

UNDEF



The United Nations
Democracy Fund

**PROVISION FOR POST PROJECT EVALUATIONS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
DEMOCRACY FUND
Contract NO.PD:C0110/10**

EVALUATION REPORT



TRANSTEC
PROJECT
MANAGEMENT

UDF-MON-08-258 – Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia

Date: 21 May 2013

Acknowledgements

The evaluators would like to thank all of those who took the time to provide their expertise and insight on the issues of civic education and the electoral processes in Mongolia, and on the implementation of the project *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia*. In particular, the management and staff of the Women for Social Progress and Voter Education Center for their generous logistical support and warm hospitality.

All errors and omissions remain the responsibility of the authors.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluators. They do not represent those of UNDEF or of any of the institutions referred to in the report.

Authors

This report was written by Sue Nelson and Jargalan Avkhia. Landis McKellar, the Evaluation Team Leader, provided editorial and methodological advice and quality assurance. Ms. Aurélie Ferreira was Evaluation Manager and Mr. Eric Tourres Project Director at Transtec.

Table of Contents

- I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY1**
- II. INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT4**
 - (i) The project and evaluation objectives 4
 - (ii) Evaluation methodology 4
 - (iii) Development context 5
- III. PROJECT STRATEGY7**
 - (i) Project approach and strategy 7
 - (ii) Logical framework 9
- IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS.....10**
 - (i) Relevance 10
 - (ii) Effectiveness 11
 - (iii) Efficiency 13
 - (iv) Impact 14
 - (v) Sustainability 16
 - (vi) UNDEF added value 17
- V. CONCLUSIONS18**
- VI. RECOMMENDATIONS.....20**
- VII. OVERALL ASSESSMENT AND CLOSING THOUGHTS21**

- VIII. ANNEXES.....22**
- ANNEX 1: EVALUATION QUESTIONS:.....22**
- ANNEX 2: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED:.....23**
- ANNEX 3: PERSONS INTERVIEWED24**
- ANNEX 4 : ACRONYMS26**

I. Executive Summary

(i) Project Data

The *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia* project sought to strengthen the electoral system and civic participation in Mongolia by raising the level of voter education and public awareness on democratic institutions and processes. Its main objectives were to: 1) prepare a voter education high school curriculum; 2) establish a network of volunteers able to train on voter right issues; 3) improve the skills of key officials involved with elections; and 4) implement a public awareness campaign for voters for the elections in 2012. Its intended outcomes were to have: its voter education curriculum adopted by the Ministry of Education as part of the national school curriculum; trained observers and officials ready for the 2012 elections; and, a more knowledgeable public on voter issues.

This was a two-year USD 300,000 project (1 December 2009 - 30 November 2011). It was implemented by the Women for Social Progress (WSP) and the Voter Education Centre (VEC) based in the capital of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar. Its intended activities were to:

- Revise the civic education curriculum and develop a new textbook;
- Test this new curriculum in five provinces and two schools in Ulaanbaatar;
- Lobby key officials to adopt the new curriculum into the national curriculum; and,
- Develop a training package for domestic observation and train trainers from universities to deliver observer training for the 2012 elections.

(ii) Evaluation Findings

The project activities and objectives were directly **relevant** to the objectives of the project and in line with the needs and priorities to strengthen civic participation and the electoral system in Mongolia. The problems surrounding the 2008 elections had led to violence and alarmed Mongolian society. The project addressed these issues by working to improve the understanding of citizens and key actors, such as the police and judges, on the basics of a free and fair process and the resolution of related disputes. This work was also directly relevant to the mandate of the grantee, WSP, which had worked on issues of civic and voter education since the 1990s.

Project implementation did not differ significantly from what was foreseen in the project document. WSP developed its voter education component for the high schools and piloted this in five provincial schools and two in the capital. Doing this in collaboration with the Institute of Educational Research of the Ministry of Education and Science was **effective**. This ensured Ministry participation, which was needed to implement the pilot as well as to achieve the project's intended outcome of having this curriculum adopted into the national school system. WSP did not target university students, but trained representatives of CSOs and parties through its network of provincial offices on election observation. This was done well in advance of the 2012 elections, and before the adoption of that election law. As a result, the training was more generic in nature and the observers would have needed more specific information on the particulars of that election, such as the electronic ballot counting. WSP also trained some police trainers, developed and disseminated some general voter awareness messages, and translated International IDEA's *Electoral Justice Handbook* into Mongolian and disseminated it to the judges and others. However, the small scope of these efforts limited their potential effectiveness.

WSP developed synergies with other organizations working on issues of voter participation, such as the International Republican Institute (IRI), to expand its programmatic activities. It used its national network of provincial offices to deliver its training in an **efficient** and decentralized manner, intended to use them to start a cascading natured-training and exchange of information. It reused and repackaged its training materials for its work with the police and media, and tailored it to their needs. As an example, it made a pocket sized handbook to fit in the pocket of a police officer's uniform and made an audio tape which they thought the police could listen to in their patrol cars. Their translation and dissemination of international standards and examples of best practices in electoral justice seemed to be a good investment as the costs were minimal and the handbook was being used by the political and legal actors interviewed for this evaluation.

The extent of the project's outcome is unknown. WSP did not do a before/after baseline that could have measured its results, nor did it track its trainees afterwards to see if they replicated the training and if so, who they reached. Most of the project work was completed well before the elections, and a lot of work was done subsequently, so attributing results in terms of voter education, domestic observation and actions of the targeted officials is difficult.¹ However, this project certainly contributed to the improved electoral environment for the 2012 parliamentary elections by sensitizing CSO, political party and other actors, including the police, early in the process on their roles and responsibilities and the components needed for a free and fair election. The **impact** from their voter education curriculum development and more participatory teaching style is more easily identified as it is being included in the revision of the national curriculum. The evaluators also found the translated version of the IDEA handbook increased the awareness of the GEC and some lawyers and judges on the international norms for electoral dispute resolution, and was used by lawyers in at least three cases to provide justification for why the courts should hear these cases.

The voter education module for high schools civics is expected to be **sustainable**. The project's work fed into the Ministry of Education's efforts to modernize its school curriculum and WSP is currently a member of the Ministry's working group that is updating the grades 1 - 10 curriculum. Their voter education module is being incorporated into that new curriculum and is expected to be in the schools starting with the 2014 academic school year. WSP also succeeded in getting other donor funding to continue its voter education efforts, such as from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). The Mongolian version of the IDEA handbook is used as a background reference by both the judges and lawyers involved in the 2012 electoral disputes that are still before the courts. Targeting youth and providing them with a better civic education will also plant the seeds for more meaningful civic participation in the future.

There was **UNDEF value added** for this project as donor funding for the 2012 elections was extremely limited and this project represented a major effort in the sector. Most of the other donor funding was also funneled through international NGOs, and giving a substantial grant directly to a national NGO helped to strengthen its internal capacity and ability to implement a vision-driven program.

