
- USAID would adequately coordinate the three implementing partners.
- Iraqis would embrace liberal democracy.
- USAID would have capacity to utilize the reporting as presented currently.
- The security situation was not that insecure when they made project plans, budgets and projections.
- The security situation would improve during the project.
- Reporting is sufficiently standardized to meet USAID's needs.
- USAID would be able to utilize the reporting as presently provided.
- USAID would collect project data ("it is their job to do that").
- CEPPS' experts would have a greater role in the writing of the constitution than in fact occurred.
- More CEPPS-generated political party development than in fact occurred.
- Federalism would not be as significant a political and constitutional issue as it turned out to be.
- A lesser role for media programming than turned out to be the case.

NDI Assumptions:

Appropriate assumptions

- The electoral development process would be a long-term operation of 15 years.
- There was no significant overlapping of project activities by the CEPPS implementing partners.
- There would be sufficient engagement of Iraqis in political activity.
- There was no need for a Chief of Party: the pluralism of the CEPPS structure was strength.

Inappropriate assumptions

- There would be a functioning Iraqi government with appropriate and functioning infrastructure in place when needed for CEPPS' activities.
- USAID staff associated with the project would not rotate in and out of Iraq as quickly as they did.
- There would be less high level interest in CEPPS activities from various sources in Washington than in fact there was.
- CEPPS reporting mechanisms are accurate and appropriate.
- There would be adequate co-ordination and consolidation of reporting by CEPPS implementing partners in the field.

4.2.5 Describe the impact of the programs on women's and Sunni's participation in political processes

Women's participation in political processes has been greatly enhanced by the NDI and IRI programs focusing on coalition building, NGO capacity building, and voter outreach. Local NGOs interviewed during this review stressed the importance of NDI's and IRI's programs in their decision to participate in Iraq's political process, including the current electoral process as well as in the long-term. Throughout Iraq, women are being made aware of their rights and are participating in the political process to the best of their ability.

While these programs have fostered a sense of gender equality and representation, the realization on the part of women's groups that their participation in the drafting of the constitution was limited has disappointed many. Despite the fact that women were selected to participate in the drafting of the constitution, this process was not gender-inclusive. In the final drafting, women were excluded from the decision-making. Members of the Rafadeen Women Coalition (RWC) did forward their demands for constitutional representation, after demanding a meeting with the Chairman of the Constitutional Committee, Sheikh Hamoudi (See Annex IV-B, pp. 87-91 for CEPPS-sponsored RWC activities). The fact that the RWC had to resort to strong measures to be granted an audience with Sheikh Hamoudi illustrates the overall difficulty with gender-mainstreaming in the Iraqi political process. The independence of many of the women on the constitutional committee was also compromised because of the representation of party positions. Lastly, the percentage of women in the constitutional drafting committee was lower than the percentage of women elected to the TNA. This led many women to feel underrepresented in the constitution drafting process.

In the actual voting process, few women stated that they were able to cast their ballots freely, due to the practice of family voting, in which the male head of the family casts votes for the whole family. In many instances, women expressed that their right to go vote in secrecy was hampered by the fact that ink would be placed on their fingers after they had voted.

The participation of members of the Sunni community in the political process has been relatively limited, but is gradually improving, much to the credit of NDI, IRI, and IFES's initiatives. The Sunni boycott of the January 2005 elections and the campaign of intimidation of Sunni voters resulted in the election of only 17 Sunnis to the 275-member TNA. As a result, no Sunnis were included in the 55-member ConComm installed on May 10th 2005. Only after the realization that the Sunni absence from the ConComm might hinder the overall approval of the constitution, and permanently marginalise the Sunnis community, did the ConComm invite the Sunnis to participate. It was decided on June 16th to invite 15 Sunnis to be part of the ConComm. Sunnis attended their first ConComm meeting on July 8th, only one month before the formal work of the ConComm ended and the negotiations were moved to the Leadership Council. Thus, while members of the Sunni community participated in the drafting of the constitution, many Sunnis still feel that their participation in the political process has been severely limited. While many Sunnis still voted "No" to the referendum, many others in the Dyala, Anbar, Neneve and Salahaddin provinces boycotted the voting process entirely, considering it an accessory to the "occupation" (See Annex VII for voter turnout figures). The IBTCI Review Team was told by several people that they would have voted but were afraid to because the ink on their finger would identify them as voters in violation of the boycott, and target them for death. Many Sunnis in politically contentious areas did not accept the results of the referendum as being legitimate. They were convinced that the results were fraudulent. In this regard, the team believes that there is an urgent need before the December elections to pre-empt the rumors of election fraud by the Elections Complaint Unit of the IECI's legal department.

There is now a realization within the Sunnis community that participation in the political process is essential, and that the boycott of the January elections was a mistake, which led to their initial exclusion from the constitution drafting process. Consequently, a much greater Sunni participation in the December elections is expected. In fact, Sunni participation in the political process is pragmatic; they do not want to be permanently marginalised from the center of power in the country.

IRI and NDI's voter outreach efforts can be said to have reached members of the Sunni community who voted, although much more outreach effort still needs to be carried out prior to the December 2005

elections. Because of security issues, the actual impact of the outreach programs could not be quantified by the IBTCI Review Team.

4.2.6 To the extent possible, describe capacity building that occurred within each Cooperative Agreement.

Election Monitoring Bodies

Election monitoring was the major activity of the Domestic Oversight and Voter Education Activity Agreement, and the IFES EVER Program of conflict management and mitigation was a special component of this agreement.

The systematic monitoring of election related violence with the objective of reducing general long term violence has not been done before. The EVER project in Iraq has been the pioneer in this activity. There have been two primary aspects to the project: to develop strategies to monitor and record election related violence, and to provide training to mitigate election related violence where it occurs. In order to accomplish these, the project has developed a nation wide coalition of CSOs into what is called the Iraq Without Violence (IWV) network. The IWV currently has a 'membership' of some 84 CSOs situated in all of the 18 governorates of the country. In the October referendum, some 276 IWV members were accredited by the IECI to observe the referendum throughout the country and reported all incidences of election related violence for entry into a central database, where it was made available for analysis and dissemination.

The project has had a significant challenge to build an institution with the capability of monitoring, recording and mitigating election related violence. Through a series of workshops, conferences, individual and small group meetings, the project has trained hundreds of people to monitor and mitigate election violence. The IWV is now an independent umbrella organization for CSOs dedicated to the objective of the EVER project. The project appears to have developed the institutional capacity of member IWV organizations to advance its message about election violence.

The major elements for assuring legitimate and transparent elections in Iraq are election monitoring and voter education. Because of the security situation, CEPPS relied more than usual on local organizations and local staff. Consequently, CEPPS built an extensive coalition of CSOs called the Coalition of Iraqi Nonpartisan Election Monitors (CINEM). Through a dynamic program of cascading training workshops, seminars and conferences, CEPPS was able to train and field over 10,000 monitors in all 18 governorates on the eve of the January elections. That this work was organized and managed on the ground almost entirely by Iraqi CSOs illustrates a high degree of capacity building has taken place. This organization is now the largest election monitoring body in Iraq. The skills acquired in the January election were soon reinforced by the referendum on the constitution in October, when the coalition again fielded over 9,000 monitors in 4,720 nation-wide polling centers. The CSOs that have participated in these election monitoring activities have had extensive training in financial matters and budgets, logistics, as well as technical training. This training has benefited both the individuals in the organization as well as the organization itself, and certainly increased the capacity of the organizations to perform better.

In a parallel activity, CEPPS has formed another group of 63 NGOs into a coalition called the Civic Coalition for Free Elections (CCFE). This group has focused on voter outreach training and voter education activities. Through train-the-trainer techniques, workshops, seminars and conferences, CCFE has trained hundreds of people and developed a variety of skills related to public voter education, such as how to work independent of government and political parties, the distribution of posters, brochures, booklets, T-shirts and other voter related paraphernalia. The cycle of elections has reinforced the skills that people and organizations have acquired in the CEPPS programs. The CEPPS voter education program has focused particularly on women, the young, and the handicapped, and increased the capacity of these groups to engage in advocacy work, as well as election related activities.

In sum, there has been an extraordinary amount of capacity building activities that have trained hundreds of CSOs and thousands of people throughout the country. These groups are not only developing monitoring and voter skills but they are also acquiring a variety of skills to aid them in future advocacy activities. These groups are also the training ground and source of future leadership for Iraq. The CSOs are still far from being sustainable, and will depend on donor assistance for some time.

Legislative Research Unit/Research Directorate

The establishment of a Legislative Research Unit (LRU) to provide research for the INA, a specific activity for the IRI, has been delayed due to conditions beyond the control of IRI. The choice of a Speaker for the new INA did not take place until 29 March 2005. Discussions between IRI and the new speaker over the establishment of a LRU began in mid-April but because of internal political issues within the INA leadership, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between IRI and the Speaker to create a LRU was not signed until early September. The name was changed at this time from the Legislative Research Unit to Research Directorate (RD) by the INA. Another delay followed while the search for adequate space to house the new RD in the Convention Center (CC), the Iraqi Parliament Building, took place. A second MOU specifying a space allocation in the CC was signed on 19 October. During the hiatus between the signing of the two MOUs, IRI was able to take bids for equipping the new unit with furniture, computers, internet connections, and other research needs. Contracts for this equipment are in the process of being bid. Research training specialists from the US Congressional Research Service and a similar unit in the Palestinian Authority have been identified to provide expert advice as soon as a staff is selected. Concurrently, the Speaker approved for distribution, a vacancy announcement nationally advertising the position of Director to the Speaker to head up the RD.

The Chief of Staff of the Office of the President of the National Assembly has expressed a keen desire to see the RD formed and functioning before the sitting of the next National Assembly/Council of Representatives in December. In sum, while no capacity building has yet taken place due to unforeseen and unavoidable delay, the infrastructure for a national legislative research office will soon be in place, and once staffing has started, specialized training and capacity building can begin.

Women's Caucus Development and Capacity Building

Capacity building of Iraqi women's caucuses has been the process of improving the ability of women's groups to perform more efficiently and effectively in achieving their objectives. The CEPPS programs have had considerable success in helping to develop strong, active coalitions of women's groups. This has been done by identifying leading women, facilitating meetings and providing funding through small grants. CEPPS provided training in basic group management, setting agendas, strategic planning, message formation, budgeting, public relations techniques and other skills necessary for achieving women's goals.

IRI supported the Rafadin Women's Coalition (RWC) to conduct awareness-raising activities and advocated gender equality in the constitution drafting process. Through these means, IRI built a coalition capable of organizing a sustained effort towards the visibility of women. IRI also supported efforts by RWC to establish a special monitoring body to oversee the work of the constitution drafting committee and report to the public on developments pertaining to women's rights. The RWC has now become a sustainable entity, meeting regularly and conducting outreach activities to Iraqi women and increasing Iraqi media visibility. The RWC is one of the most active women groups in Iraq. They are working on increasing women's participation in the political process in Iraq. Apart from regular monthly educational activities, they have organized three government advocacy campaigns in 2005 (January elections, constitutional development process and referendum) encouraging women to participate in the elections and giving them information on the electoral process and law, constitutionalism, final draft of the constitution and its implications on women's rights and gender equality so Iraqi women would be able to independently decide and responsibly vote.

During the constitution drafting period, IRI's work included educating the Iraqi public about international agreements on women rights and human rights in general (particularly with a focus on CEDAW / Convention on the Elimination of all Form of Discrimination Against Women), lobbying and putting pressure through protests, media, and meetings on INA and constitutional drafting committee to include CEDAW in the constitution. As they are not entirely satisfied with the final constitution draft in terms of women rights, RWC is now preparing to advocate for certain amendments to constitution through campaigns, signature drives, and pressure on candidates, and (once elected) government officials to introduce these amendments.

NDI carried out similar, though slightly different, types of activities under the form of the "Engendering Project". This project fostered the establishment of a coalition of 40 women's organizations and members of the INA. Meetings have taken place since February 2005 to discuss women's rights and Iraq's new constitution. Among the topics discussed were the concept of gender, how to conduct a gender analysis and human rights, making certain that the fundamental rights of women are in Iraq's new constitution through a robust advocacy campaign and bringing a gender approach to the budgeting process at both the national and local levels. Throughout this effort, NDI not only facilitated the logistics of coalition building, it also encouraged women from all sectors of society to relate to one another as women as opposed to political entities or ethnic groups. This in itself is sustainable as it also introduced long-term strategic planning in terms of setting an agenda for economic sustainability for the coalition. While the constitution drafting issue was one that captured the attention of all involved, the establishment of long-term thinking through budgetary training can be seen as a tool for achieving sustainable development.

During the review, the team attended a press conference organized by the New Iraq Coalition on the subject of the December 15th elections and the necessity for women's groups to elect leaders who would be able to apply gender mainstreaming values to the interpretation of the constitution. While stressing that the draft constitution was poorly representing women, the coalition asserted that Iraqi women should take advantage of the upcoming election to influence their future as much as they can. It provided the team with a timely illustration of the fact that capacity had been successfully built for a women's coalition to meet independently and sustain itself as an integrated part of the Iraqi political scene.

Effective methods for capacity building for future use ought to build on the coalition building successes that have already been achieved. NDI and IRI should be able to take advantage of gender mainstreaming in the interpretation of the constitution to strengthen coalitions. Moreover, further training on issues of funding and NGO management ought to be organized for this newly established coalition to be able to sustain the efforts. Lastly, coalition fundraising ought to be initiated in order to enable the group to organize office and meeting space.

4.2.7 Specify possibilities of continued USAID involvement.

Establishment of a constitutional court

There is no doubt that there is a need to establish a constitutional court simultaneously with the development of the Iraqi legislature and government. The need for legal interpretation of the constitution will be imperative for the functioning of the new governmental system. Given the importance of such an institution, there will be a high level of political involvement which automatically implies a difficult and slow process. The establishment of a constitutional court and the definition of its role and function in Iraqi society, and its powers and authority will be a purely Iraqi decision. Once such a decision is made, however, there will unquestionably be a need to develop the necessary technical infrastructure to support such an institution. The CEPPS partners and their sub-grantees and NGOs, are in a unique position to provide such assistance because of relations already developed, their experience working in Iraq and their institutional capability to provide the necessary expertise.

Implementation of the new constitution as approved by the referendum and subsequent constitutional amendments as they are approved by the new parliament

The newly approved Iraqi constitution has more than 55 articles which are designated to be “decided by law”. Additionally, it appears that the immediate agenda for the new parliament will be to amend the new constitution. The need for expert advice and counsel to clarify the myriad of issues and develop the appropriate policies that will emerge as the MPs try to pass this constitutional enabling legislation and amend the constitution is evident. The capacity of the new RD (Research Directorate) and other Iraqi legislative support units are not adequately trained to provide MPs with the necessary information to allow them to make informed decisions. Additionally, many of the MPs will need training and assistance in an array of legislative responsibilities. In this regard, it is imperative that USAID continue its assistance to newly elected legislators to strengthen their capacity and to implement the new constitution to continue the democratic transition that is taking hold in Iraq.

Building the capacity of the national government and legislature

USAID has begun helping to rebuild democratic institutions in Iraq, and without doubt, continuing assistance is needed to develop the technical capacity of both the new government and the legislature. Given the unavoidable delays that occurred in the first phase of the CEPPS program, there is a need to train and support the new government in virtually every aspect of modern government practices and procedures. The CEPPS program has clearly demonstrated that it has the credibility and trust of the Iraqi leadership, and with the seating of a new legislature and formation of a new government for a four year term, the governance program can produce sustainable results. The IBTCI Review Team recommends that every effort be made during the next two years to work with on-ground donors, particularly the UN, to collaborate in Iraq’s nation building process. Iraq will not survive as a democratic nation without such support.

Additional high-priority assistance needs that might be identified

On the basis of field research in strategic cities throughout Iraq, the IBTCI Review Team has identified three high priority assistance areas that need to be addressed prior to the December 2005 elections:

1. Sustained public awareness campaign in the form of spots and public debates

Many voters have said that television awareness initiatives were not broadcast enough before the referendum. While copies of the constitution did not reach all parts of Iraq, televised discussions about the constitution would have reached many more people. During its field interviews in Baghdad, the IBTCI Review Team was told that when federalism was thoroughly explained to members of Sunni community, it became a more viable concept for the country. There is a twofold need: first, a televised voter education campaign needs to constantly target voters through all satellite and terrestrial channels that are most likely to reach Iraqi homes, including *al-Jazeera* and *al-Arabiya* channels who will undoubtedly oblige if paid accordingly, and secondly, public information in the form of televised opinion debates ought to be carried out on a daily basis until the December 15th elections (See Annex VI for air-time costs).

2. Election fraud awareness campaign

Opponents to the electoral process have been using accusations of election fraud to discourage voters from casting their ballots in the forthcoming December election. While these have been dismissed as rumors by IECI staff and many observers, these remain nonetheless widely believed by many Iraqis. Most of the Iraqis, from all parts of Iraq, interviewed for this review by the field monitors believed the rumor that the Neneve Province had voted “No” to the referendum, but the results had been falsified. In a political context where perceptions become true in their consequences, an awareness campaign on election fraud should be urgently launched by the IECI. Iraqis must be made aware of how and where complaints can be officially lodged, and how the relatively few complaints that were lodged after the January and October polling are all being investigated rigorously. While such a campaign will further educate voters on their rights, it will also enable them to take ownership of the electoral process.

3. Use of colorless indelible ink for voters

Many voters said that the use of indelible ink deterred them from voting. They feared being targeted as voters in areas where the electoral process was rejected, mostly in the al-Anbar and Diyala provinces. In

the case of women, there was fear that their husbands would find out that they went to the polling stations without approval. Colorless spray that is only visible under infra-red light has been widely used in many elections. The IBTCI Review Team urges the same type of marking to be used in the December elections, alongside a widespread public awareness campaign on the issue.

When questioned on the matter, IFES acknowledged that a debate had taken place over the issue in the IECI and that the management had decided that the use of the purple ink would represent an act of defiance towards democracy's detractors. Iraqis interviewed on this issue responded that they were not ready to become "martyrs" and that the use colourless ink also represented their right to confidentiality as voters.

4.2.8 Summary of Lessons Learned

The following is a summary of lessons learned under the three CEPPS Cooperative Agreements:

- *National institutional building is a long term commitment.*

After 30 years of misrule, the governmental structure of Iraq is broken. It will take years for the Iraqis to develop a democratic political culture. The CEPPS program was designed for an 18 month interim period between the CPA and the Representative Council. An extension of the program and time to work with a permanent government is clearly necessary.

- *Iraqi society is marked by a high level of political participation.*

Having been repressed for years during the regime of Saddam Hussein, there has been an effervescence of unanticipated political activity in Iraq. This is not only manifested by the insurgency, but, perhaps more importantly, in a high level of participation by citizens in CSOs, as is evidenced by the large number of people throughout the country taking part in election related activities.

- *An increasingly organized citizenry has shown a high degree of competence to carry out election monitoring and observation and political advocacy.*

The work of the three CEPPS partners with a variety of CSOs has shown that institutional capacity building is very effective, as evidenced by the competency of CSOs in the election monitoring process and women's advocacy activities. The management and organizational techniques learned and practiced by CSOs in election activities can be transferred to other forms of political advocacy.

- *A well-organized election can occur simultaneously with acts of terrorism and low-intensity civil unrest.*

Many observers of Iraqi politics believed that the high level of violence generated by the insurgency and international acts of terrorism would derail the three closely timed elections. Assisting the UN election mandate, IFES, NDI and IRI, with the security umbrella of the Coalition Forces, have successfully managed two credible elections (and a third in process at the time of writing), with a minimal amount of election related violence.

- *A truncated political calendar has a high potential to polarize a population.*

The highly telescoped election cycle has not allowed enough time for adequate discussion of critical issues affecting the various political actors in Iraq. This has led to a polarization of positions among the actors. A case in point is the issue of federalism which was not discussed thoroughly enough.

- *With proper organization and motivation, a legitimate election can succeed in an abbreviated time frame.*

Preparation for the January 2005 election was no more than five months. There were eight months between the January election and the October referendum and only two months between the referendum and the December Council of Representatives' election. This is an extraordinarily compressed period for three national elections of historic importance. The CEPPS program, along with the Coalition Forces and other actors, played key roles in managing and organizing these successful elections.

- *With adequate resources election monitoring can be highly effective.*

Normally, the first elections in a free Iraq would have been conducted under the auspices of an international body, like the UN. The UN would have relied on international monitors to observe and verify that international standards had been met. This ideal was not possible given the circumstances in Iraq and the CEPPS partners had to rely on local bodies to validate the elections. USAID provided adequate resources so that the CEPPS partners could train and field certified monitors in over 80% of the polling stations in the country for the January elections. On the basis of locally staffed monitoring observations, the international community accepted the validity of the elections.

- *Voter education does not always rely on the amount of materials distributed.*

IRI and NDI produced a massive amount of materials which was extensively distributed in the country prior to two elections. The technical quality of this material was excellent. However, the effectiveness of this material in provoking discussion and debate in the public seems to have been limited. The influence of clerics and traditional leaders, combined with a Sunni boycott of the January elections, appears to have negated the impact of the voter education material. More research needs to be done on how to better shape this material to have a greater impact.

- *Cultural sensitivity needs to be applied in relation to gender-mainstreaming.*

Gender-mainstreaming is a crucial issue for Iraqi women. It is also a highly political and cultural issue, and advocates of gender-mainstreaming need to be culturally sensitive to the needs of Iraqi women. Iraqi women need to be involved in all aspects of gender advocacy.

4.2.9 Make programmatic recommendations for activities with defensible potential for measurable impact on the promotion of USAID/Iraq's Democracy and Governance SO.

As noted above, the 18-month time frame for the governance activities covered by the CEPPS Agreement has been far too short to achieve all program results, particularly with regard to institution building at the national level. With the advent in December of a newly elected Council of Representatives (CR) and a new government which will have a four year term in office, the opportunity to achieve the results as proposed in the original phase of CEPPS are much more realistic.

Building on experience gained over the last three years, USAID should continue activities that build the capacity of the newly elected government. The team recognizes the importance of working to strengthen the capacity of selected governance institutions, including key committees of the Council of Representatives, their members and their permanent staff. Much of USAID's assistance has provided training, information and infrastructure to a system that, in some cases, was not fully ready to make the best use of it. Civil society and government institutions both spent most of this period simply trying to get oriented to new ways of doing business. It is important that these initial investments not be eroded just at the moment when assistance might do the most good.

While progress was made during the transitional period, significant challenges still lie ahead. Using lessons learned, the Mission should build on past experience by strengthening democratic institutions, both governmental and civil society, for improved governance and greater participation – the two sides of the accountability equation -- in the area of election assistance and to a degree, conflict mitigation. Promoting these objectives will not only lead to creating an enabling environment but will serve to strengthen USAID's other programs, particularly those that improve the quality of life for Iraqi citizens.

Given the long term nature of institutional development in Iraq, the IBTCI Review Team suggests that every effort be made to transition this development after two years to the UN or some other international agency which is credible and respected by the Iraqis.

4.2.10 Design programmatic recommendations for future USAID involvement covering 2006-2008.

The original CEPPS Agreements called for four major activities:

1. Strengthen the capacity of the legislative branch and its staff
2. Assist the executive authority (Presidency, the Council of Ministers/Cabinet and the Prime Minister)
3. Support to electoral assistance
4. Election support directed toward promoting the legitimacy and transparency of electoral processes

The review team recommends that in a follow up phase of the CEPPS Agreements, the first three activities should be extended.

Programmatic Recommendations:

- A. USAID has given substantial and invaluable assistance to the technical functioning of the Interim Government under the CEPPS Agreements. Given this assistance package which now includes the incalculable elements of trust and confidence in USAID and its partners by Iraqi legislators and permanent legislative support staff, it is imperative that this assistance be continued and applied to the democratic functioning and operation of the newly elected Council of Representatives (CR) and Executive Agencies.

The review team recommends that priority be given equally to strengthening the CR and its staff; and assisting the Executive Authority (the Presidency, the Cabinet and the Prime Minister) and its staff, to fulfill their functions as outlined in the original agreements. As these are equal branches of government, the review team does not see how assistance can be provided to one and not the other. This assistance should be provided for a minimum of two years.

The assistance package to the CR should include:

- Insuring that the members of the CR are capable of lawmaking, oversight and other legislative duties necessary to fulfilling their representative responsibilities.
- Insuring that the leadership of the CR is capable of executing its responsibilities for a functioning legislative body.
- Insuring that the CR staff is capable of supporting the efforts of both the members and the leadership of the CR.
- Insuring that a functioning Research Directorate is established and functioning in the CR infrastructure to support members and the leadership.
- Assist the CR in the technical aspects of writing enabling legislation which will help define constitutional provisions and which have been left to the legislature to write, as well as other legislative responsibilities such as defining the nature of independent commissions, and harmonizing old laws with new constitutional provisions.

