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Sida Decentralised Evaluation

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Review of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia”, 2009-2013

Final Report

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Democratic Institute (NDI)
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Confidence in the Electoral
Process in Georgia”,
2009-2013

**Final Report
May 2013**

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEC	Central Election Commission
CoE	Council of Europe
CRRC	Caucasus Research Resource Centers Programme
DEC	District Election Commission
EU	European Union
FGI	Focus Group Interviews
GD	Georgian Dream
GPB	Georgian Public Broadcasting
GYLA	Georgian Young Lawyers' Association
HQ	Headquarters
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IR	Inception Report
IRI	International Republican Institute
ISFED	International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy
NAP	National Action Plan
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the OSCE
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAR	Project Annual Report
PD	Project Document
PEC	Precinct Election Commission
TA	Technical Assistance
TI	Transparency International
ToTs	Training-of-Trainers
ToR	Terms of Reference
TWG	Technical Working Group
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNM	United National Movement
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WIC	The Women's Information Center
WPRC	Women's Political Resource Center

Preface

This evaluation of the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) project "Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia (2009-2013)" was commissioned by the Embassy of Sweden in Georgia.

One of three prioritised sectors for Swedish development cooperation (2010-2013) with Georgia is democracy, human rights and gender equality. The second objective of this sector is "better conditions for free and fair elections". Sida has thus supported NDI's activities in Georgia since 2008.

The evaluation was undertaken by Indevelop through Sida's framework agreement for reviews and evaluations. Indevelop's management team included Ian Christoplos, who provided quality assurance for the methodology and reports, and Jessica Rothman, who was responsible for coordination and management of the evaluation implementation. The evaluation was undertaken between March - April 2013.

The independent evaluation team consisted of three key members:

- Krister Eduards – Team Leader
- Medea Gugeshashvili – National Consultant
- Vera Devine – Evaluator, member of Indevelop's Core Team of professional evaluators

This final evaluation report has incorporated feedback received from NDI and the Embassy on the draft report.

Executive Summary

The salient features of the on-going process of change in the political system of governance in Georgia are complexity, dynamism and competition. Basically, this process has left the phase of transition and entered a new phase of institutional and normative change. It is influenced by strong external powers that are active in the geopolitical region. However, the positively assessed parliamentary election in October 2012, and the ensuing change of power are evidence of the degree of political reform process advancement in the country.

In order to contribute to improved conditions for free and fair elections, in line with the current and preceding Strategies for Swedish Development Cooperation with Georgia, Sweden is currently financing the Project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process” during 2009 – 2013, being executed by the Washington-based National Democratic Institute (NDI).

The overall objective of the Project is to enhance public confidence in the electoral process in order to contribute to free and fair elections. The Project Document (PD) states four objectives:

1. Improve impartial electoral information and analysis.
2. Increase the accountability of political party election observers and officials.
3. Increase transparency and the accountability of electoral administration.
4. Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections.

This Review Report assesses advancement towards these four objectives as per 2012.

NDI is implementing the project in cooperation with a group of Georgian NGOs, including the Caucasus Research Resource Centres programme (CRRRC), International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED) and the Georgian Young Lawyers' Association (GYLA). NDI receives approximately 25% of its total funding for programmes in Georgia from Sweden, with 75% coming from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

For the first Project Component “Impartial Electoral Information and Analysis”, which is the dominant part of the project, the Project LFA (Logical Framework Approach) Matrix defines the following overall indicator relating to the Project objective No. 1:

- *Increase in impartial information and analysis helps better identify and address electoral deficiencies.*

The Review Team finds that this has been reached. The expected results in this area have been realistic, and the choice of activities has been relevant and strategic for their

achievement. Factors such as leakages of information, national legislation and the profile of partners have affected the project approach and results.

The major changes attained under this headline are that issues that have been brought forward in opinion polls have become objects of political decision-making, and that media reporting has improved both in terms of quality and as regards issues that are reported on.

The impact of the Project on the sustainability of Project Partners is, if anything, positive. Among sustainable results for the target groups, the Review identifies the increased understanding of political research, and the increased respect for quality in political reporting; these benefits can be expected to continue after Swedish funding ends.

The second objective, “Increased Accountability of Election Officials and Political Party Election Observers and Officials”, measured against the LFA indicator,

Political parties identify poorly performing election observers and officials using improved tools and analysis and take appropriate action,

has only partly been reached. Intermediate results have been modest. The project strategy and results have been affected by limitations in the interest shown by political parties for the proposed support, and by the fact that persons trained were not used for the intended purpose. No major change seems, yet, to have been attained in this area, although a large number of persons have been trained on issues related to elections observation.

The third Project Component, “Increased Transparency and Accountability of Electoral Administration” has two sub-components: the monitoring of election administrations between elections, where the planned output has been produced, although its impact is not yet there; and the transparency and accountability of the election administration, and the strengthening of the professional capacity of Central Election Commission (CEC) Small Grants Commission. This has been achieved. Thus the Project objective No. 3, as established in the PD,

Increased transparency and accountability of electoral administration,

and as measured with the relevant LFA defined indicator,

Domestic monitors identify poorly performing election administrators using improved tools and analysis,

has partly been attained. The choice of activities has been relevant for achieving the planned results. In addition, options for strengthening impact have been identified.

Project objective No. 4, as formulated in the PD and the Project Monitoring and Evaluation Plan,

Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections,

and measured against the pertinent Indicator identified in the Project LFA Matrix,

Increased number of women candidates on party lists,

has been attained. Additional results have also been produced, such as – on Sida’s initiative – the production of a shadow report on the compliance of the government with the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Challenges and options have emerged in this area, which might be addressed in a future planning perspective. Project approaches and results have been affected by strong traditional values, and the lack of professional advancement systems within the political parties. The exact formulation of this Project objective seems, at present, to be an open issue.

The major change attained through the project in this fourth Project Component is the fact that parties have adopted gender action programmes for women in politics and are actually in the process of implementing them. This latter change seems to be a sustainable result for the target groups that the project has contributed to, and whose benefits will also probably continue after the Swedish funding ends. Opportunities for NDI to further contribute to this area of change in the country are ample.

In summary, the Review Team concludes that through the present project, NDI is providing a relevant and adequate contribution to strengthening democratic governance in Georgia, in particular – but not only – in strengthening public confidence in the electoral process. Planned results (outcomes) have, in most cases, been achieved. The value added by the Project is considerable, although it varies somewhat. Beneficiaries and other stakeholders see the value of NDI's work as high, and wish it to continue.

While the Review has thus concluded that, by and large, Project objectives have been reached, it should be noted that Project Indicators related to Project objectives, as well as, for that matter, Results Indicators, are not quantified in the Project LFA Matrix, which makes the measuring of advancement difficult.

Cost-efficiency is assessed as satisfactory. Within the present administrative arrangements and procedures, efficiency raising measures may be possible. Project effectiveness is assessed as high, although the extent to which results can be specifically attributed to the action undertaken by NDI can, in most cases, not be defined. The missing effectiveness link in the design of the Project is the exit strategy.

In the present case, geo-political and geo-economic power patterns make it strategically important that Georgia has access to a strong, external counterbalancing power, i.e. the US or something that raises the relevance of a US partner, such as NDI.

Also, the fact that the EU has no *acquis communautaire* for politics and elections means that, in case US inspired models and procedures are introduced, they do not necessarily risk becoming irrelevant as a result of EU approximation.

The Review concludes that there is room for continued cooperation between Sweden and NDI, in particular concerning the present Project Components Nr 1 and 4. Furthermore, research on political processes, combined with efforts at finding sustainable actors for political research and at going deeper into the parties and into the understanding of political life; political reporting and analysis; the participation of women in elections, including other factors that limit or restrain women's political participation outside the political parties, could motivate increased attention and resources. Priorities need to be established for the future. Exit strategies should be established for all future Project Components. The preparation of an eventual continued Project Cooperation should start quite soon.

1 The Review

1.1 THE ASSIGNMENT

The current Development Cooperation Strategy for Swedish Reform Cooperation with Georgia 2010 – 2013 identifies democracy and human rights as a focus area for intervention. One goal within this area is “Improved conditions for free and fair elections”. During 2008, Sweden supported a one-year project of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in Georgia, covering the Parliamentary elections and the Local elections in Adjara. The cooperation yielded good results, and Sweden decided to continue the cooperation with NDI.

Sweden agreed to finance the project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process” with SEK 15.5 Million during 44 months from November 2009. Lately, the cooperation has been extended to cover all of 2013. The present report presents the findings of a Review of this Project, commissioned by Sweden in January 2013, please cf. the annexed Terms of Reference (ToR), dated January 10, 2013, Annex 1.

In accordance with its ToR, the Review Team has addressed the following questions, grouped in four areas of attention:

1. Results

- Has the project achieved its goals and expected results?
- If not – what are the main reasons for that?
- Have the set goals and expected results been realistic?
- Has the choice of activities been relevant and strategic for the achievement of the set goals and results?
- How did factors within the operating environment affect the project strategy and results?

2. Value added

- How do beneficiaries and other stakeholders (civil society, media, political parties, the Central Election Commission (CEC)) perceive the value the work of NDI?
- What do NDI’s partners perceive to be the value-added of working with NDI?
- What was the major change attained through the project?

3. Sustainability

- What is the assessment of the sustainability of the project?
- Is there sustainability of outputs and outcomes as well as sustainability of the partners in the project?

- Are there sustainable results for the target groups that the project has contributed to?
- To what extent will the benefits of the project continue after Swedish funding ends?
- What are the opportunities and obstacles within the different components?

4. Efficiency

- Was the project implemented in an effective and cost-efficient way?
- Has the organisational setup of NDI been conducive to supporting the achievement of programme goals?
- What is the assessment of NDI's capacity to coordinate and cooperate with other development actors (NGOs, donors, state) in Georgia at different levels?

The Review questions have been used as entry points into the assessment of the Project's performance and results. In addition, the Review has addressed certain issues that are also being reported back to Sweden. One is the issue of attribution, i.e. the two issues of the extent to which reported results can be attributed to NDI interventions, and the extent to which NDI's results can be attributed to Sweden's financing.

Further, attention has been given to the two dialogue issues identified by Sweden for the remaining period of the project, mentioned above:

- The need to strengthen focus in the reporting on results beyond the output level, and
- Local ownership and the transfer of knowledge and certain roles to the local partner organisations.

A methodological comment, elaborated on below, is that when NDI reports Results achieved, in the majority of cases the content of the term is in fact an outcome or an effect. In certain cases, the content does rather have the character of output, which has been taken into account by the Review.

The Review Team hopes that the Review, in addition to functioning as a follow-up of the Project and providing inputs into possible considerations and negotiations concerning a continued Swedish-financed NDI project, will also be able to contribute to the larger process of evaluating the results of activities that are linked to the Swedish development cooperation strategy for Georgia for the period 2010 – 2013. In order to strengthen the possibilities for the Review to contribute as desired, Indevelop has ascertained a close link between it and the parallel Review of the Swedish Co-operation Strategy with Georgia (2010 – 2013), which has also been undertaken by Indevelop.

As for the intended users of the Review, and against the background of the double function presented, it has been assumed that the main stakeholder group concerned by the Review is the Embassy of Sweden and its staff in Tbilisi and Sida in Stockholm, and NDI. As for Sida, the Review attempts to contribute to further insights into the Project work of NDI, hoping that its report will be able to provide an input when deciding on future commitments with the organisation. In addition to Sweden, some other donors

might also be interested in the final product. The Review might be an opportunity to provide evidence to potential donors and partners regarding the profile of NDI as a partner in cooperation.

In relation to NDI, the Review is an effort at bringing in an outside perspective to strategies, activities, accomplishments, and organisational structure and capacity. The Review's assessments are meant both to look backwards and to use the findings and lessons learnt as contributions to an eventual planning of a continued Project operation.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

The Review Team has performed its work in line with the Inception Report (IR) approved by the Embassy of Sweden, please cf. Annex 2, and on the basis of documentation supplied by NDI, the Embassy of Sweden and other consulted actors, please cf. the annexed list of written sources, Annex 3. This has been complemented by a visit to Georgia in order to conduct structured interviews, where first phase findings were cross-checked and data and other information triangulated. Interviews have been held with relevant stakeholders, including partner organisations, political parties, the Central Election Commission and other state actors, and foreign donors and organisations. Meetings have been held with the Embassy of Sweden in Tbilisi, as well as with NDI in Tbilisi. The team has also conducted interviews by phone with relevant staff at NDI headquarters in Washington, D.C.

In order to meet ToR requirements effectively, performance indicators to be used in the Review were identified in relation to the questions of the ToR and suggested in the Inception Report that was submitted to, and approved by, Sida. These indicators have been used in the Review. However, in response to the wish of NDI presented to the draft Review Report, the Team has decided also to use the Project LFA indicators for the four Project Components. In consequence, Project performance has been assessed against a twofold set of indicators; however, this has not altered the conclusions.

As the NDI Annual Reports (AR) for 2010 and 2011 limited their statements to performed activities and produced outputs, the Review has taken as its point of departure the reported Actual Intermediate Results in AR 2012, some of which, however, are actually performed activities. In several cases, the NDI Intermediate Results are comparable to "bridging outcomes" in Sida's terminology.

Interviews were designed in relation to individual interviewees, but were basically structured in three parts – one covering background and basic information concerning the interviewee and its relation to the Project, a second, operational one concerning the specific field of interest in each case, and a third, open part that has allowed for discussion, assessment and analytical comments. In view of the sensitivity of the area of work for the present Review, the team has strived to perform its work in an objective manner in order to establish confidence with all interviewees. Two Focus Group Interviews (FGIs) have been arranged with one group of media representatives and with

one group of NGO representatives, respectively, in order to provide an opportunity for a more dynamic exchange of views and experiences.

The Review interviews followed a structured questionnaire that was set in advance, which was then adopted in detail to the respective interview situation and interviewee. The structure was partly open in its form, and used in parallel with the ToRs in order to ascertain that relevant ToR issues were raised. As Georgia is working towards EU approximation, the relevance of the Project against the background of this process, too, has been assessed.

In addition to interviewing NDI and its partner organisations, as mentioned above, the Review has attempted to sound out the experiences and assessments of other groups of actors in the political system of Georgia, such as representatives of the main political parties, of the CEC and other state actors both at the Ministerial/Agency and at the local levels, and of civil society organisations with an interest in the political system and its functioning. Finally, certain donors and international organisations have been approached for interviews, primarily: the Council of Europe (CoE), the EU, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the International Republican Institute (IRI), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the US Embassy and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This has also allowed the team to consider other Swedish interventions in the area of democracy and HR, such as the UNDP Governance Reform Project and the “UN Joint Programme to Enhance Gender Equality in Georgia”, where UNDP is one of three implementing agencies and responsible for the thematic area of women’s political and economic empowerment.

The limitations to the time accorded for the Review Team’s field visit were aggravated by a snow storm over Riga, which reduced the Team’s first working day in Tbilisi to an evening Team working session. In addition, the Parliament was in session in Kutaisi during the same week, which unfortunately made some Members of Parliament inaccessible to the Team. These factors were partly addressed through splitting the Team in order to allow for additional interviews during the week. However, as it was thus not possible to meet all persons identified, and in view of the extension of issues to cover and questions to respond to, evidence on some of the aspects addressed was, in the end, limited. Further data collection to better triangulate the findings would have added to the rigor of the Review. Also, with regard to efficiency, it was not possible to make a verifiable quantitative comparison with other alternatives within the scope of the review.

The Review team has comprised Mr. Krister Eduards, team leader, Ms. Vera Devine, and Ms. Medea Gugeshashvili. The Team started working in February 2013. The field visit, focussing on Tbilisi and Kutaisi, took place during March 4 – 8, 2013. The Team wishes to thank all interviewees, in particular the representatives of the Embassy of Sweden and of NDI, for all assistance rendered to its work.