(iii) Conclusions

This was a worthwhile project that was done by the ***right organization, at the right time and was well organized and implemented***. The project accomplished its list of tasks,

¹ In Mongolia, "observation" is used to refer to party observers, while "monitoring" is used for observation by civil society. This is the opposite from international usage of the terms. The international usage of the terms is used in this report due to the global scope of the readers for UNDEF evaluations.

however its **design was too ambitious for the means**, and certain elements were only marginally touched. This included the training for police, judges and media, and the trainer-of-trainer (TOT) aspect of observation training. The loss of focus on TOT for observation, limited the project's potential reach and effectiveness. These areas remain critical ones, especially for the justice sector as the norms for electoral justice and the resolution of electoral complaints are still evolving in Mongolia.

The **electoral cycle nature** of the project **helped to maintain civil society and key actor focus** on the issues that needed addressing in the interim period between the elections, when there is time for discussion, capacity building and electoral reforms. Most of its training was basic information because the legal framework for those elections had not yet been adopted. This more generic content **was appropriate for these elections** given the problems in 2008 and the importance of not repeating them for Mongolia's future democratic development, but this content will need to be more substantive in the future as the voters and actors become more experienced in the democratic processes. The project does demonstrate the power of sharing information and the dissemination of best practices, as the evaluators found key actors used these resources in the absence of technical assistance.

The **work with the Ministry of Education** was the most substantive work of the project. It **will directly improve the content of high school civics** and **contribute to better educated voters** in the future. The project also provides a **good example of synergistic programming** with WSP seeing this project as just one part of its larger program, all of which worked together to achieve a common vision. The **project's products and efforts are continuing**, and can be expected to be used by WSP and others for the up-coming presidential elections in 2013.

(iv) Recommendations

For similar projects in the future, the evaluators recommend that WSP and other similar organizations **continue to build on the foundations built by this project**. The materials should keep pace with the increasing sophistication of the voters and key actors in democratic systems, and **be updated** with specific information from current legislation and more in depth content on the democratic meaning of elections for use in the upcoming presidential election and for subsequent electoral cycles. WSP should also continue to work with its network of provincial offices to provide training to election observers and monitors, but this **training should be targeted at institutions** that are expected to field observers/monitors and/or provide voter education, **and at their trainers**, rather than done directly to individuals.

Future projects should **be more realistic in scope for their means**, and **continue to link with other organizations** working in the sector, to ensure that all key actors, such as the police and media, are covered. For example, the police will be receiving a substantial amount of human rights training from Transparency International (TI). WSP should continue to work with TI to help shape the module on their role and actions for the elections. For the justice sector, the evaluators recommend that WSP **work with the trainers at the training center at the Supreme Court** of Mongolia to help develop a module on the role of the courts in the elections and on electoral dispute resolution. WSP should also continue to work with the Ministry of Education to **adapt its high school civic/voter education curriculum for adult education**, which is an interest of the Ministry and a continuing need in Mongolia. WSP could also work with the Ministry's training department to help **develop the curricula for the in-service training of teachers** who will be teaching the revised civic education course in the national high schools.

II. Introduction and development context

(i) *The project and evaluation objectives*

The *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia* project was a two-year USD 300,000 project implemented by the Women for Social Progress and the Voter Education Centre which was an off-shoot of WSP but which used the same staff. USD 25,000 of this was retained by UNDEF for monitoring and evaluation purposes. The project ran from 1 December 2009 to 30 November 2011. Its main objectives were to: 1) improve the electoral process and voter rights awareness in Mongolia; 2) develop a voter education curriculum for high schools; 3) establish a network of volunteers able to train on voter rights issues; 4) improve the skills of key officials involved with elections; and 5) implement a voters public awareness campaign. With these, it intended to improve the civic education content in the national high school curriculum, train observers for the 2012 elections and raise the level of public understanding on voters' issues.

The evaluation of this project is part of the larger evaluation of the Round 2 and 3 UNDEF-funded projects. Its purpose is to "contribute towards a better understanding of what constitutes a successful project which will in turn help UNDEF to develop future project strategies. Evaluations are also to assist stakeholders to determine whether projects have been implemented in accordance with the project document and whether anticipated project outputs have been achieved".²

(ii) *Evaluation methodology*

The evaluation took place in April 2013 with field work done in Mongolia from 1 - 5 April, 2013. The evaluation was conducted by Sue Nelson and Jargalan Avkhia, experts in democratic governance and the electoral and justice sectors. The UNDEF evaluations are more qualitative in nature and follow a standard set of evaluation questions that focus on the project's relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, sustainability and any value added from UNDEF-funding (Annex 1). This report follows that structure. The evaluators reviewed available documentation on the project and on the issue of voter participation and electoral processes in Mongolia (Annex 2).

In Mongolia, the evaluators met with the Women for Social Progress and their main partners for this effort, including the Ministry of Education and Science and the General Elections Commission (GEC). They also spoke to representatives from the political parties, police, and judges and undertook a field visit to the 119th School in Nalaikh District to talk to teachers and students who had participated in the pilot curriculum efforts. The evaluators also met with the UN Development Programme (UNDP), The Asia Foundation (TAF), the International Republican Institute (IRI) and representatives of other national nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in the sector and/or that observed the 2012 elections. The list of persons interviewed is provided in Annex 3.

During the preparatory work, the evaluators identified several issues which they followed up on during their interviews. These included:

- **Extent of project impact** since it appeared from reporting that the project had met most of its targets and given its capacity building approach, additional results should have been generated over time.

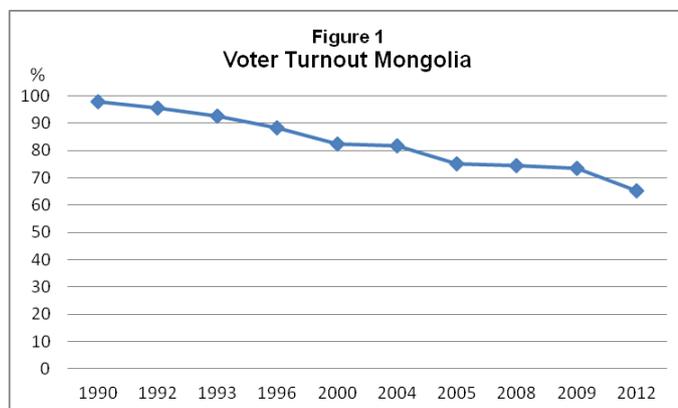
² Operational Manual for the UNDEF-funded project evaluations, p. 6.

- **Extent of synergies** with other electoral assistance efforts which were notable in project reporting and which might have generated some lessons and best practices.
- **Sustainability of the changes made** as the project sought to increase public understanding and to have its civics curriculum adopted by the school system.