The assistance package to the Executive Agencies should include:

- Insuring that the various staffs of the President, the Cabinet, and the Prime Minister are effective, efficient, and credible to meet the needs of their offices.
- Assist in establishing a functioning Government Communications Directorate (GCD) that will serve the executive agencies and the CR, and be able to effectively communicate with the governorate and municipal administrations.

- Assist the government in the technical aspects of writing enabling legislation which will help define constitutional provisions and which have been left to the legislature to write, as well as other legislative responsibilities such as defining the nature of independent commissions, and harmonizing old laws with new constitutional provisions.

[It should also be noted that the Constitution mandates the establishment of another legislative body called the Council of Union. This body is to examine bills related to regions and provinces. Its creation and powers are to be determined by law. When this body is legally constituted, its members and staff will also need legislative and administrative training.]

B. IFES should be funded for at least a year to:

- Support capacity building of the administrative and legal functions of the new Supreme Independent Commission for Elections (SICE).
- Assist in creating a clean, valid national voters' register.
- Assist in conducting governorate and municipal elections.

While the UN assumed primary responsibility for national and municipal elections, USAID has technically been in a supportive role through the CEPPS Agreement with IFES. Nevertheless, IFES has provided the dominant leadership in the election process. USAID has also made a significant investment in equipping the former IECI. This investment needs to be protected. The new SICE, once installed, will need considerable capacity building for administrative and legal functions. There is also an essential need to create a clean, valid voters' register. If there is going to be another referendum on constitutional changes, and governorate and municipal elections in the next year, the SICE will have to be a functioning, legal body.

C. IFES EVER Program

The electoral period and related violence will be over at the end of 2005, but there still is an epidemic of social violence in Iraq. The violence reducing capacity built through IWV by the IFES EVER program should be furthered through training programs on violence reduction. Such an activity would include train the trainer programs, which would enable the IWV to engage in cascade training of community leaders in effective interest-based negotiations and address disagreement through peaceful means, providing mediation services in selected areas as requested

USAID should assist IFES EVER in reducing social violence through the creation of a research institute for conflict resolution. This would also include a facility which would deliver conflict resolution training for government and civil society sectors. Through research and train the trainer sessions, the center would enable the IWV to engage in cascade training of community leaders in effective interest-based negotiations and address disagreement through peaceful means, providing mediation services in selected areas as requested. The project impact is expected to be a sustainable institutional structure dedicated to reducing social violence in Iraq.

4.2.11 Managerial Recommendations

The Review Team proposed the following managerial recommendations:

- A. The reporting system needs to be consolidated and standardized to make it more useable and comprehensible. The CEPPS Agreement requires that the partners to report to USAID on a quarterly basis. Currently, each partner submits its own report in its own format, so that USAID receives a package of three separate reports in different formats and varying lengths. These reports are comprehensive and complete, but difficult to compare and measure against overall agreement objectives and results.



USAID/IR needs to develop a one or two page format of agreement results, achievements, future activities and any other information it needs for its reporting requirements. This consolidated summary of the activities of the CEPPS partners should be the initial section of the CEPPS quarterly report.

- B. In the absence of a CEPPS coordinator, USAID needs to chair a monthly meeting of the representatives of the CEPPS partners to share and exchange program information with USAID and among the partners themselves.

5. Conclusion

Given the extraordinary circumstances created by the security situation, the highly compressed election cycle, and the high level of international scrutiny, USAID's support of the CEPPS programs has been a substantial success. Two national elections (and one in progress at the time of writing) within eighteen months, valuable participation in the constitutional process, putting in place the necessary steps to create a functioning Representative Council and Executive Authority and establishing the necessary infrastructure to support these institutions are significant achievements for an interim program. Much critical work remains to be done, out of the glare of partisan politics, before Iraq has a functioning, democratic governing system. The legislative and executive civil service needs much more training and on-the-job experience in order to perform its duties adequately. The constitution is, in many respects, a shell which needs to be filled in with a variety of enabling legislation, and the election administration needs to be supported by legislation which gives the IECI permanent status, and mandates the development of a valid voter list as a basis for future elections. Lastly, every effort must be made to reduce the level of violence in the Iraqi society including the use of grassroots violence mitigation techniques. With continued good work and much luck, the IBTCI Review Team believes that the continuation of the CEPPS program for at least another two years can make a lasting contribution to the democratization of Iraq.

UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

**MONITORING AND EVALUATION
PERFORMANCE PROGRAM, PHASE II (MEPP II)**

Contract Number: 267-00-05-00508-00

**Final Report for Political Process Assistance
Evaluation – Annexes**

Submitted to:

Claudia Pastor
Program Analyst
USAID/IRAQ/PRO
Baghdad, Iraq

Telephone: (202) 216-6276, x1039 • Facsimile: 202-216-3062 • E-mail:
cpastor@usaid.gov

Submitted by:

International Business & Technical Consultants, Inc.
8614 Westwood Center Drive • Suite 400 • Vienna, VA 22182 • USA
Telephone: 703-749-0100 • Facsimile: 703-749-0110 • E-mail: ibtci@ibtci.com

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ANNEX I: Scope of Work for Political Process Assistance Evaluation/ USAID Iraq

I. Background

To assist Iraq's transition to democracy, USAID has initiated a comprehensive program, concentrating primarily on improving the effectiveness and building the legitimacy of government officials and institutions.

USAID has provided support to the former Interim Iraqi Government, and is now working with the current Iraqi Transitional Government to strengthen the capacity of the legislative branch and its staff during the interim and transition period to include lawmaking, representation, executive oversight, and other responsibilities as provided by the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL); to assist the Executive Authority, the presidency Council, the Council of Ministers and its presiding Prime Minister, to develop governing processes, rules of procedure, regulations and directives necessary to enforce the laws, and to implement government activities and policies; and to support the process for adoption of an Iraqi constitution that promotes democratic principles and values through the provision of technical assistance that includes providing comparative constitutional expertise, organizing constitutional conference and conventions, facilitating public awareness, education, and participation, and assisting in the conduct of a national referendum or other appropriate ratifying mechanism.

Support to national governance covers electoral assistance. The TAL calls for five elections during the transitional period. Three of those elections took place on January 30, 2005, and comprised elections to a National Assembly, a Kurdistan National Assembly, and Governorate Councils. *Currently USAID is supporting the remaining two electoral events, the constitutional referendum and national elections.* Assistance includes provision of *technical advice and operational assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI) and its electoral administration.* A separate activity of election support is directed toward promoting the legitimacy and transparency of electoral processes through developing the capacity of civil society organizations to domestically observe, analyze and disseminate analysis of the election cycle; and provide support to CSOs to design and conduct country-wide domestic voter education campaigns to effectively inform and mobilize voters. During the January 2005 elections, USAID supported the training and deployment of 12,000 domestic monitors and half of the 30,000 political party agents. These two groups were critical in the process to certify the legitimacy of the elections.

The activities described above are currently implemented under three Cooperative Agreements with the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS), namely:

- (1) Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development assistance,
- (2) Domestic Oversight and Voter Education Activities for Iraqi Electoral Processes; and (3)
- Electoral Technical Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq.



In the next few years, USAID plans to continue assisting in the development of a permanent Iraqi constitution. The program approach will promote the democratic principles and ideals that arise from broad public consensus and consultation will be a critical step in the development of a legitimate democratic transition in Iraq. During the constitution making process, Iraqis will confront a number of contentious issues, including the role of women in society, the relationship of regions to the central government, and the place of Islam in democracy. A balance will need to be established between Sunni, Shia'a and Western legal traditions, ensuring that respect for Islam and Shari'a are integrated into the process. It is likely that regional, ethnic, religious, and cultural tensions will rise during this challenging period, as difficult compromises are negotiated. USAID plans to offer broad support to the constitution making process, including the provision of technical assistance that includes providing comparative constitutional expertise; facilitating public awareness, education, and participation, and assisting in the conduct of a national referendum. USAID plans to continue its work on engendering the constitution by supporting the advocacy efforts of legal scholars, leaders, and activists.

Pursuant to the ratification of a new Iraqi constitution, a general referendum will be held. USAID will support the efforts of the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq to conduct those elections. To consolidate any gains made in the transition to democracy, it will be essential that the newly elected Iraqi National Government be viewed as legitimate and effective. Based on the needs of the new government, USAID plans to support capacity building and skills development of newly elected officials and any incumbents. Women officials will comprise a significant target group. Efforts to strengthen the capacity of the legislative branch of government will continue in areas including lawmaking, representation, and executive oversight.

As a new government is formed once the constitution is ratified, it will also be important for the executive branch of government to gain the credibility of the Iraqi population. USAID plans to continue to offer support to the executive branch to develop governing processes, rules of procedure, and regulations and directives necessary to enforce the laws and to implement government programs and policies.

II. Statement of Work

While the general framework of planned USAID assistance is outlined above, an evaluation of the assistance under the subject three Cooperative Agreements is needed for a comprehensive design responsive to current Iraq needs and based on successes to date. The evaluative report shall provide USAID/Iraq with a clear analysis of achievements, challenges, and realistic opportunities for future political development assistance to Iraq.

This evaluation shall include responses to the following guiding questions. This is not an exhaustive list.

- Did these programs achieve their stated results?
- What was the impact of these achievements on the relevant DG IRs and SO?
- What explains the successes and/or failures?
- How could the programs have done better?



- Has the program reached the population across Iraq and what is the effect in strategic cities and areas

Specifically, the evaluation will:

- (i) Provide a brief assessment of the political environment in Iraq, including a discussion of the enabling environment for and the constraints to providing technical assistance in the areas of legislative strengthening and electoral and political processes;
- (ii) Summarize and describe activities and strategies employed for achieving results, with particular emphasis on how actual activities compared to planned activities as defined in the agreements (proposals) and work plans;
- (iii) Describe the results or outcomes of the programs, and compare them with the objectives and indicators set forth in their contracts and/or cooperative agreement, work plans and performance monitoring plans;
- (iv) Describe the assumptions implicit in the IFES, IRI, NDI chosen implementation strategies, and an assessment of the appropriateness and strengths of the chosen implementation strategies and activities;
- (v) Describe the *impact of the programs on women's and Sunni's participation* in political processes;
- (vi) To the extent possible, describe capacity building that occurred within each Cooperative Agreement, such as support to:
 - Election Monitoring Bodies,
 - Legislative Support Unit (provides research to National Assembly Members), and
 - Women's Caucus Development and Capacity Building.

To describe capacity building, please reference tasks according to their formal titles in cooperative agreements, and specify for each capacity building task:

- Method of capacity building
 - Sustainability findings and rationale for findings
 - Recommendations of effective methods of capacity building for future use
- (vii) Specify possibilities of continued USAID involvement in:
 - Establishment of a constitutional court,
 - Implementation of new constitution if draft passes referendum; support to constitutions' drafting process if referendum fails
 - Building the capacity of national government and legislature, and
 - Additional high-priority assistance needs that might be identified
 - (viii) Summarize lessons learned; and
 - (ix) Make programmatic recommendations for activities with defensible potential for measurable impact on the promotion of USAID/Iraq's Democracy and Governance



SOs. The recommendations should be forward-looking, with an emphasis on what should be done over the next few years and should be specific to Iraq. The report should identify any areas in which the team concludes that USAID should not be involved for any reason and the areas in which USAID has comparative advantage.

- (x) Design programmatic recommendations for future USAID involvement covering 2006-2008 period, including:
- Suggested budget for each program component,
 - Relative appropriateness of contract, cooperative agreement and grant forms of contracting for follow-on work, and
 - Suggested levels of USAID/Iraq involvement in managing follow-on work.

III. Team composition:

Three consultants with significant elections and national governance expertise to evaluate the aforementioned programs. In order to evaluate the impact of assistance on Sunni, women, Kurds, Shia'a and general population across Iraq, five to six Iraqi nationals from the respective groups.

IV. Methodology

Prior to departure for Iraq

The team shall review the following:

- Program Descriptions, proposals and work plans for the three programs
- Quarterly and annual reports, weekly reports on an as needed basis
- Reports of assessments carried out by the implementing partners
- Performance Monitoring Plans
- Any other documents that the Consultants and/or the DG team consider relevant for successful implementation of this assignment.
- Other background reading

In addition, the team shall conduct interviews with appropriate AID/W staff and appropriate persons at IFES, IRI, and NDI. Team meetings with the CEPPS Consortium and each of the three CEPPS should address ways that USAID/Iraq can obtain much more timely and accurate financial reporting from the CEPPS individually and collectively.

The pre-departure work is scheduled for 10 days. Consultants should produce draft documents for:

- **Tasks one through four of the SOW, that is:**
 - (i) Prepare a brief assessment of the political environment in Iraq, including a discussion of the enabling environment for and the constraints to providing technical assistance in the areas of legislative strengthening and electoral and political processes;



- (ii) Summarize and describe activities and strategies employed for achieving results, with particular emphasis on how actual activities compared to planned activities as defined in the agreements (proposals) and work plans;
 - (iii) Describe the results or outcomes of the programs, and compare them with the objectives and indicators set forth in their contracts and/or cooperative agreement, work plans and performance monitoring plans;
 - (iv) Describe the assumptions implicit in the IFES, IRI, NDI chosen implementation strategies, and an assessment of the appropriateness and strengths of the chosen implementation strategies and activities;
- **Specify the methodology for the:**
 - Benefit/cost analysis
 - Impact measurement,
 - Evaluation of the role of the local partners,
 - Field instruments such as topic guides for the Iraqi Field Monitors, and
 - Whatever else is needed

Begin October 10th for 10 days ending October 21st; provide a draft report on the first four tasks prior to IBTCI Home Office prior to departure to Iraq.

- **Travel to Iraq on October 24th**
- **Depart Iraq on November 17th for a 23 day duration in Iraq**

While in Iraq

The team shall conduct interviews and meetings with USAID and US Embassy representatives; with field office staff of IFES, IRI, and NDI; and with field staff of other relevant assistance implementers and donors.

The team will train the Iraqi Field Monitors to visit and collect information from field office staff of:

- **IFES**
- **IRI, and**
- **NDI**
- **Other relevant assistance implementers and donors**

The team shall present preliminary findings to USAID prior to departing Iraq. The team shall have an entry and exit briefing with USAID/Iraq staff to review draft itinerary and methodology and to present findings and recommendations, respectively. In addition, the team will provide an interim briefing on preliminary findings on November 9th or 10th, depending on Mission scheduling requirements.

Back in the US

USAID shall provide comments on the draft report to the Consultants within seven working days of receipt. The Consultants will review the comments together and come to agreement with each



other on the nature of the changes and revisions to be made in the body of the report, and which to respond to separately. The final report, incorporating responses to all comments, shall be submitted to USAID/Iraq via electronic mail and in three hard copies.

Consultants will have five working days to respond to USAID comments and submit final report.

Consultant LOE is approximately 37 days x 2 = 74 person-days

V. Schedule/timeframe

Desk review shall begin NLT October 10, 2005. Fieldwork shall begin o/a October 24, 2005. The draft final report shall be presented to USAID NLT November 17, 2005.

VI. Deliverables

A. The Consultant shall produce a final report which will include:

- (1) Executive Summary. A summary, not to exceed four single-spaced pages, should list, in order of priority the major findings and lessons learned from the evaluation and recommendations for future programming.
- (2) Body of the Report, not to exceed 40 pages. Generally, the report should be organized according to the areas specified in Section II. While responding to the specific requirements of each of these areas, the report must describe the impact of the activities being evaluated, major findings, lessons learned, and recommendations for future programming.
- (3) Each of the recommended components should be accompanied by a budget. Areas of USAID competitive advantage should be specifically identified.
- (4) Annexes. Additional material should be submitted as Annexes, as appropriate (e.g., Statement of Work, bibliography of documents reviewed, list of agencies and individuals interviewed, etc.).
- (5) The timeframe of the evaluation and the structure of the final report shall be discussed with USAID during the entry meeting with the Team upon their arrival to Baghdad.

B. Reporting Procedures:

The draft report will be submitted to USAID NLT Thursday, November 17th, 2005. USAID shall provide comments on the draft report to the Consultants within seven working days of receipt, that is, on November 27th. The Consultants will review the comments together and come to agreement with each other on the nature of the changes and revisions to be made in the body of the report, and which to respond to separately. The final report, incorporating responses to all comments, shall be submitted to USAID/Iraq via electronic mail and in three hard copies on Saturday, December 3, 2005.



6. ANNEX II:
7. List of Contacts

Sura Al-Adhadh	Resident Assistant Program Officer, IRI/Baghdad
Haylaa Ali	Primary School Teacher
Raghad Ali	Al-Saydia Women Organization
Rahman Aljebouri	Deputy Country Director, NDI/Iraq
John Anelli	Director, Iraq Program, IRI/Washington
Muhammad A. Ahmad	Translation Officer, Acting Training Officer, Iraqi National Assembly
Kimerley M. Atsalinos	Senior Grants and Contracts Manager, IFES/Washington
David Avery	United Nations Assistance Mission to Iraq (UNAMI)/IECI
Kimberly A. Barry	Director of Finance, IFES/Washington
Amatzia Baram	Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Tihana Bartulac-Blanc	Deputy Director Programs, Center for Traditional and Post-Conflict Governance, IFES/Iraq
Jim LeBlanc	Iraq Country Director, NDI/Iraq
Georges Bordet	Senior Program Manager, IFES EVER/IR
Les Campbell	Senior Associate, Middle East & North Africa, National Democratic Institute (NDI)/Washington
Vince Campos	US Embassy, Baghdad
A. Heather Coyne	Chief of Party, United States Institute for Peace (USIP/IR)
Carol Conragan	Democracy Officer, ANE/IR/USAID/Washington
Denise Dauphinaise	IFES/Washington



Deborah L. Emmert	Program Director, Iraqi Women's Democracy Initiative, Office of International Women's Issues, Department of State/Washington
Zedan Faisal	Senior Program Officer Central Region, IFES/EVER/IR
Jeff Fischer	Director, Center for Traditional and Post-Conflict Governance, IFES/Iraq
Vicki Gass	Senior Program Officer, NDI/Iraq
Zakia Hakki	Judge, Member of Iraqi Constitutional Committee
Aajeeda Hammodi	Al-Saydia Women Organization
Humam Hamoudi	Chairman of the Constitutional Committee, Transitional National Assembly of Iraq
Ali Hashim	IFES EVER, Senior Program Manager South Region
Harith M. Hassan	Deputy Chief Electoral Officer, Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq
Siham al-Hattab	New Iraq Women's Coalition
Joost Hilterman	International Crisis Group, Amman
Abdul Hussein al-Hindawi	IECI Commissioner
Colleen M.House	Director, International Political Liaison, IRI/Washington
Suqaina Jamil	New Iraq Women Coalition
Sabah Hassan Jareh	Regional Program Officer South Region
Ali Al Jazairy	Senior Program Officer, South & Central Region, IFES/EVER/IR
Ghassan Majed Kadim	Regional Program Officer South Central Region, IFES/EVER/IR
Samer Al-Karam	Project Officer, SUNY/CID/Baghdad
Susan L. Kupperstein	Senior Program Officer, Middle East & North Africa, National Democratic Institute (NDI)/Washington
Karen Levy-Brown	Senior Business Development Officer, IFES/Washington
Gaelle LePottier	Senior Program Officer, NDI/Iraq



Pheobe Marr	Fellow, United States Institute for Peace
A. Michaela Meehan	Democracy Specialist, USAID/Washington
Izadin al-Mohammdy	IECI Commission Chairman
John Moore	Head of Field Office/Baghdad, IFES EVER/IR
Jonathan Morrow	Fellow, Rule of Law Program, United States Institute for Peace
Jenan G. Mubarak	President of the Center, Iraq Center for Women Rehabilitation & Employment, Baghdad
Darren Nance	Deputy Chief of Party, Center for Traditional and Post-Conflict Governance, IFES/Iraq
Hassan Nassar	Iraq Without Violence, Member of Board of Directors
Brenda Oppermann	USAID/Washington
Julia Pataki	Senior Program Officer, Legislative Component, NDI/Iraq
Elizabeth Peetz	Grant Officer, CEPPS, IRI/Washington
Charlotte M. Ponticelli	Senior Coordinator, International Women's Issues, Bureau of Global Affairs, Department of State/Washington
Melissa Phillips	Director of the Middle East and North Africa Division, IFES/Washington
Max Primorac	Iraq Reconstruction and Management Office, US Embassy, Baghdad, Senior Consultant to the Planning Minister and Senior Adviser for Civil Society Issues
Muhanad Al-Rubeaai	General Legal Center, Civil Society Organization for Education, Baghdad
Waleed Abdul Raazaqi	IFES EVER Liaison Officer to IWV
Saifaldin Abdul-Rahman	Chief of Staff, Office of the President, Republic of Iraqi National Assembly
Salam Al Saadawi	Office Manager, IFES/EVER, Baghdad
Franco Sanchez	Elections program, NDI/Iraq



Kim Sengupta	Correspondent, The Independent, London
Reem Shafiq	Deputy Director, British Council/Baghdad
Fahad J. Shlash	Executive Manager, Reach Society, Baghdad
Dr. Azhar Al-Sheikly	Minister for Women's Affairs
Samer Al Skooti	Project Officer, SUNY/CID, Baghdad
Mustafa Swafwat Sidqi	IECI Commissioner
Barbara Smith	Democracy Specialist, Elections and Political Processes Team, Office of Democracy and Governance, USAID/Washington
Sara Johnson Steffey	Senior Program Officer, NDI/Iraq
Ekhlas al-Tayar	New Iraq Women Coalition
Rodolfo Ticao Ticao	Head of Field Office Basra and Master Trainer, IFES/EVER/ IR
Sophia Toumbalakis	Program Officer, Program Coordination, National Democratic Institute (NDI)/Washington
Laura D. Travis	Grants Manager, National Democratic Institute (NDI)/Washington
Pascale Warda	President of Assyrian Women's Union, New Iraq Women's Coalition
Waleed Al Zaawi	IFES/EVER Liaison to IWV, IFES/EVER/IR
Ali Zamam	Iraq Without Violence, Member of Board of Directors
Ambar Zobairi	Program Officer, Middle East & North Africa, IFES/Washington



8. ANNEX III:
9. Table of objectives, stated results, proposed activities and
10. matching accomplishments. Initiative 1 - Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development
- 11.

A. NDI

Objective One: Support to the Transitional National Assembly (TNA)

Results 1.1: Transitional National Assembly is capable of fulfilling its function in the democratic transition of Iraq as outlined by the TAL.

Indicator 1.1.1.: Operational and institutional structures of the legislative branch during the transitional period are established and nominally functional.

Targets:

- Operational and organizational strategic plan for the TNA is developed, agreed to by leadership and implemented.
- Necessary voting, recording, and communication systems are purchased, installed and utilized by the TNA.
- Parliamentary Rules and Procedure are drafted and passed.
- Budgetary process allowing for significant input by the legislature is developed and agreed to by the transitional governing body.
- Legislative Support Unit and Library are created and functional
- Parliamentary website capable of disseminating timely accurate information about legislative activities is created and maintained.

Results 1.2: Leadership of the TNA is capable of executing its responsibilities to ensure the smooth functioning of the legislative body.

Indicator 1.2.1.: Training program for TNA leadership is developed and implemented.

Targets

- Roles of institutional leaders are defined and adequately staffed.
- Lines of communication between the legislature and the executive are drawn and enacted.
- Relationships are established between the TNA leadership and international parliamentary associations

Results 1.3: Members of the TNA are capable of lawmaking, oversight, and fulfilling their representative functions outlined in the TAL

Indicator 1.3.1.: Orientation program for MPs is developed and implemented.

Targets

- MPs have an introductory knowledge and basic use of parliamentary rules and procedures.
- MPs understand their basic responsibilities

Indicator 1.3.2.: Long-term training program for MPs is developed and implemented.

Targets

- MPs can read and understand legislative language.
- MPs have a basic understanding of the budget process and the role of the TNA, and linkage between oversight of the Executive.
- Parliamentary party caucuses are able to make substantive inputs into legislative process

Indicator 1.3.3. Support structures exist to meet the special needs of female legislators.

Targets

- Parliamentary Women's Caucus is developed.
- Legislation protecting the rights of women is developed

Results 1.4: Staff of the TNA are capable of supporting the efforts of Members and the leadership of the Assembly.