2 The Project

2.1 THE SETTING

The salient features of the Project setting, i.e. the ongoing process of change affecting the political system of governance in Georgia, are complexity, dynamism and competition. Evidence to the degree of advancement of the political reform process in the country includes the positively assessed parliamentary election in October 2012, and the ensuing change of power. The Project setting is presented in detail in Annex 5 to this report.

2.2 THE PROJECT “BUILDING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS”

The Project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process”, financed by Sweden and being reviewed here, is implemented by the National Democratic Institute, a Washington-based, largely USAID-financed, non-profit NGO. According to its website, NDI is a non-partisan organisation maintaining a loose affiliation with the US Democratic Party, and is working to support and strengthen democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. In addition to the United States Government, NDI receives financial support from several other sources, including fifteen European governments and the European Commission, international organisations such as the UN and the WB, private foundations and individuals.

NDI has a broad range of activities in Eastern Europe. In Georgia, NDI reports having conducted programmes in political party development, parliamentary strengthening, safeguarding elections, civil society development, women’s political participation, and local governance since 1994. Since 2003, NDI has provided Technical Assistance (TA) and support to Parliament, supported local civic actors working to bolster public involvement in the reform process, provided technical assistance for election monitoring efforts, and conducted public opinion research examining citizens’ attitudes toward reforms. The bulk of NDI operations in Georgia are financed by USAID.

The Project Cooperation reviewed here was agreed upon with the Embassy of Sweden in 2009, covering a maximum amount of SEK 15,500,000 over an almost four year activity period (November 1, 2009 – June 30, 2013). In response to the postponement of the 2013 presidential election, Sweden approved an extension of the Project through December 2013 to allow for continued programming during the whole presidential election cycle. An additional contribution was approved, bringing the total Project financing to SEK 21 Million.

The overall goal of the cooperation is to enhance public confidence in the electoral process in order to improve the process as such, which in turn is expected to contribute to free and fair elections.

According to the Project Document (PD), the stated objectives of the project are:

1. Improve impartial electoral information and analysis.
2. Increase the accountability of political party election observers and officials.
3. Increase transparency and accountability of electoral administration.
4. Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections.

These objectives are expected to be reached through the following sub-objectives and activities:

Objective 1: Improve impartial electoral information and analysis.

- Strengthening the Capacity of Partners to Analyse Electoral Results and Utilise Digital Maps, with the subcomponents
 - o Building Capacity for Analysis of Election Results
 - o Building Capacity for Use of Digital Electoral Maps
- Identify Trends and Causes of Voters List Irregularities
- Tracking Public Confidence in the Electoral Process with the subcomponents
 - o Conducting Public Opinion Research
 - o Sharing the Results of the Public Opinion Research
 - o Enhancing Partner Organisations' Understanding of the Research Process
- Promoting Accurate and Informed Media Coverage of the Electoral Process

Objective 2: Increase accountability of political party election observers and officials.

- Monitoring the Performance of Partisan and Non-Partisan Election Administrators
- Assisting Political Parties to Train, Monitor, and Evaluate the Performance of their Election Observers

Objective 3: Increase transparency and accountability of electoral administration.

- Monitoring the Election Administration in the Period between Elections

Objective 4: Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections, and 2013 presidential elections.

- Increasing the Number of Women Candidates in the Electoral Process.

The Project Problem Analysis is presented in Annex 6 to the report, and the Project LFA Matrix in Annex 8. The LFA Matrix carries established Objectives, Results, Outputs, Activities and Inputs, together with defined Indicators and Measurement Comments. The Planned Project Results are equivalent to Project Outcomes.

NDI has identified the following target key election stakeholders in the country: the election administration, the political parties, civil society, and media. The Project intends to build their local capacity to address key deficiencies in the process. NDI involves these groups in the planning, implementation and follow-up of the Project, thereby providing local ownership of it. At the international level, NDI reports regular coordination and cooperation with the USAID and the Washington-based organisations International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and International Republican Institute (IRI), with European Embassies and with international donors and organisations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the UNDP, the Council of Europe, the European Commission. NDI also reports regular participation in the Gender Thematic Group (GTG), whose meetings are facilitated by UN Women, together with the Center for Minority Issues, Kvinna-till-Kvinna and Oxfam.

NDI has implemented the project in cooperation with a group of Georgian NGOs, including the Caucasus Research Resource Centers programme (CRRRC), the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED), and the Georgian Young Lawyers' Association (GYLA). The CRRRC is a network of research and research support centres that have been established in the capitals of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Its goal is to strengthen social science research and public policy analysis in the South Caucasus. It is working in partnership with the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Eurasia Partnership Foundation, and local universities in the region. The ISFED is a non-governmental, nonpartisan and non-profit organisation that was established in 1995 to support free and fair elections. In addition to election monitoring, for more than a decade ISFED has implemented a number of projects in civic education and local governance to increase the transparency of the government's activities and promote accountability. GYLA was established as an association of professional lawyers dedicated to promoting the image of the legal profession and working to create a just society. Officially registered in September 1994 as a non-profit, non-governmental, non-partisan organisation, GYLA has become the largest professional union of lawyers dedicated to promoting the rule of law and to being a watchdog over government transparency, accountability and good governance.

In addition, the Project Document states that cooperation was planned with Leaders for Democracy, which is an organisation that was formed by alumnae of NDI's Future Women Leaders Programme. The original intention was to explore cooperation with Leaders for Democracy on a voter education programme for women in ethnic minority and Muslim areas of Georgia. But as the Leaders for Democracy, at that point in time, had not yet established its board of directors or finalised its organisational structure, NDI decided to partner with the Women's Political Resource Center (WPRC) for the voter education portion of the project. Later additions to the circle of cooperating organisations are the Samtskhe-Javakheti Media Centre, JumpStart Georgia and the Women's Information Centre (WIC)

The contracting arrangement was that the Embassy of Sweden entered into an agreement with NDI, which in turn entered into sub-agreements and contracts with the organisations mentioned.

As mentioned above, when Sweden, in December 2012, extended the project period until December 2013, Sweden also identified four dialogue issues for the remaining period of the project, two of which have been mentioned as being of specific interest for the present review, namely:

- The need to strengthen focus in the reporting on results beyond the output level, and
- Local ownership and the transfer of knowledge and certain roles to the local partner organisations.

NDI reporting used in the following for review purposes presents a series of Results obtained in project execution. These Results will be taken as points of departure for assessing project progress. Most presented results have the character of, and are thus defined as, Outcomes. In some cases, however, the Review finds that reported Project Results are actually Activities or Outputs.

3 Objective 1 – Impartial Electoral Information and Analysis

The first Project Component Impartial Electoral Information and Analysis is the dominant one in the project, making up approximately half of the volume. A key activity is the opinion polls being implemented by NDI and CRRC in cooperation at regular intervals, as a tool to identify the needs and interests of citizens in political and election processes, please cf. section 3.2 below. Another key component is the database and digital maps being produced by NDI in cooperation with Jumpstart, see section 3.1. A third key component is the work performed by NDI together with CRRC uploading different, consecutive versions of the voters list onto the online elections database and onto the Georgia Elections Portal, which contributes to an audited and updated list of voters for the parliamentary elections.

The anticipated Project Results Statement for the period 2009 – 2013 in this first Project Component is that:

- *Partners have technological tools and increased capacity to conduct electoral and voter list analysis, and that NDI research and analysis is used in their activities.*

The corresponding (twofold) Results Indicator attached to the PD is the:

- *Increase in partners' capacity to conduct electoral analysis. Increase in and improvement of electoral research and analysis.*

The Review finds that the capacity has increased, although the increase cannot be measured. The set goals and expected results (=outcomes) have been realistic, and the choice of activities has been relevant and strategic for the achievement of the set goals and results. As mentioned elsewhere, factors such as leakages of information, national legislation and the profile of partners have affected the project strategy and results.

The Project LFA Matrix defines the following overall indicator relating to the Project Objective No. 1:

- *Increase in impartial information and analysis helps better identify and address electoral deficiencies.*

The Review Team finds that, defined as such, this Objective has been reached, although no quantification is possible.

The major change attained through the project under this headline is actually twofold – the fact that issues brought forward in opinion polls have become objects of political decision-making, and that media reporting has improved both in terms of quality and as

regards those issues that are reported on (although the latter change is clearly not only a result of the present project).

The contribution of the Project to the sustainability of Project Partners seems marginal. If anything, it is positive. Their cooperation with NDI contributes to their professional enhancement and consolidates their organisations. But if it finishes, their survival would not be threatened, although they would be looking for other assignments or financing opportunities. As regards sustainable results for the target groups that the project has contributed to, the Review identifies the increased understanding of political research, and the increased respect for quality in political reporting. These benefits can be expected to continue after Swedish funding ends.

Intermediate reported results are commented upon in respective section below.

3.1 STRENGTHENING CAPACITY OF PARTNERS TO ANALYSE ELECTORAL RESULTS AND UTILISE DIGITAL MAPS

Digital maps are produced by NDI and Jumpstart, and uploaded onto the Multi-NGO Elections Portal, a joint initiative of the three NGOs ISFED, GYLA and Transparency International (TI) Georgia, supported by NDI. The Elections Portal, now administered by ISFED, aims at providing thorough and complete information to the interested public regarding the elections in Georgia.

The Portal carries two main databases – the observation database, financed by USAID, is the collection of observation findings of domestic NGOs and citizens, while the election/voter list database, financed by Sweden, is a collection of datasets showing historical election data plus analysis of continuing iterations of the voters list. The Portal, where election lists and voters' lists are broken down by a number of categories and each category by region, district and precinct, which users can share on Facebook and Twitter using the social network links, is seen by several interviewees as an important innovation in political life in Georgia.

NDI has reported the following Actual Intermediate Result for 2012 under this heading:

- *As a result of presentations and trainings, partners possess an understanding of the value of electoral results using digital maps.*

The statement is supported, for example, by the fact that the Parliamentary elections winning party Georgian Dream (GD) did receive maps of district data patterns, and could plan campaigning and check information in comparison with voters' lists (according to NDI, a precinct can comprise between 20 and 1.500 voters, a district 6.000 to 150.000, 73 districts are single mandate, or majoritarian, and 77 are proportionate). According to NDI, the Christian Democrats and the Free Democrats also received maps of district data

patterns. However, while an understanding may well have been created, an actual targeting of voters does not yet exist, and door-to-door campaigning has only just started. Thus far, and in NDI's own assessment, the digital maps have been more interesting to NGOs than to the political parties.

The Inception Report indicator:

- *the degree to which the capacity of partners to analyse electoral results and utilise digital maps has been strengthened,*

is satisfied, although the degree cannot be quantified.

3.2 IDENTIFY TRENDS AND CAUSES OF VOTER LIST IRREGULARITIES

As a continuous Project component, NDI engages its local partners in monitoring the voters' list, providing training to ISFED so that it can visit precincts that are identified as problematic and investigate causes of abnormalities through person-to-person audits and list-to-people audits. NDI states that its training has made ISFED's efforts at monitoring the voters' list more effective, as it uses electoral maps to identify districts that are in need of additional investigation. In addition, ISFED is able to conduct its analysis on and information about the voters' list broadly via the internet.

Earlier, the lack of confidence in the voters' lists came out as a top concern for citizens in NDI opinion polls. Thanks to efforts from different actors, this issue has now ceded the top concern position to bribery, with citizens being weary about political actors bribing the voters. However, it is not clear whether this is based on perceptions, rumours or facts. NDI intends to try to find out, using its focus groups to search for clarity.

An interviewee suggested that the Project might profit from renewing the circle of Project Partners. NDI has responded that ISFED is the only NGO with a countrywide coverage and a good professional level. The fact that ISFED is attracting funding from other sources as well as from NDI, both US and EU, is seen as a token of quality.

A Project Actual Intermediate Result is reported for 2012 by NDI here, namely that:

- *Partner ISFED was trained and visited precincts identified by NDI data where the voters' list was determined to be problematic and investigated causes of abnormalities.*

The statement contains an activity that was performed during 2012 and a produced outcome. But it also relates to improvements that were achieved earlier and reported in 2011, where NDI successfully contributed to the process of identifying and addressing voter list irregularities. ISFED has confirmed the positive effect of NDI training on its capacity.

The capacity of ISFED to perform this function has increased, although the increase is difficult to measure. No IR indicator has been formulated for the issue at hand.

3.3 TRACKING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Opinion polls are implemented at regular intervals by NDI and CRRC in cooperation, as a tool to identify the needs and interests of citizens in political life and in election processes. The basic idea is that by identifying the electoral concerns of voters, NGOs and election authorities can better focus voter education activities, and political parties can incorporate findings in their campaign outreach and voter mobilisation efforts.

CRRC, which has a network of 200 trained interviewers in the country, conducts 7 – 10 opinion polls each year, most of which have a national coverage and half of which are for NDI. Core poll questions are formulated by NDI, and draft questionnaires go back and forth. As mandated in its statutes, CRRC cannot do any work that cannot be published, as can, for example, IPM (the Institute of Polling and Marketing), which does opinion polls for the International Republican Institute (IRI). IRI also performs opinion polling and manages focus groups, but only shares its results with the political parties. Some donors conclude that it is probable that too much polling is going on, please cf. Section 9, below.

NDI and CRRC also manage approximately 87 focus groups during the grant period, which meet before and after elections, e.g. in ethnic minority areas. The focus groups are used to provide a better understanding of the reasons behind some polling numbers, to test reactions to possible polling questions, to probe deeper into certain issues to understand their relevance to individual Georgians, and to test how people define or understand certain words and concepts.

NDI opinion polls are being performed at regular intervals. After experiencing leakages of information early 2012, NDI decided to release political rating data publicly instead, which is something that NDI today feels has increased the impact of the polls. During autumn 2012, however, a controversy arose around the interpretation of such political rating data, which were then broadly interpreted as overly supporting the then-governing party, the United National Movement (UNM); although NDI did emphasise that the high degree of uncertainty in the material did not allow conclusions as to party sympathies.

The opinion polling component is a highly visible aspect of the Project. A large number of interviewees spontaneously brought this activity up to the Review team, thus testifying to the value of NDI efforts to bring more substance into politics and less focus on personalities through its polls, but also concluding that NDI could do better in clarifying how data are collected and should be used. Referring to the just-mentioned controversy, several interviewees saw NDI as strongly biased at that point in time, and feel that the August poll could have been explained better, which is something that could have disarmed

the issue. They also generally feel that the controversy might well be a passing phenomenon. NDI itself states that it stands by its presentation, where it stated that more than half of the population is undecided, and by its analysis of the public opinion research data.

NDI reports one Actual Intermediate Result for 2012, linked to researching public opinion:

- *The government undertook substantive measures to address concerns raised in public opinion research.*

Interviewees confirm that opinion polls do identify issues of public concern, upon which the government can take action. NDI cites two examples of issues that were brought forward in polls and are subsequently being decided upon by the government – the linkage of trash removal and electricity payments in Tbilisi, and the cost of Kindergartens. The government had decided on changes that will effectively remedy the problems – separating the invoicing of trash and electricity, and making the use of Kindergartens free of charge. NDI now expects the availability of Kindergarten places to come up in the next poll.

The relevant indicator here identified in the Inception Report is:

- iii. *the extent of tracking public confidence in the electoral process,*

The Review finds that both the extent of tracking public confidence has increased substantially, and that NDI has made a considerable contribution to accurate and informed media coverage of the electoral process.

Almost all interviewed political party representatives confirm that cooperation with NDI has been valuable and effective. Knowledge has been improved, also due to international experts brought into the country by NDI. Provided data has helped in the design of campaigns and to better address important issues.

However, some interviewees state their perception that NDI is now less interested in working with the smaller parties, as they are not represented in Parliament at present. These smaller parties feel that they cannot always implement their own surveys to decide on political priorities, so cooperation with NDI is quite important for them. Therefore, they would like to see a more comprehensive partnership with NDI.

NDI has reported the following Actual Project Result for 2012:

- *Political parties demonstrated an understanding of the research process through public statements and data requests.*

The Inception Report has no established specific indicator related to this subcomponent. But as indicated by interviewees, the NDI Result statement for 2012 is confirmed.