(iii) Development context

Mongolia made a peaceful transition to a democratic multi-party system of government in the early 1990s. It has had regular elections since for parliament, president and local offices which most international observers have considered as largely free and fair. The parliamentary elections in 2008 were marred by post-election violence that killed five persons following allegations of election irregularities, with results challenged in three of the 26 electoral districts. There were also 700 arrests and allegations of police abuse while in detention. It was a close race between the two main parties, the Mongolian People's Party (MPP- formerly the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party) and the Democratic Party (DP), with 356 candidates for the 76 seat parliament. The MPP and DP subsequently agreed to a coalition government, and the 2009 presidential elections were held without major incident.³

Although voter turnout in Mongolia is high in comparative terms, it has been declining steadily over the years (Figure 1⁴) along with Mongolian interest in the political processes. In a late 2008 survey done by TAF⁵, only 35 percent of respondents felt that they were able to influence national government decision making, and 27 percent were never, or almost never interested in politics. Only five percent stated that they were satisfied with government (with 35 percent fairly satisfied).



The survey data also shows a generalized lack of understanding about the meaning of democracy. Most Mongolians responded that democracy meant freedom and equality, and did not associate it with issues of representation or accountability. They also lack general knowledge about the makeup of their government. More than a quarter of the survey respondents did not know the role of the president, and another 35 percent thought it was as the army commander.

Most voters stated that they intended to vote, but their rationale lacked democratic grounding. A third of the respondents saw it as a “*civic duty*”, followed by “*choosing a president*” (29 percent), “*end corruption*” (12 percent), “*make a difference*” (9 percent), and “*freedom/rights*” (7 percent). Four percent said they voted because “*everyone else does.*” The moral aspects of elections were also found to be weak, with 77 percent of the survey respondents saying it was ok to take money from candidates, and to vote for the party you like.

³ Background information on the elections based on the IRI election observation report for 2008 and the TAF election observation report for 2009.

⁴ GEC, *The General Elections Commission*, p 30

⁵ All survey data from TAF, *Voter Education Survey, A Research Report, 2009*

There is more information available now in Mongolia for voters due to the proliferation of television stations, but most voters still reported not knowing the platforms or ideologies of the parties and candidates.

In terms of voter education, the TAF survey highlighted the need to focus on the role and function of representatives and other elected officials, and the concepts of representation and accountability. There is also a need to increase their overall interest in politics and on the moral aspects of the process-- in particular, the issue of vote buying and how this affects the democratic processes.

The interchange of money and politics has become a critical issue in Mongolia and “underlies the electoral process and political party dynamics.”⁶ The cost of elections rose from 2004 to 2008 from about USD 550,000 to USD 5,700,000. Officially, the average candidate spends about USD 127,000, in reality they spend from USD 50,000 to USD 1 million. Mongolia has a wealth of mineral assets, and the blurring between business and political power was found by a USAID democracy and governance assessment as one of the critical threats to Mongolia’s democratic processes.

The elections have been monitored by political parties since the beginning of the democratic transition. In 2008 there were 13,500 poll watchers from parties and independent candidates.⁷ They have received training over the years, from IRI and others on poll watching. IRI noted its 2008 observation report that the monitors were “*well-trained, knowledgeable, and professional*”.⁸ There were no civil society observers allowed until 2012. The lack of impartial domestic observers was felt to contribute to the lack of public confidence in the integrity of the electoral process.⁹

Peaceful, credible elections were held for parliament in 2012. They were observed for the first time by observers from civil society. The GEC also made changes, including national voter identification cards with finger print recognition and use of electronic vote tabulation machines to minimize counting errors. Presidential elections are anticipated for June 2013.

⁶ USAID *Democracy and Governance Assessment, 2010* p 12

⁷ IRI *Mongolia Parliamentary Elections, 2008* p 32

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ IRI OpCit. p 13

III. Project strategy

(i) Project approach and strategy

With this project, WSP intended to strengthen the electoral systems and voter awareness in Mongolia through improving the voter education aspects of the national school system, increasing the general level of awareness among citizens on the meaning of voting and the specific awareness of domestic observers and other key actors such as the police and judges.

The project approached the issue of strengthening electoral systems and voter awareness through the lens of voter education and the dissemination of information. It felt that if voters were more aware of their rights and knowledgeable about the electoral process, it would increase their ability to cast a meaningful vote and to hold their public institutions and officials accountable for their work and in turn, strengthen the democratic processes within Mongolia. By targeting the civic education curriculum in schools it felt it could reach the first time voters and help to build their understanding of their rights and responsibilities before they cast their first vote. It also felt that by training key actors they could improve their understanding and increase their ability to participate effectively in the conduct of more credible elections and to reduce election-related violence. These groups were to include a network of civil society election observers, the police who provided electoral security, the media, which reported on the processes, and the judges who adjudicated electoral disputes.

The project's strategy was to increase the amount of information available on the electoral process and distribute it as widely as possible. In addition to specific trainings and developing the curriculum for the nationwide school system, it also planned to undertake a general awareness campaign through posters, flyers and the media. At the same time, it used a capacity building approach and sought sustainable outcomes seeking to increase beneficiary understanding about their own roles and responsibilities, as well as by institutionalizing the content of their work within the national school system. It intended to cast a wide net, seeing its beneficiaries as the high school population of Mongolia, the government (Ministry of Education and Science and the GEC), civil society observers, police, journalists and judges, as well as society as a whole.

Its first key activity was intended to be the development of a voter education curriculum within the national civic education curriculum. WSP/VEC intended to revise the existing curriculum, including its delivery mechanisms, and test it in five provinces and two schools in the capital. They then intended to lobby government officials, including the Ministry of Education and Science and the Human Rights Committee to adopt the content in the national high school curriculum.

WSP then intended to train trainers to undertake election observation in all 21 provinces and the nine districts of Ulaanbaatar. These were to be volunteers from universities (20 per province/district), selected on the basis of merit, who would then train other volunteers to observe the elections. These observers were then to be ready for the 2012 parliamentary elections.

The police, judges and media outlets in Mongolia were to be reached through the distribution of DVDs that the project would develop that contained the essential information on the role of each institution in the electoral process. Closer to the elections, the general voters were to be informed through a series of flyers, posters, television spots and newspaper articles about

the structure of government, role of the president, and election related issues such as vote buying, election fraud and complaint procedures.

The project’s intended outcomes were:

- Ministry of Education adopts voter education curriculum into national curriculum;
- Training is run across the country for election observers and key officials leading up to the 2012 elections; and,
- Public has better knowledge of voter issues.



Nalaikh District high school students (above) and junior high students with their teachers (below) show their civics essays.



The main project assumption was that voters needed this type of information and that the government institutions, such as the Ministry of Education and Science, would be supportive of the project’s efforts and use their products to improve their curriculums, teaching methods and actions during the elections. The project also assumed it would undertake these efforts with other projects implemented in the sector, such as those by TAF and IRI, and that there would not be significant changes to the electoral system since the project was being done in the interim period between the elections.

WSP noted in its project document that a two-year project was not enough to change political culture, but it felt that this project mitigated this risk. WSP was experienced in civic education and running advocacy campaigns, and they felt they could start implementing the project activities with minimal start up time. They also realized that their work with the schools was not enough to change the teaching styles of rural teachers who generally lacked a

participatory and critical thinking class room environment, but they felt that this project could contribute towards the larger educational reform efforts underway to modernize teaching in Mongolia.