Indicator 1.4.1.: Orientation program for staff is developed and implemented.

Targets

- Staff are capable of using of parliamentary rules and procedures. Staff understand their roles and responsibilities

Indicator 1.4.2.: Long-term training program for staff is developed and implemented.

Targets

- Staff can read and use legislative language.
- Staff understand the budget process and the role of the TNA, as well as the linkage between oversight of the Executive
- Staff can provide adequate support to committees.

Objective Two: Support to the Interim and Transitional Iraqi Executive Authority

Of the three main objectives, support to the Executive has been perhaps the most challenging. Inter and intra party power struggles, and settling of old scores have all contributed to an executive body that – out of necessity – is so busy putting out fires that it has precious time, resources or political capital left for other matters.



Result 2.1: Staff of the Transitional Executive Authority has the capacity to efficiently meet the needs of the executive

Indicator 2.1.1.: Strategic staffing and organizational development assessment is conducted and agreed to by Office of the Prime Minister in consultation with USAID.

Targets

- Staff understand their roles and responsibilities.
- Staff can read and use legislative language.

Indicator 2.1.2.: Creation of a policy design and coordination unit in the Executive Branch.

Targets

- Staff understands the budget process and the role of the Executive, as well as the oversight role of the TNA.
- Key staff possess the basic skills necessary to draft legislation.
- Staff are capable of coordinating the development of public policy once sufficient infrastructure is put in place to support them.
- Staff can provide adequate support to Council of Ministers and the Office of the Prime Minister.

These indicators are covered by CEPPS partners' scope of work

Indicator 2.1.3: Coordination with Governorate and Municipal Bodies

Indicator 2.1.4: Ministry Operations and Inter-Ministerial Communication

Indicator 2.1.5.: Member Training on Freedom of Information

Indicator 2.1.6: "Think Tank" Capacity for Policy Input

Indicator 2.1.7: Technical Assistance on Gender-Related Legislation

NDI Sub- grantee ABA was unable establish a presence in Iraq and thus it was necessary for NDI to pick up responsibility for this work.

Targets:

- Establish a formal linkage between women's associations and other NGOs working on women's issues and members of the legislative and executive authority to facilitate regular communications on these issues.
- Organize training programs and foreign study visits that will increase the knowledge and capacity of Iraqi NGO representatives and government officials to discuss and develop gender-related legislation
- Survey a select group of participants on follow-on actions.
- Monitor and collect information on quality and effectiveness of communication between NGO representatives and government officials.

Indicator 2.1.8.: Technical Assistance on Key Democratic Reform Legislation

NDI Sub- grantee ABA was unable establish a presence in Iraq and thus it was necessary for NDI to pick up responsibility for this work.

Targets:

- NDI is responsive to requests, and satisfies the need for legislative support for comparative information and other external assistance that may be necessary to support the development of coalitions around key democratic reform legislation
- NDI will work with members, party caucuses and civil society – responding to their requests to support legislation on key good-governance and anti-corruption measures

Indicator 2.1.9.: Executive Branch Drafting of Legislation

Targets:

- NDI, with SUNY/CID and ABA support, conducts initial round of training on drafting legislation.
- Basic skills improve, and a common format and process developed.

Indicator 2.1.10: Procurement and Commodity Support for Executive

Target:

- NDI will assist Iraqi officials in prioritizing their procurement requests, and facilitate communication with USAID on funding requirements, and where appropriate, to the wider donor community.
- Process set up to prioritize procurement requests.

Objective Three: Support to the Constitutional Development Process

Result 3.1: There is widespread awareness among civil society about the constitutional process and the avenues for public input into the constitutional process.

NDI's work to assist Iraqi partners in the development of an inclusive and transparent constitutional process included large numbers of activities that progressed each of the indicators under objective three. For reporting purposes they have been segregated here, but it should be noted that in most instances activities and outcomes served multiple purposes, thus multiple indicators and targets.

Targets for all three indicators for objective three:

- Website offering accurate up-to-date information about the constitutional process and capable of receiving public submissions is operational.
- Public submissions to the constitution from civil society organizations are generated and submitted for consideration.
- Political Parties generate submissions to the constitution for consideration



Indicator 3.1.1: There are multiple avenues for public consideration and input into the constitutional processes.

Indicator 3.1.2: Civil society organizations are actively involved in educating communities about the constitutional process and opportunities for public input.

Indicator 3.1.3: Capacity of key participants in the constitutional process is enhanced.

Iraqi Government & Constitutional Development REE-A-00-04-00050-00 (IRI)			
Revised workplan Aug 1,05-Feb 28,06			
Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Actual Activities
1. Support Transitional National Assembly. NDI primary; IRI supporting.	Keep INA members informed about public opinion in order to make Assembly more in-tune with needs of the public	IRI will regularly provide INA leadership with national polling results.	IRI continuously provided polling and public opinion results to MPs. For example, IRI provided over 200 members of the INA with the results of each of its last two national polls in Arabic. Garnered input from MPs on public opinion research for message development and strategic planning.
	Strengthen INA constituent outreach capabilities to communicate with the Iraqi public	IRI will offer guidance and hands-on consultations on communications and press related issues.	IRI provided consultations, media relations guidance, and technical support to the INA chief of staff for the Assembly's first opening session.
	Ensure the public was informed about the historic inaugural of the first democratically-elected Assembly.	IRI will establish public outreach mechanisms with the new governmental structures	IRI recorded and produced the official DVD of the INA inaugural ceremony.
Activity: TNA Institutional Design and Strategic Planning (IRI supporting)	Makes available on-site professional advice and consultations to INA leadership	IRI will provide counsel and advice to the INA leadership and staff.	IRI assisted with the staff transition from the Interim National Council (INC) to the newly elected Iraqi National Assembly (INA)

<p>)</p>			<p>IRI advised the INA leadership on the internal structure of the Assembly administration and helped design the organizational structure and develop job descriptions for the Legislative Research Directorate.</p> <p>IRI assisted with designing the organizational structure and developed job descriptions specifically for the Communication and Media Directorate; continuous provide on-going training and consultations to the Press Offices of the Assembly President and Secretariat.</p>
<p>Activity: INC and TNA Member Orientation and Follow-up Training (IRI supporting)</p>	<p>Provided basic information to newly-elected Members and outlined where IRI can be of assistance</p>		<p>IRI composed, translated into Arabic, and distributed to all Members a TNA member's handbook on strategic planning, communications, setting up an office, and civic participation and constituent outreach.</p>
<p>Assistance to TNA Leadership (IRI supporting)</p>	<p>Provided access to advice and consultations during transitional and demanding phases</p>	<p>IRI provides on-going communications & press support to TNA leadership & staff</p>	<p>IRI provided direct assistance to the INA Constitutional Committee and helped establish the press office.</p> <p>IRI provided daily, on-the-job training to the public affairs staff of the Constitutional Drafting Committee.</p> <p>IRI helped organize and facilitate 6 Constitutional Committee press</p>



<p>Activity: <i>Electronic Newsletter for</i></p>	<p>Advance the government's capabilities to</p>	<p>IRI will establish an electronic Newsletter for the Interim National</p>	<p>IRI is currently upgrading the constitution drafting website iraqigovernment.org</p>
<p>Activity: Interim National Support Unit (IRA primary) (IRI primary)</p>	<p>Communicate with foundation of the government entities in the Assembly; prepared to expand and strengthen the project</p>	<p>IRI will establish, equip & staff a Research Directorate in the INA</p>	<p>IRI finalized agreement with INA. Spokeability was rapidly established in Research Directorate with the INA, the Assembly; Shared space in the Baghdad Convention Center accounted for the research Directorate website goes live, IRI will utilize the website as a springboard to launch the Electronic newsletter training seminars both in Baghdad</p>
<p>2. Support to Interim and Transitional Executive Authority</p>			<p>and abroad for the Director and staff of the newly-created RD, including visits to view similar departments in countries such as Egypt</p>
<p>Activity: Policy Deliberation and Review (IRI supporting)</p>	<p>Coordinate and increase communication and reports between government and Iraqis. Promote and transparency issues in Iraq</p>	<p>Engage Iraqi think tanks and other participants to provide input on the policy design and the government incorporates greater transparency policies.</p>	<p>IRI facilitated policy discussions in the National Governance Council (NGC) implementation of anti-corruption. IRI</p>
<p>Activity: Coordination</p>	<p>Through mass media, coordinate</p>	<p>Activities designed to link INA with</p>	<p>facilitated national public education campaigns on behalf of the Iraqi Property Claims Commission, the Commission for Public Integrity and efforts and Organizational Committee</p>
<p>Activity: Liaison Governorate Municipal Bodies (IRI primary)</p>	<p>Improve communication between government and citizens through staff training to reach out to the public</p>	<p>Coordinate & establish public IRI outreach mechanisms within the new governmental structures.</p>	<p>IRI coordinated Members of Information Resources Center and Governmental Communications Directorate. IRI filmed and produced programs and interviews with the constituent communications Directorate in Office of the UN Joint Mission</p>

			<p>the reading of the draft constitution throughout Iraq.</p> <p>IRI provides on-going consultations and trainings on government press and public relations</p> <p>IRI developed, produced, and launched public information media campaigns for IPCC & CPI.</p>
<p>Activity: Ministry Operations and Inter-Ministerial Communication <i>IRI primary</i></p>	<p>Improve and strengthen government capacity for communication and provide professional staff development training</p>	<p>Increase inter- and intra-communications, coordination, and staff development.</p> <p>Trainings on communications & PR with representatives from Council of Ministers, ministries & INA</p> <p>Advice to government press & information offices, management, training staff & commodities</p> <p>Communication training seminars for relevant press staff for exec and legislative branches IRI</p>	<p>Established a fully-equipped training facility within the Government Communications Directorate (GCD).</p> <p>IRI conducted a series of 8 communication seminars for 60 representatives of 23 Interim Ministries.</p> <p>Based on IRI's public opinion and focus group research, assisted the GCD with message development.</p> <p>IRI conducted 10 professional communication seminars, as well as daily computer and English classes for the GCD</p> <p>IRI organized four advanced training conferences on Management and Communications for Iraqi government press officers including staff members from the GDC and various ministries.</p> <p>IRI conducted an assessment and provided recommendations for Prime Minister Jaafari's office on</p>



			<p>structuring government communication functions.</p> <p>IRI provided technical assistance and consultations to President Talibani's press office.</p>
Activity: "Think Tank" Capacity for Policy Input	Facilitate communication between government and public policy NGOs.	Activities to connect the government with public policy Iraqi think tanks and NGOs.	<p>IRI continues to facilitate policy dialogue through Iraqi NGOs and academics: Legal Defense Council. Assisted with publication of academic journals, "Iraq Papers"</p> <p>Translated & distributed 4 books on government & constitution.</p> <p>IRI organized a series of lectures on "Democracy for a New Iraq" led by Dr. Tom Palmer, a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute, delivered to 61 Members of the Assembly, faculty of the Economics College of Baghdad University, the Baghdad Economic Research Center, and the Iraqi Foundation for Development and Democracy (IFDD).</p> <p>The presentation was translated into Arabic in the form of a pamphlet and distributed to the Members and academia.</p>

3.Support to Constitutional Development Process			
Activity: Opinion Research on Constitutional Issues	Make available and educate leaders to interpret and use reliable opinion research and polling data	Provide timely and accurate assessments of public opinion to Members of the Assembly and government officials.	IRI conducted 12 national opinion polls throughout the country. IRI-trained interviewers conducted some 200 focus groups in country.
Activity: Public Information on Constitutional Referendum	Disseminate information about the constitution-drafting process through multiple channels, including TV, radio, and newspapers.	Information and outreach assistance activities during the constitution-drafting process.	IRI initiated & presented to ConComm a communications & public outreach plan to be implemented during drafting process. IRI conducted 5 focus groups on Iraqis' attitudes on the Constitution and briefed Committee members on the results IRI provided daily on-the-job training and advice to the Public Affairs department of the Constitution Drafting Committee IRI facilitated the organization of media events for the ConComm, including its weekly press conferences and special press conferences by subcommittee chairmen IRI filmed and produced a number of interview discussion shows with the Chairman of the ConComm and Subcommittee Chairmen, Members of the INA and Committee, and



			<p>Civil Society leaders discussing the constitution.</p> <p>IRI filmed and produced a series of four shows entitled “On the Banks of the Constitution” that featured discussion on deba’athification, civil and women’s rights, and federalism.</p> <p>IRI produced and placed on <i>Iraqiya</i> 3 TV programs on the formation of the Constitution featuring the Chairman and committee members.</p> <p>IRI organized, filmed and broadcast on <i>Iraqiya</i> a town-hall-style discussion with 4 committee members and more than 100 civil society leaders.</p> <p>IRI produced 2 Public Service Announcements on behalf of the Committee.</p> <p>IRI created a booklet explaining the principles of constitutionalism and distributed it through Iraqi newspapers.</p> <p>IRI utilized its network of NGOs to distribute information about the constitution-drafting process.</p>
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Cooperative Agreement Number REE-A-00-04-00050-00
Iraqi Government and Constitutional Development

Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Actual Activities
<p>Objective 1: Support to the Transitional Assembly</p>	<p>Results 1.1: Transitional National Assembly is capable of fulfilling its function in the democratic transition of Iraq.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Procurement of commodity support for National Assembly to facilitate operational needs. 2. Member orientation for various modes of the Assembly (INC, TNA, etc.). 3. Grow understanding among Assembly leadership of staffing, strategic planning, and the long-term implications of their design. 	<p>2004 Activities</p> <p>September</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consultative meetings with INC Chairman, Fu’ad Ma’sum, regarding orientation and training needs of Interim Council. <p>October</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Orientation trainings for 21 INC members and consultative meetings with INC members. ▪ Consultative meeting with INC Chief of Staff Azet Sadik. <p>November</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consultative meetings with INC leadership regarding logistical challenges. ▪ NDI assessment of INC training needs. ▪ Training seminar on Budgetary Procedures for INC Economy and Finance Committee in Amman. <p>2005 Activities</p> <p>February</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consultations with Chief of Staff of the Interim National Council (INC) regarding transitional issues for new assembly. ▪ Staff orientation training for select members of Transitional National Assembly (TNA) staff responsible for organizing inaugural session and orienting members. ▪ SUNY/CID trains more than 80 TNA staff on basic parliamentary administration issues and skills. <p>March</p>



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Actual Activities
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NDI completed the <i>TNA Member Orientation Manual</i> containing practical information on the nature of government with emphasis on parliamentary systems, executive/legislative relations, committee structures, constituency relations, parliamentary management, administration and media relations. Document is available in Arabic and Kurdish and provided to all TNA members at the inauguration of the Assembly on March 29. ▪ TNA member orientation activities and trainings. Activities include: distribution of Member Orientation Manual and series of trainings on issues including process, parliamentary rules and the procedural foundations of parliament. ▪ SUNY/CID Procurement of audio system for TNA in order to facilitate first meeting of Assembly on March 16. <p>April</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Strategic plan for institutional strengthening completed after weeks of consultations with senior executive members, political parties and coalition members in the Assembly. ▪ Orientation seminar for members of the TNA. ▪ NDI and SUNY/CID consultation with Speaker of the Assembly, Dr. Hachim Mahdi al-Hassani and his Chief of Staff to discuss assistance needs for the Assembly's Office of Protocol, Executive-Legislative relations, and policy development. <p>May</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ SUNY/CID held meetings with the Speaker of the National Assembly Dr. Hachim Al-Hassani and his Chief of Staff Saif Rahman (COS Speaker) to discuss priorities and concerns in the development of the Assembly's organizational chart. Based on prior

Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Actual Activities
			<p>feedback from heads of departments and trainings with staff members, SUNY/CID submitted proposed amendments to the structure of the staff which were overall approved by the Speaker's Office.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ SUNY/CID offered technical assistance in the installation and testing of the TNA's new audio equipment. ▪ SUNY/CID meet with Dr. Azet Sadik, Secretary General of the National Assembly to discuss technical assistance in updating the Assembly's website. ▪ Meeting between COS to the Speaker of the Assembly, and CEPPS partners to discuss program and needs in areas of committee, caucusing, and legislative process development. ▪ Meetings with Secretary General of Assembly to discuss technical support issues such as computer hardware, website design, and training. <p>June</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consultancy meeting to discuss ongoing needs with Chief of Staff of the Assembly to discuss ongoing assistance, particularly in the area of committees, caucuses and legislative process. ▪ SUNY/CID granted opportunity to access the floor of TNA and observe procedures while in session. ▪ SUNY/CID Consultancy Meeting Chief of Staff of the Assembly to discuss its assistance on the design of an organizational structure for the staff of the Assembly. ▪ NDI and SUNY/CID met with COS to the Speaker to finalize the National Assembly's website development project and to discuss the content and schedule of the July skills development training program for Members of Parliament. ▪ Distribution of 275 member resource packages containing Member



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Actual Activities
			<p>Orientation Handbook, an Info-Guide (includes contact info for all 275 members of Assembly, government ministries, and media outlets), copies of the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) in Arabic, and materials on advocacy, outreach, women and the Constitution.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Study Mission to Germany for 4 Assembly members and 10 staff members to learn about relationship between Bundstag and provincial legislatures as well as to explore issues of Federalism and legislatures. <p>July</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NDI Washington-DC provides website specialist support and consultation to the staff of the Secretary General of the Assembly. ▪ Procurement of technical materials to allow web-casting of Assembly and Constitutional Committee meetings. ▪ Wireless internet equipment procured for Assembly offices. ▪ SUNY/CID meets with Director of Training for the Assembly to review ongoing training needs as well as feedback from June Study Mission to Germany. <p>August</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NDI and SUNY/CID conduct an assessment of technical needs in consultation with National Assembly staff members and the COS to the Speaker. ▪ Procurement of 250 desktop computers and 50 laptops for use of the Assembly. ▪ SUNY/CID provide database management and basic computer skills training to Assembly staff. <p>September</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Based on August needs assessment, VSAT satellite Internet connection system with a wide bandwidth is purchased with capacity to support three hundred simultaneous users. ▪ Technical training provided to Assembly staff to support and configure VSAT internet system.



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Actual Activities
			<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Based on August needs assessment, SUNY/CID procures a Multi-Functional Voting System to support Assembly.▪ Installation of 300 computers in Assembly offices.▪ NDI and SUNY/CID provides technical and procedural training to newly created technology unit staff in Speaker's Office.

**12. ANNEX IV:****13. Table of objectives, stated results, proposed activities and matching accomplishments. Initiative 2 - Domestic Oversight and Voter Education for Iraqi Electoral Processes****IRAQ – Domestic Monitoring, Voter Education and Conflict Mitigation Indicators and Outcomes****A. NDI Program Activities**

OBJECTIVE ONE: Promote the legitimacy and transparency of electoral processes through developing the capacity of civil society organizations to domestically observe and analyze a series of electoral events and widely disseminate analysis of the execution of these processes to Iraqi citizens and the international community.

Results 1.1: Domestic election monitors are able to observe and judge the efficiency, transparency, professionalism and integrity of campaigns and electoral processes.

Indicator 1.1.1: Competency of Iraqi election-monitoring CSOs in observing campaign and electoral processes

Targets:

- CINEM is formed.
- CINEM publishes timely electoral reports and updates, and presents them to the media, general public and election authorities.
- CINEM presents elections-day analysis to public at media conference within two days of elections

Indicator 1.1.2: Effective participation of volunteer monitors.

Targets:

- A minimum of 10,000 nonpartisan volunteer election monitors are recruited trained and deployed on election day.
- Volunteer observers submit qualitative and/or quantitative election-day findings for analysis of the election day process and results

OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
OBJECTIVE ONE: Promote the legitimacy and transparency of electoral	Results 1.1: Domestic election monitors are able to observe and judge the	NDI will work directly with a broad-based civic collation to create the Coalition of Iraqi Nonpartisan Election	August, 2004 Senior NDI election monitoring specialists Tarikul Ghani and Vladimir Pran were scheduled to go to Iraq from August 14 th to 22 nd to assess Iraq's electoral

OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
<p>processes through developing the capacity of civil society organizations to domestically observe and analyze a series of electoral events and widely disseminate analysis of the execution of these processes to Iraqi citizens and the international community</p>	<p>efficiency, transparency, professionalism and integrity of campaigns and electoral processes.</p>	<p>Monitors (CINEM).</p> <p>NDI will conduct training sessions and give technical support to CINEM to provide the necessary tools to form an organization with effective leadership.</p> <p>NDI will provide CINEM with methodologies for recruiting and training volunteers (Arabic training materials, Iraq-specific manuals, training-of-trainers methodology, and building alliances with other institutions and sectors), and organize a train-the-trainer session to teach international lessons learned and proven domestic monitoring practices.</p> <p>NDI will assess the participation, understanding, and effectiveness of volunteer monitors.</p> <p>NDI elections experts will meet with Iraqi NGOs to identify appropriate participating organizations for this initiative and what their potential training and material needs are.</p>	<p>environment and assist in the development of a work-plan for the new CEPPS Elections program.</p> <p>Due to Baghdad airport's temporary closure from the security situation Ghani and Pran have remained in Amman, where they consulted with Deputy Country Director and Director of Civil Society Programs Rahman Al Jebouri to design a work-plan that would take into consideration Iraq's current set of challenges before the January 2005 elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The NDI team determined which specific steps and structures would best foster a nation-wide and credible civil society election monitoring capacity, aiming to promote the legitimacy and transparency of the electoral process, starting with January 2005. This became the template that framed NDI's future efforts to assist its Iraqi partners in building effective election monitoring organizations and practices. <p>September 2004 One-month NGO study mission to Indonesia. Much of the mission was dedicated to an intense series of meetings and trainings with local Indonesian NGOs, political parties and media professionals involved in election monitoring. The nine Iraqi delegates participated in the monitoring of Indonesia's September 20 elections. These historic elections were the second round of the first-ever direct presidential elections in the country. NGO delegates were assigned to four different</p>

OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
		<p>NDI will seek to assess organizations' respective bases of support, representation of any formerly unrepresented but important groups, and capacity to mobilize substantial numbers of people or resources.</p> <p>NDI staff will conduct an "Introduction to Elections Monitoring" session for potential participating organizations.</p> <p>NDI elections and organizational-development experts will facilitate a round of structured discussions on leadership structures, decision-making mechanisms, and organizational vision.</p> <p>NDI will sponsor study missions to countries relevant to the Iraq experience (the first mission is scheduled for Indonesia in September 2004).</p> <p>NDI elections monitoring experts will facilitate structured brainstorming sessions to help network leaders plan activities and produce a list of important events, activities and milestones, an activities timeline,</p>	<p>local NGOs in voting stations throughout the country where they were able to directly see and experience the entire process leading up to "free and fair" elections and credible electoral results.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plans for the October regional conferences for NGOs interested in election monitoring are completed. These conferences are the first steps towards the official establishment of CINEM – a nationwide NGO election monitoring network. The Iraqi NGO delegates that traveled to Indonesia will be workshop leaders in both the regional and national conferences.. • Members of the Iraqi Youth Development Organization and delegates of the Indonesia study mission took the initiative of organizing a lecture on election monitoring, through sharing what they had learned during the study mission. This lecture took place chosen venue and audience of this initiative enabled them to capture the attention of some 300 Iraqis gathered at the Al Rahmania mosque on the first Friday of Ramadan. <p>October 2004</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 - Central Region Election Monitoring conference – Baghdad • 10 - South Region Election Monitoring conference – Basra • 9-10 - North Region Election Monitoring conference – Erbil • 14 - National Election



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
		<p>work assignments and needed “skill sets,” and a projected budget.</p> <p>NDI will help the groups focus on how election activities can enable them to conduct long-term activities to promote democracy between elections.</p> <p>NDI election experts will help the network articulate and refine its mission and messages, identify key constituencies, develop public communication strategies, possibly including hosting a preliminary press conference.</p> <p>NDI and its partners will train a cadre of Iraqis in organizing and conducting focus group research. [PMP]</p> <p>NDI will measure increases in CSO capacity to conduct and disseminate such research. [PMP]</p> <p>NDI will assess CSO use of focus group research in voter education activities and materials, monitoring priorities, and issues advocacy. [PMP]</p> <p>NDI will award sub-</p>	<p>Monitoring conference – Baghdad</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NGO members understand the basic mechanisms of domestic election monitoring. Topics covered include question and answers on local and international electoral monitors, scheduled election activities, NDI election monitoring micro grants, Northern NGO activities and training courses offered by the Arab Institute for Human Rights. The newsletter is being distributed to all CINEM members as well as to a large number of organizations outside of the NGO League membership • The conferences resulted in NGOs from the northern governorates submitting their names for the official registration of their CINEM membership, and subsequently electing their regional representatives. NDI launched a new grant program, focusing on the promotion of NGO activities specifically relating to election monitoring efforts. • 407 and people representing 294 NGO’s participate in the conferences. • CINEM is officially launched on October 14 <p>November 2004</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18-22 Election Monitoring Training, – <i>Amman</i> • 28-30 Election Monitoring Training, – <i>Baghdad</i>

OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
		<p>grants to monitoring network organizations as appropriate, and require regular financial and programmatic reporting of activities</p> <p>NDI will help network leaders build alliances with other institutions and sectors to strengthen its volunteer base, develop a code of conduct for domestic observers, provide resources and support to ensure that recruited organizations are appropriate, and assist accreditation of volunteers</p> <p>NDI will help network leaders develop a training curriculum.</p> <p>NDI will also help network leaders design training and observer manuals, materials, handouts, visual aids, and public information software in both Arabic and Kurdish.</p> <p>NDI elections experts will also help train trainers and monitor trainings to ensure that the content is being followed.</p> <p>NDI will help network leaders design a sound</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 77 people representing 72 NGO's received training • Each participant and NGO accept responsibility for recruiting and training an additional 100 monitors, amounting to approximately 7,500 to 8,000 domestic monitors for the January 30 elections. These new trainers will then form the backbone of Iraq's local monitoring program – comprising of 80 NGO leaders strategically based in the following areas: South (25), South Central (15), Baghdad (25) and North (15). <p>December 2004</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDI issued its second Civil Society Newsletter focusing on upcoming elections and covering a large array of information on deadlines, monitoring activities, the role of the IECI, CINEM and the Election Information Network (EIN) • Using the latest regulations, NDI staff finalized 1 key documents in support of EIN's efforts including the 'Train-the-Trainer Guidelines', the 'Observers' Quick Reference Manual', and a training documentary. • 5-7 - Basic Election Monitoring Training – <i>Erbil</i> • 24-26 - Basic Election Monitoring Training – <i>Baghdad</i> • 20 – 22 - Three-day training session in Amman for EIN's Board of Directors, to prepare for key challenges they are likely to face in the next two months Mars Quesada, former Secretary General of NAMFREL, and Percy Medina, Secretary General of Transparencia, shared their

OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
		<p>communication system, design data-related systems, develop training methodology and materials for the logistical and technical teams, establish a data analysis center, collect and analyze results, and establish a strategy for publicizing findings.</p> <p>NDI will help the monitoring network field volunteer observers to collect information on key stages in the process and to analyze this qualitative and quantitative data in a systematic way.</p> <p>NDI, in coordination with IFES, will help the network place representatives at police stations to ensure accurate election-related information from troubled areas</p> <p>NDI will be available as needed on election day and throughout the immediate post election period to assist with analyzing data, summarizing information, drafting preliminary statements and troubleshooting when necessary.</p> <p>NDI will undertake a number of</p>	<p>experiences developing and managing election monitoring organizations in difficult environments in the Philippines and Peru. NAMFEL was instrumental in exposing the election fraud that led to the end of the Marcos regime in the Philippines. Transparencia played an important role in exposing election fraud that eventually led to the end of Alberto Fujimori's reign in Peru. Discussions focused on a variety of issues and challenges, including: the organization of monitoring operations, the deployment of monitors, crisis management, election-day preparations and activities, the development of statements and media handling. At the end of the three-days of training and workshop activities, NDI transferred the event to the European Union, which, at the request of the EIN, provided an additional day of training on similar issues.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The document enabled CINEM members to understand mechanisms of the domestic election monitoring initiatives. Topics covered also questions and answers on local and international election monitors, scheduled election activities, NDI election monitoring micro grants, Northern non-governmental organization (NGO) activities, and training courses offered by the Arab Institute for Human Rights. The newsletter was distributed in Arabic and Kurdish to all members of CINEM as well as to a large number of organizations outside of the NDI-supported groups



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
		<p>training/demonstration Quick Counts in selected areas to begin building Quick Count capacity for future elections.</p> <p>NDI will help the monitoring network prepare to monitor the official vote tabulation process at the local, district, provincial and national levels, the processing and resolution of electoral complaints, and the media.</p> <p>NDI will help organize strategic planning exercises to evaluate pre-election and election day activities, identify roles that civic groups can play between elections, and develop a plan to consolidate and maintain their national volunteer networks.</p> <p>NDI will work with leaders to hold post-election conferences with other stakeholders to evaluate the elections and brainstorm on future improvements, publish reports on findings and “lessons learned” for future elections, and explore possible post-election activities.</p> <p>NDI will determine the feasibility of pursuing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The manuals outline specific and practical steps to be covered in the training to ensure that monitors are given uniform information and a complete background on the purpose and mechanisms of election monitoring in Iraq • 63 people from 40 NGOs are trained as monitors and to train other monitors • After different presentations on various steps on the process, the EIN leadership worked together on developing those steps for themselves and then discussed and analyzed them as a group with their international peers. These plans included committee development, deployment plans, and media relations. Subsequent to the EIN Board Member training in Amman, several internal administrative, financial, reporting and strategic procedures were also put into place. <p>January 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDI launched a new set of training sessions for trainers of CINEM. These sessions focused the understanding and application of the latest IECI regulations. CINEM trainers, based in all 18 Iraqi governorates, were equipped with a complete and updated knowledge-base prior to launching on-the-ground trainings for almost 10,000 monitors on the eve of elections. • 5, NDI gathered 30 CINEM trainers from South Central Iraq, 29 from Southern Iraq



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
		election administration monitoring, campaign monitoring, campaign finance monitoring, and media monitoring.	<p>on January 6 and 21 from Baghdad on January 8. CINEM trainers reviewed the description of each election element which the monitors will observe and report on Election Day. The training polling and counting procedures, the code of conduct, the rights and responsibilities of observers, the election monitoring reporting forms, the <i>Observers' Handbook</i> for Iraqi monitors and overall training methodologies to be applied while training thousands of monitors around the country.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 – 5 -Train the Trainer on Election Monitoring (TOT) in coordination with the European Union Electoral Support Program (EUESP)–<i>Amman</i> • 7- Election Monitoring Coordination Meeting between NDI Deputy Country Director, EUESP, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and IFES representatives – <i>Amman</i> • 10- 21 NGO representatives from Kirkuk, Mosul, Erbil, Suleimaniya and Dohuk attended another workshop on the IECI regulations and logistical issues on management of their sub-monitoring networks. Participants again re-examined each of the elements monitors will observe and report on during Election Day and covered additional topics related to training methodology, financial reporting and record-keeping.



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ongoing support by NDI, including continuous daily technical assistance in all of EIN's areas of activities.• EIN's spokesperson, the Acting Chairman of the Board, the Treasurer of the Board and two other board members participated in an intensive full-day Media training, conducted by one of NDI's senior trainers on January 24. In this training, EIN members practiced a series of applied skills on message development, issuing a press release and holding a press conference.• EIN produced and distributed a refresher election monitoring video, in Arabic and Kurdish, which was shown to all monitors a few days prior to the elections. The mock election video reenacted the roles and responsibilities of elections monitors and simulated fraudulent activities• CINEM regional offices prepared training packages for each core trainer containing a <i>Trainer's Guide</i>, election monitoring reporting forms and the <i>Observers' Handbook</i> to be distributed to each volunteer• EIN trained, supervised and deployed 9,890 accredited monitors throughout Iraq's 18 governorates. Using a nationwide coalition of over 150 Iraqi civic groups, EIN succeeded in covering approximately 80 percent of the polling centers on Election Day. Given the lack of an international monitoring presence, EIN's



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>efforts were crucial to fostering credibility and transparency for this historic election. EIN today is the largest domestic election monitoring body in Iraq.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the week prior to the elections, EIN granted its first series of interviews in an effort to publicize the network's mission, identity and structure. In the span of a few days, EIN board members and the spokesperson were interviewed by a large number of media outlets, including the Iraqi press and television including Al Hayat, Al-Iraqiya Al Hura, Al Huriya, Al Arabiya, etc. the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Financial Times, Fox News, Washington Post, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Radio, Sky News, National Public Radio (NPR), Agence France Press (AFP), London Times and Cable News Network (CNN). • EIN's first press release was issued to the Iraqi, Arab and international press on January 25, followed by additional releases on January 29 and 30. (See Annex 2) EIN's first Press Conference was held on Election Day where the preliminary statement received considerable national and international press attention. More detailed results required EIN to collect final results from all regions, to conduct a few investigations in areas where some violations were reported and to complete the analysis of overall results based on 16,761 monitoring



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>forms.</p> <p>February 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 22 - NDI EIN Evaluation Session with 8 EIN members from 8 NGOs – <i>Duhok</i> • 24 - NDI/EIN Evaluation Session with 12 EIN members 12 NGOs – <i>Erbil</i> <p>• EIN released its second statement along with its first comprehensive election monitoring report. In the release, EIN reported the results of all monitoring activities gathered by observers throughout Iraq on Election Day. EIN’s monitors were on site in 2,871 polling centers, representing 80% of all in-country polling centers, and accounting for 5,587 polling stations. The 54-page report is a summary of the EIN’s 3-page election monitoring forms, completed for each polling station. This data affirms the EIN’s preliminary statement on January 30, that despite problems which can be considered modest under the circumstances, the election appears to have been conducted without systemic flaws and in accordance with basic international standards.</p> <p>March 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 27 - NDI/EIN Evaluation Meeting for 26 EIN central regional coordinators - <i>Baghdad</i> • EIN – with the advisory assistance of NDI –



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>organized a strategic planning session to decide on an outline of priorities and planned activities for the year to come. On the short term, it was agreed that EIN partners should all contribute to evaluating their performance as observers and members of this nation-wide network of monitors. Four regional evaluation sessions were scheduled.. A national evaluation conference involving all Regional and Governorate Coordinators will then be held to draft a more detailed and definite work plan for the coming year.</p> <p>April 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6-9 - Training retreat in Erbil for EIN's Executive Director and Board members • 18 -Election Information Network's central Iraq assessment meeting attended by 22 representatives of NGOs based in Central Iraq – <i>Baghdad</i> • 19- May 19-Croatia Study Mission for Election Information Network (EIN)'s North Region Coordinator and NDI local staff - <i>Croatia</i> EIN's regional North Coordinator, Dilshad Kahir, and a staff member were participants on the one-month study mission to Croatia to observe and learn from their counterpart, GONG; an Croatian election monitoring body, which was in preparations for local elections to be held on May 15. GONG was a recipient



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>of NDI technical and grant support, which has 8 years of monitoring experience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EIN's Board of Directors and Executive Director recognized the need to improve their own management skills during this interim period. The training was designed to improve communication skills, negotiation techniques, decision-making, and strategic planning. The training also built greater understanding of the roles and responsibilities of a Board of Directors, procedures and a code of conduct. • The Iraqi Election Information Network (EIN) conducted regional internal-assessments to improve the performance of the election monitoring network for the referendum scheduled for October and the subsequent national elections • Delegates became familiar with GONG's organizational structure, human resources policies, internal communication systems, decision-making processes and the management of its database <p>May 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 - EIN Evaluation Conference for the southern region with 24 EIN members from southern Iraq - <i>Baghdad</i> • 27-28 - Training for the Constitutional Dialogue Program with four Regional Master trainers - <i>Baghdad</i> • EIN conducted its final



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>internal assessment conference on the network's election monitoring performance during the January elections. The conference offered a unique venue for regional EIN coordinators and monitors from all areas of the country to meet and share their views on the electoral process. Regional coordinators successively presented results of their regional assessment conference, started in April, with a list of up to ten recommendations each. The conference was also EIN's first post-election national conference in which the network's full and final election monitoring report was presented. These detailed results will soon be shared with the Independent Elections Commission in Iraq (IECI) and the United Nations.</p> <p>June 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 29 - 30, NDI offered financial training to 22 EIN staff members and regional coordinators. The training provided information regarding the handling of receipts and payments for the monitoring of Iraq's upcoming referendum <p>August 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDI issued another civil society newsletter focused on projected monitoring activities during the referendum and the December National Assembly elections. The issue also contained information on the voter registration process, including how to find voter



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>registration centers, registration instructions, and answers to frequently asked questions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDI recruited 180 individuals to monitor the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq's (IECI) new voter registration process beginning in mid-August: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 17 -Voter Registration Training for 41 monitors from 34 south center based NGOs –<i>Baghdad</i> • 18 -Voter Registration Training for 39 monitors from 27 center based NGOs – <i>Baghdad</i> • 19 - Voter Registration Training for 47 monitors from 35 south and center based NGOs – <i>Baghdad</i> 22- Voter Registration Training for 50 monitors from 29 north based NGOs – <i>Erbil</i> • On August 20, monitors began observing voter registration centers throughout Iraq – except in northern Iraq where the observations began on August 23. The observers, many of whom had already monitored the January elections, were strategically assigned to observe voter registration centers throughout each governorate to offer a comprehensive view of registration activities nation-wide. The observers observed over half of the 550 registration centers throughout Iraq, with an average of 8-9 in each governorate, except in the capital, Basra and areas where few Iraqis voted in January 2005 <p>September 2005</p>



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18 - Referendum Observation' Training for 18 EIN regional coordinators – <i>Baghdad</i> • 20,21 -Referendum Observation' Training for 34 EIN governorate and operations coordinators - <i>Baghdad</i> • NDI launched the first phase of its training programs for coordinators to prepare, manage and control the deployment and activities of at least 5,000 nationwide monitors for the October 15 Referendum. On September 18, NDI conducted a one-day workshop for EIN regional coordinators and office managers to review each step of the plan of activities and implementation details prior to, during and after the day of the Referendum. The training included the geographic deployment of monitors, region-based logistics, database management, data entry, reporting procedures, finance, and accounting. • NDI prepared and trained all coordinators and NGO team leaders who will be training and monitoring an estimated 10,000 monitors for the October 15 Referendum. • In anticipation of the December 15 Parliamentary elections, NDI trained NGOs on how to monitor the media and form a nationwide media monitoring network • NDI and EIN continued monitoring the voter



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>registration process in Al-Anbar while processing monitoring results from all 18 governorates and finalizing the monitoring report.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Following the closure of the last voter registration centers in Anbar, EIN initiated the final analysis of the monitoring reports gathered from all 18 Iraqi governorates. By early September, EIN had collected 1,486 monitoring forms which reported on activities in 315 voter registration centers out of approximately 550 located nation-wide • EIN finalized the Voter Registration Observation Report in mid-September and posted it on its website.³ The analysis of 1,486 monitoring forms on registration activities in 315 voter registration centers in all 18 Iraqi governorates served to highlight a number of areas in need of improvement. Special observations were mostly related to the voter registration process, implementation of procedures, and overall registration conditions. A few governorate-based observations were made in cases where reports pointed to unusual patterns. <p>October 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • October 3 to 5, Erbil, final train-the-trainer session for 69 team leaders of the Iraqi Election Information Network (EIN) to review



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>specifics of the Iraqi election law, international best practices for monitoring, and how to efficiently coordinate nation-wide monitoring activities within the network. These team leaders, along with the 171 others trained the previous week, will train up to 10,000 or more volunteers who will monitoring the October 15 Referendum. A recent United Nation grant offered to EIN last week will permit the election monitoring network to double the expected number of monitors from 5,000 to a goal of 10,000.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oct 9, Media Training for EIN Board of Directors in anticipation of EIN's media activities, including press releases, press conferences and ongoing media interviews prior to, during and after the referendum. NDI organized an intensive day of media training for four EIN Board members that included press conference simulations, press releases, and time to practice various interviews and presentation techniques. • On October 13, EIN also deployed 65 observers to monitor the early votes of Iraqis in the Nassariya hospital's polling center and in three prisons located in Abu Ghraib, Camp Boca and Nassariya. • On October 15, EIN monitored Iraq's first National Referendum in 9,051 polling stations in 4,720 nation-wide polling



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>centers with the support of 9,474 trained monitors and 1,000 additional volunteers. In all, EIN observers were present in 75 percent of the polling centers nationwide (4,720 out of 6,322) submitting monitoring reports after the opening of stations, the closing of stations and the counting of ballots. Between 445 and 500 monitors were deployed in each governorate – except in Al-Anbar, with 250 observers (due to security reasons), in Baghdad with 1,250 observers and in Basra with 745 observers – which offers a balanced and comprehensive assessment of election activities throughout the country. Also, EIN released two press statements on Election Day announcing that “<i>while Iraqi election [was] generally well-handled, significant registry problems and privacy violations occurred.</i>” This statement was supported by details and examples of the violations. The most serious overall violations were linked to the confusion over voter registries which prevented a number of Iraqis from voting in the early part of the day. After the problem was reported by EIN and other monitors, the Electoral Commission issued a statement allowing Iraqis to vote in any polling station after submission of identification.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> October 18, four EIN Board members conducted a press conference to share nationwide quantifiable results. The results were



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHED ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES
			<p>based on the complete processing of all monitoring reports into its database. The conference was attended by all major Iraqi media and a wide variety of Arab and international media representatives. By the end of the month, EIN will submit its final report which will include a detailed break-down of results at the regional and governorate level, along with a qualitative analysis of the feedback of the monitors.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="1062 842 1422 930">• Oct 23-24, Two day Strategic Planning and Internal Evaluation - Baghdad



B. IRI and EVER Program Activities

Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
Domestic Oversight and Voter Education for Iraqi Electoral Processes—AFP-A-00-04-00014-00			
<p>1. Promote the legitimacy and transparency of the electoral process through developing the capacity of civil society organizations and political entities to observe and analyze a series of electoral events and widely disseminate analysis of the execution of the processes to Iraqi citizens and the international community.</p>	<p>Domestic election monitors were able to observe and judge the efficiency, transparency, professionalism and integrity of campaigns and electoral processes.</p>	<p>NDI will work directly with a broad-based civic collation to create the Coalition of Iraqi Nonpartisan Election Monitors (CINEM).</p>	<p>A number of officially registered domestic observers (33,763 monitors and 64,787 party agents) monitored the January 2005 elections, covering almost every polling station in the country. [Q1 05]</p>
			<p>On 7 January 2005, NDI met with representatives from the European Union, The United Nations Development Program, and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Institute in Amman to coordinate assistance to non-partisan domestic election monitoring efforts in Iraq, and these organizations agreed to share election-related information and provide funding in support of the various domestic monitoring groups. [Q2 05]</p>
			<p>In January 2005 the Iraqi Election Information Network (EIN) trained 9,890 accredited monitors—trained by CINEM trainers—and supervised and deployed 8,134 of these throughout Iraq’s 18 governorates, covering approximately 80 percent of the polling centers on the January Election Day; NDI provided training, support and daily technical assistance in all of EIN’s areas of activities.. [Q2 05]</p>



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			NDI provided continuous training, support and daily technical assistance in all of EIN's areas of activities. [Q1 05]
		NDI will conduct training sessions and give technical support to CINEM to provide the necessary tools to form an organization with effective leadership.	NDI trained members of the domestic non-partisan election monitoring network on organizational capacity-building as well as domestic election monitoring. [Q4 04]
			NDI performed 12 trainings/workshops in Q1 2005 attended by a total of 638 participants, of whom 233 were women. [Q1 05]
			NDI performed 13 trainings/workshops in Q2 2005 attended by a total of 397 participants, of whom 104 were women. [Q2 05]
			On 2 and 3 January 2005, NDI conducted accounting seminars for EIN Governorate Coordinators. On 10 January, in Erbil, 10 senior representatives of EIN and two regional accountants attended a one-day training provided by NDI senior staff members on financial, accounting and logistics training for EIN regional branches in the northern governorates. [Q2 05]
			6-9 April 2005 NDI organized a three-day training retreat in Erbil for EIN's Executive Director and seven board members designed to improve communication skills, negotiation techniques, decision-making, and strategic planning. The training also built greater understanding of the roles and responsibilities, procedures and a code of conduct for the Board of Directors. [Q3 05]
			29-30 June 2005 NDI conducted financial training for 22 EIN staff members and regional coordinators, providing information for the monitoring of Iraq's upcoming



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			referendum, so that EIN staff members can in turn train members of the election monitoring network in all parts of Iraq. [Q3 05]
			In January 2005, NDI launched a new set of training sessions for all CINEM trainers focused on the understanding and application of the latest IECI regulations. [Q2 05]
		NDI will provide CINEM with methodologies for recruiting and training volunteers (Arabic training materials, Iraq-specific manuals, training-of-trainers methodology, and building alliances with other institutions and sectors), and organize a train-the-trainer session to teach international lessons learned and proven domestic monitoring practices.	On 5 January 2005, NDI trained 30 CINEM trainers from South Central Iraq, on 6 January another 29 from Southern Iraq, and on 8 January another 21 from Baghdad, [Q2 05]
			With advisory assistance and technical support from NDI, EIN restructured its organizational infrastructure, changed internal reporting and communication systems, instituted regular staff meetings, outlined job descriptions, issued a staff handbook and implemented a new financial system. [Q3 05]
			NDI helped EIN assemble a library of books, reference documents and computer files, all relating to the experience of other civil society organizations engaged in monitoring activities, capacity-building and the strengthening of presentations and training skills. [Q3 05]
			NDI helped EIN build a database for partner NGOs and potential partners (using SQL) to facilitate training needs and allow EIN to respond more quickly to external requests for



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			information from partners, funders, potential funders or the IECI. [Q3 05]
			EIN focused on maintaining links with CINEM partners—through meetings and a newsletter—in order to quickly mobilize for the upcoming referendum and parliamentary elections. [Q3 05]
			On 10 January 2005 21 NGO representatives from Kirkuk, Mosul, Erbil, Suleimaniya and Dohuk attended an NDI workshop on the IECI regulations and logistical issues relating to the training and management of their sub-monitoring networks. [Q2 05]
		NDI will assess the participation, understanding, and effectiveness of volunteer monitors.	
	Iraqi political parties were well-prepared, confident, and effective participants in a series of electoral events in 2004-2005.	IRI will utilize a “train the trainers” approach to provide selected political party members with the skills necessary to conduct successful observation.	
		IRI will require all parties receiving observer training to submit a comprehensive deployment plan.	
		IRI will provide observers with standardized monitoring forms.	
		IRI will conduct a post-election analysis of the individual parties’ monitoring efforts.	
	Between 21 July 2004 and 30 June 2005 the organizational foundation for a credible and effective domestic monitoring coalition was established.	NDI elections experts will meet with Iraqi NGOs to identify appropriate participating organizations for this initiative and what their potential training and material needs are.	
		NDI will seek to assess organizations’ respective bases of support,	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		representation of any formerly unrepresented but important groups, and capacity to mobilize substantial numbers of people or resources.	
	Iraqi organizations committed to nonpartisan domestic elections monitoring laid the groundwork for their future cooperation.	NDI staff will conduct an “Introduction to Elections Monitoring” session for potential participating organizations.	
	Civic groups organized into a functioning network to conduct elections monitoring.	NDI elections and organizational-development experts will facilitate a round of structured discussions on leadership structures, decision-making mechanisms, and organizational vision.	In October 2004 NDI organized a series of regional NGO conferences aimed at establishing CINEM (in Central Iraq on 6 October for 115 participants, in the North on 9-10 October for 107 participants, and in the South on 10 October [unknown number of participants]), culminating with a national conference for approximately 125 participants on 14 October. [Q1 05]
			Mid-October 2004 marked the official launch of Iraq’s first domestic election monitoring body and groups of individuals representing 154 NGOs from across the country participated in a series of regional NGO conferences, committing to play a major part in their country’s election monitoring efforts as individual CINEM core trainers. [Q1 05]
		NDI will sponsor study missions to countries relevant to the Iraq experience (the first mission is scheduled for Indonesia in September 2004).	In September 2004, NDI conducted a one-month study mission to Indonesia for nine Iraqi NGO League members to observe and participate in civil society election monitoring efforts during the presidential run-off. [Q4 04]
			NDI-selected study tour participants formed the core leadership of the domestic nonpartisan election monitoring network. [Q4 04]