3.4 PROMOTING ACCURATE AND INFORMED MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Media representatives as well as Project Partners confirm having participated in one-day training sessions, focussing on NDI work and polls, and on how to interpret and to report on them, with both groups confirming their usefulness. The general impression in media is that the training has been very helpful, and that it has improved the coverage of polls. NDI's participation in public broadcasts to present poll results is also seen as an effective contribution. Several interviewees also stated their impression that media coverage has improved considerably, and that NDI has contributed to that.

NDI has been working actively to support that trend, inter alia by feeding mistakes and errors committed back to publishers. The result is that journalists now pay more attention to quality, and at times even check their drafts with NDI.

Although little time has passed since the October elections, interviewees state their impression that the media, which some saw as extremely politicised until then, now performs much better. The “Must carry” principle¹, promoted by NGOs, in particular GYLA and ISFED, was a very good tool for achieving better balance. Also, interviewees see the political situation as more balanced now.

However, the Central Elections Commission, which has also contributed to the media training effort, inter alia through providing training on election systems for journalists in its own training centre, and through publishing a handbook for media on elections together with the Council of Europe, states that it does not find the Georgian media performance to be good enough yet – further deficiencies need to be addressed.

Media representatives stress the need for more training of media and NGOs, i.e. the need to strengthen the role of civil society. There is also a stated need for support to think-tanks, preferably those run by NGOs. Such support would be very important, although foreign support for specific political figures is not asked for. Foreign commitments and contributions to the process of reform in the country are seen as welcome, but preferably in the form of institution-building rather than in support of individual, local actors.

¹ “Must carry” is a provision that obligates cable operators to carry a more diverse set of Georgian broadcasters and TV channels campaign, giving the public access to a plurality of information sources, particularly access to pro-opposition media perspectives.

NDI is invited to arrange, for example, roundtable discussions concerning ways to improve media structure and roles. Two main problems are suggested to be addressed, the importance of money in political life, and the lack of professionalism in media.

NDI reports the following Actual Intermediate Result for 2012:

- *Media and partners demonstrated an increased commitment to accurate reporting and improved analysis of public opinion research data.*

Two indicators have been identified for this Project Subcomponent in the Inception Report:

- iv. *the contribution to accurate and informed media coverage of the electoral process.*

In summary, the Review finds that NDI has made a considerable contribution to accurate and informed media coverage of the electoral process.

4 Objective 2 – Increased Accountability of Election Officials and Political Party Election Observers and Officials

The second Project Component comprises activities in two Subcomponents, intending to help political parties and election officials to identify problem areas in their electoral activities using improved methodology, tools, and capacity to monitor their election observers and officials. In Georgia, NDI has noted a need for political parties to conduct election observation, which is a role that has traditionally fallen to NGOs in the country. When undertaken correctly and responsibly, partisan election watching can play an important role in increasing the confidence of parties and citizens in the electoral process. Given the polarisation that has characterised Georgian politics in recent years, NDI sees supporting parties in this function as a particularly important contribution to building confidence in the political system.

Originally, NDI planned to use individualised, organisational databases to help parties assess the performance of election administrators in past elections and to identify precincts that had a higher-than-average number of observer complaints or where the CEC had nullified the results. However, some modifications had to be made. The original plan for transferring needed capacity to the political parties had to be changed, as the parties in practice lacked the necessary system skills. The option of giving the system to the parties was also found to be incompatible with legislation. The present solution is that parties can access the same information on the Portal and through establishing individual, confidential accounts in practice arrive at the same end result.

The anticipated Project Result here, as stated by NDI, for the whole period 2009–2013 is that

- *Political parties and election officials can identify problem areas using improved methodology, tools and capacity.*

The corresponding Results Indicator defined in the NDI LFA Matrix is

- *Improved methodology and skills of parties to conduct analysis.*

The Review finds that the Project Result for the whole period as formulated above has been achieved, but to a modest degree. Factors within the operating environment affecting the project strategy and results include that political parties showed a limited interest for the proposed support, and that trained persons were not used for the intended purpose.

As a consequence, Project Objective No. 2,

Increased accountability of political party election observers and election officials,
as measured against the LFA defined indicator,

Political parties identify poorly performing election observers and officials using improved tools and analysis and take appropriate action,
has only partly been achieved.

As can be concluded from NDI reporting, no major change seems to have yet been attained in this Project Component; although a large number of persons from thirteen parties have been trained – and trained to train – on issues related to elections observation.

4.1 MONITORING THE PERFORMANCE OF PARTISAN AND NON-PARTISAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS

The training of partisan election administrators, the persons who make up half of the Election Commissions at different levels in the system, has been downplayed in Project execution by NDI, as one of the major parties declined to take part, stating that it did not require election administrator training. Consequently, NDI has given priority to the component below, focussing on party election observers. No specific Result is reported by NDI for the component concerning party election administrators.

ISFED and GYLA have contributed to research in this subcomponent. GYLA finds it unfortunate that part of the results that have already been attained were not used, and that activities therefore needed to be repeated, but NDI motivates this with the need for accuracy.

The IR indicator for this Project Subcomponent,

- v. *the level of monitoring the performance of partisan and nonpartisan election administrators,*

shows that modest progress has been achieved, but that the level of monitoring of election administrators and observers merits further attention.

4.2 ASSISTING POLITICAL PARTIES TO TRAIN, MONITOR AND EVALUATE THE PERFORMANCE OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

There are three types of elections observation – domestic partisan, domestic non-partisan and international, all at the precinct level. International intergovernmental organisations and NGOs such as OSCE/ODIHR, IRI, CoE participate, amongst which also NDI contributed in October 2012, fielding 24 international observers plus one local staff member supporting each observer.

NDI has arranged Training-of-Trainers (ToTs), focussing on partisan observation. 426 members from all 13 political parties were trained during 2012 (plus 137 trained during

2010), although not all were subsequently used for training. During 2012, NDI's training of party observers was performed together with IRI.

Party representatives confirm the high quality of training offered to the Review, but display only moderate interest, with some declining the offer. Several interviewees find that a lot of training is going on. Certain sources find little effect of it and conclude that although the training as such may have been good, people change a lot, so mistakes are done, commented upon and made again.

As a result of feedback from political parties, NDI has now changed its approach for 2013, and will consult party leaders about their preferences and design the training offer accordingly.

For 2012, NDI reports the following Actual Intermediate Result in this Subcomponent:

- *Thirteen political parties developed tools and organisational skills to conduct their election monitoring activities and to train others for election monitoring.*

In addition, and as a comment to the Draft Review Report, NDI has also reported the following result under this subcomponent:

- *Based on consultations with two political parties on improving the performance of their election observers, both parties developed methods of assessing their monitors' performances which they tracked during all phases of the election cycle.*

The IR parallel indicator identified is

- vi. *the assistance provided to political parties to train, monitor, and evaluate the performance of election observers.*

The Intermediate Result reported by NDI concerning political party tools and skills is confirmed, although smaller parties cite financial restrictions limiting their ability, in practice, to monitor elections. Redefining activity purpose and forms in dialogue with party leaders will provide NDI with alternative ways of meeting the identified need.

5 Objective 3 – Increased Transparency and Accountability of Electoral Administration

This Project Component has two different Subcomponents: the monitoring of election administrations between elections, and the transparency and accountability of the election administration.

The Annual Report (AR) 2012 states that the anticipated Project Result for the whole period 2009 – 2013 in this Project Component is that:

- *Domestic monitors can track actions and appointments of election administrators.*

The corresponding LFA Result Indicator is:

- *Improved methodologies and tools of domestic monitors.*

The Review finds that, in fact, this result has been achieved, although the planned impact is not yet apparent.

The Project Objective No. 3,

Increased transparency and accountability of electoral administration,

as measured with the relevant LFA defined indicator,

Domestic monitors identify poorly performing election administrators using improved tools and analysis,

has partly been attained.

5.1 MONITORING OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATIONS BETWEEN ELECTIONS

NDI is supporting its Project Partners GYLA and ISFED to track the actions and appointments of election administrations, to check potential conflicts of interest among the members of the Precinct Election Commissions (PECs) appointed by the District Election Commission (DEC), and to monitor the “black list” of individuals who were sanctioned in the 2010 municipal elections. In 2010, ISFED and GYLA compiled the first “black list” of all precinct and district election officials, whose performance in elections over the previous two years either had precinct results being annulled due to irregularities or in the filing of official complaints and/or sanctions regarding the election conduct and/or results. In 2011, ISFED and GYLA observed and contributed to the Electoral Code Working Group (ECWG), an extra-parliamentary body of political parties working on agreement for a new electoral code. Both organisations have issued monthly reports to track their progress in developing and implementing their methodologies. The organisations have developed a set of recommendations for the election commissions in both their pre-election and post-election reports, including recommendations concerning trust-

building and improving practices for staffing election commissions. NDI supplies both funding and TA over the whole field, but in differing balances between areas.

GYLA reports that the project comprised two three-month activities during 2012 and 2013, where GYLA monitored how election commissions were handling these issues, and identified 75 persons who were on the black list from elections 2010 and were on the new ECs for 2012. But in practice, violators of rules are being reappointed in spite of complaints. IFES concludes that the problem may have an easy, but highly politicised, solution and that the new procedure, where ECs will have only professional, appointed staff, will improve the situation. In addition, NDI now doubts that the CEC is committed to using the “black list” to improve future processes for assigning election commissioners, and is looking forward to the amended Election Law.

GYLA has also submitted proposals for amending the Election Law, resulting in a new code of conduct in elections now being adopted and comprising paragraphs proposed by GYLA.

NDI reports two Actual Intermediate Results for 2012 under this heading:

- *GYLA and ISFED developed methodology to track conflicts of interest and the re-appointment of "black list" election commissioners during the election period,*
- *ISFED and GYLA continued to raise awareness about improvements that are still needed in the electoral code to improve management of the election, briefing the CEC and Parliamentary officials.*

Both results statements are confirmed by GYLA and ISFED, although the first one refers to an output and the second one to an activity. In addition, GYLA provides the feedback that longer sub-grants, six months instead of three, would be preferable.

The IR indicator defined for this Subcomponent is:

- vii. *the level of monitoring the election administration in the period between elections.*

The indicator produces a positive assessment, confirming that the level of monitoring has been raised somewhat, although the desired outcome remains to be achieved.

5.2 TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

In this operational area, NDI has added a subsection targeting the CEC’s Small Grants Commission during 2012. Since 2010, the CEC manages a commission to fund grants for NGOs to work on civil and election-related activities. The grants are small, approximately USD 30,000 a piece, but more than USD 1.5 Million was awarded in total in 2012. At the request of the CEC, NDI has organised a two-day training for 11 representatives of the Small Grants Commission and other senior staff of the CEC. The training, covering the entire grant lifecycle from solicitation, awarding, management, and evaluation, is intended to help ensure that projects are selected on the basis of established, transparent and justifiable criteria in order to objectively evaluate the best proposals and avoid accusations of favouritism in the grant-making process. The commission has also requested

additional training in monitoring and evaluation in order better to assess the success of completed projects.

The CEC confirms to the Review Team its high appreciation of NDI assistance, which has helped the CEC to conduct its small grants programme more efficiently, and led to proposals and an evaluation mechanism that are more quality-oriented. A very good training for the Grant Commission members has been provided, “knowledge has been transferred, they know now how to do their job”. CEC, which is working with NDI as well as with IRI, UNDP, and IFES, states that overall, the NDI contribution is highly professional and highly valued.

NDI itself assesses the movement toward a more transparent and fair small grants allocation system as a major step forward for the credibility of the election commission.

The Actual Intermediate Result reported for 2012 here is:

- *CEC developed best practices for selecting grantees for their Small Grants Commission, and demonstrated that they acknowledge the need for external organizations to conduct oversight of election administrators.*

NDI’s own comment is that CEC is monitoring the financial compliance for subgrantees under its Subgrants Commission, but it is not yet monitoring programmatic compliance. The NGOs receiving grants are seen by NDI as sometimes inexperienced and in need of follow-up. NDI will offer to assist the CEC with monitoring programmatic compliance in the future.

The IR indicator here,

- vii. *whether and how often consultations with CEC to improve transparency and accountability of election administration have been held,*

does confirm the reported outcome. An option for moving ahead with contributing to additional improvements in the system has been provided.

As stated above, the Review finds that the planned result has been achieved, although the final utilisation of the “Black list” remains yet to be seen. A second result was planned and introduced during implementation, i.e. the strengthening of the professional capacity of CEC Small Grants Commission, which has also been achieved. The planned results have been realistic, and the choice of activities has been relevant for achieving the planned results. In addition, options for strengthening impact have been identified.

This latter result might also be the major change attained through the project under this Project Objective, as progress with the “black list” approach has so far been modest. It also seems sustainable, and can be expected to continue after Swedish funding ends.

Opportunities here are, in the first component, to amend the requirements of legislation concerning ECs instead, and in the second one, to proceed with monitoring the use of funding provided by the Small Grants Commission.

6 Objective 4 – Electoral Participation of Women in the 2010 Local and 2012 Parliamentary Elections

In order to contribute to improved political participation of women in elections as party leaders, candidates and voters, NDI has conducted a series of activities during the project period, including supporting the efforts of local organisations to increase women's political participation.

For the whole period 2009–2013, the anticipated Project Result in this fourth area of operation is that:

- *Political parties have strategies in place to increase the number of women candidates on party lists.*

The corresponding LFA Result Indicator is:

- *Improved strategies to increase the number of women candidates.*

The indicator is clearly supported by interviews performed, the planned outcome has been produced.

Project Objective No. 4, as formulated in the PD and the Project Monitoring and Evaluation Plan,

Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections,

and measured against the pertinent Indicator identified in the Project LFA Matrix,

Increased number of women candidates on party lists,

has clearly been attained, with the number of women candidates rising from 120 in 2008 to 726 in 2012.

6.1 INCREASING THE NUMBER OF WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Reported activities include an April 2010 conference with 200 participants in Tbilisi, which was dedicated to discussing the level of women's participation in elected bodies, exploring the constraints and challenges facing women running for elected office, reviewing the institutional mechanisms that exist for increasing gender equality and presenting a plan to political parties to help them enhance the role of women in Georgian elections, beginning in 2010 and going beyond. Furthermore, the leaders of 11 political parties signed the Win with Women Global Action Plan and committed to using this plan as a template for the government's gender action plan. As a result of this commitment the

Christian Democratic Movement and the Free Democrats have founded women's wings. Similarly, in 2011, NDI organised several activities, including a study visit to Stockholm in the fall in order to expose parties to the tools and techniques used to increase the number of women on the party lists and in leadership positions. A second conference in 2011, planned with the Gender Equity Council of Parliament, was conducted, targeting increasing gender equality on eight topics: education and increasing public awareness; health and social protection; enhancing gender equality; and women's political participation.

Representatives of political parties confirm to the Review that these activities have promoted the idea of women's political participation. The 2012 parliamentary elections demonstrated a dramatic increase in number of women candidates, rising from 120 in 2008 to 726 in 2012, and elected female members doubling from 9 to 18 compared to 2008; this change is partly attributed to NDI's action.

The most significant result of these efforts is seen as the attitudinal shift among political party leaders, for whom the idea of more intensive representation of women in politics has now become a more accepted and agreed upon concept. Also, when working with the "Win with Women" concept, parties have demonstrated an increased understanding of the challenges that women face in the electoral process, particularly challenges for women candidates. In particular, the Christian Democrats and the New Rights Party report having internalised the lessons and have begun responding to a genuine demand from within the party for greater visibility for women. However, interviewees also emphasise that since Georgia does not have a long history of democratic governance and as there is no precedent of a strong women's movement for gender balance and equal opportunity, it is impossible to radically change the situation in a relatively small period of time. Although the government has adopted a Gender Equality National Action Plan (NAP), very little money is actually allocated to it, thus giving the impression that it is expected to rely on donor support.