WSP intended to implement the project itself using its Voter Education Center as its partner. In actuality, these organizations work as one, except for their legal status as the VEC was a previous project spin-off from WSP and uses the same staff and facilities.

(ii) Logical framework

Project activities

Intended outcomes

Medium-term impacts

Long-term development objective

DEVELOPING A HIGH SCHOOL VOTER EDUCATION CURRICULUM

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and test textbook and curriculum | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curriculum piloted in 5 provinces, 2 capital schools • New voter education textbook developed | <p>Improved high school civics course content</p> <p>More knowledgeable youth and first time voters</p> | <p>More involved and aware citizens in democratic systems</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consult and lobby education experts and Ministry of Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Education adopts curriculum / textbook | <p>Improved civics course in high schools nationwide</p> <p>More knowledgeable youth and first time voters</p> | <p>More involved and aware citizens in democratic systems</p> <p>Increased demand for democratic and accountable public institutions</p> |

ESTABLISHING A VOLUNTEER NETWORK OF TRAINERS ON VOTER RIGHTS ISSUES

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop training package for observers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Materials used for training of trainers (TOT) observation | <p>Improved CSO participation in, and observation of the 2012 elections</p> | <p>Strengthened democratic and electoral processes</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Select and train volunteer trainers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 600 TOT trained (20 students per province and 9 capital districts) and ready to provide training to election observers for 2012 elections • 2,000 DVDs distributed to local khurals | <p>Improved domestic observation of 2012 elections, especially in isolated communities</p> | <p>Strengthened electoral and democratic processes</p> |

IMPROVING SKILLS OF KEY OFFICIALS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create and distribute DVDs on role of police, judges, and media in free and fair elections | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2,000 DVDs distributed to police • 300 DVDs distributed to judges | <p>Increased awareness of police, judges and media on their respective roles and responsibilities in a free and fair election and on how the electoral system works</p> | <p>Strengthened electoral and democratic processes</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Handbook created and distributed across the country | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distribution of materials to all courts, polling stations, media outlets, police stations | <p>Strengthened role of police, media and courts in upholding the integrity of the electoral process</p> | <p>Strengthened electoral and democratic processes</p> |

IMPLEMENTING A PUBLIC AWARENESS CAMPAIGN

| | | | |
|--|---|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop voter information materials on election and structure of government | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Materials used to raise awareness of voters in 21 provinces | <p>Increased voter awareness on and understanding of the meaning of elections and elected government</p> | <p>Increased public participation in the democratic system and electoral processes</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voters' guide flyer published, distributed and displayed | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100,000 copies of voters' guide distributed to all local khurals, public libraries • 10,000 posters displayed in all local khurals, public libraries, polling stations | <p>Increased voter awareness on and understanding of meaning of elections and elected government</p> | <p>Strengthened electoral and democratic processes</p> |

IV. Evaluation findings

(i) Relevance

The activities undertaken were directly **relevant** to the objectives of the project and in line with the needs and priorities to strengthen civic participation and the electoral system in Mongolia. The problems and violence in the 2008 elections had alarmed Mongolian society and WSP wanted this project to address those issues so that they were not repeated in the parliamentary and local elections to be held in 2012. WSP felt that this could be done by improving the understanding of citizens and key actors, such as the police and judges, on the basics of a free and fair process and the resolution of related disputes. The amount of voter education done in the country was minimal, and although more information was available in election years, the information was limited primarily to the where and how of voting, and not to the why of voting. WSP also implemented a national program as the 2008 problems were not limited to the capital and were national in scope.

The efforts to develop a new module for civic education, that contained the information on the structure of government and voter's rights, roles and responsibilities, directly addressed the lack of a civic education program in the schools that was relevant to Mongolian democracy in the 21st century. The project activities fed into the work being done by the Ministry of Education to modernize its grades 1-10 curriculum. WSP worked directly with the Ministry's Institute of Educational Research which increased its relevance and significance for the Ministry and for the national school system. The teachers and students who participated in the pilot efforts thought the material covered important issues, and the development of a teacher's handbook was seen as innovative and needed by the teachers.



Poster: Voter's List

Including the police in the training and providing them with information on the process was important. Some of the police actions in 2008 reflected their lack of understanding of the rights of voters and the role of security forces in a democratic election. Reaching out to the judges was also pertinent. In previous elections, electoral disputes were adjudicated by the General Elections Commission, but the courts were made responsible for this in the election law for 2012.

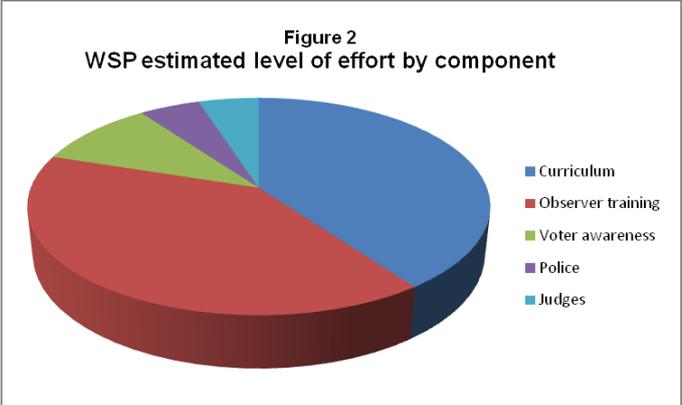
This work was also directly relevant to the mandate of the grantee, WSP, which had worked on issues of women's rights and voter education for more than 20 years. According to interviews, there were no other NGOs with the same vision, mission and dedication to the sector. Its director at the time was also well-known and widely perceived as committed to improving the electoral processes and deepening democratic development within the country. These factors gave the institution the credibility to undertake a project of this nature and the access to key institutions that was needed to deliver the project outcomes. This

included the GEC, appellate court judges, the police, provincial and local governments and officials, and CSOs working nationwide.

(ii) Effectiveness

For the most part, the project followed the approach and activities outlined in the project document. Most of its efforts were directed at developing the voter education module for the school system and training the political party monitors and domestic observers (Figure 2). The remaining efforts went for the public awareness campaign for voters (10 percent) and the work with the police and judges (5 percent each).