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			A member of NDI's civil society team, along with EIN's north-region coordinator traveled to Croatia in late April 2005 to participate in the Institute's study mission and monitor the Croatian elections on 15 May. [Q3 05]
		NDI elections monitoring experts will facilitate structured brainstorming sessions to help network leaders plan activities and produce a list of important events, activities and milestones, an activities timeline, work assignments and needed "skill sets," and a projected budget.	
		NDI will help the groups focus on how election activities can enable them to conduct long-term activities to promote democracy between elections.	
	The monitoring network conducted successful outreach and its elections-related activities and messages were considered credible by the general public.	NDI election experts will help the network articulate and refine its mission and messages, identify key constituencies, develop public communication strategies, possibly including hosting a preliminary press conference.	
	The capacities of local organizations to administer and utilize focus-group research were developed. [PMP]	NDI and its partners will train a cadre of Iraqis in organizing and conducting focus group research. [PMP]	
		NDI will measure increases in CSO capacity to conduct and disseminate such research. [PMP]	
	CSOs used opinion research to inform their activities. [PMP]	NDI will assess CSO use of focus group research in voter education activities and materials, monitoring priorities, and issues advocacy. [PMP]	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
	Civic groups' capacity for resource mobilization improved significantly.	NDI will award sub-grants to monitoring network organizations as appropriate, and require regular financial and programmatic reporting of activities.	
	Network volunteers were successfully recruited.	NDI will help network leaders build alliances with other institutions and sectors to strengthen its volunteer base, develop a code of conduct for domestic observers, provide resources and support to ensure that recruited organizations are appropriate, and assist accreditation of volunteers.	Each NGO sent delegates to participate in a series of trainings (October 2004-January 2005) to learn how to recruit, train and coordinate an average of 80 to 100 monitors each from their respective areas. [Q1 05]
	Network volunteers were successfully trained.	NDI will help network leaders develop a training curriculum.	
		NDI will also help network leaders design training and observer manuals, materials, handouts, visual aids, and public information software in both Arabic and Kurdish.	In October 2004 NDI's Civil Society team printed a newsletter on the upcoming elections (election deadlines, election monitoring activities, the role of the IECI, CINEM, and EIN). [Q1 05]
		NDI elections experts will also help train trainers and monitor trainings to ensure that the content is being followed.	On 18 November 2004 NDI, with inputs from IFES and UN election experts, conducted its first train-the-trainer academy on election monitoring in Amman, Jordan for 26 Iraqi civic leaders and CINEM members. [Q1 05]
			NDI's second training academy was conducted in Baghdad 28-30 November 2004 for 49 CINEM members and in addition to the basic training it focused on the deployment of flexible coordination and information-sharing channels though EIN. [Q1 05]
			NDI's third training academy on basic election monitoring skills took place 5-7 December 2004 with 41 Iraqi civil society leaders from 24 NGOS based in Northern



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			Iraq. [Q1 05]
			In response to previous challenges in the recruitment of election monitoring trainers in areas such as Al Anbar and Diyala, 24-26 December 2004 NDI held an additional first-tier Train-the-Trainer election monitoring workshop for 22 NGO members based in these two governorates. [Q1 05]
			NDI trained over 120 CINEM core monitors, who in turn trained 9,890 domestic election monitors nationwide. [Q1 05]
			NDI also organized a CINEM conference held before the election for refreshment training and to obtain the final versions of all election-related materials. [Q1 05]
	The network was logistically prepared for election day observation.	NDI will help network leaders design a sound communication system, design data-related systems, develop training methodology and materials for the logistical and technical teams, establish a data analysis center, collect and analyze results, and establish a strategy for publicizing findings.	
	The monitoring network successfully conducted election day monitoring activities on 30 January 2005.	NDI will help the monitoring network field volunteer observers to collect information on key stages in the process and to analyze this qualitative and quantitative data in a systematic way.	EIN succeeded in covering approximately 80 percent of the polling centers on the January Election Day. [Q1 05]
			NDI's security experts conferred with EIN on several occasions to consider various security strategies for the weeks leading up to the January 2005 elections, as well as special security arrangements for the days surrounding Election Day. [Q2 05]



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			EIN considered that Iraq's historic January 30 elections met basic international standards. Out of the 5,320 polling centers expected to operate, 5,071 opened and remained open throughout the day, accommodating a roughly 59 percent voter turnout nation-wide. [Q1 05]
		NDI, in coordination with IFES, will help the network place representatives at police stations to ensure accurate election-related information from troubled areas.	
		NDI will be available as needed on election day and throughout the immediate post election period to assist with analyzing data, summarizing information, drafting preliminary statements and trouble-shooting when necessary.	
	Quick Count infrastructure was developed during the January 2005 election.	NDI will undertake a number of training/demonstration Quick Counts in selected areas to begin building Quick Count capacity for future elections.	
	The monitoring network provided useful findings on the election process within 48 hours of completion of the January 2005 election.	NDI will help the monitoring network prepare to monitor the official vote tabulation process at the local, district, provincial and national levels, the processing and resolution of electoral complaints, and the media.	EIN held a press conference on Election Day, January 2005, reporting that despite some modest problems the election appears to have been conducted without systemic flaws and in accordance with basic international standards; this was followed by press releases on 29 and 30 January. [Q2 05]
			EIN issued a comprehensive election monitoring report on 6 February 2005. [Q2 05]
	The network conducted a useful self-evaluation of its monitoring of the January 2005 election.	NDI will help organize strategic planning exercises to evaluate pre-election and election day activities,	On 15 February 2005, NDI met in Kirkuk with nine representatives of six non-governmental organizations based in



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		identify roles that civic groups can play between elections, and develop a plan to consolidate and maintain their national volunteer networks.	Sulemaniya and Kirkuk to share impressions and experiences in an effort to improve EIN's methodology, reporting mechanisms and procedures for future elections, and to produce practical recommendations which were sent to the IECE. On 22 February NDI met in Dohuk with 8 NGOs and on 24 February in Erbil, with 12 other organizations. NDI's offices in Basra and Nassariya hosted similar follow-up meetings with election monitoring groups based in the south. [Q2 05]
			Following preliminary meetings in the North, on 27 March 2005 26 members of EIN's Central region held an all-day evaluation seminar on lessons learned from the past election monitoring experience. [Q2 05]
	Between 21 July 2004 and 30 June 2005 the monitoring network refined its strategic planning process for the October 2005 and December 2005 elections.	NDI will work with leaders to hold post-election conferences with other stakeholders to evaluate the elections and brainstorm on future improvements, publish reports on findings and "lessons learned" for future elections, and explore possible post-election activities.	On 13 March EIN, with advisory assistance from NDI, organized a strategic planning session to outline priorities and planned activities for the year to come. [Q2 05]
			With NDI support the Election Information Network (EIN) conducted an internal assessment of the January electoral process as well as its own performance during the elections through the regional assessment conferences held in March and April 2005 in the north, south-center and center of Iraq. [Q3 05]
			On 28 June 2005 EIN conducted the final internal assessment conference on the network's election monitoring performance during the January election. [Q3 05]



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		<p>NDI will determine the feasibility of pursuing election administration monitoring, campaign monitoring, campaign finance monitoring, and media monitoring.</p>	
	<p>Partisan election monitors (party poll-watchers) were adequately trained in three cycles of activities, one complete cycle for the TNA elections, one for the Constitutional Referendum, and one for the National Assembly elections.</p>	<p>IRI will hold training seminars (August-October 2004) for political entities and independents on the basic principles of elections and election systems.</p>	<p>The CEPPS-supported Iraqi Election Information Network (EIN) noted that approximately 78% of its nearly 8,000 domestic observers noted the presence of party agents at the Polling Centers during the January 2005 elections. [Q2 05] [Comment: This is NDI activity not IRI]</p>
		<p>IRI will hold training seminars (beginning in September 2004) for political entities and independents on specific election-related regulations promulgated by the IECI.</p>	<p>IRI began preliminary discussions with parties to ensure that the latter's missions coincide with the CEPPS mission and basic democratic principles. [Q4 04]</p>
		<p>IRI will provide political parties with official Arabic or Kurdish translations of IECI regulations.</p>	
		<p>IRI will consult with political parties, one-on-one, to help them advocate in their own interest in subsequent discussions with the IECI.</p>	
		<p>IRI will send a delegation of political party representatives to observe Indonesia's presidential run-off election on September 20, 2004.</p>	<p>IRI sponsored a delegation of 12 representatives from Iraqi political parties to travel to Indonesia to observe the September 20 presidential run-off election in the country.</p>
		<p>Security factors permitting, IRI will furnish (and purchase, if necessary) political parties with a copy of the final voter list.</p>	
		<p>IRI will prepare and print a party poll-watcher manual, with a target</p>	<p>For the January 2005 elections IRI incorporated IECI rules and regulations into</p>



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		completion date 30 days prior to the start of the official campaign period.	an educational manual created to inform party officials on the role of party agents in the electoral process in cooperation with the IECI, and distributed some 15,000 copies to political parties in the Baghdad area. [Q2 05]
		IRI will create and produce a VCD or DVD to complement the party poll-watcher manual.	Poll-watchers CDs were completed in time for the January 2005 elections. [Q2 05]
		IRI will train party leadership (beginning October 2004) on why party poll-watchers are important and how to use them.	
		IRI will train a target number of party poll-watchers (targeted start date will be 30 days ahead of the official start of the campaign period) in as many governorates as possible on polling station operations, voting and counting, and complaints/appeals.	In its Erbil office, IRI developed and conducted a “Train the Trainers” program to prepare some 150 trainers to train party agents. [Q2 05]
2. Provide technical assistance, training and materials to Iraqi civil society organizations to design and conduct country-wide domestic voter education campaigns that appropriately and effectively inform and mobilize voters.	Civic organizations created the Iraqi Voter Outreach Training and Education (I-VOTE) coalition, designed and conducted effective voter education programs for the 2005 series of elections (using media and grassroots activism), promoted discussion of issues among Iraqi citizens, and encouraged citizen participation in the elections.	IRI will carry out (August 2004) a baseline assessment, based on a questionnaire, of the country’s civic organizations, community groups and grassroots movements, including tribal, religious and community leaders, to determine appropriate members for the I-VOTE coalition.	IRI conducted meetings throughout the country to assess understanding of the 2005 voting process and explore possibilities of addressing education and advocacy needs (early September 04 Erbil and Sulaimaniya), meeting local NGOs (LNGOs) and political parties, RTI and OTI to discuss public advocacy and voter education plans and experience. [Q4 04][Comment: In addition IRI conducted the only voter registration campaign in October – November 2004, utilizing electronic and print advertising.]
			IRI took steps to establish the I-VOTE coalition, by drafting a statement of purpose, advertising its existence to interested civil society organizations, and



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			accepting applications to join I-VOTE. [Q4 04]
			IRI evaluated all its civil society partners to determine each organization's ability to carry out effective programming. [Q1 05]
		IRI will give special emphasis to civic organizations that represent youth, women, tribes, religious communities and ethnic groups.	In late September 2004 IRI staff traveled to Sulaimaniya, Dohuk and Erbil in order to consult student leaders in those areas. [Q4 04] [Comment: As a result of the assessment IRI has founded "Civic Coalition for Free Elections" (I-Vote in the grant) which consists of 76 organizations with Nation Wide coverage. CCFE was established in November 2004, and ever since has been conducting elections related advocacy focusing on education as well as GOTV (Get Out To Vote)]
			In September 2004, IRI established an office in Erbil in order to carry out voter education activities, hiring two additional expatriate staff members to administer this office. [Q4 04]
		IFES will address the needs of disabled voters. [This activity is implicit, not stated.]	IFES, in coordination with IRI, accomplished the following activities aimed at informing and motivating voters with disability: Developed civic education/information brochures, translated key documents into Braille, created television flash spots aimed at voters with disability, provided Sign Language interpretation of key televised spots, developed slogans in Arabic on disability, and coordinated with disability CSOs in the implementation of this component of the EVER program. [Q2 05]
			IFES established the Disability Voters Education Program (DVE) to encourage



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			participation by eligible voters in elections, educate voters with disabilities about their rights, facilitate access to voting for all voters, and provide for secret and independent balloting. [Q3 05]
			IFES-DVE held a workshop 27-30 April 2005 in Jordan entitled 'People with Disabilities Participation in Public and Political Life' attended by 19 Iraqi CSO's working on People With Disabilities (PWD) issues. [Q3 05]
		IRI will field (August 2004) its first base-line survey under the current agreement aimed principally at gauging current attitudes about voting and the electoral process in Iraq.	
		IRI will propose a series of indicators to be employed in the monitoring and evaluation stage for voter education efforts, with survey results available mid-September 2005.	
		IRI will conduct at least three additional national surveys (and regular focus groups) to measure voter satisfaction with the electoral process, the success of I-VOTE member efforts to instruct Iraqis in all major cities on voting rights and protocol for each electoral event, and I-VOTE GOTV initiatives. [PMP]	IRI has conducted eight nationwide polls in Iraq with sample sizes ranging between 2000 to 3000 people reflecting Iraqi demographics. [Q2 05] Not clear whether these are I-VOTE related [Comment: Polls were trying to gauge public opinion on CCFE advocacy campaign and there influence. In addition polls served as the foundation for the issue based advocacy development]
		IRI will use findings from these studies to inform adjustments in CSO education campaigns and thereby increase their effectiveness throughout the electoral cycle. [PMP] [Comment:	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		CCFE’s campaigns have consistently used IRI polling material in developing their advocacy campaigns and messages. A series of CCFE TV spots for January elections deals with issues that Iraqis thought were most relevant at the time (unemployment, reconstruction, etc.)]	
		IRI will—during the assessment period—identify and recruit a network of CSOs capable of implementing a national voter education campaign, tentatively named I-VOTE.	During Q4 04 IRI continued to meet with civil society organizations for possible inclusion in I-VOTE. In September, IRI began to circulate materials to possible partners regarding the structure of the I-VOTE coalition and applications to join the coalition
			In November 2004, IRI brought together a group of sixty-three [Comment: 76] NGOs to establish the Iraqi Voter Outreach Training and Education (I-VOTE) coalition. [Q2 05]
			The I-VOTE founding conference established the Civic Coalition for Free Elections (CCFE) with the signing of founding principles that called for civic leaders “to condemn violence and to support free, fair and effective elections by informing the Iraqi electorate and encouraging participation in elections as the way to a brighter future for Iraq.” [Q2 05] [Comment: CCFE consists of NGO representatives as well as religious, tribal, youth, and women leaders, from all over Iraq]
		IRI will prepare a code-of-conduct (binding statement of commitment to the coalition’s principles) for I-VOTE members. [PMP] [Comment: All CCFE members have signed the founding principles of the organization, that included calling for a free and fair	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		elections and opposing violence. In addition Before engaging in any IRI supported activity all CCFE (I-Vote) members sign code of ethics that they are expected to adhere to.]	
		IRI will track I-VOTE member performance to ensure that all recipients adhere to I-VOTE guidelines. [PMP] [Comment: IRI has been monitoring performance of each partner in the CCFE coalition and has confirmed their adherence to the founding principles.	
	I-VOTE coalition members received appropriate training.	IRI will hold a training conference for I-VOTE civic groups (August 2004) on basic organizational techniques (leadership development, grassroots recruitment, communications, and the role of civil society organizations in elections).	On 30-31 August 2004, IRI convened a training conference in Baghdad entitled “The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Elections,” which attracted approximately 230 civic leaders Baquba, Basra, Falluja, Kirkuk, Mosul, Najaf, Nasiriya, Samarra, Sulemaniya, and Baghdad.
		IRI will utilize a “train the trainers” approach to provide I-VOTE members with the skills necessary to conduct successful voter education. [PMP] [Comment: IRI organized a series of advocacy ToT events, with trainers brought from abroad to include: Romania, Slovakia, US, Former Yugoslavia, Hungary, Ukraine, etc. These trainings were organized for leading CCFE members and for representatives of particular groups like women and youth.	
		IRI will offer I-VOTE more advanced training (in a series of seminars), tailored to the different types of groups	Workshops on civil society organizations and elections were conducted in partnership with the Ministry of Human Rights in Baghdad and



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		and focused particularly on organization and implementation of local, regional and national voter-education campaigns (organization and mission development, election rules and regulations, and voter mobilization and education campaigns).	Suleimaniya (each attended by over 100 human rights NGO leaders). [Q4 04]
		IRI will work, on a limited basis and when appropriate, with selected organizations on skills such as strategic planning, fundraising and project management and evaluation.[Comment: IRI organized strategic planning sessions for CCFE leaders of CCFE and Women Coalitions both in Amman, Jordan, and Baghdad. For this purpose we have invited trainers from US, Romania, and Hungary. In addition, IRI Baghdad devotes considerably amount of time on development of strategic plans and funding requirements for its partners]	
		IRI will make a concerted effort to extend training to groups composed of underrepresented segments of the Iraqi population. [PMP] [Comment: IRI organized several trainings for Women and Youth. Foreign experts have been invited to help local IRI staff.]	
		IRI staffers at key polling sites will conduct exit polls to further assess the success of CSOs' voter trainings. [PMP] [Comment: IRI used a wide network of CCFE to get informed on election day. No exit poll through a polling agency has been conducted.]	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
	I-VOTE conducted a useful GOTV campaign that mobilized important voting groups to register and vote.	IRI will help create and support, in partnership with I-VOTE, numerous GOTV initiatives (in advance of the three scheduled elections) that will include broader national campaigns coordinated among several I-VOTE members and smaller, local- and regional-level targeted campaigns run by coalition sub-groups—such as women, youth, professional associations or tribal groups.	CCFE partners began their voter education campaign in December 2004 and continued through January 2005 with a variety of grassroots activities including: conducting workshops, holding conferences, hanging posters, distributing myriad CCFE and IECI brochures and materials, and implementing a number of national-level events such as press conferences, get-out-the-vote (GOTV) commercials and candidate debates. [Q2 05]
			CCFE formally launched its get out the vote (GOTV) campaign at a 8 January 2005 press conference, preceded by a CCFE press release in various Iraqi newspapers to spark interest in their campaign and by training on how to hold an effective press conference. [Q2 05]
			During January 2005 CCFE produced and aired four television spots which ran on several national and satellite television stations and featured member group leaders who emphasized the importance of voter participation and the denunciation of violence. [Q2 05]
			IRI/CCFE Project: The Civil Society Initiative (CSI), an NGO working in the fields of social, democratic, civil society and human rights awareness, engaged the media in voter education efforts, teaching them how to work independent of the government and of political parties during a three-day workshop in January 2005 Sulimaniya attended by twenty-two media outlets. [Q2 05]
			The Rafadin Women’s Coalition (RWC) continued its voter education efforts in January announcing a GOTV campaign on 18



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			January 2005. [Q2 05]
			The RWC Board of Directors completed a six-day training course in early February 2005 that covered strategic planning and techniques to make an organization more effective, media training, and message development. [Q2 05]
			The Al Shoroq Association for Iraqi Women in Kirkuk conducted a series of voter education seminars and visits throughout that governorate, gathering some 170 representatives of various civil society groups, including women, and distributing IRI-printed election materials in January 2005. [Q2 05]
			The Progressive Women's League hosted a one-hour voter education political debate radio broadcast 27 January 2005 in Baghdad. [Q2 05]
			In mid-January 2005 the Future Association for Iraqi Women organized an elections conference in Kirkuk for women civic leaders from Kirkuk and Mosul, attracting approximately 130 women from thirty women's groups to discuss the importance of a qualified elected government to the improvement of security and the economy of Iraq. [Q2 05]
			The Iraqi Center for Women's Rehabilitation and Employment (ICWRE) held an elections conference in Baghdad 25-26 January 2005 for forty women from Fallujah and 100 women from the poor areas in Baghdad. In addition, ICWRE distributed 10,000 IECI brochures and 200,000 CCFE brochures in Baghdad 22-30 January 2005. [Q2 05]
			The Faileeian Kurdish Women Forum held a



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			two day election conference for women of in the northern province of Diyala 11-12 January 2005. The organization distributed IRI's election brochures to some 500 women in attendance. [Q2 05]
		IRI will target Sunni communities and voters. [NB, this proposed activity is implicit to certain stated accomplishments]	IRI contracted to publish five monthly issues (beginning October 2004) of a journal entitled <i>Islam and Democracy</i> , geared towards Sunni Iraqi voters. [Q4 04]
			IRI produced, in partnership with CCFE members and other civic groups, a range of printed voter education materials that were distributed by the groups. In total, IRI printed 250,000 flyers explaining the special voter registration and balloting process in Ninewa and Al Anbar provinces. In response to a direct request from the IECI, IRI also printed an additional 500,000 copies of a revised election pamphlet authored by a member of the Commission. To contribute to positive momentum around the elections, build confidence in and visibility for the CCFE name, IRI also printed 100,000 posters and 5,000 t-shirts bearing the CCFE logo and emblem. [Q2 05]
			During January 2005 IRI prioritized voter education efforts with Iraq's Sunni voter population. [Q2 05]
			During January 2005 IRI supported the Iraqi Doctor's Organization (IDO) by helping IDO to: develop and distribute 200,000 comic flyers throughout Baghdad and in the Sunni-dominant areas of Tikrit, Mosul, Samarra, and Ramadi to motivate young people to vote; distribute 40,000 IRI-developed, CCFE brochures on registration in Anbar and



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			Ninewa; hold a two-day election-focused meeting in Ramadi for 300 tribal members in cooperation with Sheikh Abdullah Al-Dulaimi, and embark on a massive SMS GOTV campaign which reached 250,000 mobile phone subscribers in the Sunni areas of Kirkuk, Tikrit, and Diyala. [Q2 05]
			During January 2005 IRI supported a one-day election conference by the Iraq Patriot Tribal Confederation, a tribal association led by a Sunni sheikh from Tikrit, held in Baghdad for 140 Sunnis. The conference stressed the need for Iraq's tribal leaders to participate in the upcoming elections. The event was covered by three satellite stations, including MBC, Al Arabiya, and Al Ikhbariya. [Q2 05]
			During January 2005 IRI supported The Arab Gulf Center in holding 15 workshops (18-28 January 2005) in tribal diwans in the southern provinces of Iraq: Basra, Nasiriyah, and Ammara. Discussions focused on the elections and CCFE brochures were distributed. The Arab Gulf Center worked in cooperation with a prominent tribal sheikh, Adnan Al Ghanim, who targeted a total of 750 tribal members. [Q2 05]
			In January 2005 IRI-developed voter education materials were distributed to the 125 tribal members who attended meetings held by the National Union Confederation of Iraqi Tribes in Ramadi, Tikrit, Diyala, Mosul, and Kirkuk to bring tribal sheikhs together to hear about the elections and reasons to take part in them. [Q2 05]
			In January 2005 the Patience Humanitarian Organization (PHO), an Iraqi group



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			specializing in humanitarian aid: distributed 40,000 CCFE elections brochures explaining special last-minute voter registration procedures for residents of Anbar and Ninewa, distributed 9,000 IECI brochures along with CCFE brochures and 9,000 special registration booklets in four Sunni areas around Falluja, and held four election conferences in Tikrit, Mosul, Diyala, and other areas of Salaheldeen—all of which are predominantly Sunni areas. A total of approximately 400 women participated. [Q2 05]
			In January 2005 Sheikh Jawahar Al Zibari from the Shulaa area distributed CCFE t-shirts and brochures to 1,000 Sunnis in the Baghdad and Shulaa areas. [Q2 05]
			Sheikh Muyad Al Adhami printed and posted 50,000 election posters, and distributed 50,000 brochures, which reached approximately 550,000 persons in Baghdad during January 2005. In the post-election phase, IRI pursued discussions with Sheikh Al Adhami about conducting an advocacy campaign during the constitution-drafting process. [Q2 05]
			A prominent Sunni tribal leader from Basra, Sheikh Adnan Al-Ghanim, and his Tribal Coalition Council of Basra, organized a basic electoral education conference for nearly 200 other Sunni tribal leaders and dignitaries from Nasiriya, Ammara, Basra and other communities of southern Iraq. [Q2 05]
			The Patience Humanitarian Organization (PHO) agreed to conduct twenty-one CCFE constitutional workshops in Baghdad and various Sunni populated cities including



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			Diyala, Tikrit, Mosul, Faluja, Kirkuk, and Samira intended for the Sunni population. [Q3 05]
			The Future Association for Children (FAC) established a plan to host 4 CCFE constitutional workshops in Diyala, presenting an opportunity to encourage the Sunni community to contribute to the political process. [Q3 05]
			The Iraqi Democratic Civic Dialogue Group (IDCDG) agreed to conduct 10 CCFE constitutional workshops in the Al-Adhamiya district of Baghdad concentrating on Sunni sheikhs and youth from the area to raise their awareness about the constitutional process. [Q3 05] [Comment: All in all IRI did over 1000 workshops (townhall meetings) with approximately 50,000 participants throughout Iraq in period June – August 15 2005. Through CCFE member organizations that you have outlined here.]
		IRI will primarily cover direct costs of GOTV campaign expenses, such as those associated with events, fliers, newspaper inserts, posters, brochures and other printed materials as well as time on key electronic media outlets, ensuring equal access to available resources. [PMP]	In January 2005 IRI printed some 365,000 pieces of print materials, including brochures, t-shirts, posters and calendars that were distributed through various partners; following the election, approximately 375,000 CCFE victory posters were put up around Iraq. [Q2 05] [Comment: In addition 100,000 GOTV CCFE posters and approximately 100,000 posters describing the electoral process done by partner CCFE organizations like Contemporary Visual Arts Society (CVAS)]
			In January 2005, IRI arranged for over 700 commercials to broadcast, for over thirteen hours of total viewing time. [Q2 05]