As confirmed to the Review, the incentive of increasing the number of women candidates in their party lists was, for many parties, the financial incentive defined by the law. Party leaders at large prefer to promote strong and 'electable' candidates, rather than to encourage and support women candidates. In addition, it is more difficult for women than men to secure funding to run in majoritarian districts; political donors in Georgia are usually male, and hesitate to invest in female candidates. The CEC confirms that majoritarian precincts make it difficult for women, and states that the process towards a totally proportionate system has now started. CEC is confident that it will go through, because all stakeholders support it. In addition, the parliamentary Gender Equality Council is now considering the suggestion of a women's quota law, having realised that it has to increase action for support; otherwise nothing will happen. The Council would ideally wish for a quota of 25%, but could possibly negotiate for a 20% quota.

As a result of cooperation with NDI, the National Democratic Party established a women's wing in 2012. Also, other parties and stakeholders point out that cooperation with NDI was always tight and intensive. In the beginning, it was focussed on the basic principles and concepts, and on the institutional building of the parties. Later on, it became

more comprehensive and in-depth by focusing on issues such as legislative changes, improved media reporting, and how to design and conduct effective pre-election campaigns.

NDI's own comment to this subcomponent is that advancement has been slow, but that in 2013, NDI will expand its assistance to focus specifically on voter outreach and organising for the 2013 presidential election. Also, the parties will be assisted to elaborate Action Plans for moving ahead with implementation. NDI sees the WWW Global Action Plan as a good framework, and concludes that the 20% subsidy for parties did not function as desired, but did put focus on the issue. Money did motivate the smaller parties to present more women.

In this Subcomponent, two 2012 Actual Intermediate Results are reported by NDI:

- *Trainings increased the ability of female majoritarian candidates from WWW GAP signatory parties to use resources available to them for their campaigns, and*
- *During the "Win with Women" conference, GAP signatory parties demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of the challenges that women face in the electoral process and a substantive effort to increase the number of women in individual political parties, particularly in leadership roles, among other progress.*

Both outcomes are confirmed by interviewees, although majoritarian election districts do present obstacles to women candidates, as described above. The sustainability of results is considered as high, with a special emphasis on the impact on political party priorities regarding women candidates and ethnic minority area activities, where the benefits of the project are expected to continue after Swedish funding ends.

The IR indicator set to follow up on Project Results,

viii. *the additional number of women candidates in the electoral process,*
is also satisfied.

The Review finds that the overall expected Project Result, or outcome, has partly been achieved, as political parties have signed the WWW Gender Action Plan and NDI now plans to assist them in elaborating individual action plans for implementation. A number of challenges and options have emerged from this rather short time of operation, which might be addressed in a future planning perspective. The factors in the operating environment that have affected the project approach and results include: strong traditional values, the lack of professional advancement systems within the political parties, and the impact of financial incentives for achieving outcomes (something that, thus, will probably be replaced by Election Law quota requirements).

Partners, i.e. in this case political parties, perceive the systematic approach to the issue and the consistency in action as the value-added of working with NDI. The major change attained through the project here would seem to be the fact that parties have adopted an action programme for women in politics and are actually in the process of implementing it.

This policy decision would seem to be a sustainable result for the target groups that the project has contributed to, and whose benefits will also probably continue after the Swedish funding ends. Opportunities for NDI to further contribute to this area of change in the country are ample.

6.2 ADDITIONAL SUPPORT TO ORGANISATIONS WORKING TO INCREASE WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS

In this subcomponent, the cooperating NGOs are WPRC, (cooperation now terminated), the Samtskhe-Javakheti Media Centre and the Women's Information Centre, the latter receiving a contract to prepare a shadow report on the Government of Georgia's compliance with the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Feedback to the Review Team from project stakeholders was especially positive from the regional and local organisations working on the issue of increasing women's representation in politics. Among the local NGOs, particular focus has been placed on ethnic minority regions, where voter turnout for women tends to be lower. The participation of ethnic/religious minority women in training arranged in cooperation with GYLA and ISFED was active, minority women also expressing their willingness to become actively involved in politics, not least thanks to the created environment, where women could feel at ease and free to express their attitudes.

As to WIC, the technical support in drafting and submitting the shadow report is seen as another step in protecting and promoting women's rights. The report, *Recommendations for CEDAW Committee on the Protection of Women's Human Rights in Conflict and Post-Conflict Contexts*, was prepared in a coalition of more than 20 local NGOs created for this very purpose and submitted by the WIC in June, 2011. WIC will present the report orally in Geneva in late 2013 or 2014. NDI will conduct a special oral presentation training for WIC for that occasion.

For this Subcomponent, one 2012 Actual Intermediate Result is reported:

- *Activities completed as a result of subgrants to WPRC and SJMC led to increased voter outreach and education issues in ethnic minority regions.*

This outcome is confirmed by interviewees. Among the lessons learnt is NDI's conclusion that while accomplishing most of the goals set about in the sub-grant agreement, the work of the WPRC was not as participatory as needed. As a result, NDI discontinued the sub-grant to the Centre.

The IR indicator set to follow up on Project Results here is:

- ix. *the additional support rendered to organizations working to increase women's representation in politics.*

As has been elaborated upon above, this indicator is also satisfied.

7 The Sustainability of Effects and Cost-Efficiency

Project beneficiaries and other stakeholders confirm to the Review their view that NDI work is quite effective. Present in the country since the 90s, after Georgia gained independence from the Soviet Union, NDI has been rendering strategic support during a period when the country did not have experience in building a democratic society. A testimony to sustainability is the comment of a major political party that “NDI has contributed to an irreversible establishment of rule of law in the country”.

Also, donors confirm that NDI interventions, at large, do have sustainable effects. An identified weak point is that NDI has not been successful at establishing structures that can continue the work, although individual partners such as CRRC are quite sustainable. Certain donors note that some NGOs have been supported by NDI since 1995, and ask why this support has taken place for so long. And in parallel, USAID states that it cannot yet see, for example, a clear plan for how Parliament will take over activities that are, at present, performed by NDI under its financing.

As stated above, Section 3, the impact of the Project on the sustainability of Project Partners seems marginal. If anything, it is positive in that their cooperation with NDI contributes to their professional enhancement and consolidates their organisations. And if their cooperation with NDI finishes, their survival would not seem to be threatened; although they would be looking for other assignments or financing opportunities.

The sustainability of initiated processes is more difficult to assess. But opinion polling, for example, would probably not continue as broadly as it currently does without Swedish funding. Also the present dynamic in political party attention to women’s political participation would seem to risk weakening without continued NDI input into the area.

As examples of sustainable results for the target groups that the project has contributed to, the Review has identified above the increased understanding of political research, the increased respect for quality in political reporting, the increased professional capacity of the CEC Small Grants Commission, and the impact on political party priorities regarding women candidates and ethnic minority area activities. These benefits can be expected to continue after Swedish funding ends.

In addition - and should Swedish funding be considered for continuing cooperation with NDI - options for strengthening impact that has already been achieved have been identified.

But the Review also notes that the Project Document, as well as NDI annual reporting to Sweden, does not address the issue of Exit Strategy. It should be emphasised that this is

not a question of the institute, as such, exiting, although donors also ask whether NDI (as well as IRI) really does have an organisational exit strategy, but rather a question of how NDI plans to exit from identified undertakings *vis-à-vis* its Project Partners, and how they then would take over these activities. Each activity planned as part of the Project should actually be accompanied by a plan for how and when it would be taken over and managed by local actors.

Here, one interviewee states that while donors indeed have to think about exit strategies, their partners live in a competitive context, where some NGOs have collapsed when donor funds cease, which diminishes the sustainability of activities initiated. One conclusion is to switch to working with the government, supporting the formulation and establishment of sustainable structures there. Another conclusion, suggested by Project Partners, is to engage in longer contracts of cooperation in certain cases.

NDI has commented on the issue, stating that what is needed is to change execution, for example strengthening cooperation between ISFED and Georgian Public Broadcaster (GPB), or that ISFED delivers data directly to Jumpstart, which would allow NDI to partly exit and fulfil an advisory role. But the question that NDI raises is how quickly this can be done, suggesting that it is probably preferably done in 6 - 8 years instead of in 3 - 4. Another question in perspective is the sustainability of partners such as Jumpstart, and who, in that case, would take responsibility for data.

A special aspect of effectiveness is the compatibility of US models and approaches to elections and democratic governance with the EU ongoing approximation of Georgia. While NDI in Georgia does draw on different models, for example recently utilising the Swedish model of regional proportional representation, US models and approaches could also be expected to be used. As EU approximation is a top government priority and is very important for the country, the Review should address the question as to whether an eventual introduction of institutional and procedural solutions inspired by US models in this area of work could risk creating institutions and procedures that would later need to be replaced by others. But the Review finds that for politics, parties and elections, the EU has no *acquis communautaire* that would necessarily have to be adopted by Georgia (although there is now an emerging discussion within EU concerning the need for the Union to establish procedural or institutional requirements in this field, which will have to be met by Member States in the future). The conclusion is that, at least thus far, both Member States and Candidate States can freely design and decide on the norms and rules, forms and institutions that they prefer for the democratic governance of their countries.

Another aspect of effectiveness concerns the way that the roles of respective actors are combined. Partners state that they gain clout from working with NDI, with political parties confirming that the contribution of a trusted international actor to the process results in more reliable outputs, for example opinion polls, than could be relied on if they were only produced by local actors, and/or supported by local institutions or interests. One donor notes that NDI and Sweden are more trustworthy than local NGOs, which is thus an important asset for NGOs. The present combination, where local actors such as ISFED

and CRRC are executing activities with the support of NDI, seems effective to the Review.

Reporting procedures are commented upon as rather heavy, in that reports from Project Partners are sent to Washington, where all project documentation is finalised, instead of to NDI in Tbilisi. This is being referred back to a USAID administrative requirement, but in practice, other USAID-financed donors manage reporting locally. In such a way, the dialogue with partners can rest on a continuous dialogue around issues of implementation and standards of administration that are a natural substance in recurrent reporting. But NDI states that NDI standards, including for quality control, which all partners have to follow, are set and disseminated by NDI Headquarters in Washington, and that the present procedures are fully satisfactory. There is possibly room for an enhanced dialogue with Project Partners about reporting arrangements.

As for cost-efficiency, NDI reports that currently, 25% of the total office budget in Tbilisi comes from Sweden and the remaining 75% from USAID. NDI relevantly splits general operational expenditures between Sweden and USAID by 25% and 75%, with some exceptions. One of those is salaries, with the Resident Director receiving 10% of his salary from Swedish support and the Programme Manager 50%, while three locally employed staff working on the project have received 100% of their salary from Swedish support. Another exception is expatriate staff housing, where the shares are, respectively, 10% and 90% for the director, and 50% and 50% for the Programme Manager. In addition, depending on programmatic activities and budget, cost-sharing on supplies and local transportation may vary by month. The Review Team finds the division of costs between the two donors acceptable.

NDI does not report quantified results in respect to cost-efficiency. The IR indicators relevant here are:

- a) *The extent to which the programme has been managed with reasonable (i.e. in line with what is generally expected in the profession) regard for efficiency,*
- b) *The extent to which the same results could have been achieved with less resources,*
- c) *The extent to which resources have been adequate to achieve the desired results.*

Further, the IR has also suggested:

- d) *A scrutiny of the operational links in the present Project set-up,*
- e) *A comparison with other development projects in the same area of intervention,*
- f) *Conclusions in terms of relevance for the task and against identified, possible alternatives.*

Although it was not possible to make clear comparisons with alternatives within the scope of the review, the review team reports the following impressions – that are not confirmed by evidence – of the Project's effectiveness and cost-efficiency:

- a. The programme has been managed with reasonable regard for efficiency.

- b. The same results might have been achieved with fewer resources, but the Review concludes, without going into details of financial and administrative management, that the difference would be marginal.
- c. The resources accorded to the Project have been adequate to achieve the desired results.
- d. The operational links in the present Project setup do seem somewhat heavy. The possibilities to increase the delegation of authority in different fields from Headquarters to the Tbilisi office might be worth a closer look.
- e. The composition of staff working at the NDI office in Georgia is well balanced in terms of cost-efficiency. Of a total 20, expatriate staff is two, and local staff 18. This is particularly convincing in light of the high qualifications of the locally employed staff. Please cf. Annex 7 for an organisational chart of NDI Georgia.
- f. The relevance of the present Project setup for the task and against identified alternatives is high. Evident alternatives, particularly in view of EU approximation, are European actors, such as the Council of Europe and the EU Commission. But in the present geopolitical context, the contribution of a US partner such as NDI is relevant.

8 Coordination and Cooperation

For donor coordination in this field, a Technical Working Group (TWG), hosted by UNDP, meets monthly or biweekly at the CEC. Providing a venue for sharing information and experiences, and for coordinating operations, the TWG comprises CEC, donors and other relevant actors and NGOs, which work directly on election issues. Meetings are held regularly, with information on planned activities and electoral assistance being shared. The frequency of meeting is linked to elections. Normally 15-20 participants are present, including local NGOs. NDI participates in the TWG, and sometimes finds it useful, i.e. when some information on projects and electoral issues can be obtained.

In addition, the Parliament has an information function covering foreign aid in this field.

As mentioned above, NDI is an actor well placed in the US political system, together with IRI and IFES, and works closely together with USAID. In part, NDI, IRI and IFES are also working in consortium, where IFES provides technical assistance to CEC and to different ECs, and advice to the Civil Society.

According to USAID, the broad line of division of labour between NDI and IRI is that IRI focuses on the political parties, while NDI supports Parliament and election observation. When NDI requested funding opinion polling a few years ago, USAID, who was already financing opinion polling through IRI, declined the request – which was subsequently accepted by Sweden. Knowing that NDI and IRI polls target different audiences, but also wishing to avoid all duplication, USAID states that it would today again have declined to fund the NDI polling programme. Other donors concur and find that, all in all, there is probably too much opinion polling is going on.

IRI has been working with youth issues for several years and providing training through NGOs. IRI does not see duplication with NDI, and the two institutes cooperated around training party election observers in 2012. IRI would, however, like NDI to be more open in order to allow a coordination of polls. IRI also reports that the intense public attention to opinion polls last fall brought negative feedback to IRI, and concludes that less turbulence would be welcome.

NDI notes that its opinion polling and its party cooperation are both different from those of IRI, and that its gender cooperation is very different from what other agencies do.

The Review's assessment of NDI's capacity to coordinate and cooperate with other development actors (NGOs, donors, state) in Georgia at different levels, defined in the IR, gives ground for the following findings: At the project level, coordination is satisfactory.

At the level of current operational donor organisation coordination, there seems to be space for increased ambition – an improved coordination of opinion polling could, for example, possibly attenuate a common impression that too much polling is going on. At the macro – or national – level, coordination seems to be addressed through the TWG.

The ToR for the present Review state that other Swedish supported initiatives within the field of democracy/electoral support should also be considered. Two such undertakings are relevant: the UNDP Governance Reform Project and the “UN Joint Programme to Enhance Gender Equality in Georgia”, where UNDP is one of three implementing agencies and has the responsibility for the thematic area of women’s political and economic empowerment. In addition, UNDP executes a number of other projects in the democracy area, much in parallel with NDI. UNDP finds that the different programmes complement each other well. The Review finds the two projects mentioned to be complementary to the support through NDI and, probably, also mutually reinforcing.

9 Conclusions

Based on what has been reported above, the Review Team concludes that, through the present project, NDI is providing a relevant and adequate contribution to strengthening democratic governance in Georgia, in particular – but not only – by strengthening public confidence in the electoral process.

The most important results, so far, of Project implementation, summing up interviewee statements, are that:

- (i) political parties demonstrate an understanding of the research process through public statements and data requests,
- (ii) as a result of presentations and training, partners possess an understanding of the value of electoral results using digital maps,
- (iii) issues brought forward in opinion polls have become a focus of political decision-making,
- (iv) media reporting has improved both in terms of quality and as regards issues that have been reported on (although the latter change is clearly not only a result of the present project),
- (v) training has increased the ability of female majoritarian candidates from WWW GAP signatory parties to use resources available to them for their campaigns, and
- (vi) GAP signatory parties demonstrate an understanding of the challenges that women face in the electoral process and a substantive effort to increase the number of women in individual political parties.