The activities changed somewhat with the judges' component as WSP found they were not interested in being trained by an NGO. Instead, they translated the International IDEA's *Handbook on Electoral Justice* into Mongolian and distributed it to the appellate court judges at working lunches or through the mail. The handbook was also distributed to other actors, including the GEC and political parties. This



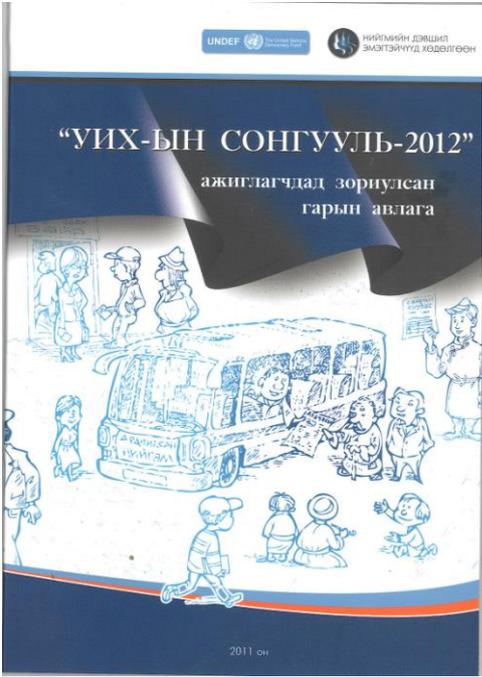
seemed to be an appropriate alternative as the evaluators found the handbook in use by lawyers with election complaint cases pending in the courts, with some judges, party members and the GEC stating that they used it as a reference for international best practices and to find specific examples of how other countries handled their electoral dispute resolution.

WSP's collaboration with the Institute of Education seemed to be an effective partnership. They already had an established relationship and were able to develop and sign a memorandum of understanding quite quickly once the grant was issued. In this case, the Institute did some basic research on existing content of school civic education, and helped to develop the pilot module. Their involvement helped to ensure the project had access to the public school system to test the curriculum and to undertake the teachers' training.

WSP specifically targeted the older youth in school (grades 9 and 10). It saw them as future first time voters which comprised a sizeable portion of the population (15-20%)¹⁰ and who were not targeted in any of the regular voter education efforts. This work was completed as planned with the curriculum tested in 7 schools in different provinces and in capital districts. This was a one-day test effort led by WSP, which engaged the students in participatory activities and mock elections. Social science teachers were subsequently trained in the module's content and the participatory teaching methodology. WSP lobbied the Ministry for its adoption and served post-project on its curriculum reform working group. The content of the project-produced module will be adopted and used within the national school system starting with the 2014-2015 school year.

¹⁰ For first time voters, according to WSP.

WSP used its network of offices and contacts in all 21 provinces to deliver the observation training, reaching 737 representatives of CSOs, parties and media in 13 provinces and 9 districts. This was done well in advance of the elections, and before the adoption of the 2012 election law. WSP was waiting for the passage of the electoral law before undertaking this



Observer Handbook

training (Figure 3), but said it was advised by UNDEF that time was running out and it needed to do the training. The fact that it was done so far in advance of the elections helped ensure that the CSOs and parties kept a focus on the upcoming electoral process and the need to prepare for their observation effort, especially as 2012 was the first elections where CSO observers were to be allowed. However, this meant that the material was more generic than would have been had otherwise, and that the participating organizations would need to supplement this training later on with the specifics for the 2012 election, such as the new electronic way to count the ballots.

The decentralized nature of the training effort also helped to ensure that the project reached most areas of Mongolia, including isolated ones. But, WSP did not specifically target trainers of these organizations or the university students as intended in the project document, reaching instead more interested CSO and party individuals. In this case, it served more of a voter awareness function. Voter

awareness was one of the project’s objectives, but this component was intended to develop a network of trainers who could then train observers who were ready to observe the elections on polling day.

WSP also trained six parties in the capital. It did this individually with each party as it felt the parties did not want to do joint training, and that this would give the parties the opportunity to be more open and discuss their particular cases. However, as with the provincial training, it did not seem from the interviews that the parties had sent trainers, but more their staff who would then serve as the actual observers. The winning candidates felt this training was professional and useful. The losing ones discounted the need for observation post-polling since the count was mechanical. Overall, the effectiveness of both the party and civil society observation training was limited by the fact that observation in Mongolia is still seen as an event-focused activity rather than something that should be done throughout the process.

**Figure 3
Project Timeline**

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1 Dec 2009 | Project start date |
| Jan 2010 | Assess school textbooks |
| Feb-Mar 2010 | Develop curriculum |
| Aug-Sept 2010 | Pilot test in 5 provinces |
| Oct 2010 | Teacher training in capital |
| Break | Waited for election law |
| April 2011 | Develop observer handouts |
| April-Nov 2011 | Training observers, monitors, medi |
| Nov 2011 | Translate IDEA Handbook |
| Nov 2011 | Prepare and prepay for public awareness campaigns |
| 30 Nov 2011 | End of project per project documen |
| Dec 2011 | Printing of IDEA Handbook |
| Dec 15 2011 | Electoral law passed |
| April 2012 | Police Training |
| June 2012 | Media voter education campaign |
| 14 June 2012 | Submission final project report |
| 28 June 2012 | Parliamentary and local elections |

Source: WSP

The police training did use the trainer-of-trainer approach which was appropriate both in terms of its methodology and for an instruction-driven organization. WSP combined its training module with those of Amnesty International and the Mongolian Human Rights Commission which were intending similar courses. By training 25 police trainers at the police training department (1 day), those trainers replicated this at the unit level with their focal points, who in turn trained all of their officers assigned to election security and the polling sites.¹¹ At the unit level, the project content was merged into the broader three-day training provided to all officers on election security and operations. WSP felt this had been effective as their training highlighted the role of the police in protecting citizens and the integrity of the process during the elections, and not just the polling station locations and the ruling party, which was the perception arising from the 2008 experience. There were no major incidents in the 2012 elections related to the police, but attributing this to the project other efforts is not possible due to the lack of data and the number of other factors present. The extent of use of the pocket manual and audio tape is unknown as this was also not tracked.

Translating the IDEA handbook into Mongolian was definitely a good and cost-effective investment. Undertaking a more in-depth effort with the judges might have also overstretched the project and WSP's capacity given all of the other efforts it was undertaking for this and other projects. However, there was also a judicial training institute for in-service training, which might have been a potential partner for this effort as was done with the police.

(iii) Efficiency

The project scope was ambitious for its means and timeframe. With the exception of the election administrators, it tried to address most of the major stakeholders and their work in the electoral process, and revise the civic education curriculum in the country. This is a lot of ground to cover. It also conceived of an electoral cycle project that started well before the election, but ended seven months before the election event. This early end became an issue as some of the project's activities were event-specific.

WSP mitigated these issues in several ways.

First, WSP was well organized and took efforts to maximize the project resources and extend its reach. Some of its methods included:

- Developing synergies with other organizations working on the same issues as the project. Examples include working with:
 - IRI to expand public awareness activities;
 - Global Initiative and the Press Institute in the training of journalists;
 - Institute of Education from the Ministry of Education for the civic curriculum;
 - Police Training Institute with Amnesty International and the Mongolian Human Rights Commission for the training of police.
 - The Union of Disabled Persons to print the handbooks
- Using its grass roots network of provincial offices to identify participants and to deliver its training nationwide to CSO and political party observers and monitors.
- Reusing and repackaging its training materials for use with different actors, which it then tailored to their individual needs. As an example, the pocket handbook and audio tape for the police and use of the same graphics for all handbook and DVD covers.