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		<p>IRI will provide creative direction for programming content to maximize its impact on potential audiences. [PMP] [Comment: In cooperation with Media Center (NED Funded) IRI civic partners have an opportunity to get expert advice from in house production experts. Prior to establishing media center in 2004, IRI was organizing meetings between NGO partners and Media agency, i.e. Godia Ad Agency – later hired by IECI for all their advertising]</p>	
		<p>IRI will receive from I-VOTE members a GOTV voter outreach campaign listing specific training activities, target areas, and an operational timetable. [PMP] [Comment: Prior to conducting campaigns IRI holds a meeting with CCFE members where we agree on target areas and appropriate messengers.]</p>	
		<p>IRI will receive from I-VOTE CSOs a series of reports following each election detailing successful techniques and outlining suggestions for future GOTV programs. [PMP] [Comment: Following each project IRI receives verbal and written reports based on which we IRI decides on the future activities. This has resulted in more direct education activities – such as workshops (townhall) meetings –</p>	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		than initially planned.]	
	I-VOTE conducted a useful voter education campaign that mobilized important voting groups to register and vote.	IRI will support I-VOTE voter education campaign projects (candidate forums, debates, public demonstrations, research and analysis of specific public policy issues, and other methods of engaging and informing the voting public) through a competitive application process.	A Shia cleric's association conference gathered representatives from all the major Shia leadership groups and attracted more than 250 religious, tribal, and political leaders and significant media coverage. [Q4 04]
			IRI developed preliminary plans to support the voter education work of the Al Shoura Council, the Sunni Muslim Scholars Commission. [Q4 04]
			IRI continued to support the Iraqi daily newspaper <i>Al-Sabah</i> efforts at drafting, editing, printing, distributing, and publicizing the <i>Islam and Democracy</i> journal, at producing and distributing a series of non-academic pamphlets and two more academic journals on the theme, and at holding events around Iraq to discuss topics covered in the journals. [Q2 05]
			In January 2005 IRI finalized a project with the Imam Al Huja General Establishment, a Shia clerics association, to establish a Citizen Advocacy Center in Sadr City to promote knowledge of democracy and increase engagement by officials and civic leaders. The Center printed and distributed 50,000 posters in Sadr City encouraging voter participation in the elections. The posters were accompanied by a GOTV campaign commercial, produced by IRI's media center. Since the elections the Center produced two monthly magazines containing information



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			about constitutions and the political process, and three training workshops for some 60 participants on the relationship between Islam and the democratic political process. [Q2 05]
			IRI continued to promote non-violence and participation by Shia in the constitutional process through the Imam Al Huja General Establishment (IAHGE). On April 22, 100 senior figureheads of Sader City attended the IAHGE conference in Baghdad on the importance of the constitution and an understanding of federalism. [Q3 05]
			In June 2005 three IAHGE workshops were held in Sader City attended by 47 women from Al-Sadir to discuss the constitution and inclusion of women's rights, 50 tribe members to discuss the constitution and individual rights, and 49 religious figures to discuss democracy and Islam, respectively. [Q3 05]
			With IRI guidance, CCFE partners identified and invited the political entities participating in the January 2005 election event (based on their recognition and support as demonstrated in IRI public opinion surveys) to join in what eventually became some of Iraq's first televised candidate debates. The series, which ran under the title "Debate: It's Your Choice," featured IRI-produced GOTV and informational spots during the breaks and each of the four debates was scheduled to run twice during the week leading up to the January 30 elections. [Q2 05]
			IRI-supported a CCFE partner, the Al Hura Organization for Democracy Development, in conducting five two-day workshops in Diyala, Diwaniya, Najaf, Karbala, and Hilla



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			throughout January 2005. The workshops, attended by about 100 persons each, informed participants about elections and encouraging people to participate in the elections. [Q2 05]
			IRI-supported two two-day conferences held by the Supreme Commission for Human Rights in Baghdad to inform participants about elections and encourage participation in the January 2005 elections. The conferences targeted professors, students and government employees, with approximately 150 attending each. [Q2 05]
		IRI will primarily cover direct costs of voter education campaign expenses, such as those associated with events, fliers, newspaper inserts, posters, brochures and other printed materials as well as time on key electronic media outlets.	IRI committed to support the Ministry of Human Rights' Human Rights Festival in Sulaimaniya between (October 1-10), by supporting partial costs of the production and printing of a 6-page daily festival newspaper that will provide coverage of elections-related topics and voter awareness material, and which will include at least one, similarly-themed workshop. [Q4 04]
			The Iraqi Tribes Coalition of the South distributed 100,000 IRI-developed CCFE election brochures along with 20,000 CCFE posters throughout Basra, Amara and Nasiriyah during the second half of January 2005. [Q2 05]
			The Iraqi Institute for Democracy Development distributed 150,000 GOTV brochures, 5000 CCFE T-shirts, and posted 20,000 posters in the mid-Euphrates region (Diyala, Diwaniya, Najaf, Karbala, and Hilla). [Q2 05]
			The Farmer's Union distributed 150,000 CCFE brochures, 5000 t-shirts, and 20,000



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			posters in Diyala, Diwaniya, Najaf, Karbala, and Hilla during the last two weeks of January 2005. [Q2 05]
			The Al Tahreer Typical Society (ATS) distributed approximately 25,000 IRI-produced election brochures, including leaflets on the Nineveh/Al Anbar special voter registration procedures, during the last ten days of January 2005. [Q2 05]
			Students Against War continued their voter education efforts with IRI by distributing 40,000 CCFE election brochures in Al Anbar province, targeting 40,000 persons in Hit, Hadith, Aana, Rawa, Rutba, and Qaem. [Q2 05]
			The Iraqi Institute for Human Rights (IIHR) distributed 37,000 election brochures—27,000 in Arabic and 10,000 in Kurdish—within Kirkuk Governorate between 25-29 January 2005. [Q2 05]
			Towards Change distributed 30,000 IRI-produced CCFE brochures in both Arabic and Kurdish to university students in five Kurdish universities: Sulimaniya, Salahhadin, Kirkuk, Dohuk and Koya Universities in January. In addition, the organization designed, printed and distributed 6,000 copies of a newspaper that discussed election awareness, as well as student opinions and analysis of their participation in the electoral process. [Q2 05]
			Iraqi Doctors Association agreed to hold 10 CCFE constitutional workshops in Baghdad to reach students and youth. [Q3 05]
			Students Against War agreed to conduct 20 CCFE constitutional workshops in Nassiriyah



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			with 12 workshops in Nassiriyia and 2 each in the Eslah, Refaey, Suk al shuokh, and Al batha sections. [Q3 05]
			The Iraqi Central Student Union agreed to conduct 8 CCFE constitutional workshops to educate young people about the constitutional drafting process and how they, as a population, with 400 leaders from student and youth unions around the country involved in this project. [Q3 05]
			The Way of Peace Coalition agreed to hold 20 CCFE constitutional workshops in Baghdad and Mosul to educate youth on the meaning of the constitution and the role that young people between 18-35 years old have to play in the new government. [Q3 05]
			The Youth Organization for Democratic Dialogue and Human Rights agreed to conduct 10 CCFE constitutional workshops in Haweeja that focus on youth of both genders, held in both Arabic and Kurdish. [Q3 05]
			The Youth Association agreed to organize 25 constitutional workshops in Babil and other nearby provinces for 1,250 people, most of them youth, doctors from Hilla hospital, and tribal leaders. [Q3 05]
			The Forum on Education and Sport agreed to conduct 7 CCFE constitutional workshops in the Basra center targeting students, youth, athletes, and impoverished peoples. [Q3 05]
			The Youth Gathering for Culture and Arts agreed to organize 12 CCFE constitutional workshops in Zubabyir focusing on constitutional education material to reach out to youth and student groups. [Q3 05]



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			<p>The Contemporary Visual Arts Society (CVAS) developed and printed 40,000 brochures bearing GOTV messages, which were distributed in Baghdad, Basra, Najaf, and Nasiriyah throughout January 2005, reaching some 40,000 persons. Moreover, CVAS developed, printed and distributed 10,000 of CCFE's GOTV calendars in Baghdad. With IRI's assistance, CVAS developed, printed and distributed 250,000 CCFE brochures throughout Al Anbar, Falluja, and Baghdad. These brochures targeted 250,000 living in displaced persons camps in and around the Falluja area, alerting them to the fact that they could still register to vote. [Q2 05]</p>
		<p>IRI will target Kurdish communities and voters. [NB, this proposed activity is implicit to certain stated accomplishments]</p>	<p>The Kurdistan Organization for Mine Awareness (KOMA) conducted an awareness campaign to motivate people in the Sharwesh and Perzin collectives in the Erbil governorate to vote in the 30 January 2005 elections. KOMA distributed 4000 IRI-developed CCFE election brochures along with 2000 IECI brochures in Kurdish during the end of January 2005. [Q2 05]</p>
			<p>Democracy and Social Support (DSS) & (Development & Law Consultation for Women) Party NGO agreed to organize 48 CCFE constitutional workshops for 1,200 participants to foster citizens' knowledge of the constitution. [Q3 05]</p>
			<p>In Mosul, the Nynavah Student and Youth Organization agreed to hold 60 CCFE constitutional workshops targeting 1,800 youth, women, and students. [Q3 05]</p>
			<p>Civil Society Initiative agreed to hold 25</p>



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			CCFE constitutional workshops in Sulaymaniyah for 625 participants to urge the different social groups to discuss the constitutional issues related to them and take an active interest in the constitutional process. [Q3 05]
			The Democratic and Social Support (DSS), a humanitarian organization whose aim is to support a new, inclusive civil society in Iraq, distributed approximately 25,000 CCFE election brochures in both Kurdish and Arabic at the end of January 2005 in northern Iraq. [Q2 05]
			The Civilization Development Organization formed a coalition of 24 NGOs in Sulaymaniyah to participate in the CCFE's campaign to motivate voters about elections. Together with the coalition, CDO distributed 36,000 CCFE brochures during January 2005 throughout the Sulaymaniyah governorate. [Q2 05]
			Through a network of women activists, the Future Association for Iraqi Women distributed 10,000 copies of CCFE's election brochures, including 1000 copies of a pamphlet describing the special voter registration process in both Al Anbar and Ninewa pamphlet. [Q2 05]
		IRI will work with I-VOTE to evaluate the effectiveness of its campaigns and identify specific areas of success or need for improvement. [Comment: Following each individual project IRI receives written or verbal report based on which it plans its future activities. CCFE focus on predominantly Sunni populated areas and more direct education in the constitution period was	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		the result of such consultations] IRI will receive from I-VOTE members a Voter Education outreach campaign listing specific training activities, target areas, and an operational timetable. [PMP] [Comment: Each CCFE member can propose the area of work and timetable to IRI. IRI then compiles suggestions and decides upon most relevant areas.]	
		IRI will receive from I-VOTE CSOs a series of reports following each election detailing successful techniques and outlining suggestions for future Voter Education programs. [PMP] [Comment: Following each individual project IRI receives written or verbal report based on which it plans its future activities. CCFE focus on predominantly Sunni populated areas and more direct education in the constitution period was the result of such consultations]	
	IRI utilized an indigenous Iraqi opinion research agency to conduct meaningful exit polls on the election days.	IRI will conduct an exit poll on each election day by contracting IIACSS to collect a representative sample of the country's polling stations.	
		IRI will contract a U.S. opinion research professional to assist IIACSS in the preparation of the project and in the analysis of the results, and IRI's contracted US-based trainer (traveling twice to Iraq for each exit poll) will	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		train IIACSS and its Executive Director on the intricacies and particularities of exit polling.	
	The Regional Democracy Center (RDC) at Hilla received IRI support and played a significant role in voter education activities.	IRI will travel to Hilla to conduct a full assessment of the completed center and meet with RDC leadership by the end of August 2004 in order to fully integrate the center into IRI's voter education activities.	IRI staff traveled to Hilla in September 2004 to discuss with RDC management IRI's plans to help RDC develop policy institute capabilities. [Q4 04]
		IRI will provide material support to the RDC in the form of equipment (a final list and budget of equipment to be provided by IRI) and staffing (IRI anticipates the need to hire seven full-time Iraqi staff members) for two years.	
		IRI will provide technical support through training to RDC staff in areas including organization, leadership development, communications, and fundraising.	
		IRI will work to build a cooperative relationship in which resources and knowledge can be shared across each of the various RDC and IRI programs.	
	The RDC at Hilla received increased levels of support.	IRI will provide training to civic groups through RDC. [Comment: IRI included IFDD (Iraqi Foundation for Democracy Development) partner running the RDC in the activities of CCFE. IFDD has coordinated education of citizens of Mid Euphrates area for CCFE. That included organizing dozens of townhall meetings (workshops) and distributing all of the CCFE materials for the region]	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		IRI will provide technical and material support for the operation of a translation center and the radio station at RDC as stated in the original work plan.	
	The RDC printing facility significantly contributed to the broad dissemination of elections-related information to the Iraqi public.	IRI will support the operation of the printing press for two years by providing the basic material (including maintaining a stock of ink, paper, film, chemical plates, storage disks, and other office supplies) for its operation.	Due to security concerns, opening an office with expatriate employees, IRI temporarily froze this project.
		IRI will provide funds to support a staff of seven Iraqis: two printing press technicians, two press assistants, a custodian and two security personnel. [Comment: Due to security concerns, opening an office with expat employees, IRI temporarily froze this project.	
	Six Provincial Democracy Centers (PDCs) received IRI support, served as direct points of contact for community leaders and the public on democracy, human rights, women's issues, and played significant roles in voter education activities.	IRI will provide material support to the PDCs in the form of equipment (at least one computer and one printer will be supplied to the Democracy Center, Human Rights Center and Women's Center in each PDC are to be provided by IRI) and staffing (IRI will hire two Iraqi staff for each of the 18 respective centers above, plus shared custodial and security staff) for a period of two years.	
		IRI will provide technical support through training to PDC staff in areas including organization, leadership development, and communications.	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			<p>IRI began discussions and program development activities with civic leadership in Al-Anbar province to establish six citizen advocacy centers in communities such as Ramadi and Fallujah to educate citizens about the election process. [Q4 04]</p>
	<p>Two radio stations (Hilla and Ramadi) received IRI support and served as useful, alternate and independent sources of news and elections-related information for the 2005 series of election events.</p>	<p>IRI will provide support for two radio stations in the form of equipment (including computer equipment, internet access, and maintenance of the radio stations' equipment) and fund staff (16 professionals plus custodial and security staff per station) for the operation of the radio stations for two years. [Comment: Following security assessment IRI was prevented to achieve this objective]</p>	
		<p>IRI staff will send two radio consultants per year to travel to Iraq to provide technical and programming support to radio staff. [Comment: Following security assessment IRI was prevented to achieve this objective]</p>	
	<p>The Civic Coalition for Free Elections (CCFE), the Rafadeen Women's Coalition (RWC), and other civic leaders raised awareness and educated the public on the constitution development process.</p>	<p>IRI will continue to identify new potential affiliate organizations for membership in the CCFE and the RWC through ongoing consultations with Iraqi CSOs, government officials, and through IRI's polling and focus groups.</p>	<p>During Q2 2005 Rafadin Women's Coalition and Progressive Women League's election messages were aired for approximately 231 hours. [Q2 05] [Comment: I'm not sure but this have to be minutes]</p>
		<p>IRI will continue evaluating the effectiveness of organizations active in voter education campaigns during the pre-January 30 Phase One period of IRI's voter education programming. [Comment: Following performance</p>	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		prior to January 30 elections IRI has narrowed down the number of essential CCFE partners and regional coordinators]	
		IRI will track voter attitudes and awareness through monthly surveys during the constitution development awareness campaign to gain insight into those constitutional issues deemed important to the Iraqi people and which both CCFE and RWC may address.	RWC prepared a questionnaire for a nationwide IRI public opinion survey in the coming quarter to assess the main concerns facing Iraqi women during the constitution-development phase. [Q2 05]
	IRI and its partners developed programs that advocated for specific policy- or constitution-related issues.	IRI will encourage CCFE organizations to implement campaigns to raise awareness on the constitution-drafting process.	During Q3 2005 IRI worked with CSOs planning for, or implementing specific constitution education awareness and education campaigns and IRI observed encouraging signs of the competence of CSO efforts in the dedication of individual NGOs to undertake a campaign in full understanding of what it would entail and in the professionalism of the planning and organization of campaigns. [Q3 05]
			IRI's civil society organization partners began the process of distributing CCFE constitution brochures and posting constitutional banners all over Iraq. The Progressive Women's League posted 13 banners in Baghdad's busiest districts. IRI's partners the Iraqi Central Union, the Iraqi Institute for Democracy Development, the Student Center on Human Rights and Democracy and the Women Union for Turkman People began distributing 300,000 CCFE constitutional brochures in Baghdad and in Sunni regions of Iraq. [Q3 05]



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			In addition to the IRI/CCFE 4-5 May “Constitution for Everyone” training, IRI held a series of constitutional conferences and workshops around the country (8-9 May at University of Dohuk for 55 students, and 18-19 May for 18 IRI/CCFE members from the five Northern Governorates.) [Q3 05]
			On 21 May the Basra office held a “Constitution for Everyone” conference for 85 local participants representing 60 NGO’s at which IRI conducted training on the general structure of constitutions and development process of the Iraqi constitution, and led a discussion on seven important issues to be addressed in the Iraqi constitution. [Q3 05]
			Also in June, IRI held a training seminar on the constitutional process and the role of the civic watchdog for 21 persons from the Islam and Democracy Organization. This group is in the process of planning activities to inform the public on the progress of the Constitution Committee’s drafting-work. [Q3 05]
		IRI will hold a nationwide training for CCFE members in early May 2005, at which time experts from Iraq and abroad will discuss basic principles and real-world examples of constitutions and the process of constitution-drafting.	IRI trained representatives of approximately 115 CSOs on the mechanics and significance of a constitution; from these trainings, approximately 70 organizations responded to IRI’s call for project proposals to conduct similar workshops or other constitution-related activities in their own communities. IRI’s partners began implementing workshops in all eighteen governorates of Iraq, reaching a total of 63,014 persons directly through



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			over 1500 workshops. [Q3 05]
			CCFE hosted a series of conferences and workshops on constitutionalism commencing with a 4-5 May 2005 conference. IRI trainers provided instruction to 40 leaders of local civic groups from Baghdad, Diyala, Salahaddin, Thiqr, Karbala, Babil, Basra, Erbil, Kirkuk, and Dohuk thereby laying the foundation for the training-of-trainers (TOT) project. [Q3 05]
		IRI will develop printed materials in concert with CCFE between May and July 2005 that will promote the constitution-drafting process and elucidate the “ABC’s” of a constitution.	IRI began work with CCFE on developing a brochure to explain the basics of a constitution and to present comparative examples of constitutions worldwide. [Q2 05]
			IRI, with the assistance of CCFE, developed a pamphlet explaining in non-legalistic language the basics of a constitution and the constitutional development process in Iraq and printed 575,000 pamphlets in Arabic and 150,000 in Kurdish. [Q3 05]
			In partnership with CCFE members and other civic groups, IRI produced a wide range of printed constitutional education materials distributed by the local civic groups themselves, including 200 CCFE constitution training presentations in Arabic and Kurdish. [Q3 05]
		IRI will support efforts by CCFE to organize a series of educational activities throughout Iraq between May and July 2005, including conferences and the distribution of the “ABC’s” of a constitution.	The Iraqi Central Union is distributing 100,000 CCFE brochures developed by IRI in Baghdad targeting students and youth. [Q3 05]
			Iraqi Institute for Democracy Development is



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			distributing 100,000 CCFE brochures in the Mid- Euphrates areas. [Q3 05]
			The Student Center on Human Rights and Democracy is distributing 60,000 CCFE constitutional brochures in Anbar. [Q3 05] [Comment: CCFE organized over 1,000 workshops that were attended by approximately 50,000 people, nation-wide. Each participant filled a survey form which was entered into a database and turned into a report that was submitted to the INA and ConComm members.]
		IRI will train CCFE to advocate for concrete constitutional issues.	On 25-26 May 2005 in Baghdad IRI/CCFE conducted advocacy trainings for CSO partners to increase their role in communicating the public's needs to the government. From May 25-26, IRI/CCFE completed a two-day training conference for more than 40 Iraqi civic leaders, including participants from women's groups, student activists, tribal leaders, independent Sunni political and religious associations, and religious minority representatives and media activists. [Q3 05]
			On 30-31 May the Erbil office a [Comment: [?] organized a series of] conferences entitled, "Public Advocacy" for 24 participants from 15 NGO's in the five Northern Govenorates on NGO advocacy in the constitutional writing process. [Q3 05]
			From 11-14 June IRI organized and conducted a training conference for 30 prominent Iraqi civil society leaders on constitutionalism to empower leaders to conduct community trainings on constitutionalism and engage citizens in the Iraqi constitution-drafting process. IRI had previously trained these Iraqi



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			civil society leaders in Amman, Jordan at a conference on the principles of constitutionalism. [Q3 05]
		<p>IRI will support efforts by CCFE to develop teams to advocate on behalf of the identified issues with the TNA and other related government agencies. [Comment: Rafadeen Women Coalition, Youth of Parliament, and Religious Minority groups, have all had extensive advocacy campaigns prior to draft being signed.</p> <p>Issues: RWC – CEDAW agreement and women representation Youth of Parliament – Decreasing minimum age for parliament Religious Minorities – Recognition of minorities in constitution]</p>	
	The CCFE devoted special attention to youth advocacy activities during Phase Two.	IRI will hold a conference in April 2005 that will bring students from Iraqi universities together to start advocacy campaigns to decrease the minimum age for candidacy as mandated by the TAL from 30 to 18 in the future constitution.	National Democratic Establishment for Iraqi Students and Youth (mid- and southern Iraqi provinces) agreed to train 500 Iraqi students and youth in Karbala, Hulas, Najaf, Diwaniya and Muthana to advance the message of lowering the minimum age for candidacy in elections. [Q3 05]
			The Students' Rights and Care Group agreed to work with IRI to hold 10 CCFE constitutional workshops attended by students, mostly Arab and Kurdish, in Haweeja to encourage young people under 30 to be a part in the Transitional National Assembly. [Q3 05]
		IRI will oversee youth coalition member activities including a mass signature drive, distribution of	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		<p>promotional materials developed with IRI assistance, and a meeting with TNA members and decision makers. [Comment: Youth coalition distributed hundreds of thousands of fliers and met with number of members to advocate their issue. In addition they have organized a televised talk show where members of Youth of Parliament have debated with the representative from the ConComm about the need for decreasing the minimum age requirement. Youth of Parliament collected close to 20,000 signatures, and presented them on a press conference covered by major Iraqi media.]</p>	
		<p>IRI will provide youth coalition members with a series of trainings on media relations aimed at utilizing earned media. [Comment: IRI organized training for Youth of Parliament members in how to organize effective press conference and write press releases.]</p>	
	<p>The RWC engaged in educational activities, including conferences, workshops, and seminars that specifically targeted Iraqi women and discussed current legislation, its consequences on women's enfranchisement and the constitution-drafting process in general.</p>	<p>IRI will support efforts by RWC to conduct awareness-raising activities and advocate for gender equality in the constitution-drafting process.</p>	<p>In mid-February 2005 the RWC held a conference entitled "Women's Rights and the Constitution," attracting 120 participants. This was followed-up by two more conferences (Baghdad and Erbil) which focused on women's rights in the constitution, weaknesses of social services laws, and international human rights standards. [Q2 05]</p>
			<p>IRI long-term partner organizations RWC and Imam Al Huja reached some 528 women and</p>