Certain less successful components of Project implementation, so far, have also been mentioned above, such as the 2012 controversy over opinion poll results (which interviewees, however, believe will not affect NDI operations in the long run), the discontinuation of cooperation with the WPRC, the experience of leakages of information, and the fact that delivering political databases to political parties would likely constitute a violation of Georgian electoral law.

Lessons learnt by NDI from implementation include the recognition that the decision to shift to publicly release political rating data has increased the impact of the polls. Furthermore, terminating its cooperation with WPRC and altering the ways to assist political parties to access political data bases through the Portal are examples of NDI applying lessons from experience.

The relevance of NDI being perceived as a US actor has been brought up by several interviewees. The presented summary opinion is that NDI is seen to operate as part of a strong US presence in the country, and that in the current situation it is strategically important that NDI (as well as IRI) are contributing to the reform process in Georgia.

Interviewees also state that NDI is no longer perceived as overly supportive of a specific political party or grouping, a perception that NDI, however, attributes to a polarised political climate and to misinterpretation of information. Interviewed political parties appreciate that NDI has provided them with a neutral area for dialogue with other parties on e.g. election-related legislation, both at the central level and in the regions.

Planned Project Objectives have, in most cases, been reached, though in some cases results are limited. In some instances this has been possible through amending approaches or partner arrangements. Overall, the degree of attainment of planned results is deemed to be high, although established LFA Project Indicators have not been quantified. Project effectiveness is assessed as high, although the extent to which results can be specifically attributed to the action undertaken by NDI can, in most cases, not be defined. At the output level, attribution is not problematic; but reported results at the outcome level are dependent on a large number of activities and actors, which together contribute to the intended results. But overall, the evidence fed back to the Review is that NDI, like IRI, has made an important contribution in working for years to establish normal political life in the country through the political parties, and that this should continue.

While the Review has thus concluded that, by and large, Project Objectives have been reached, it should be noted that Project Indicators related to Project Objectives, and also, for that matter, Results Indicators, are not quantified in the Project LFA matrix, which makes it difficult to measure advancement. Although the Review Team is aware of both the difficulties in measuring progress in these respects more exactly and of the methodological limitations that follow, this is a weakness in the existing LFA, which should be borne in mind if continued Project Cooperation is to be planned.

A certain confusion emerged when NDI changed titles for Project Components and Subcomponents, as well as Project Indicators. For example, Objective No. 4 was originally targeting "...the Electoral Participation of Women...", but is now suggested to target "...the Electoral Performance of Women...". While the Review does not suggest one of the two formulations, it is clear that there is a difference in content and implications, which needs to be clarified. If the latter formulation has now been established by NDI, it should also be formally shared with the Embassy of Sweden and Project Partners, together with NDI's own operational conclusions.

The value added by the Project is considerable, although it varies somewhat between individual areas of intervention. Beneficiaries and other stakeholders (civil society, media, political parties, the Central Election Commission) see the value of NDI's work as high. NDI's partners mention technical advice, funding, organisational consolidation and political clout as the value added of working with NDI.

The sustainability of results also varies, as would be expected; but seems, in summary, to be above average. The institutional sustainability of Project Partners is high. The missing sustainability link in the design of the Project is the exit strategy.

Cost-Efficiency is assessed as satisfactory. Present administrative arrangements and procedures might allow efficiency raising measures to be identified.

As also noted above, the option of introducing US-inspired models and procedures does not create a formal compatibility issue with the EU approximation of Georgia, as the EU has no *acquis communautaire* for politics, parties and elections.

Of the two issues identified for Review attention, please cf. Section 1 above, the one on local ownership and the transfer of knowledge has produced the conclusion that more attention needs to be given to the need to formulate early and, as part of the Project Design, plans for how and when activities performed should be taken over by local actors. Exit strategies should be built into the respective Project Components.

As regards the second issue, the Review concludes that NDI still needs to strengthen the focus of reporting on outcomes beyond the output level. Some advancement in this respect has been achieved in and with the 2012 AR, as in the earlier ARs – 2010 and 2011– reporting in this respect was limited to Outputs and Indicators for the Reporting Period for the four Project Objectives. Although some Outcomes have now been reported, it also needs to be noted that the AR 2012 confuses Outputs, Activities and Outcomes; and reports Outputs that are actually Activities or Outcomes. In addition, NDI ARs could be made more concise, decreasing for example, as has also been suggested by the Embassy of Sweden, a certain repetition of information, and the presentation of the project background. Options for improving the Annual Reporting form and content exist, and do seem fully manageable.

The Review concludes that there is room for continued cooperation between Sweden and NDI. The major assignment in the present project, the impartial electoral information and analysis, is, by nature, not yet accomplished and could justify continued support, building on Project Results achieved and on change occurring in the system. Furthermore, expanding and deepening the efforts at improving the transparency and accountability of the election administration could be justified. Additional ways to continue the programme have been indicated by NDI itself, one being research on political processes, in combination with an effort at finding some sustainable institutional structure for undertaking political research. As to media, an interviewee suggestion to address anomalies and deficiencies in political reporting and analysis, with possible consequential inputs into public media quality assurance and media training, would seem to merit consideration. The fourth Project Component, targeting the participation of women in elections, would clearly motivate increased attention and resources, not least widening the scope of the operation to address other factors that limit or restrain women's political participation outside the political parties, thereby affecting their participation in political parties.

The Review finds that certain other contributions by interviewees also merit being fed back, namely the one from CEC, which possibly mirrors NDI's own, for a contribution to the establishment of think-tanks, run by NGOs or as NGOs, and a donor suggestion that a continued operation should go deeper into the parties, not least into their regional branches.

As the Project will end in less than nine months, including the already granted 2013 extension period, the issue of continued Project Work comes to the fore. In view of the time requirements at different levels for Project Design, Adoption and Operational Planning,

and for other processing and decision-making, not least concerning financing, it seems to the Review Team that these are urgent issues to address if another Project extension should be avoided.

An early indication from Sweden as to the prospects for continued financing should be sought. If Swedish indications are negative, other funding sources for a continuation of this valuable input into the reform process in Georgia should be identified.

10 Recommendations

Sweden is recommended to

- invite NDI to start preparing a platform for continued Swedish cooperation,
- give continued priority for work with impartial electoral information and analysis, and with improving the transparency and accountability of the election administration,
- allow increased priority for work with
 - anomalies and deficiencies in political reporting and analysis, and
 - the gender aspect of political life, including a broadened attention to different issues restraining women's political participation,
- insist on Exit Strategies to be defined for all future project components, the specifics of which are described below in the recommendations for NDI, and
- through NDI or other channels, address other deficiencies in political reporting, including the need for inputs into public media quality assurance and political media training,.

NDI is recommended to

- continue efforts at improving the electoral process in Georgia, thereby providing a valuable contribution to the strengthening of parliamentary democracy in the country,
- in its continued execution of the present Project:
 - study the possibilities of more proactively addressing take-over issues during the current, last year of the project agreement with Sweden,
 - initiate discussions with Project Partners on what they would be interested in taking over from NDI, and when and how this could be done,
 - decide on a definite formulation of Project Objective No. 4 in line with what is suggested above,
 - study possible operational implications of an eventual such change in Objective formulation from Women's Electoral Participation to Women's Electoral Performance,
 - communicate the decision and findings to Sweden and to Project Partner Organisations,
 - study the possibility of simplifying administrative procedures along the lines indicated above,
 - study the possibility of better coordinating with IRI and other donors as mentioned above, and
 - methodologically prepare a more concise and fully stringent final AR 2013 to Sweden, where the structure of activities, outputs and outcomes are clearly presented,

- decide to start the preparation of a next Project Phase for 2014 and onwards in the present area of work
 - plan and start to execute, during the spring, a Participatory Project Preparation Scheme, where the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders and other interested parties are made precise and agreed upon,
 - allow for an increased openness in the Project Preparation Process,
 - make space in a continued Project for further efforts at contributing to impartial electoral information and analysis,
 - in connection with that, address, in a new Project Component, anomalies and deficiencies in political reporting and analysis, which have the capacity to negatively affect democratic governance, with possible consequential inputs into public media quality assurance and political media training,
 - consider a new Project Component of supporting research on political processes and parties, in combination with an effort at finding or founding sustainable institutions for political research,
 - consider a continuation of the effort at improving the transparency and accountability of the election administration,
 - give priority to continue supporting the participation of women in elections, building on results that were already attained in the cooperation with political parties and in the outreach activities,
 - expand that Project Component to also address other factors that limit or restrain women's political participation outside the political parties, thereby affecting their participation in political parties,
 - establish an order of priority between possible Project Objectives, where those comprising impartial electoral information and analysis, political reporting, analysis and media, and the participation of women in political life have the highest priority,
 - formulate an improved Logical Framework for the future Project, where indicators are quantified where possible,
 - incorporate Exit Strategies into all future Project Components, and
- ask the Embassy of Sweden for an early indication as to the prospects for a continued NDI Project financing after 2013 being positively considered,
 - if the signal is positive, establish a consolidated calendar for the remaining time period through December 2013, including for the potentially time-consuming funding decision, and
 - if Sweden declines continued financing, identify alternative sources of funding a continued NDI effort at improving the electoral process in Georgia.

Annex 1 – Terms of Reference

Review of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia”, 2009-2013

Evaluation Purpose: Sida wishes to procure a team of consultants for the review of the NDI project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia” 2009-2013, funded by Sida. The main purpose of the review is to look at results achieved in relation to the objectives and expected results as expressed in the original project document. Effectiveness and efficiency are other important aspects, as is assessment of sustainability and ownership of achievements.

Intervention Background: Sida has been active in the region since the end of the 1990s and opened an office in Georgia in 2006. Since 2010 Sweden has a development cooperation strategy for Georgia, covering the period 2010-2013.² One of the three prioritised sectors for the Swedish development cooperation with Georgia is democracy, human rights and gender equality. The second objective of this sector is “better conditions for free and fair elections”. The strategy outlines that “To achieve objective two, Sweden will provide support to the reform of the election system and the strengthening of authorities’ capacity to hold free and fair elections. Initiatives to promote a democratic culture – such as the commitment of civil society and increased participation of women in election issues – are to be supported. This support is expected to result in increased confidence in and insight into the country’s election process.”

The National Democratic Institute has received support from Sida for activities in Georgia since 2008. The ongoing project supported by Sida (2009-2013, 21 MSEK) has four objectives:

1. Improve impartial electoral information and analysis;
2. Increase accountability of election officials and political party election observers and officials;
3. Increase transparency and accountability of electoral administration; and
4. Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local, 2012 parliamentary and 2013 presidential elections.

² Prior to that, Sweden had a regional strategy for South Caucasus.

The project is implemented in partnership with several local organisations and is involving political parties, local media and the Central Election Commission. The project entails research on public confidence in and attitudes towards the electoral process, it also focuses on strengthening the stakeholders' capacity for analysis and mapping of election results and analysis of voters' lists. The project is furthermore strengthening the capacity of election observers and the electoral administration. A number of political parties and party representatives are in addition involved in capacity building activities focusing on increased electoral participation of women. Sida has in December 2012 made a decision to extend the project period until December 2013, instead of June 2013 – as originally envisaged. The reason for that is that the presidential elections will take place in October 2013 and not during spring, as was originally planned. Thus, the project will be able to continue its work over these elections as well. In this decision, Sida has identified four dialogue issues for the remaining period of the project, of which two are of specific interest for the review, namely:

- 1) The need to strengthen focus in the reporting on results beyond the output level, and
- 2) Local ownership and the transfer of knowledge and certain roles to the local partner organisations.

In Sida's decision from October 2009, it is decided that funding should be set aside for an external evaluation of the project. The review will be important not only as a follow-up of the specific project but also as a contribution to the larger process of evaluating the results of the activities linked to the Swedish development cooperation strategy for Georgia for the period 2010-2013.

Review questions: the consultancy team is expected to answer the following questions:

- Has the project achieved its goals and expected results? If not – what are the main reasons for that? Have the set goals and expected results been realistic? Have the choice of activities been relevant and strategic for the achievement of the set goals and results? How did factors within the operating environment affect the project strategy and results?
- How do beneficiaries and other stakeholders (civil society, media, political parties, the Central Election Commission) perceive the value the work of NDI? What do NDI's partners perceive as the value-added of working with NDI? What was the major change attained through the project?
- What is the assessment of the sustainability of the project? Sustainability of outputs and outcomes as well as sustainability of the partners in the project? Are there sustainable results for the target groups that the project has contributed to? To what extent will the benefits of the project continue after Sida funding ends? What are the opportunities and obstacles within the different components?
- Was the project implemented in an effective and cost efficient way? Has the organisational set-up of NDI been conducive to supporting the achievement of programme goals?

- What is the assessment of NDI's capacity to coordinate and cooperate with other development actors (NGOs, donors, state) in Georgia at different levels?

Methodology: The team will need to conduct a desk study of relevant documentation including project document, reports, Sida assessments and comments, country analysis, information about other Swedish supported initiatives within the field of democracy/electoral support, NDI guiding documents etc. This will be complemented by a visit to Georgia in order to conduct interviews with relevant stakeholders, including partner organisations, political parties and the Central Election Commission. Meetings shall be held with the responsible officer at the Embassy in Tbilisi, as well as with NDI in Tbilisi. The team also would conduct interviews by phone with relevant staff at NDI headquarters in Washington, D.C. More details on methodology should be presented by the consultant.

Work Plan and Budget: The consultancy team should be able to start working in February 2013. The review is expected to take maximum twenty working days, including five working days in Georgia (preferably during first week of March) for conducting interviews with relevant stakeholders. The budget ceiling for the assignment is 300 000 SEK.

The consultant should plan for an initial meeting with Sida when arriving in Georgia as well as a debriefing before leaving Georgia.

The consultancy team should present a draft report by March 15 and a final report should be submitted one week after having received comments from Sida and NDI on the draft.

Reporting: The team of consultants shall write a report of maximum 25 pages, (excluding appendices) including an executive summary and be structured mainly in accordance with Annex B in Sida's evaluation manual "Looking Back, Moving Forward". The draft as well as the final report shall be produced in electronic versions, the final report in PDF format.

Required skills and qualification:

- experience from conducting similar evaluations
- documented experience of international development cooperation, preferably from Eastern Europe
- at least five years experience of evaluating/reviewing projects
- knowledge of democracy/electoral support and capacity building
- fluency in English
- knowledge of Georgian or other language spoken in the region will be an asset

Annex 2 – Inception Report

Executive Summary

Since national independence was regained in 1991, the process of democratic reform in Georgia has been dynamic and marred with conflict. But in spite of protracted controversies and certain tendencies to authoritarian measures, the parliamentary democracy of Georgia seemed to pass its litmus test after the 2012 Parliamentary Elections, when the President of the Republic and leader of the governing party United National Movement acceded defeat instead of, as has been the case in several other post-Soviet countries, contesting the outcome of elections.

Sida has been supporting democratic reforms in Georgia for several years and through different channels. One such case is the 2009-2013 SEK 21 Million financing of the Project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia” through the National Democratic Institute. The present Inception Report (IR) initiates the Develop Review assignment concerning the project.

The IR assesses the terms of reference (ToR) for the Review, comments on the scope of the assignment, reviews the relevance and evaluability of the Review questions and proposes an approach and methods for undertaking the Review.

The Project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia” has the following objectives:

1. Improve impartial electoral information and analysis.
2. Increase the accountability of political party election observers and officials.
3. Increase transparency and accountability of electoral administration.
4. Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections, and 2013 presidential elections.

As requested in the Terms of Reference for the Review, project performance and results will be assessed in the light of sixteen defined questions under four different headlines concerning: (i) Results, (ii) Value added, (iii) Sustainability, and (iv) Efficiency.