¹¹ Numbers and descriptions of activities varied in interviews between respondents for many of these activities, including for the number of police trainers. Most people's memories were dim of these trainings that were done more than a year ago.

- Getting agreement from media stations to re-air paid for programming for free. For example, in one case, WSP paid for 10 airings of a media spot, and the station re-broadcast it another 20 times on its own. In another case, it paid for 20 airings and the station aired it another 90 times.
- Using existing materials where possible instead of recreating new ones, in particular the translation and dissemination of the IDEA handbook on electoral justice which cost a total of USD 11,000. WSP also obtained the copyright permission from IDEA for the Mongolian edition.
- Using newsprint to reproduce the teacher's manual due to the demand from teachers. This need was not foreseen in the project budget. They also made their pamphlet on general principles of the election as a folder for voters to re-use as they thought pamphlets ended up in the trash.
- Targeting trainers and developing cascade training systems in the project design, although this was not uniformly done in implementation.
- Finding other donor resources to extend and expand project-initiated activities, and reach specific target groups (such as IRI for grassroots CSOs, USAID for women, and Mercy Corps for the disabled).

Second, it prepaid for the activities that it wanted to undertake under the project after the official end of the project. In part, this was a result of the late passage of the election law which contained the specific information needed for some of the project components. WSP did not seem to realize that it could have asked for a no-cost time extension to cover these, and pre-paid them instead, which took some strategic thinking and good organizational skills. This included the entire public awareness campaign (printing and disseminating posters and handouts, and media spots); the police and media training; the meetings with judges, and the distribution of the IDEA handbook. Prepaying for the media campaign also helped to ensure that they had time slots available, as the time for the electoral campaign is very short in Mongolia, and other NGOs and CSOs found out the hard way that all of the available advertising time had already been bought out by the two main political parties when they tried to buy time closer to the elections.

(iv) Impact

The overall objective was to improve the electoral process and voter rights awareness in Mongolia. It is evident that this project contributed towards these results and to the more positive outcome of the 2012 electoral process when compared to the situation in 2008. The project started early when no one else was working on these issues, and it was a sizeable project for the sector. However, the extent of the project's reach and its actual impact is unknown.

WSP used output indicators to measure its progress made towards its intended outcomes, and its outcomes themselves were stated more as outputs than as higher level results. The exception is the outcome of a "*more knowledgeable public about voting issues*", but it did not undertake a before/after baseline that could have measured this. WSP did ask questions about its trainings but this was on the quality of the course and not on the increase of knowledge or transfer of skills to the participant. It also did not track its trainees after training to see if they replicated it and if so, how many they reached and what those people did with the training.

The impact of the work on the school curriculum is the most visible since the Ministry of Education is adopting the project-funded content. In other areas, much of the work was completed well-before the elections were held and subsequent work was done by WSP and others, so attributing results, such as the lack of elections-related violence and the quality of election observation, to this project is difficult. However, from information provided in the project reports and the anecdotal information provided in interviews, it is likely that this project resulted in:

- **More engaged social science teachers and students** in the pilot schools on the issues of civic and voter education, and increased student interest in participating in civic/political life. As an example, several of the youth interviewed in a pilot school who were taught by project trained teachers expressed interest in becoming president of Mongolia, including some of the girls.
- **More substantial civic education classes in the future.** Previously these focused primarily on cultural heritage and were done for an hour once a week. Civics is gaining importance in the school system and future content will be focused more on developing a “proper Mongolian”- *one who is capable, responsible, ethical, open minded with active participation in the life of the country.*¹² This change is expected to start in the 2014 academic school year.
- **Increased awareness by some police agents of their appropriate role** during an electoral process. WSP also reported that the police stayed outside the polling stations in 2012 as opposed to inside in 2008 even though this was not included in the electoral law. They felt this was a result of their training. The evaluators did not have enough information to be able to attribute this to the project training.
- **Increased civil society attention on the issues of free and fair elections earlier in the process.** WSP’s work sensitized CSOs and others early in the electoral cycle which helped keep their attention on the electoral process and the need to address issues to avoid repeating the problems of 2008.



Voters in Chingeltei District

WSP Photo

- **Increased awareness of international norms for electoral dispute resolution** by the GEC and some lawyers and judges from having access to the IDEA Handbook on Electoral Justice. Having this resource available in the local language and ensuring its distribution to relevant actors, has already contributed to the hearing of 2012 electoral complaint cases by the appellate court in at least three cases as lawyers used the information within the handbook to get a better understanding of the best practices of other countries which they then applied in their justification for the courts

¹² According to the Educational Research Institute

to hear these cases.

(v) Sustainability

Many of the improvements that the project contributed to are likely to be sustained. The voter education module for high schools civics is expected to become integrated into the new curriculum starting with the 2014-2015 school year. This is because the project's work directly fed into the Ministry of Education's efforts to modernize the national school curriculum. As a member of the Ministry's working group that is updating the national school curriculum, WSP is still in a position to influence the civics and other curricula being reformed.

The skills transferred during the training of the social science teachers are also likely to remain. It appeared from the visit to one of the pilot schools that the teachers had been using participatory methods and had a good interaction with their students on the issues related to civics. The students themselves seemed engaged and interested in the topic. Civic education courses are intended to plant the seeds for good citizenship, and these appeared to be rooting in the pilot schools among the current students. The students who had participated in the pilot had already graduated and are becoming first time voters, if not in 2012, then for the presidential election in 2013.



Students participating in pilot WSP Photo

The legal actors were using the IDEA handbook as a background reference and are likely to continue using it for the foreseeable future. One of the actors interviewed remarked that Mongolia now has its own lessons in electoral justice and hoped that IDEA would include the Mongolian experience in the next edition.

The knowledge and skills gained by the staff during the implementation of the project are still in demand. Other CSOs and some international organizations are continuing to request WSP training and presentations on election-related issues. Subsequent training was done using the same materials, for Mercy



WSP in 2010 WSP Photo

Corps, Open Society, Global International and others. WSP also reported receiving additional requests for training from the police and others, such as candidates-- one of which said they were willing to pay for this type of a professional training despite having access to party trainers

(vi) UNDEF added value

Funding for civil society to support the 2012 elections was extremely limited. It is unlikely that this project would have been implemented without the UNDEF funding. Almost all of the other donor funding for elections was event specific and would not have covered the electoral cycle elements that were integrated into this project. In addition, most of the other donor funding in the sector was channeled through the international NGOs present in the country. Giving a substantial grant directly to a national NGO enabled WSP to implement its own vision-driven program and strengthened its internal capacity and credibility with other donors as an organization that could implement its projects directly.

V. Conclusions

Based on the evaluation findings, the team concludes:

(i) The project was done by the right organization at the right time. WSP had the vision to develop this project, the institutional experience and credibility needed for access to key actors and institutions, a provincial network that gave it a nationwide reach, and the internal capacity to manage a project of this magnitude. This conclusion follows from findings (i), (ii), (iii), and (v).