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			200 Shiite religious figures through monthly workshops and conferences on the constitution-drafting process in Iraq. [Q3 05]
			On 24 April RWC held a workshop in Baghdad for 49 representatives of different women organizations and political parties to brainstorm about issues facing women in Iraq, communication, and the importance of women's participation in the constitutional drafting process. [Q3 05]
			On 22-23 May RWC hosted a conference in Hilla on women's rights in the framework of international legitimacy for 140 and 120 women leaders respectively, followed by a workshop on 4 June in Baghdad entitled, "The Role of Women Organizations in the Quest for Gender Equality," for 50 women dealing with women's roles in drafting the Iraqi constitution. [Q3 05]
			On 23 June 2003 RWC held a conference in Baghdad entitled, "Together for a Fair Constitution," for 160 women and on 27-28 June held another conference in Basrah under title of "Women and the Constitution" for 62 women leaders. [Q3 05]
			The Progressive Women's League (PWL), IRI's long-term partner, hosted a one-hour radio political debate, aired 22 June in Baghdad, Salah Al-Din (Samara'a and Balad), Diyalah, and Anbar, and pledged to hold 12 CCFE constitutional workshops in Baghdad tailored to specific audiences. [Q3 05]
			The Iraqi Center for Women Rehabilitation and Employment is conducting 25 CCFE constitutional workshops to educate and



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			empower women from Iraqi ministries in Baghdad. [Q3 05]
			IRI long-term partner, the Women’s Leadership Institute (WLI), agreed to organize 10 CCFE constitutional workshops in Muthana, Kirkuk, Najaf, Tikrit, and Karbala to raise awareness about the constitution and the new democratic process among Iraqi women. [Q3 05]
			The Iraqi Young Women Organization agreed to host 10 CCFE constitutional workshops in Baghdad—specifically in Mansour, Saydyah, Ameriah, and Dorah—to educate young women about the constitutional process. [Q3 05]
			The Iraq Women for Peace and Democracy (IWPDP) agreed to organize 7 CCFE constitutional workshops in Jazeera, Kut al Hijaj, and Basra Center targeting a broad social spectrum of women, including religious conservatives, to discuss the constitution and the development process. [Q3 05]
		<i>Disturna</i>	An off-shoot of the CCFE called <i>Disturna</i> (“Our Constitution” in Arabic) with IRI support hosted the first discussions with members of the Constitution Committee and an on-camera interview with the Committee Chairman for <i>Al Iraqiya</i> . [Q3 05]
			RWC began their “Hand in Hand for a Fair Constitution” campaign with the filming of two talk shows as well as an advocacy spot on women’s rights in the Iraqi constitution for Iraqi television. IRI-partner, the Progressive Women’s League, produced a one-hour radio political debate on the constitution drafting



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			process. [Q3 05] IRI supported the production of RWC TV spots and two talk show episodes about the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as part of a RWC campaign (including posters, leaflets, and booklets emphasizing acceptance of CEDAW in its entirety for the benefit of all Iraqi women). [Q3 05]
		IRI will support efforts by RWC to establish a special monitoring body to oversee the work of the constitution-drafting committee and report to the public on developments pertaining to women's rights. [Comment: RWC has been informing public through their press releases and press conferences as well as their regular conferences about the progress of the women issue in the constitution drafting process]	
		IRI will support efforts by RWC to use the RWC monthly conference to serve as a forum for learning successful methods of conducting women's political advocacy. [Comment: RWC has been involving many of their local partners in their advocacy activities. RWC discussed best practices for advocacy campaigns in their workshops and have been implementing them in their campaigns. Protest was the form of advocacy that often came as a recommendation]	
		IRI will conduct a nationwide survey targeting women to assess the issues that Iraqi women feel are most	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		significant to pursue during the constitution-drafting process.	
	The nonpartisan informational and GOTV campaigns conducted by IRI civil society partners received direct material support.	The first series of CCFE programs produced in IRI's media center (in the form of public service programs for Iraqi local and satellite channels to be aired throughout Spring 2005) will explain the process of developing a constitution and describe the responsibilities of TNA in that process.	IRI worked with the CCFE in completing a non-partisan "blue fingers campaign" to celebrate voter turnout for the January 30 elections. The campaign included several television spots and more than 375,000 posters. [Q2 05]
		Series two (15-30 June 2005) and three (10-25 July 2005, with possible extension through 15 August 2005) of the CCFE campaigns will support the advocacy process and will include TV spots, posters, fliers, televised debates, town hall meetings, and meetings between CCFE members, members of the TNA, and political leaders.	
	The youth coalition advocacy campaign received direct material support.	IRI will work with the youth coalition to develop TV spots to be aired in May 2005, with possible additional spots in late July and early August 2005 depending on the content of the draft constitution. [Comment: Youth of Parliament developed TV spot and aired in the August 1 – 14 period. (DFID funded)]	
	The RWC gender equality advocacy campaign received direct material support.	IRI will assist the RWC in producing their first public service television programs to be aired on Iraqi local and satellite channels in May 2005, focusing on the significance and means of achieving gender equality in the new constitution, as well as getting involved in the constitution-drafting process.	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		[Comment: RWC developed a television ad explaining the importance of protecting women rights in accordance with CEDAW agreement in August 2005.]	
		Series two and three of the RWC campaigns will focus on selected issues identified through the IRI-directed poll and will urge legislators to specify gender equality in the constitution.	
		IRI will directly support and assist the creation of press conferences, public forums, TV spots, televised debates, flyers and brochures used in the RWC gender equality advocacy campaign. [Comment: RWC organized extensive campaign on promoting gender equality and CEDAW agreement in August 2005]	
3. Proactively administer a conflict management and mitigation program, which identifies potential areas of politically motivated conflict as relates to the electoral process.	Iraqi civil society organizations (CSOs) developed the tools needed to implement programs aimed at identifying, monitoring and, where possible, mitigating and preventing election related violence.	IFES will facilitate the development of cooperative relationships between Iraqi CSOs, the Independent Elections Commission of Iraq (IECI), police, security forces, political party representatives and others committed to peaceful and successful elections.	IFES introduced the project to representatives of the Iraqi Ministry of Interior responsible for police. [Q4 04]
	This program reached out to civil society groups nationwide to maximize inclusiveness of local CSOs into IAPE.	IFES will work to engage local organizations from across Iraq in this effort, introduce them to the role of election violence monitoring and mitigation in the electoral process, and encourage them to participate in the Election Violence Monitoring and Mitigation Program.	
	Iraqi CSOs participated in	IFES will facilitate the establishment of	IFES EVER and the IWV formulated the



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
	establishing the Iraqi Alliance for Peaceful Elections (IAPE), and drafted and signed the IAPE Charter.	a network of Iraqi CSOs that will operate as the Iraqi Alliance for Peaceful Elections (IAPE).	initial draft of the IWV charter, which was sent to IWV members for review and comments, revised, and re-sent to all IWV founding members for further review, discussion, and recommendations. [Q3 05]
		IFES will provide IAPE with technical assistance and support to enable it to design and administer a conflict management and mitigation program, resulting in the creation of an organizational charter, organigram, mission statement, schedule of meetings and an outline of initial activities. [PMP]	
		IFES will select prospective CSO members of IAPE from groups currently active in the areas of democracy promotion, civil society development and conflict prevention/mitigation.	
		IFES will conduct a series of meetings to give CSOs information to introduce the IAPE project and explain its goals, and to permit CSOs to decide on participating in the program.	As of 30 May 2005 EVER had held more than 500 meetings with Iraqi stakeholders, including CSO representatives, community leaders, religious leaders, local police officials, local IECI representatives, political party members, and local government officials. [Q3 05]
		IFES will develop and distribute background materials on Election Violence Monitoring and Mitigation and on the IAPE project.	
	The capacity of selected CSOs to participate in IAPE was assessed and 60% of those assessed were invited to training.	IFES will meet with potential partners to ascertain their capacity and commitment to join the IAPE.	As of 30 May 2005 IFES EVER staff had held 262 meetings with Iraqi CSOs; these meetings were organized to allow EVER staff to assess the CSOs' capacity and commitment to EVER



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			objectives. [Q3 05]
		IFES will develop a written assessment tool and have each group assessed complete it.	
	Selected CSOs were trained in the IAPE mandate, concept of operations, techniques and tools for monitoring election violence and conflict, improving their knowledge by 70%.	IFES will conduct workshops to train representatives from Iraqi CSOs on the IAPE mandate, roles of member organizations, approaches to defining election violence in Iraq, techniques for monitoring election violence, introduction to the election violence database and techniques to help manage and mitigate political violence.	IFES held two four-day conflict resolution workshops in Arbil (23-26 April 2005 and 27 April-2 May 2005). [Q3 05]
			IFES/Arbil sponsored a seminar on Article 58 of the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) at the Sulaymaniya Democracy Training Centre attended by 45 participants from all six governorates in the North region, resulting in agreement on drafting a common statement outlining the advantages and disadvantages of normalization steps (re population movement and changes of property ownership under the previous regime) and on holding a similar seminar in the future. [Q2 05]
			IFES held a number of large-scale CSO workshops to present and discuss findings of the January 30 Election Monitoring report as a basis for education and outreach. These sessions on election violence were conducted by the IFES field office in Basra in seven governorates (South: Basra, Missan, and Thiqr. South Central: Qadissiyah, Babylon, Najaf and Karbala), with sessions attended by approximately 274 representatives from the IECI (14), political parties (42), CSOs (152), religious groups (3), academe (11), media



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			(26), police (9), Red Crescent (6), doctors (3) and one Governor. [Q2 05]
			In May 2005 EVER Basra trained 35 volunteers from 28 CSOs – now members of IWV – based in the south and central regions of Iraq. [Q3 05]
			IFES/Baghdad conducted a one-day CSO training session for 25 participants hosted by the SARA Organization to discuss strategic development for IAPE. [Q2 05]
		IFES will measure the effectiveness of trainings by conducting pre- and post-testing of participants.	
		IFES will coordinate a round of discussions with selected CSOs in an effort to invite them to officially form the IAPE and assist member CSOs to decide on the organizational and administrative form and structure of the IAPE.	IFES EVER hosted a conference in May 2005 for 76 local and national Iraqi CSOs from 18 governorates interested in and committed to non-violent elections in Iraq, at which conference CSO representatives decided to form the Iraq Without Violence Network (IWV); IFES assisted the planning for the first IWV General Assembly Meeting in August, 2005 [Q3 05]
		IFES will provide technical and financial assistance (small grants) to IAPE to develop and implement a multifaceted approach to define, monitor, mitigate, prevent and respond to incidents of political and election violence.	IFES EVER received USAID approval to proceed with sub-grants support to approximately eighty CSOs to implement election violence monitoring and mitigation activities in the 18 Iraqi governorates. [Q3 05]
	IAPE members developed better communications among themselves and between stakeholders in the political process. [PMP]	IFES will assist IAPE members to promote efforts by community and religious leaders to encourage peaceful political party campaigns. [PMP]	IFES EVER trained CSOs to facilitate bridge-building and coordination meetings among political parties, local authorities, police, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders in the political process, and IFES EVER gave technical and financial support to bridge-



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			building activities conducted in the governorates in close collaboration with the IECI. IFES EVER discussed with partner organizations (NDI, IRI, USIP, etc.) cooperative initiatives towards democratic education and non-violent Iraqi elections. [Q3 05]
		IFES will assist IAPE members to identify conflict “hot spots.” [PMP]	
		IFES will assist IAPE members to implement public information campaigns to counter misinformation regarding the political process. [PMP]	On 7 March 2005 Radio Station Al Nass aired a two-hour live interview and open line program with Dr. Thair Karim Ismail, Head of IFES EVER Field Office in Baghdad and Public Relation Coordinator. [Q2 05]
	IAPE held regular, periodic consultations with IECI, the Iraqi security services, and international peacekeeping forces (September-November 2004) to update them on election-monitoring efforts and findings, and worked with authorities to design an election and political-crime monitoring system.	IFES will assist IAPE members to design and implement initiatives to promote communications between key election stakeholders with a view towards monitoring and beginning to mitigate election violence.	
		IFES will assist IAPE members to support mediation efforts by international figures, diplomats, and other internal and external actors. [PMP]	
		IFES, coordinating closely with IRI and NDI, will work at the highest levels of project management to support balanced media access for political parties.	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
	IAPE designed and developed appropriate strategies to identify election violence (November-December 2004).	IFES will work with IAPE members to ensure that definitions are developed in a participatory fashion, appropriate to the Iraqi historical context and current political environment, and reflect both a consensus of the membership and international norms.	
		IFES will work with IAPE to develop an activities framework for identifying election violence that will include approaches to examine electoral conflict using data collection and analysis techniques.	IFES worked with IAPE to develop an activities framework for identifying election violence which includes approaches to examine electoral conflict using data collection and analysis techniques.
	IAPE developed and utilized a “toolkit” of techniques and approaches (December 2004-January 2005).	IFES will work with IAPE, in small decentralized workshops, to produce a “toolkit” of techniques and approaches to be used by IAPE’s members to apply agreed definitions to events in their area and to begin to monitor electoral conflict.	IFES developed a toolkit with IWV of techniques and approaches to be used by IWV members to apply agreed definitions to events in their area and to begin to monitor electoral conflict.
		IFES technical staff will conduct a series of workshops with IAPE members to develop written materials collaboratively (on conflict prevention, police liaison protocols, media relations protocols, and conflict prevention partnerships) to support implementation of the activities framework described above.	IFES technical staff conducted a series of workshops with IWV members to develop written materials collaborative to support implementation of the activities framework described above.
		IFES will provide training on the use of the toolkit.	IFES did provide training.
		IFES may conduct trainings from facilities in Amman should that be required by the security situation.	No training was conducted in Amman.
	IAPE designed an elections	IFES will (December 2004-January	IFES finalized the Incident Database and



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
	violence database that was used by each IAPE member organization, and that recorded all incidents of violence leading up to the elections, and collected sufficient data on at least 60% of the cases reported by their various monitoring efforts for those entries to be considered useful. [PMP]	2005) design an election conflict and violence database (software developed and installed) that will record all incidents of violence leading up to the elections (based on reliable and reputable news reports and other sources, and with fields that match the criteria established within the elections violence monitoring program) and train IAPE members to administer, manage, and operate it.	Incident Report Form and IWV utilized it to record election-related violence. In addition to the database, an incident form—which reflects the fields on the database —was developed to serve as the information-gathering tool for the Field Monitors. This form was translated into both Arabic and Kurdish. [Q2 05]
		IFES staff will train IAPE members in the use and maintenance of the database.	IFES' EVER international and local staff received database training. [Q2 05]
		IFES will monitor use of the database to identify needs for any additional targeted individual assistance and training.	This was carried out.
		IFES will continue working with IAPE members to maintain and continuously update the database.	
		IFES will support the preparation of IAPE reports on various aspects of election conflict and violence, generated from the database on a regular basis for dissemination to various stakeholder groups.	This was carried out.
	IAPE successfully monitored the election violence during the political campaign period prior to election day(s).	IFES will assist IAPE (in the political campaign period prior to an election event), in collaboration with CINEM and I-VOTE media-monitoring efforts, to begin a desk audit at the national level to collect media news accounts of any incidents of election violence.	IRI partner the Kurdish Institute for Elections (KIE) in December 2004 and January 2005 monitored pre-election campaign messages and information on the candidates, and KIE monitored the media in Erbil, Sulimaniya, Kirkuk, and Baghdad, and reported results of this monitoring in three January press conferences and published 5,000 copies



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
			(3,000 in Kurdish and 2,000 in Arabic) of the results and distributed these to the media, universities, unions, NGOs and political parties throughout Northern Iraq.. [Q2 05]
	IAPE members actively monitored and reported on the election campaign events in each governorate. [PMP]	IFES will support IAPE member efforts to actively monitor public campaign and election-related events in their communities throughout Iraq. [PMP]	Forty-five days prior to the January 30 elections, IFES began monitoring election-related violence in Iraq, examining the roles that stakeholders play or can play in monitoring and mitigating election violence, including civil society, political parties, election management bodies, and police and military authorities. IFES Field Monitors were present in all 18 governorates of Iraq, with at least one monitor placed in each governorate's major city. [Q2 05]
		IFES will design and present specialized training programs on the monitoring of campaign events and the use of a specially designed standardized observation questionnaire to record data for each event observed for inclusion in the Election Violence Database.	This was carried out
	IAPE members actively monitored and reported on the electronic and print media coverage and information campaigns related to the electoral process throughout the country. [PMP]	IFES will support IAPE member efforts in targeted communities around the country to monitor and report on media coverage of election violence and conflict promulgated through the media.	This was carried out
		IFES will help IAPE members select targets through an analysis of previous incidents of political conflict and violence. [PMP]	This was carried out
		IFES will help IAPE members to	This was carried out



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		record and report systematically on the quality, quantity and tenor of media coverage related to election conflict and violence in their local media and to identify trends among and between communities.	
	IAPE successfully monitored the election violence on the election day(s).	CINEM data collected on election day(s) violence will be reported back to IAPE.	This was carried out
		IFES will ensure that questions regarding election violence will be included in the standard domestic election observation reporting form to be developed by CINEM. [PMP]	
		IFES will assist IAPE to issue a report on election day and hold a public press briefing the day after the election.	The IFES EVER Press Release accompanying the IFES EVER REPORT was widely distributed to CSO partners and published throughout the country in Arabic (<i>Al Mada, Xabat, Al Sabah, Al Jadeed, Al Thakhi</i> , and www.iraq4allnews.com) and in Kurdish (<i>Hawlati, ASO Daily</i> in Sulaymaniya, and <i>Kurdistani New</i> [PUK]). [Q2 05]
	IAPE members monitored election conflict and violence in their local communities during the post-election period through to the certification of results and the seating of the officials elected (time and funding permitting). [PMP]	IFES will support efforts by IAPE members to monitor target communities during the post-election period. [PMP]	IFES staff continued to monitor election-related violence, with over 190 incidents corroborated and recorded into the EVER database thus far. [Q3 05]
		IFES will assist IAPE to provide periodic briefings to the IECI, security forces, and other key stakeholders and to continue monitoring election-related conflict and violence after each election	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		day and through to the certification of results and the seating of the elected government, time and funding permitting.	
	IAPE joined IFES in conducting the training of other Iraqi organizations and individuals (during all phases of the project).	IFES staff will design and implement a program to train other civil society/faith-based organizations and community/religious leaders in strategies to prevent and mitigate election violence.	This was carried out
	IFES supported IRI's political party training.	IFES will coordinate closely with IRI and provide technical assistance to develop and implement a program to train leading party operatives and workers in strategies to prevent and mitigate election violence.	
		IFES will contribute, together with NDI, to the development of codes of conduct for election periods.	
		IAPE will sponsor targeted media campaigns (in collaboration with I-VOTE's voter education work, as well as in conjunction with any media-monitoring work carried out by CINEM) designed to counter rumors, clarify issues in the electoral process and reinforce pledges of non-violence made by the various political parties and candidates.	
	Periodically throughout the life of the project IAPE broadly disseminated information to stakeholders and the media regarding election violence.	IFES will assist IAPE to hold meetings on a regular basis and provide written reports to the IECI, security services, and other key stakeholders to discuss potential solutions or violence mitigation strategies.	This was implemented



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		IFES will assist IAPE to hold press briefings on its work (with written materials in Arabic and English).	This was implemented
		IFES will assist IAPE to hold meetings at various locations around Iraq to inform the public of the alliance's work and findings.	This was implemented
	NDI helped strengthen the ability of political parties to mitigate violence. [PMP]	NDI will build upon its ongoing political party program (NED-funded) to encourage regular dialogue among party leaders on ways to reduce election violence and intimidation. [PMP]	
		NDI will assess progress regarding a party code of conduct code by monitoring whether parties agree on a code, whether party leaders publicly support and adhere to the code, and whether the code includes enforcement mechanisms and sanctions that are invoked when needed. [PMP]	
		NDI will work to develop other violence mitigation mechanisms for political party participation. [PMP]	
		NDI will assess the contribution of political parties toward violence mitigation by monitoring whether the party leaders participate in election dispute mechanisms, publicly support the electoral process and denounce violence, and educate their party members about code of conduct stipulations. [PMP]	
4. Respond to critical and possibly changing priorities	CEPPS partners responded appropriately to unexpected events	CEPPS will ensure that its local partners have ownership over their	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
related to election assistance.	and found ways to implement the domestic election monitoring, voter education, and conflict mitigation programs described in this work plan despite a changing environment.	initiatives.	
		CEPPS will continue to closely monitor events and adjust programming to match the realities on the ground.	NDI's ongoing progress has been challenged by the realities of working in a conflict area and working with changing governmental structures. Security continues to be an issue in every aspect of work. Meetings are often delayed or postponed due to bomb threats or security concerns. Movement is slowed, and new facilities had to be located and occupied, with ever more elaborate security precautions. In maintaining a safe working and living environment, NDI moved locations in Baghdad and has been updating computer and communication systems. [Q4 04]
		CEPPS will work closely with USAID, program beneficiaries, and key counterparts to ensure that planned activities reflect potentially changing circumstances.	
		CEPPS partners will adjust program dates accordingly if necessary due to changes or delays to the elections schedule.	
		Throughout the program, Consortium members will conduct post-election day evaluation and strategic-planning sessions with CINEM, I-VOTE and IAPE, in addition to other relevant organizations, such as political parties, government institutions, donor organizations and civic groups not	



Objectives	Stated Results	Proposed Activities	Accomplished Activities
		directly targeted by the program.	
	NDI, IRI, and IFES collaborated extensively throughout the project.	CEPPS will work to ensure that all activities carried out with the distinct coalitions are viewed holistically, so that each Consortium member is aware of the technical and financial assistance being provided by the other Consortium members.	
		The Steering Committee (consisting of the Resident Directors of the Consortium members) will coordinate all three coalitions.	

14. ANNEX V:
15. Table of objectives, stated results, proposed activities and matching accomplishments. Initiative 3 - Electoral Technical Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI)

OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
Voter registration	Adopt voter registration concept	IFES will develop and prepare the voter registration concept	Public Distribution System DB was identified, survey conducted and DB transferred into registration DB.
	Develop voter registration operational plan	IFES will assist the UN and IECI with preparation of the voter registration operational plan	IFES Voter Registration specialist devised the voter registration operational plan with assistance from IEAT members
	Prepare and adopt of voter registration regulations	IFES will participate in drafting voter registration regulations	IFES consultant assisted the IECI legal committee draft regulations.
	Develop voter registration procedures	IFES will participate in drafting voter registration procedures	Registration update procedures along with registration update forms and training materials for the registration update have been finalized by IFES. Assisting the IECI with contracting for production of the materials has progressed.
	Design training materials	IFES will assist preparing training material	IFES trainer facilitated the training and helped develop training manuals, flipcharts and forms.
	Recruit and train Governorate Electoral Officers (GEOs)	IFES will assist developing procedures for recruitment of Governorate Electoral Officers Participate in training of Governorate Electoral Officers	IFES helped draft the recruitment guidelines and devised and participated in the cascade training for GEOs. First cascade was conducted by IFES and UN staff while subsequent cascades in the GEOs were conducted by GEO trainers themselves.
	Design and print registration forms	IFES will assist designing registration forms. Identify and contract printing company	IFES conducted procedures workshops with IECI staff to design and review the forms. Specifications were sent to the printer and forms printed. IFES



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
		Assist overseeing the printing process	consultant provided on site quality control
	Print registration procedures	IFES will identify and contract printing company Assist overseeing printing process	Some 550 registration procedures (1 per each DEO) were printed in Baghdad, Iraq using the local printer. Due to security considerations, IECI staff was trained to ensure quality control on site.
	Prepare data management centre for operation	IFES will assist preparing specifications for data management centre Contract data management company	During Q1 05, IFES personnel prepared and assisted with the operation of the Tally Room which operated on a 24 hour per-day basis until tabulation was completed. The Tally Room employed approximately 200 Iraqis who were trained to perform the data entry work. IFES staff played a central role analyzing and auditing the results database in order to prepare both partial and final results.
	Recruit registration trainers	IFES will assist preparing recruitment procedures for registration trainers	IFES helped draft the recruitment guidelines and devised and participated in the cascade training for GEOs. Training of trainers was conducted by IFES and UN staff while GEO trainers conducted training in governorates themselves.
	Print training materials	IFES will identify and assist with contracting printing company Assist overseeing printing process	IFES helped identify an Iraqi company to print training materials in Baghdad due to short timeline.
	Train trainers	IFES will assist preparing training material Participate in training of trainers	During Q2 05, IFES' institutional development coordinator initiated a training program in conjunction with the UN to train cascade trainers for implementing voter registration update.