The Review will be based on continued studies of the documentation already received and of additional documentation to be gathered during implementation. This will be complemented by a visit to Georgia in order to conduct structured interviews with relevant stakeholders, including partner organisations, political parties, the Central Election Commission and other state actors, and foreign donors and organisations.

Meetings will be held with the Embassy of Sweden in Tbilisi, as well as with NDI in Tbilisi. Focus Group Interviews (FGI) will be arranged with certain stakeholders in order to provide an opportunity for a more dynamic exchange of views and experiences.

In view of the sensitivity of the area of work for the present Review, the Team will attempt to perform its work in a manifestly objective manner and to establish confidence with all interviewees.

1. Assessment of the Scope of the Evaluation

1.1 Background

As also stated in Sida's October 29, 2009 Assessment Memo, the 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary elections were troubled by confusion over the counting procedures and by a lack of transparency in the tabulation, in as much as a quarter of the polling stations the number of voters did not match the number of ballots cast. Following the Presidential election, more than 1,000 electoral complaints were filed by party and non-partisan observers to the courts and various electoral commissions, most of which were rejected on grounds of technical inadmissibility or as legally ungrounded. The Parliamentary election demonstrated many improvements over the Presidential election, but did little to address political polarisation and growing public dissatisfaction. Diminished confidence in electoral processes was reflected in a drop of voter turnout.

Furthermore, NDI reports that during the following years, frustration and political polarisation were being fuelled by irregularities, particularly in the conduct of municipal elections in 2010. Elections were marred by concerns regarding the electoral framework and the use of administrative resources, as well as the complaint adjudication processes. NDI public opinion research identified the voter lists and the conduct of the Central Election Commission (CEC) as two of the biggest concerns impacting on public confidence in democratic elections.

The May 2010 elections saw improvements in several aspects of the election process in response to identified concerns, including increased transparency on the part of the CEC and multi-party collaborations on reforms to the electoral code. The preliminary report on the May polls released by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) cited improvements to the voter lists and election day, and praised some improvements to the electoral code. The preliminary report of the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED) found improvements at the level of the Central Election Commission, but cited "a number of specific violations" including observers not being allowed in the polling stations and pressure and intimidation of voters. While the election day was generally agreed to have been well managed, serious concerns

remained regarding the pre-election environment. International and domestic observers expressed reservations about the use of administrative resources by ruling party candidates to gain an electoral advantage.

Political events in 2011 illustrated potential fault lines in the electoral system, and areas in which public confidence in the process might be vulnerable. Multi-party talks between a coalition of opposition parties (the Group of Eight) and the then-ruling party on possible changes to the electoral code ahead of the elections broke down repeatedly in 2011, finally culminating in a schism within the opposition that saw the Christian Democratic Movement, New Rights, and a few smaller parties reach agreement with the UNM on reforms in June. After initially indicating that parliament would be enlarged and that new precincts would be drawn to ensure more equitably-sized seats, legislators reconsidered this change. The final electoral code amendments include some positive initiatives, including increased state funding for political parties that clear the five percent electoral threshold, financial incentives for parties to include female candidates on their party lists, and a CEC database to track the performance of electoral officials and hold them accountable for their performance. Other concerns, such as the use of administrative resources for electoral gain, the need for a longer window for submitting complaints about the electoral process, and large discrepancies in district size, remained unaddressed. The degree to which the new electoral code is fairly implemented and consistently enforced is likely to impact public perception of the election process and the legislature produced by it.

The next major test of Georgian citizens' confidence in the electoral process was the October 2012 Parliamentary elections. Constitutional amendments passed in fall of 2010 had raised the stakes of the upcoming election, thus transferring significant responsibility from the President to the Prime Minister.

ISFED, whose main priority and scope of work is election monitoring in Georgia, reported that generally, the voting process went well throughout the country. Almost all precincts opened on time, and while there was crowding outside of the polling stations in the first half of the day, only 3% of the precincts reported crowding inside the polling stations. The significant shortcoming of the day was the fact that in 6% of the precincts, the inking procedure was conducted improperly. The secrecy of the ballot was ensured at 98% of the polling stations, which was a marked increase from 91% in 2008. Partisan observers from both Georgian Dream and United National Movement were present in 94% and 90% of polling stations respectively.

The closing process went well in most precincts throughout the country, with 96% of the precincts completing the count without major incidents. There were some exceptions, however. In Khashuri district the process of filling out protocols was delayed for an unreasonable amount of time until the precincts were raided by Georgian Special Forces. ISFED notes that, according to the organisation's observers, Georgian

Dream gained a majority of the votes in the stations observed in Khashuri. Turnout was high throughout the country, with 61% voting nationally and 64% percent in Tbilisi. The national and Tbilisi turnout figures represent an increase since the 2008 parliamentary elections data – 53% and 48%, respectively. The turnout indicates the high level of participation as a record number of citizens exercised their right to vote.³

NDI estimates that the 2012 parliamentary elections were the most competitive in the country in a decade, and marked an important step in establishing a pluralist Georgian legislature. Notwithstanding serious problems, primarily in the pre-election period, the electoral process allowed citizens to make informed choices and express their will at the ballot box.

Political competition has remained strong after the new government was formed by the winning party Georgian Dream. Decisions by the new government include giving amnesty to nearly 200 persons that it considered to be political prisoners, and proposals in Parliament to eliminate the direct election of the President and to move the Parliament, recently relocated to the city of Kutaisi, back to Tbilisi. President Saakashvili has stated that his United National Movement party will oppose these proposals.

A separate law on funding for political organisations was passed at the same time as the electoral code amendments. This law limits the amount of funding a party can receive from a single individual or organisation, and has been perceived as a reaction to the arrival of billionaire businessman Bidzina Ivanishvili on the political scene.

Several international donors support the continued reforms of the election system in Georgia. In addition to Sida and NDI, UNDP, the Council of Europe, the European Commission, the Dutch, French, German, Swiss and US governments, and international NGOs such as International Republican Institute (IRI), Eurasia Foundation, the Open Society and Transparency International (TI) participate in the process.

1.2 The Project

Sida's Project Partner is the National Democratic Institute, a Washington-based, USAID financed, non-profit NGO. It is a non-partisan organisation, working to support and strengthen democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation,

³ www.gndem.ge

openness and accountability in government. In addition to the United States government, NDI receives financial support from several other sources, including 15 European governments and the European Commission, multinational institutions such as the UN and the WB, private foundations and individuals. NDI is a partner with the World Bank Institute, the United Nations Development Programme and International IDEA in Agora, a global knowledge portal on parliamentary strengthening.

On its home page, NDI reports a broad range of activities in Eastern Europe. In Ukraine, NDI political party assistance has focused on coalition-building, organisational strengthening, platform development, and voter outreach, while its civic assistance has focused on nonpartisan election monitoring activities and issue advocacy campaigns. In Moldova, NDI's civic assistance has primarily consisted of technical support for local non-governmental and election monitoring organisations. And in Georgia, NDI reports having conducted programmes in political party development, parliamentary strengthening, safeguarding elections, civil society development, women's political participation, and local governance since 1994. Since 2003, NDI has provided technical assistance and support to parliament, supported local civic actors working to bolster public involvement in the reform process, provided technical assistance for election monitoring efforts, and conducted public opinion research examining citizens' attitudes toward reforms.

Following 2008 Sida support to NDI in Georgia for a one-year project that covered the Parliamentary and Local Adjara elections with very good results, Sida decided to continue the cooperation with NDI. A project cooperation was agreed in 2009, covering a maximum amount of SEK 15 500 000 over a four-year activity period (November 1st, 2009 – June 30th, 2013). In response to the postponement of the 2013 presidential election, Sida approved a cost-extension through December 2013 in order to continue programming through the presidential election cycle, bringing its total Project financing to SEK 21 Million.

The overall objective of the cooperation is to enhance public confidence in the electoral process in order to improve the process as such. This in turn is expected to contribute to free and fair elections.

According to the Project Document, the stated objectives of the project are:

1. Improve impartial electoral information and analysis.
2. Increase the accountability of political party election observers and officials.
3. Increase transparency and accountability of electoral administration.
4. Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections, and 2013 presidential elections.

These objectives are expected to be reached through the following sub-goals and activities:

Objective 1: Improve impartial electoral information and analysis.

- Strengthening the Capacity of Partners to Analyse Electoral Results and Utilise Digital Maps, with the specific activities
 - *Building Capacity for Analysis of Election Results*
 - *Building Capacity for Use of Digital Electoral Maps*
- Identify Trends and Causes of Voters List Irregularities
- Tracking Public Confidence in the Electoral Process
 - *Conducting Public Opinion Research*
 - *Sharing the Results of the Public Opinion Research*
 - *Enhancing Partner Organisations' Understanding of the Research Process*
- Promoting Accurate and Informed Media Coverage of the Electoral Process

Objective 2: Increase accountability of political party election observers and officials.

- Monitoring the Performance of Party Election Administrators
- Assisting Political Parties to Train, Monitor, and Evaluate the Performance of their Election Observers

Objective 3: Increase transparency and accountability of electoral administration.

- Monitoring the Election Administration in the Period between Elections

Objective 4: Improve the electoral participation of women for the 2010 local and 2012 parliamentary elections, and 2013 presidential elections.

- Increasing the Number of Women Candidates in the Electoral Process.

NDI has identified the following target key election stakeholders in the country: the election administration, the political parties, civil society, and media. The Project intends to build their local capacity to address key deficiencies in the process. NDI will involve these groups in the planning, implementation and follow-up of the Project, thereby providing local ownership of it. At the international level, NDI will coordinate and cooperate regularly with the USAID, with European Embassies and international donors and organisations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United National Development Programme (UNDP), the Council of Europe, the European Commission, and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

NDI has implemented the Project in cooperation with a group of Georgian NGOs, including the CRRC, the ISFED, and the GYLA. The **CRRC** (Caucasus Research Resource Centers programme) is a network of research and research support centers established in the capitals of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Its goal is to strengthen social science research and public policy analysis in the South Caucasus. It is

working in partnership with the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Eurasia Partnership Foundation, and local universities in the region. The **ISFED** (International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy, please cf. above) is a nongovernmental, nonpartisan and non-profit organisation established in 1995 to support free and fair elections. Due to the organisation's reputation for professionalism and impartiality, ISFED was twice awarded the status of the Cavalier of 5 Silver Principles of the Code of Ethics of Non-Governmental Organisations. In addition to election monitoring, for more than a decade ISFED has implemented a number of projects in civic education and local governance to increase transparency of the government's activities and promote accountability. **GYLA**, the Georgian Young Lawyers' Association was established as an association of professional lawyers dedicated to promoting the image of the legal profession and working to create a just society. GYLA was officially registered in September 1994 as a non-profit, non-governmental, non-partisan organisation. GYLA became the first and largest professional union of lawyers dedicated to: promoting the rule of law; conducting legal and civic education; raising awareness and providing legal aid to the vulnerable population; being a watchdog over government transparency, accountability and good governance; and establishing standards of professional ethics. **Leaders for Democracy** was established in 2008 as a nongovernmental organisation, founded by the alumni of NDI's Future Women Leaders (FWL) programme who were interested in continuing to network and share opportunities after participating in a year-long leadership training organised by NDI. Leaders for Democracy is working to support women's participation in public and political life by engaging in training and education, research and campaigning.

The contracting arrangement agreed was that Sida entered into an agreement with NDI, which in turn entered into sub-agreements with CRRC, GYLA and ISFED.

In December 2012, Sida decided to extend the project period until December 2013 in order to allow the project to work over the next presidential elections, which will take place in October 2013 instead of during spring, as was originally planned. In the extension decision, Sida also identified four dialogue issues for the remaining period of the project, two of which have been mentioned as being of specific interest for the present review, namely:

1. The need to strengthen focus in the reporting on results beyond the output level, and
2. Local ownership and the transfer of knowledge and certain roles to the local partner organisations.

1.3 The Assignment

In accordance with the **ToR for the Review**, dated January 10, 2013, the Review team will address the following questions, grouped in four areas of attention:

1. Results

- Has the project achieved its goals and expected results?
- If not – what are the main reasons for that?
- Have the set goals and expected results been realistic?
- Has the choice of activities been relevant and strategic for the achievement of the set goals and results?
- How did factors within the operating environment affect the project strategy and results?

2. Value added

- How do beneficiaries and other stakeholders (civil society, media, political parties, the Central Election Commission) perceive the value the work of NDI?
- What do NDI's partners perceive as the value-added of working with NDI?
- What was the major change attained through the project?

3. Sustainability

- What is the assessment of the sustainability of the project?
- Sustainability of outputs and outcomes as well as sustainability of the partners in the project?
- Are there sustainable results for the target groups that the project has contributed to?
- To what extent will the benefits of the project continue after Sida funding ends?
- What are the opportunities and obstacles within the different components?

4. Efficiency

- Was the project implemented in an effective and cost efficient way?
- Has the organisational set-up of NDI been conducive to supporting the achievement of programme goals?
- What is the assessment of NDI's capacity to coordinate and cooperate with other development actors (NGOs, donors, state) in Georgia at different levels?

The mentioned Review questions will be used as entry points into the assessment of the Project's performance and results. In addition, the Review will address a number of issues that will also be dealt with in the report back to Sida. One is the issue of attribution, against the background of the fact that NDI receives contributions from several different sources. To what extent can NDI's results be attributed to Sida's financing?

As regards cross-cutting issues and in relation to the Project's fourth Objective, the Review will also attempt to assess other gender aspects of the project, for example women's participation in the political process, both as state employees and as political actors. In order not to widen the scope too much, the discussion in the Review will be limited to the issue of political participation of women.

Furthermore, particular attention will be given to the two dialogue issues that were identified by Sida for the remaining period of the project, mentioned above:

- The need to strengthen focus in the reporting on results beyond the output level, and
- Local ownership and the transfer of knowledge and certain roles to the local partner organisations.

It is appreciated that the Review is expected, in addition to functioning as a follow-up of the Project, thereby providing inputs into possible considerations of and negotiations concerning a continued Sida-financed NDI project, also to contribute to the larger process of evaluating the results of the activities linked to the Swedish development cooperation strategy for Georgia for the period 2010 – 2013. In order to strengthen the possibilities for the Review to contribute as desired, Indevelop will ascertain a close link between it and the parallel Review of the Swedish Co-operation Strategy with Georgia (2010 – 2013), also undertaken by Indevelop.

As for the intended users of the Review, and against the background of the double function that is presented, it is assumed here that the main stakeholder group concerned by the Review is Sida and its staff in Tbilisi and in Stockholm, and NDI. As for Sida, the Review wishes to contribute to further insights into the Project work of NDI and that its report will be able to provide an input when deciding on future commitments with the organisation. In addition to Sida, some other donors might also be interested in the final product. The Review will be an opportunity to provide evidence to potential donors and partners regarding the profile of NDI as a partner in cooperation.

In relation to NDI, the Review is an effort at bringing in an outside comment to strategies, accomplishments, and organisational structure and capacity. The Review's assessments are meant both to look backwards and to use the findings and lessons learnt as contributions to an eventual planning of a continued Project operation.

2. Comments to the Review Questions

In summary, the questions raised in the ToR for the present Review all seem relevant for an assessment of the Project, and possible to address within the given framework of time and resources, although the coverage of parts of the ToR might be somewhat limited in the end as a result of the time allocated for the assignment. It has also been noted that the assignment is not an evaluation but a Review, which we in this case interpret to indicate an assignment wherein the scope is limited to the questions raised in the ToR. The questions are individually commented on below.

It should be noted that in the partly tense Georgian political climate, any intervention aiming at affecting attitudes, knowledge and practice may become controversial. This

will be held in account by the Team both during Review implementation and in the following assessment of Project performance.

2.1 Project Results

Five Review questions concern Project Results.