(ii) The project was too ambitious for its timeframe and means. The project accomplished its list of tasks, however its design was ambitious and certain elements were only marginally touched. This included the training for police, judges and media, and the trainer-of-trainer aspect of the observation training. This limited the project's potential reach and effectiveness. This conclusion follows from findings (ii), (iii) and (iv).

(iii) The electoral cycle nature of the project was appropriate, and helped to maintain civil society and key actor focus on the need to improve the electoral system and increase voter understanding in the interim time between the elections when there is time for discussion, capacity building and to make needed reforms. However, this work was more generic in nature because the electoral law was not completed. This was appropriate for 2012 because of the problems in 2008, but future training and awareness raising will need to be more specific and substantive as the voters and actors become more experienced and sophisticated in democratic development. This conclusion follows from findings (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v).

(iv) The project lost focus of the trainer-of-trainer aspects for some of its training, and instead reverted to direct teaching of individuals. This limited its reach and the impact of the project on developing TOT systems within participating organizations for observation. As this was the first time that civil society could officially observe the process, TOT training on election observation itself (in addition to the electoral process) could have helped to set the foundations for this important effort. This conclusion follows from findings (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v).

(v) The work with the Ministry of Education was a substantive effort which will impact on future generations of Mongolians, and contribute to the deepening of democracy within the country. The other work undertaken by the project also contributed to Mongolia's democratic development, but was more topical. The **work on electoral justice has only just started** and more efforts are needed in this area which is still evolving in Mongolia. This conclusion follows from findings (i), (ii), (iv), and (v).

(vi) The project illustrates the power of information and the usefulness of sharing best practices, especially in the absence of technical assistance. Mongolia has received relatively low levels of assistance to strengthen its democratic governance. The Mongolians have used the resources provided by this and other

projects to improve their own processes. The importance of providing handbooks and specific examples of best practices in the national language should not be underestimated. The evaluators found these were referred to, used and appreciated by all of the main actors in the process. This conclusion follows from findings (ii), (iv) and (v).

(vii) The project provides a good example of synergistic programming. WSP saw this project as one part of a larger institutional program, all of which worked together to achieve common objectives. The project-developed voter education materials were used and adopted by WSP's other donor funded activities, including those targeting disabled voters, women voters and grass roots CSOs. It also used the handbooks in town-hall style meetings which were also supported by the awareness raising spots it placed in the media. This mutually supportive type of programming extended the reach of the project and strengthened the efforts of these other activities. This conclusion follows from findings (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v).

(viii) The project might have made a more substantive impact than was visible to the evaluators, **but it is not possible to know as the project did not have a performance monitoring plan** that could have tracked its performance and measured its results. WSP also needed more information on the nature of grants and the ability to request no-cost time extensions. This conclusion follows findings (iii) and (iv).

VI. Recommendations

To strengthen similar projects in the future, the team recommends:

(i) WSP and other similar organizations should continue to build on the foundations built by this project. The materials should keep pace with the increasing sophistication of the voters and key actors in democratic systems and be updated with more in-depth content and specific information from current legislation as needed for use in the upcoming presidential election and for subsequent electoral cycles. In particular, on the meaning of the elections, accountability and representation. This recommendation follows conclusions (i), (vii), and (viii).

(ii) WSP should continue to work with its network of provincial offices to provide training to election observers and monitors, but this training should be targeted at institutional development and TOT more than individual development, and should help to focus their efforts on the process as well as observing the event. Linkages could be made with IRI or TAF for specific information on the how-to's of establishing observation networks and reporting. This recommendation follows conclusions (ii), and (vii).

(iii) Future projects should be more realistic in scope for their means, and WSP should continue to link with other organizations working in the sector to ensure that all key actors are covered. For example, the police will be receiving a substantial amount of human rights training from Transparency International (TI). WSP could contribute to TI's training by helping to inform their module on the police's role and actions in the elections. This recommendation follows conclusions (i), (ii), (iii), (v), (vi), (vii) and (viii).

(iv) Electoral dispute resolution is a continuing need and WSP could continue its work in this sector by collaborating with the trainers at the Judicial Training Center at the Supreme Court to help develop a module on the role of the courts in the elections and on electoral dispute resolution. This recommendation follows conclusion (v).

(v) WSP should continue its active work with the Ministry of Education on the adoption of its high school civic/voter education curriculum and to adapt that **for adult education**, which is a Ministry interest and need. WSP could also work with the training department of the Ministry of Education to **help develop the curricula for the in-service training of social science teachers** who will be teaching the revised civic educations course in the national high schools. This recommendation follows conclusion (v).

(vi) WSP should strengthen its performance monitoring capacity and adopt indicators that can measure project performance. These do not need to be burdensome, but should use appropriate indicators that can track its results over time and more effectively demonstrate its results. Both IRI and TAF could provide WSP with examples of democratic governance indicators, and these are also available on the UNDP, USAID and other donor websites. This recommendation follows conclusion (viii).

(vii) First time UNDEF grantees should be given a virtual induction training on administrative procedures, including the possibility of time extensions and the basics of developing a project performance monitoring plan. This recommendation follows from conclusion (viii).

VII. Overall assessment and closing thoughts

This project is a good example of the importance of UNDEF funding in a context of a transitional democracy, where the country and its institutions have already had some experience in democratic systems and multi-party elections, and which is now trying to improve the quality of its processes and deepen its democratic development.

Mongolia has not had the same level of international technical assistance that many of the other transitional countries have had. It has made its transition through its own determination and efforts. This was a substantial grant within the context and enabled this proven NGO to implement its own vision-driven program that addressed some of the root causes for the problems in 2008. In this context, this was the right approach, at the right time and with the right organization.

Mongolia is a very literate country and the voters are familiar with the multi-party system and electoral events but are becoming increasingly disillusioned about politicians and issues of governance. The GEC and other actors in the process, also now have years of experience in the management of these processes. They feel they have something to share as well as to learn from others. This is an aspect that future projects should capitalize, especially when working on the credibility aspects of a process which can be the most difficult part to address.

The UNDP office played a supportive role in this project by providing substantive advice to WSP after observing its milestone events. The UNDP democratic governance office also suggested closer collaboration between UNDP and UNDEF projects in Mongolia, especially ones that work to strengthen electoral and political processes. They felt that the Resident Representative/UN Resident Coordinator could lend the support of her office to these types of efforts at the policy levels, if it were needed, for the elements advocated in training. In this context, this could help to increase the visibility and credibility of the UNDEF-funded activities, especially for NGOs that might be lesser-known than WSP or low profile.