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	Procure and pack registration kits	IFES will assist preparing specifications for registration kits Identify and contract company to supply registration kits	IFES drafted and sent specs to the printer and deployed a consultant to ensure quality control on site.
	Recruit and train registration clerks	IFES will help prepare procedures for recruitment of registration clerks	IFES helped draft the recruitment guidelines and devised the cascade training model training the trainers who in turn trained registration staff -
	Prepare transportation plans for registration material	IFES will assist with the preparation of transportation plans for registration material	IFES field coordination specialist and election operations specialist consulted the lead UN EAT logistics operations personnel to integrate distribution of materials into the election operational plan.
	Locate registration centers	IFES will assist with the preparation of procedures for identifying and instructions for location of polling centers.	IFES conducted an extensive information campaign on allocation of polling units/food agent numbers to polling centers. In addition, posters listing polling units within each polling center were distributed by each GEO.
	Prepare security plans for materials and Voter Registration Centers	IFES will assist with the preparation of a security plan for movement of registration material Help prepare procedures for secure storage of registration material at VRCs	IFES hired a contractor to move materials to and within Iraq and worked with multi-national forces on back up plans which were used in some governorates, for example Al Anbar Governorate due to security.
	Transportation of registration kits to governorates	IFES will assist overseeing transportation of registration kits to governorates	Transportation of materials from GEOs to registration offices (DEOs) was conducted by IECI staff in accordance with movement guidelines advised by IFES.
	Public	IFES will assist with	→ Through procurement of



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	information campaign	preparing public information messages IFES will assist preparing a dissemination plan for public information messages	services from Bell-Pottinger, IFES helped coordinate between November 1 and December 15 th 2004, approximately 2,463 television, 4,590 radio, and 157 newspaper spots throughout Iraqi and some pan-Arab media. → 550,000 posters were produced for the voter education campaign during this period. → The Ramen company, provided 787 television, 1344 radio, and 136 newspaper adverts between the period of January 23 rd and January 30 th 2005.
	Preparation of voter Registration Centers	IFES will assist developing instructions for the preparation of registration centers	IFES helped establish Registration Offices close to food ration centers which were subsequently turned into District Electoral Offices.
	Data entry		→ During Q4 04, the migration of data from the oil-for-food distribution system to the voters list was completed by IFES and preparations for the data entry center for Election Day were established. During Q2 05, IFES database advisor conducted a transfer of the voters' list database from Vienna to the IECI offices in Baghdad.
Political entities and candidates certification	Prepare and adopt political entity and candidate regulations	IFES will advise the IECI on the content of political entity and candidate regulations Assist with drafting political entity and candidate regulations	The following regulations were developed: → legal framework for elections dispute adjudication → regulations on electoral offences, electoral campaigning, political entity certification,



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
			political entity code of conduct, media code of conduct and polling and counting procedures.
	Recruit and train NEO and GEO staff	IFES will assist preparing recruitment procedures for NEO and GEO staff	
	Prepare, translate and adopt procedures for certification	IFES will assist preparing certification procedures	IFES provided translations of working documents in order to facilitate effective communication between the International Election Assistance Team and members of the IECI. IFES legal advisor drafted procedures and presented them to the Board of Commissioners as recommendations for certification.
	Design and print forms	IFES will assist designing certification forms Assist with the identification and contracting of a printing company	IFES staff drafted the procedures and forms for political entity certification and forms, arranged for timely translation, established the Political Entity Section and hired a dedicated consultant to work with the Section.
	Print procedures	IFES will assist with overseeing the printing of procedures	Political entity forms and procedures were printed in the IECI due to the low numbers.
	Public information	IFES will assist with preparing public information messages Assist preparing a dissemination plan for public information messages	Public information officers from the governorates were trained during Q4 04. IFES public outreach specialists worked closely with IECI staff to coordinate the development of voter education messages regarding where, when, and how to vote.
	Brief political entities and distribute forms	IFES will assist preparing briefing documents to political entities	
	Certification	IFES will assist	→ Political entity certification and

OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	process for entity and coalitions	overseeing the entity and coalition certification process	<p>candidates lists were completed on December 20th 2004.</p> <p>→ 233 political entities and 35 coalitions were certified to participate in the elections.</p>
	Candidate certification process	IFES will assist overseeing the candidate certification process	<p>→ 6239 candidates were deemed eligible for the National Assembly on 106 entity and coalition candidates lists.</p> <p>→ 358 candidates were certified as eligible to run for the Kurdistan National Assembly on 14 lists.</p> <p>→ 10,137 candidates were registered to run for the 18 separate Governorate Councils.</p>
	Adjudicate of political entity and coalition disputes	IFES will provide advice on the adjudication of political entity and coalition disputes.	An IFES disputes adjudication expert closely advised the IECI in establishing the adjudication framework for election complaints. IFES personnel assisted with receiving and processing disputes until late February 2005.
	Adjudicate candidate disputes	IFES will provide advice on the adjudication of candidate disputes	An IFES disputes adjudication expert closely advised the IECI in establishing the adjudication framework for election complaints. IFES personnel assisted with receiving and processing disputes until late February 2005.
Observer and entity agent accreditation	Prepare and adopt observer and party agent regulations	IFES will advise the IECI on the content of observer and party agent regulations Assist with drafting political entity and candidate regulations	Observer accreditation procedures for January 30 were updated and observer and political entities accredited.
	Develop, translate and adopt procedures for observer and	IFES will assist developing procedures for observer and party agent accreditation	IFES provided translations of working documents in order to facilitate effective communication between the International Election Assistance Team and members of



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	party agent accreditation		the IECI.
	Design and print forms	IFES will assist designing forms Assist identifying and contracting printing company	IFES graphic designer provided designs for forms and liaise between the printers regarding technical requirements and quality control.
	Print procedures	IFES will assist overseeing the printing of procedures	Procedures were printed with electoral kits and included in the kit. Extra copies for first two training cascades were produced in-house by IECI.
	Train NEO and GEO staff	IFES will assist preparing training material for NEO and GEO staff training Assist training NEO and GEO staff	IFES participated directly in first cascade training of National Office staff and GEO trainers and oversaw the training of GEO and DEO staff in Baghdad during the second cascade.
	Invite civil society groups to form observer groups	IFES will assist preparing messages to civil society groups	This activity is fulfilled on a separate IFES project called the 'EVER project'
	Brief civil society groups and political entities	IFES will prepare briefing material for civil society	IFES technical assistance activities centered on institutional development of the IECI and engagement with civil society was minimal, however, the IFES EVER project engaged in this sort of activity.
	Provide information for observers and agents	IFES will assist preparing briefing material for observers and agents	Observer accreditation procedures for January 30 were updated and observers and political entities accredited.
	Open accreditation period	IFES will assist overseeing the accreditation period	Accreditation period started a few days before the voter registration update to allow for process to be observed and Jan. 30 accreditation was valid.
Exhibition and challenges	Adopt exhibition and challenges	IFES will advise the IECI on the content of exhibition and	IFES legal advisor closely advised the IECI regarding the formulation of regulations for the exhibition



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	regulations	challenges regulations Assist with drafting exhibition and challenges regulations	and challenges regulations.
	Voter registration data entry	IFES will assist preparing operational plan for voter registration data-entry	Voter registration forms were collected on a regular basis, transported to the contractor in the UAE and data entered. Data was screened and accepted in Baghdad by IECI.
	Develop, translate and adopt exhibition and challenges procedures	IFES will assist developing exhibition and challenges procedures	IFES provided translations of working documents in order to facilitate effective communication between the International Election Assistance Team and members of the IECI.
	Design exhibition and challenges forms	IFES will assist designing exhibition and challenges forms	IFES graphic designer and election specialist provided close support for this activity.
	Print exhibition and challenges procedures	IFES will assist identifying printing company Assist overseeing the printing process	IFES contracted and supervised the printing of the voters lists for January 30, 2005 elections.
	Train trainers	IFES will assist developing training material Assist training trainers	IFES fulfilled this obligation though supervising the cascade training of additional trainers and advising the IECI on training procedures.
	Public information	IFES will assist developing public information messages	IFES developed targeted to orient voters to the polling station environment and highlighting polling station procedures for poll workers.
	Train GEO staff	IFES will assist overseeing the training process	IFES oversaw the cascade training process which included the training of GEO staff.
	Print voter	IFES will assist	IFES contracted and supervised the



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	register	identifying and contracting printing company IFES will assist overseeing the printing process	printing of the voters lists for January 30, 2005 elections.
	Train voter registration centre staff	IFES will assist overseeing the training process	IFES oversaw the cascade training process which included the training of GEO and polling center staff.
	Transport voter register to governorates	IFES will assist preparing transport plan for transporting the voter register to governorates Assist overseeing the implementation of the transport plan	IFES election operations specialist and field coordination specialist oversaw the distribution of voter registration materials to the governorates.
	Exhibition and challenge period	IFES will assist overseeing the exhibition and challenge process	IFES legal advisor closely monitored this process and provided advice to the IECI regarding adjudication complaints.
	Adjudicate challenges		See above.
	Produce additions and deletions list	IFES will assist overseeing the production of additions and deletions lists	IFES election expert and database specialist oversaw the updating process of the voters list.
Polling and counting	Recruit District Electoral Officers	IFES will assist developing recruitment plan for District Electoral Officers	Polling operation plan and timeline was developed by IFES for different programmatic areas and compiled by UN.
	Prepare polling operational plan	IFES will assist preparing polling operational plan	Development of regulations on polling and counting procedures.
	Adopt polling and counting regulations	IFES will assist preparing polling and counting regulations	Development of regulations on polling and counting procedures.
	Locate polling and counting	IFES will assist developing	IFES helped prepare guidelines for polling center identification and



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	centers	instructions for locating polling and counting centers Assist recording information regarding all polling and counting centers	sent templates to the GEOs to collect information about polling centers throughout Iraq.
	Procure and pack polling kits	IFES will assist preparing specifications for polling kits Oversee packing of polling kits	Specifications for polling kits were developed and sent to the printer. On-site quality control expert was provided.
	Design polling and counting forms	IFES will assist designing polling and counting forms	IFES design the counting and presiding officer forms and conducted workshops/focus groups to adjust them to the needs of Iraqis.
	Design, translate and adopt polling and counting procedures	IFES will assist developing polling and counting procedures	IFES provided translations of working documents in order to facilitate effective communication between the International Election Assistance Team and members of the IECI.
	Design polling and counting training materials	IFES will assist designing polling and counting training materials	IFES graphic designer helped IECI designers prepare the materials whereas IFES procedures and training expert helped develop the content. Printing of the procedures was merged with the printing of other non-sensitive election materials.
	Recruit polling trainers	IFES will assist preparing procedures for recruitment of trainers	IECI has hired a sufficient number of headquarters and governorate trainers to ensure quality in first and second training cascade.
	Recruit polling staff	IFES will assist preparing procedures for recruiting polling staff	IFES did not participate directly in recruitment of polling staff but it facilitated and supported the lottery for selecting polling staff ensuring



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
			transparency and preserving IECI's image as an independent and professional body.
	Print procedures	IFES will assist identifying printing company Assist overseeing the printing process	Printing of the procedures was merged with the printing of other non-sensitive election materials.
	Print training materials	IFES will assist identifying printing company Assist overseeing the printing process	IFES helped design the training materials and oversaw an in-house print and production. IFES funded a TV training program broadcast on all major Iraqi channels in the days leading to the Referendum.
	Print forms	IFES will assist identifying printing company Assist overseeing the printing process	IFES facilitated a selective bid process and hired an onsite quality control expert for the printing of the forms.
	Design and print ballots	IFES will assist designing ballots Assist identifying print company for printing ballots Assist overseeing printing of ballots	During Q4 04, IFES conducted quality control at ballot printing facilities to ensure timely production and delivery.
	Prepare security arrangements for polling and counting centers	IFES will assist developing security procedures for polling and counting centers	<p>→ The UN, IFES, and the Multi-National Force assisted the IECI in developing a logistics plan suited to the security environment for Election Day.</p> <p>→ The UN, IFES, and the Multi-National Forces – Iraq (MNF-I) assisted the IECI in developing a logistics plan suited to the security environment for Election Day in January 2005. IFES monitored and advised the IECI in managing Election Day administrative challenges and in overcoming security obstacles to ensure that as</p>



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
			many polling stations opened and operated as were feasibly possible. An IFES staff member was deployed to facilitate ballot transport with MNF-I to the IECI when significant problems arose.
	Train polling trainers	IFES will assist overseeing the training process	Cascade training for polling was completed and personnel were deployed to the governorate. IFES was involved in the training of 200 master trainers who were responsible for initiating the cascade training for an additional 6,000 poll workers.
	Train NEO and GEO staff	IFES will assist training NEO and GEO staff	IFES helped devise and conduct a cascade training plan and directly participated in first cascade training of the national and governorate trainers.
	Train DEOs in polling procedures	IFES will assist overseeing the training of DEOs	DEO training was arranged in Baghdad for core trainers, evaluation tests were given to participants at the end of each course and feedback provided to better prepare them for further training in the field. Training CDs were produced and a copy given to each participant.
	Print voter registers	IFES will assist identifying printing company Assist overseeing the printing process	During Q1 05, a voters list was printed and delivered for exhibition period. IFES directly contracted with Austrian Media Group (AMG) for the printing of the voters list and deployed multiple personnel to the voters list and ballot printing facilities to ensure quality standards were met and that production and delivery were conducted in a timely manner.



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	Transport polling kits to governorates	IFES will assist designing the transport plan for polling kits Assist overseeing the transport of polling kits to governorates	Specifications for transportation of sensitive materials which was contracted out to a logistics company were prepared and a separate plan for distribution prepared for the IECI GEOs for ballots and other sensitive materials. Ballots were transported to 4 hubs in Iraq, stored in 18 GEO warehouses and from there transported to some 6000 polling centers.
	Train polling staff	IFES will assist overseeing the training of polling staff	IFES was involved in the training of 200 master trainers who were responsible for initiating the cascade training for an additional 170,000 poll workers.
	Transport ballots to governorates	IFES will assist designing the transport and security plan for transportation and storage of ballots to governorates Assist overseeing the transport of ballots to governorates	Specifications for transportation of ballots which was contracted out to a logistics company were prepared and a separate plan for distribution prepared for the IECI GEOs for ballots and other sensitive materials. Ballots were transported to 4 hubs in Iraq, stored in 18 GEO warehouses and from there transported to some 6000 polling centers.
	Transport voter registers	IFES will assist designing the transportation plan for voters registers. Assist overseeing the transportation of voters registers	Distribution plan was developed for the contractor for delivery from outside of Iraq and a separate operational plan for delivery between warehouses and polling centers.
Seat allocation	Adopt seat allocation regulations	IFES will assist preparing seat allocation regulations	IFES Legal Advisor helped clarify electoral law to the IECI Board and drafted the seat allocation regulation.
	Design, translate and	IFES will assist designing seat	IFES provided translations of working documents in order to



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	adopt seat allocation procedures and forms	allocation procedures and forms	facilitate effective communication between the International Election Assistance Team and members of the IECI.
	Brief political entities	IFES will assist preparing briefing material for political entities	Guidelines for political entities were issued and distributed through various channels. Pamphlets with abbreviated instructions were published in newspapers on a regular basis under IFES funding as a supplement to the IECI outreach to political entities. Regular meetings were held and information provided to other CEEPS partners liaising directly and regularly with political entities.
	Prepare and test IT resources for seat allocation	IFES will assist preparing and testing IT resources for seat allocation	IFES staff managed and maintained the IECI IT/Network
	Establish tally centre	IFES will assist establishing a tally centre	Set up the physical location, helped recruit and train some 200 tally center staff and helped developed tally center database and procedures.
Capacity building program	Assess capacity building needs	IFES will participate with the UN and IECI in the assessment of capacity building needs	A series of meetings were held with IFES staff and IECI department heads and other staff to assess the needs and needs assessment document drafted and submitted to the IECI Board and UN. A debriefing of key IFES staff who worked on January elections was held and needs assessment prepared.
	Plan capacity building activities	IFES will participate in planning capacity building activities	Prepared a capacity building needs plan, discussed and coordinated with various funders.
	Design and produce	IFES will assist designing and	Conducted workshops for capacity building staff and helped them



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
	capacity building resources	producing capacity building resources	organize courses for IECI staff.
	Identify capacity building trainers	IFES will advise the IECI on identification of capacity building trainers	Facilitated IECI's participation in various capacity building courses outside of Iraq.
	Implement capacity building program	IFES will assist with the implementation of a capacity building program	Immediate capacity building needs were identified and training sessions and direct mentoring arranged for IECI.
Update of voter register	Prepare decisions for update of voter register	IFES will assist and provide advice on the update of the voters register	During the exhibition period, IFES organized the printing and delivery of a voters list
Preparation for referendum	Lessons learned exercises	IFES will participate in and advise the IECI on the conduct of a lessons learned exercise	Conducted and incorporating lessons learned meetings and prepared and extensive lessons learned and needs assessment
	Ongoing preparations for referendum	IFES will participate in and advise the IECI on ongoing preparations for the referendum	IFES provided advice in the following functional areas: 1. Drafting electoral regulations, handling electoral complaints, and support to the IECI Board of Commissioners; 2. Drafting polling and counting procedures and forms; 3. Poll worker training of some 170,000 staff including development of training manuals, flipcharts, forms, etc. 4. Procurement of registration and election material and services; 5. Voter education and media relations; 6. Supplementing IECI's public information campaign; 7. Production and reporting of election results;



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
Clarification of electoral legal framework	Clarify electoral legal framework		During Q2 05, an IFES legal expert has provided critical support to the Constitutional Committee with regards to electoral code drafting and responding to issues of interpreting legal documents appropriately.
Preparation for general election		IFES will participate in and advise the IECI on ongoing preparations for the general election	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Drafting electoral regulations, handling electoral complaints, and support to the IECI Board of Commissioners; 2. Registration of political entities and submission of candidate lists; 3. Drafting polling and counting procedures and forms; 4. Poll worker training of some 170,000 staff including development of training manuals, flipcharts, forms, etc. 5. Procurement of registration and election material and services; 6. Voter education and media relations; 7. Supplementing IECI's public information campaign; 8. Production and reporting of election results; 9. Design and production of ballots; QC and oversight of ballot production; 10. Logistical support: polling kits, voters lists, ballots delivery; 11. IT/Database development and IT/Networking; 12. Administration, finance, and support; 13. Field communications and management; 14. Incorporating lessons learned from the Referendum and



OBJECTIVES	STATED RESULTS	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
			arranging appropriate training and capacity building courses
			IFES' director for the Center for Transitional and Post Conflict Governance met with the IECI in support of the UN Needs Assessment Mission. The result of the meetings was to consolidate electoral authority by clarifying the IECI's internal regulations specifying lines of responsibility. IFES facilitated the development of the regulations and provided critical translation services of key documents.

**16. ANNEX VI****17. Air Time Costs for Further Audio-visual Outreach****Television airtime rates as of May 2005:**

<u>Station</u>	<u>Rate (US\$/sec)</u>
Al Sharqiya	\$200.00/sec
Al Jazeera	\$150.00/sec
Al Arabia	\$150.00/sec
Al Iraqiya	\$33.33/sec
Al Sumariya	\$15.00/sec
Al Huriya (Kurdish)	\$3.00/sec
Kurd Sat	\$2.00/sec
Al Nahreen	\$10.00/sec
Al Mashreq	\$5.00/sec
Al Furat	\$2.00/sec
Ashwr	\$15.00/sec
LBC	12:00--2:00 pm \$20/sec; 5:00--8:00 pm \$50/sec; 9:00-9:30 pm \$150/sec; 10:30-11-30 pm \$70/sec

Radio airtime rates as of May 2005:

<u>Station</u>	<u>Rate (US\$/sec)</u>
Dejla	\$1.50/sec
Summer	\$1.00/sec
Al Huriya (Kurdish)	\$0.75/sec
Republic of Iraq	\$0.17/sec
Ashwr	\$2.00/sec
Al Salam	\$1.00/sec

Source, International Republican Institute

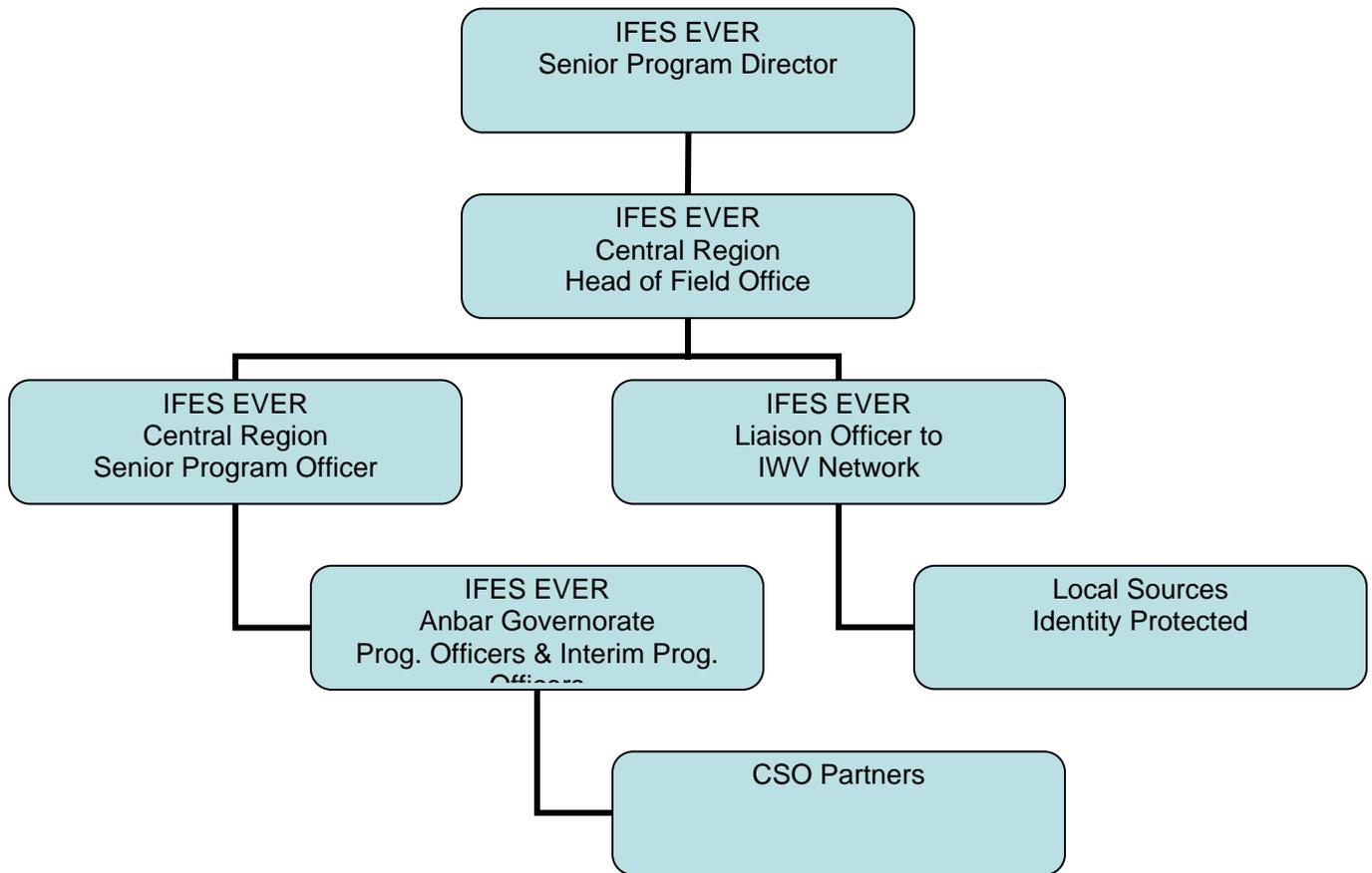
18. ANNEX VII:
19. Voter Turnout Table for January 2005 Elections and October 2005 Referendum

	Transitional National Assembly	Governorate Council Election	Kurdistan National Assembly	Iraqi Constitution Referendum
	%	%	%	%
Anbar	2	1		39
Babil	73	72		74
Baghdad	51	48		57
Basra	72	70		64
Diyala	33	34		70
Dohuk	92	91	89	86
Erbil	84	84	81	97
Karbala	75	75		61
Misan	61	60		58
Muthanna	65	59		59
Najaf	75	73		57
Ninewa	17	14		55
OCV	93			
Qadisiya	71	70		57
Salahaddin	29	28		92
Suleimaniya	82	81	82	76
Tameem	70	70		80
Theqar	69	68		57
Wasit	71	66		54
Total	58		83	66

Source, IFES/IECI

20. ANNEX VIII:

21. Anbar Province IFES EVER Incident-reporting Matrix





22.

23. ANNEX IX:

24. List of Strategic Cities

Babil
Baghdad
Baqubah
Basrah
Diwaniyah
Fallujah
Karbala
Kirkuk
Mosul
Nasriyah
Ramadi
Samarra
Samawa
Tikrit

Source, USAID



25. ANNEX X:
26. BIBLIOGRAPHY and REFERENCES

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