2.1.1 - Has the project achieved its goals and expected results? The following **indicators** will be used:

- i. the degree to which the capacity of partners to analyse electoral results and utilise digital maps has been strengthened,
- ii. the extent to which trends and causes of voters list irregularities have been identified,
- iii. the extent of tracking public confidence in the electoral process,
- iv. the contribution to accurate and informed media coverage of the electoral process,
- v. the level of monitoring the performance of partisan and nonpartisan election administrators,
- vi. the assistance provided to political parties to train, monitor, and evaluate the performance of election observers,
- vii. the level of monitoring the election administration in the period between elections,
- viii. whether and how often consultations with CEC to improve transparency and accountability of election administration have been held,
- ix. the additional number of women candidates in the electoral process,
- x. the additional support rendered to organisations working to increase women's representation in politics.

These indicators will be studied and analysed through available documentation, primarily the Project Document and Project Annual Reports (PARs), and through follow up one-to-one interviews and FGIs with stakeholders and other interviewees.

In relation to the Project's fourth Objective, Increasing the Number of Women Candidates in the Electoral Process, the Review will also attempt to assess other gender aspects of the project, for example women's participation in the political process, both as state employees and as political actors. As suggested by Sida, and In order not to widen the scope too much, the discussion in the Review will be limited to the issue of political participation of women. Indicators looked for will be numbers of women active at different levels and in different functions of the political system.

2.1.2 - If not – what are the main reasons for that? For the first part of the question, the same **indicators** will be used as above. For the reasons for not reaching planned goals and results, the main reasons will be analysed on the basis of one-to-one interviews and on FGIs, and analytical scrutiny.

In addition, the Review will attempt also to identify the opposite to question 2.1.2, i.e. results obtained, which were not planned, and the reasons for that.

The two questions **2.1.3 - Have the set goals and expected results been realistic?** and **2.1.4 - Has the choice of activities been relevant and strategic for the achievement of the set goals and results?** both address the extent to which the planned results of the Project are

- relevant (i.e. whether they increase the likelihood of reaching the goal),
- realistic (i.e. whether they can be attained),
- valid (i.e. whether they are logically [entailed](#) by their premises and each step in the chain of causality), and
- adequate (i.e. whether they can be deemed satisfactory, without recourse to additional inputs),

either in their initial form or after they might have been adjusted. Basically, they should allow answering the question whether the Project is (and in this case, its cooperating partners are) doing the right thing in terms of the four criteria just mentioned. Data to be collected to provide evidence on these questions will be based on a critical assessment ex post of these strategic components of the Project design against the background of documented successes and shortcomings in Project implementation, complemented by assessments presented by stake holders and other relevant actors in interviews. Here, the Review will also attempt to offer conclusions as to the continued implementation of the Project as to whether the set goals and choice of activities are still fully relevant and strategic in the light of recent development in the country.

2.1.5 - How did factors within the operating environment affect the project strategy and results? This highly relevant question of how factors within the operating environment – factors that existed when the Project was designed and factors that have surfaced since then – have affected the project strategy and results will mainly be addressed on the basis of studying and assessing the impact on

- relevant actors in Georgia, such as political parties, media and state institutions,
- the outcome of elections and other salient features of political life,
- donor and other foreign intervention.

Here, data will primarily be collected through interviews, but the Review will also rely on documentation other than the one presented by stakeholders in the process.

2.2 Value added

The two Review questions concerning how beneficiaries and other stakeholders perceive the value of the work of NDI, and what NDI's partners perceive as the value-added of working with NDI, is tantamount to discussing which difference the joint Sida-NDI intervention makes, and will be of high relevance for the overall assess-

ment of the value of the Project. Questions **2.2.1 - How do beneficiaries and other stakeholders (civil society, media, political parties, the Central Election Commission) perceive the value the work of NDI?** and **2.2.2 - What do NDI's partners perceive as the value-added of working with NDI?** will be answered with the help of the following **indicators**:

- Value perceived in terms of relevance of contributions,
- Value perceived in terms of quality and quantity,
- Value perceived in terms of objectivity, and
- Timeliness and dialogue characteristics.

Data will be collected through structured interviews – both one-to-one and FGI – with beneficiaries and other stakeholders, such as civil society, media, political parties, the Central Election Commission and other state actors, and with NDI's partner organisations CRRC, ISFED, GYLA, plus the Women's Information Center (WIC) and the Women's Political Resource Center (WPRC).

Interviews with these actors, and with NDI and Sida representatives, will also supply the data needed to address question **2.2.3 - What was the major change attained through the project?** In addition to interviews, available documentation will provide data for the assessment requested.

In all three questions under the Value added heading, the issue of attribution needs to be addressed, i.e. to which extent can performed activities and obtained results be directly related to Sida's financing. To illustrate the issue, and as presented by NDI itself, NDI programming in Georgia is funded through USAID, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Sida, and the British Embassy in Tbilisi. And in addition to from the present Project, both ISFED and GYLA receive funding from the National Endowment for Democracy. The Review will attempt to clarify and discern between different cases of funding of Project activities in order to be able to present an assessment as to what can and should be attributed to Sida's support.

2.3 Sustainability

The assessment under **2.3.1 - What is the assessment of the sustainability of the project?** will be formulated against answers to the following three questions:

- Do national and local institutions and actors support the Project?
- Do they demonstrate commitment and capacity to continue the efforts and activities supported by the Project or replicate them?
- Has the funding base been (sufficiently) diversified?
- Are the organisational structures sustainable, in case Sida's support would cease?

Question 2.3.2 - Sustainability of outputs and outcomes as well as sustainability of the partners in the project? is actually two different questions. The first one, focussing on **outputs and outcome**, will be assessed through studying

- The extent to which capacity built will be able to persist,
- The extent to which persons reached by training and HD efforts will stay on in their work places and be able to carry on their work.
- Whether informed media coverage of the electoral process will be able to continue functioning,
- If the additional number of women candidates in the electoral process will persist, and
- Other efforts at increasing women's representation in politics will be carried on.

As regards **partner sustainability**, the following aspects will be studied:

- The probability of partner organisations continuing to operate at the same level once the funding has been phased out.
- The existence and relevance of an exit strategy.
- The extent to which the groups can generate income, foreign or other.
- The extent to which partner organisations have the capacity to maintain results achieved.

2.3.3 - Are there sustainable results for the target groups that the project has contributed to? The following issues will be studied:

- Will the participants in training sessions conducted and round table discussions held in view of promoting accurate and informed media coverage be able to continue using their knowledge?
- Will the political parties to monitor and evaluate the performance of their election observers and the CEC of their own staff?
- Will GYLA and ISFED continue to use the methods for monitoring and reporting on local and national level implementation of electoral reforms, developed in the Project?
- Will political party leaders who have pledged to support an increase in women's political participation continue to do so?

In view of the short Project time period under scrutiny, it will be a challenge for the Review to assess the sustainability of outputs and outcomes as well as the sustainability of the partners in the project, and whether there are sustainable results for the target groups that the project has contributed to.

2.3.4 - To what extent will the benefits of the project continue after Sida funding ends? Answers will be sought in the assessment of

- The extent to which capacity built will be retained within the partner organisations,

- The extent to which the organisations are sustainable after the end of the Sida support,
- Evidence of multiplier effects.
- The response in society to the change that the Project has affected, and
- The political future development in the country.

In response to this question concerning the extent to which the benefits of the project will continue after Sida funding ends, the Review will attempt to offer qualified qualitative assessments.

2.3.5 - What are the opportunities and obstacles within the different components? This question about opportunities and obstacles within the different components is indeed part of the analysis of the project and its operational context, but also has a more forward-looking relevance, as its answers should be expected to be able to provide an input into the eventual planning of a continued phase of cooperation. The approach will be to address components individually during interviews with key stakeholders, supplemented with an analytical screening of Project plans and reporting by the Team. Aspects, such as the following will be studied:

- Positive or negative political positions taken by actors outside the Project circle.
- Possible multiplier effects in the system.
- The risk for an increased media control.
- Possible foreign action in support of external political objectives.

All Review answers to questions concerning sustainability will primarily be based on findings through interviews with stakeholders and other knowledgeable persons in Georgia.

2.4 Efficiency

Three ToR questions address the issue of efficiency. Question **2.4.1 - Was the project implemented in an effective and cost efficient way?** will be assessed on the basis of three criteria:

- The extent to which the programme has been managed with reasonable (i.e. in line with what is generally expected in the profession) regard for efficiency,
- The extent to which the same results could have been achieved with less resources, and
- The extent to which resources have been adequate to achieve the desired results.

As for **2.4.2 - Has the organisational set-up of NDI been conducive to supporting the achievement of programme goals?**, the Team will provide an assessment on the basis of

- A scrutiny of the operational links in the present Project set-up,
- A comparison with other development projects in the same area of intervention, and

- Conclusions in terms of relevance for the task and against identified, possible alternatives.

Question 2.4.3 - What is the assessment of NDI's capacity to coordinate and cooperate with other development actors (NGOs, donors, state) in Georgia at different levels? will imply, in parallel with the preceding question, a comparison with other actors in the field. The Team will also present an assessment on NDI *per se*.

The answers to the ToR questions concerning Efficiency will by necessity be of a qualitative character. They will also be based on findings through interviews with actors identified both beforehand and during the execution of the Review. The contribution of Sida to a full list of relevant actors will be highly appreciated. The interviews will be supplemented by studies of Project Annual Reports.

3. Proposed Approach and Methodology

3.1 Methodology

The team has prepared the present Inception Report based on relevant documentation including project document and reports, including the draft NDI Annual Report for January 1 – December 31, 2012, the 2009 Sida assessment, country analysis, information about other Swedish supported initiatives within the field of democracy/electoral support, NDI guiding documents, and on a telephone interview with NDI HQ in Washington.

The Review will be based on continued studies of the documentation already received and of additional documentation that will be gathered during implementation. This will be complemented by a visit to Georgia in order to conduct structured interviews, where first phase findings will be cross-checked and data and other information will be triangulated. Interviews will be held with relevant stakeholders, including partner organisations, political parties, the Central Election Commission and other state actors, and foreign donors and organisations. Meetings will be held with the Embassy of Sweden in Tbilisi, as well as with NDI in Tbilisi. The team will also conduct additional interviews by phone with relevant staff at NDI headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Interviews will be designed in relation to individual interviewees, but will basically be structured in three parts – one covering background and basic information concerning the interviewee and its relation to the Project, a second, operational one concerning the specific field of interest in each case, and a third, open part that allows for discussion, assessment and analytical comments. In view of the sensitivity of the area of work for the present Review, it will be of strategic importance that the Team perform its work in a manifestly objective manner and succeed in establishing a relation of confidence with all interviewees. Focus Group Interviews will be arranged with

certain stake holders in order to provide an opportunity for a more dynamic exchange of views and experiences.

In addition to interviewing NDI and its partner organisations mentioned above, the Review will need to sound out the experiences and assessments of other groups of actors in the political system of Georgia, such as representatives of the main political parties, of CEC and other state actors both at the Ministerial/Agency and at the local levels, and of civil society organisations (for example Transparency International, TI, and an organisation representing political journalists) or think tanks with an interest for the political system and its functioning. In addition, it would be of interest to be able to access some Georgian political scientists in order to add an additional perspective to the analysis. Finally, certain donors should be approached for interviews, primarily: the Council of Europe, EU, IRI and UNDP and USAID. The Team would appreciate suggestions from the Embassy as to additional relevant actors to be approached.

A first round of interviews should address the directly concerned actors, i.e. NDI itself and the four partner organisations CRRC, ISFED, GYLA, plus the Women's Information Center and the Women's Political Resource Center. Also the International Republican Institute should be interviewed early. Separate meetings should be arranged with each one of the organisations, but in which the respective organisation itself would decide who and how many representatives should participate. The second phase of the week in Tbilisi should allow for meetings with stakeholders outside the primary circle of actors, as just mentioned, for collecting complementary data and for data validation. A third and last part of the week should be dedicated to additional complementary data collection, cross-checking and validation, to summary analysis with the Team and a debriefing with Sida and NDI of the preliminary findings.

In view of the extension of issues to cover and questions to respond to, evidence might, in the end, be limited on some of these aspects. The option of splitting the Team in order to allow for additional interviews during the week will be considered.

3.2 Work Plan

The Review team will comprise Mr. Krister Eduards, Ms. Vera Devine, and Ms. Medea Gugeshashvili. Krister Eduards will be the team leader for the assignment. He will be responsible for communication with Sida and NDI, developing the methodology, carrying out the data collection and field work, and drafting the reports. Vera Devine's role in the Review will be to support in developing the methodology, assessing theories of change and results framework. As a member of Indevelop's Core Team of Evaluators, Vera will function as a sounding board throughout the review and as a quality facilitator in relation to Sida's evaluation expectations. Vera will provide learning from the ongoing evaluation of the Swedish cooperation strategy with Georgia, albeit with limited input. Medea Gugeshashvili is a human rights expert and has participated as a senior elections officer during the recent elections in Georgia.

She will assist the team as a local consultant, both with her contacts and knowledge of local conditions, and at the analytical level.

The Team started working in February 2013. The Review is expected to take a maximum of twenty working days for the Team Leader, plus some working days for the methodological experts and the national consultant. Five working days will be spent in Georgia during the first week of March for conducting interviews with relevant stakeholders. An initial meeting will be held with Sida as a starting point for the Review on Monday 4, as well as a debriefing meeting at the end of the visit to Georgia, suggested for Friday 8; timing is to be agreed with the Embassy.

For additional details of the Work Plan, please cf. Annex 1.

3.3 Reporting

A draft Review report will be presented by March 15. A final report will be submitted to Sida one week after Indevelop has received comments from Sida and NDI on the draft. The report will comprise a maximum of 25 pages (excluding appendices), including an executive summary, and be structured mainly in accordance with Annex B in Sida's evaluation manual "Looking Back, Moving Forward". The draft report as well as the final report will be produced in electronic versions, the final report in PDF format.

4. Conclusions

The ToR defines a set of questions to be answered by the Team, and on which assessments are expected. Answers will be given and conclusions will be offered accordingly. The Team sees the assignment both as a follow-up to the specific Project and as a contribution to the larger process of evaluating the results of the activities linked to the Swedish development cooperation strategy for Georgia for the period 2010-2013. It is hoped that the Review will also be able to become useful for the continued work in this important field of cooperation.