VIII. ANNEXES

Annex 1: Evaluation questions:

| DAC criterion | Evaluation Question | Related sub-questions |
|-------------------|---|--|
| Relevance | To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context? Should another project strategy have been preferred rather than the one implemented to better reflect those needs, priorities, and context? Why? Were risks appropriately identified by the projects? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse? |
| Effectiveness | To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent have the project's objectives been reached? To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not? Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives? What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this? |
| Efficiency | To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs? Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives? |
| Impact | To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent has/have the realization of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address? Have the targeted beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative? To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization? Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples? |
| Sustainability | To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact? Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)? |
| UNDEF value added | To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What was UNDEF able to accomplish, through the project, that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc). Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF's comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues? |

Annex 2: Documents Reviewed:

Civicus, *State of Civil Society in Mongolia (2004-2005)*, *Civicus Civil Society Index Report for Mongolia*, 2006

Government of Mongolia, *The General Elections Commission*, 2012

International IDEA, *Electoral Justice Handbook*, 2010

International IDEA with the University of Essex, Human Rights Centre, *State of Democracy in Mongolia, A Desk Study*, 2005

International IDEA, *Voter turnout data for Mongolia*, <http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=MN>

International Republican Institute, *Mongolian Civil Society Observes Elections for the First Time*, July 3, 2012, <http://www.iri.org/news-events-press-center/news/mongolian-civil-society-observes-elections-first-time>

International Republican Institute, *Mongolia Parliamentary Elections, June 29, 2008, Election Observation Mission Final Report*, 2008

The Asia Foundation, *Mongolia Presidential Election Observation Report*, 2009

The Asia Foundation, *Mongolia, Voter Education Survey, A Research Report* 2009

UNDP, *Support to Electoral Processes in Mongolia, Project Document*, 2007

UDF-MON-08-258, *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia, Project Document*, September 2009

UDF-MON-08-258, *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia, Mid-Term/Annual Progress Report*, December 2010

UDF-MON-08-258, *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia, Final Project Narrative Report*, 14 June 2012

UDF-MON-08-258, *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia, Milestone Verification Mission Report No. 3, 11 April 2011*

UDF-MON-08-258, *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia, Milestone Verification Mission Report No. 2, 29 October 2010*

UDF-MON-08-258, *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia Police Handbook*

UDF-MON-08-258, *Towards a better electoral process in Mongolia, Observer Handbook*

USAID, *Democracy and Governance Assessment, Mongolia*, 2010

USAID, *Request for Applications: USAID-Mongolia-RFA-438-11-000001-Citizen Engagement and Elections Project*, 2011

Women for Social Progress website, <http://www.wsp.mn/>

Women for Social Progress, *Voter Education Test Training Agenda*, Undated

Women for Social Progress, *Voter Education Training Curriculum*, Undated

Annex 3: Persons Interviewed

| 31 March 2013 | |
|--|--|
| Arrival international consultant in Mongolia | |
| 1 April 2013 | |
| Oyuntuya Sumya | Director, WSP and Voter Education Center |
| Burmaa Radnaa | Minister of Parliament and Former Director, WSP |
| Amy Dowler | Australian Youth Fellow at WSP |
| Enkhtuya Purevjav | Finance Officer, WSP |
| Chantsaldulam Jigjiddorj | Project Manager/Officer, WSP |
| Munkhnaran Avirmed | Project Manager/Officer, WSP |
| Rafael Bejar | Resident Country Director, International Republican Institute |
| Ariunbold Namsrai | Lawyer handling electoral complaints |
| Dr. Gombosuren Urantsooj | Chairperson, Centre for Human Rights and Development |
| 2 April 2013 | |
| Professor Nadmidyn Begz | Director, Institute of Educational Research, Ministry of Education and Science |
| Field visit to Nalaikh District, 119th School: | |
| Teachers | |
| Davaadulam Juteya (davaadulam_979@yahoo.com) | Social Science Teacher, 7, 10, 11 th Grade |
| Oyun Odkhoo | Social Science Teacher, 9, 10 th Grade |
| Nergui D | Geography Teacher, 7, 10 th Grade |
| Narantsetseg Bat-Erdene (Naraa_1005@yahoo.com) | Geography Teacher, 8, 9, 11 th Grade |
| Nergui G (g_nename84@yahoo.com) | Social Science and History Teacher, 8 th Grade |
| Students | |
| Aryutambek | Student, 7 th Grade |
| Hongorzul | Student, 7 th Grade |
| Sundaya | Student, 7 th Grade |
| Erdenetugs | Student, 7 th Grade |
| Temuulen | Student, 7 th Grade |
| Enkhjin | Student, 8 th Grade |
| Munkhtsetseg | Student, 8 th Grade |
| Hongorzul | Student, 8 th Grade |
| Enkhtuul | Student, 8 th Grade |
| Uranzaya | Student, 8 th Grade |
| Ariunzaya | Student, 10 th Grade |
| Enkhjin | Student, 10 th Grade |
| Pagma | Student, 10 th Grade |
| Unubold | Student, 10 th Grade |
| Namuunbayar | Student, 11 th Grade |

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Pharida | Student, 11 th Grade |
| Ankhiluun | Student, 11 th Grade |
| 3 April 2013 | |
| Sodnomtseren Choinzon | Chairman and Commissioner, General Election Commission of Mongolia |
| Altanjargal Batnyam | Secretary General and Commissioner, General Election Commission of Mongolia |
| Unurtsetseg Tsedev | Officer, Division of Information, Research and Methodology, General Election Commission of Mongolia |
| Barkhas Losolruren | Governance Section, UNDP Mongolia |
| Badarch Khandsuren | Director of Citizen's Participation and Monitoring Department, Citizen's Representative, Khural of Khan-Uul District, Ulaanbaatar City |
| Oyuntuya Sumya | Director, WSP |
| Munkhnaran Avirmed | Officer, WSP |
| Enkhtuya Purevjav | Finance Officer, WSP |
| 4 April 2013 | |
| Erdenechimeg Luvsan | Member of Parliament, Parliament, Democratic Party |
| Buyantugs Purev | Assistant to L. Erdenechimeg (MP) |
| Sukhbaatar Jamaynkhorloo | Secretary, Mongolian People's Party, former MP. |
| Meloney Lindberg | Country Representative, TAF |
| Darkhanbayar Jamiyan | Campaign manager for J. Sukhbaatar |
| Bat-Orgil Ragchaa | Senior Inspector, Human Resource and Education Department, National Police Agency of Mongolia |
| Batsuuri Mishig | Judge Administrative Appeals Court |
| 5 - 24 April 2012 | |
| Departure International Consultant | |
| Tsevelmaa Chojiljav (by phone) | Harzai bag, Gobi-Altai aimag (Western province) |
| Bayarmaa Balyanjav (by phone) | Chief of Mongolian People's Part unit, Gobi-Altai aimag |
| Ms. Altantuya (by phone) | Executive Director, Amnesty International Mongolia |
| Mr. Chimeddongdog (by phone) | Press Institute |
| Ms. Narangarav (by phone) | Globe International |

Annex 4 : Acronyms

| | |
|-------|---|
| GEC | General Elections Commission |
| IRI | International Republican Institute |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| TAF | The Asia Foundation |
| TI | Transparency International |
| TOT | Trainer-of-Trainer |
| UNDEF | United Nations Democracy Fund |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Fund |
| USAID | U.S. Agency for International Development |
| USD | U.S. Dollar |
| VEC | Voters Education Center |
| WSP | Women for Social Progress |