Annex 1 –Work Plan and Schedule

	2013															
					February				March				April			
	KE	VD	MG	w6	w7	w8	w9	w10	w11	w12	w13	w14	w15	w16	w17	
Inception phase																
Start-up meeting, desk review and drafting inception report	6	1	5	x	x											
Submission of inception report					14/2											
Feedback/no objection on the inception report					15/2											
Data collection																
workshops in Tbilisi (incl. Travel)	6		5					x								
Data analysis and report writing																
Data analysis and additional inter-views	2															
Report drafting	5	1														
Submission of draft report										22/3						
Feedback on draft report												2/4				
Finalisation of report	1	1										x	x			
Submission of final report													12/4			
Total days	20	3	10													

Initials: KE = Krister Eduards, VD = Vera Devine, MG = Medea Gugeshashvili

Annex 3 – Documents Consulted

- Terms of Reference: Review of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia”, 2009-2013, Sida, 2013-01-10
- Project Document: “Georgia: Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process”, NDI, undated
- Project Monitoring and Evaluation Plan, NDI, undated
- Project Results Statement, ppt document, NDI, undated
- Assessment Memo: “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia, National Democratic Institute (NDI)”, Sida, 29th October, 2009
- Sida comments to NDI Annual Report 2010 on the project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process”, 2011-03-16
- Annual Report: January 1 - December 31, 2011, NDI, undated
- Sida comments to NDI Annual Report 2011 on the project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process”, 2012-03-07
- Semiannual Report: January 1 – June 30, 2012, NDI, undated
- Draft Annual Report: January 1 – December 31, 2012, NDI, undated
- GEORGIA: Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process, Project Document, NDI, 2009
- Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia, National Democratic Institute (NDI), Assessment Memo, Sida, 2009
- Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process, Interim Report November 1, 2009 – December 31, 2009, NDI
- GEORGIA: REBUILDING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS Annual Report January 1, 2010 – December 31, 2010, NDI
- GEORGIA: Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process Annual Report: January 1 - December 31, 2011, NDI
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- Project Monitoring and Evaluation Plan, NDI, undated
- Project Results Statement, ppt document, NDI, undated
- Georgia: Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process – Cost-extension, in-depth relevance assessment, Sida 2012-12-04
- Sida comments to NDI Annual Report 2012 on the project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process”, 2013-03-05
- Terms of Reference: Review of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia”, 2009-2013, Sida, 2013-01-10
- Women’s Political Participation Programming, NDI

Annex 4 – Persons Interviewed

NGOs

GYLA - Lela Taliuri, Coordinator of Election Project
ISFED - Misha Benidze, Program Manager
WPRC - Nanuka Mjavanadze, Coordinator of Regional Network
SJ Media Center - Marina Kupatadze - Chairwoman, *Ruta Kasabyanka* - Volunteer
“Jump Start Georgia” - *Eric Barrett, Executive Director*
CRRC - Koba Turmanidze – Country Director, Kristina Vacharadze – Program Manager
WIC – Elena Rusetsky, Center Coordinator

Media

TV 9 - Eka Beridze, journalist
Freedom and Democracy Watch - Lasha Tugushi editor
Tabula - Oto Koridze, journalist
Rustavi 2 - Tea Vashalomidze

International Organisations

USAID/US Embassy - Khatuna Khvichia, Rafaelle Rief, Maia Lyons
UNDP - Ketik Makharashvili, UNDP Component Manager
Council of Europe in Georgia - Tania Van Dijk, Deputy Head of Office
Delegation of EU in Georgia - Boris Iarochevitch, Deputy Head of Delegation
IFES Nermin Nisic – Director, International Republican Institute (IRI) Andrea Kerbs
IRI Andrea Kerbs, Director
NDI Elisa Perry, Ian Woodward, Luis Navarro, Teona Kupunia, Tamta Otiashvili,
Gvantsa Nadiradze

Sida, Peeter Kaaman

Political Parties

United National Movement (UNM) - David Darchiashvili (MP), Levan Bezhashvili (MP), Giorgi Tevdoradze,
Georgian Dream - Manana Kobakhidze (MP)
Christian Democratic Movement (CDM) - Magda Anikashvili
National Democratic Party - Guram Chakhvadze, Goga Gogniashvili
New Rights Union, Pikria Chikhradze
Political Union New Rights Manana Nachkebia, Pikria Chikhradze, Levan Kalan-
dadze

Government of Georgia

Central Election Commission of Georgia - Chairman, Zura Kharatishvili, Eka Azarashvili – Press Speaker
Mayor Office of Kutaisi - Former Mayor of Kutaisi, Giorgi Tevdoradze
Former chairman of the Gender Equality Council Rusudan Kervalishvili

Annex 5 – The Project Setting

The salient features of the Project setting, i.e. the ongoing process of change, affecting the political system of governance in Georgia, are complexity, dynamism and competition.

As stated in Sida's October 29, 2009 Assessment Memo, the 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary elections were troubled by confusion over the counting procedures and by a lack of transparency in the tabulation. In as much as a quarter of the polling stations, the number of voters did not match the number of ballots cast. Following the Presidential election, more than 1,000 electoral complaints were filed by party and non-partisan observers to the courts and various electoral commissions, most of which were rejected on grounds of technical inadmissibility or as legally ungrounded. The Parliamentary election demonstrated many improvements over the Presidential election, but did little to address political polarisation and growing public dissatisfaction. A diminished confidence in electoral processes was reflected in a drop of voter turnout.

Furthermore, NDI reports that during the following years, frustration and political polarisation were being fuelled by irregularities, particularly in the conduct of municipal elections in 2010. Elections were marred by concerns regarding the electoral framework and the use of administrative resources, as well as the complaint adjudication processes. NDI public opinion research identified the voter lists and the conduct of the Central Election Commission (CEC) as two of the biggest concerns affecting public confidence in democratic elections.

The May 2010 elections saw improvements in several aspects of the election process in response to identified concerns, including increased transparency on the part of the CEC and multiparty collaborations on reforms to the electoral code. The preliminary report on the May polls, released by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR), cited improvements to the voter lists and praised some improvements to the electoral code. The preliminary report of the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED) found improvements at the level of the Central Election Commission, but cited "a number of specific violations" including observers not being allowed in the polling stations and pressure and intimidation of voters. While the election day was generally agreed to have been well managed, serious concerns remained regarding the pre-election environment. International and domestic observers expressed reservations about the use of administrative resources by ruling party candidates to gain an electoral advantage.

Political events in 2011 illustrated potential fault lines in the electoral system, and areas in which public confidence in the process might be vulnerable. Multi-party talks between a coalition of opposition parties (the Group of Eight) and the then-ruling party on possible changes to the electoral code ahead of the elections broke down repeatedly in 2011, finally culminating in a schism within the opposition that saw the Christian Democratic Movement, New Rights, and a few smaller parties reach agreement with the UNM on reforms in June. After initially indicating that parliament would be enlarged and new precincts drawn to ensure more equitably-sized seats, legislators reconsidered this change. The final electoral code amendments include some positive initiatives, including increased state funding for political parties that clear the five percent electoral threshold, financial incentives for parties to include female candidates on their party lists, and a CEC database to track the performance of electoral officials and hold them accountable for their performance. Other concerns, such as the use of administrative resources for electoral gain, the need for a longer window for submitting complaints about the electoral process, and large discrepancies in district size, remained unaddressed.

The next major test of Georgian citizens' confidence in the electoral process was the October 2012 Parliamentary elections. Constitutional amendments passed during 2010, transferring significant responsibility from the President to the Prime Minister, had raised the stakes of the upcoming election.

ISFED, whose main priority and scope of work is election monitoring in Georgia, reported that generally, the voting process went well throughout the country. Almost all precincts opened on time, and while there was crowding outside of the polling stations in the first half of the day, only 3% of the precincts reported crowding inside the polling stations. The significant shortcoming of the day was the fact that in 6% of the precincts, the inking procedure was conducted improperly. The secrecy of the ballot was ensured at 98% of the polling stations, which was a marked increase from 91% in 2008. Partisan observers from both Georgian Dream and United National Movement were present in 94% and 90% of polling stations respectively.

The closing process went well in most precincts throughout the country with 96% of the precincts completing the count without major incidents. Turnout was high throughout the country, with 61% voting nationally and 64% percent in Tbilisi. The national and Tbilisi turnout figures represent an increase since the 2008 parliamentary elections – 53% and 48%, respectively. The turnout indicates the high level of participation as a record number of citizens exercised their right to vote.

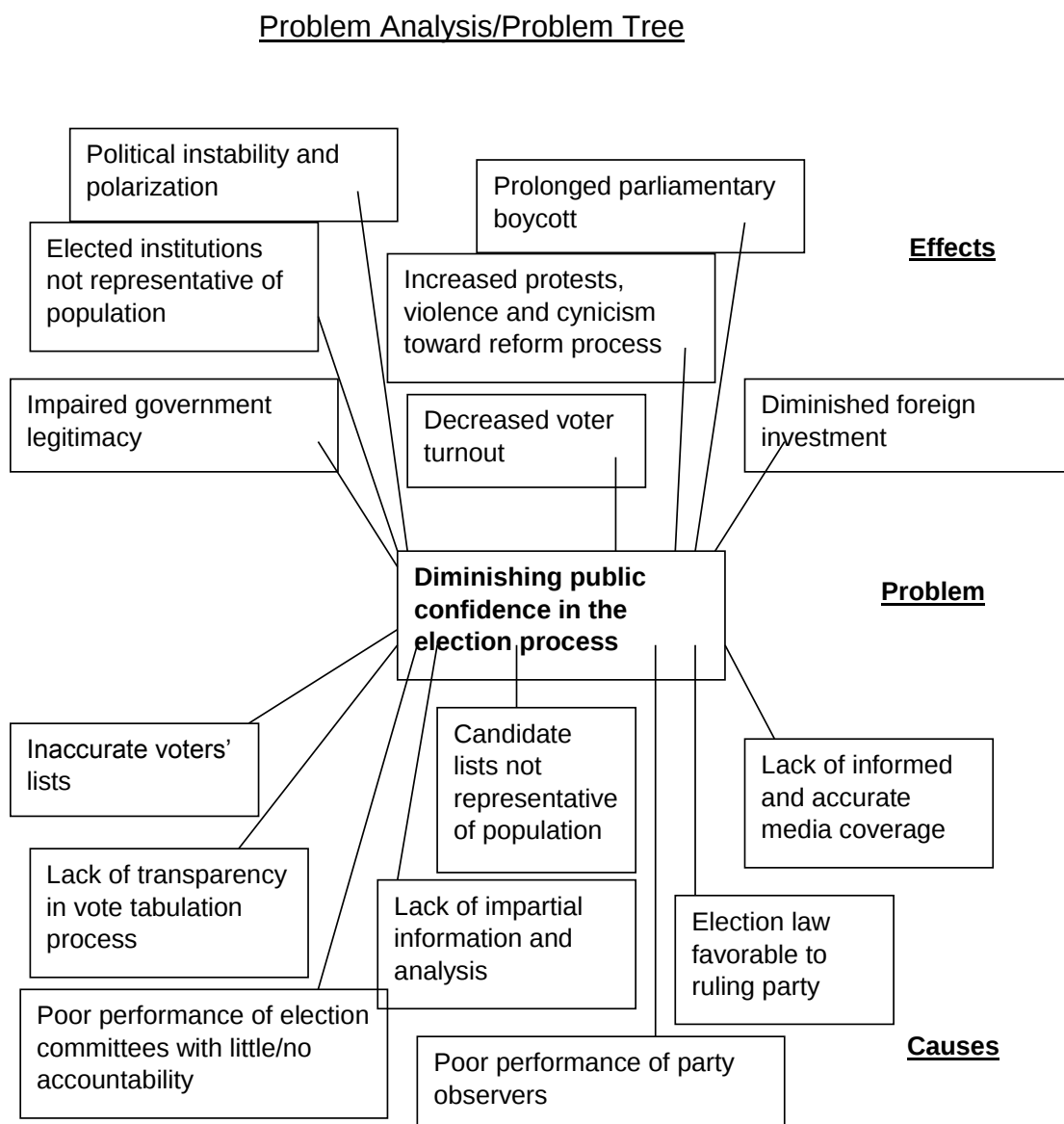
NDI estimates that the 2012 parliamentary elections were the most competitive in the country in a decade, and marked an important step in establishing a pluralist Georgian legislature. Notwithstanding serious problems, primarily in the pre-election period, the electoral process allowed citizens to make informed choices and express their will at the ballot box.

Political competition has remained strong after the new government was formed by the winning party Georgian Dream. Decisions by the new government include giving amnesty to nearly 200 persons that it considered political prisoners, and proposals in parliament to eliminate the direct election of the president and to move the parliament, recently relocated to the city of Kutaisi, back to Tbilisi. President Saakashvili has stated that his United National Movement party will oppose these proposals.

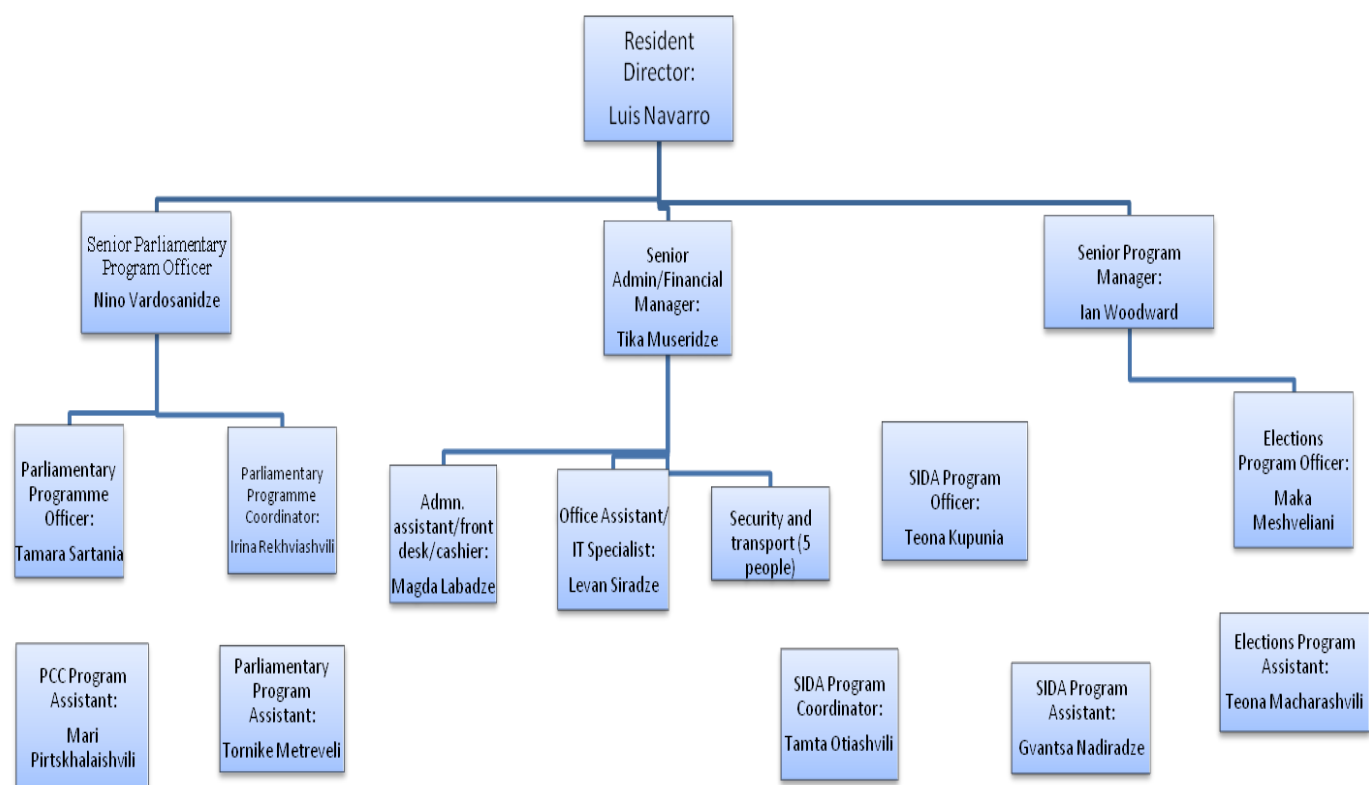
A separate law concerning funding for political organisations was passed at the same time as the electoral code amendments. This law limits the amount of funding a party can receive from a single individual or organisation, and has been perceived as a reaction to the arrival of billionaire businessman Bidzina Ivanishvili on the political scene.

Several international donors support the continued reforms of the election system in Georgia. In addition to Sida and NDI, UNDP, the Council of Europe, the European Commission, the Dutch, French, German, Swiss and US governments, and international NGOs such as International Republican Institute (IRI), Eurasia Foundation, the Open Society and Transparency International (TI) participate in the process. A Technical Working Group (TGW), hosted by UNDP and also comprising national NGOs, is a forum for exchange and coordination.

Annex 6 – The Project Problem Analysis



Annex 7 – Organisational Chart



Annex 8 – Project Logical Framework

O U T C O M E S	GOAL	Increased public confidence in elections	Increased public confidence in electoral institutions and processes	Tracking opinion polls and focus group research	E V A L U A T E
	OBJECTIVES	1. Improved impartial electoral information and analysis 2. Increased accountability of political party election observers and election officials 3. Increased transparency and accountability of electoral administration 4. Improved electoral participation of women	1. Increase in impartial information and analysis helps better identify and address electoral deficiencies 2. Political parties identify poorly performing election observers and officials using improved tools and analysis and take appropriate action 3. Domestic monitors identify poorly performing election administrators using improved tools and analysis 4. Increased number of women candidates on party lists.	1. Quantity of NDI opinion research and election analysis produced. Tracking media reports and use of information by partners. 2. Direct observation, regular contact with/reports from partners. # of replacements tracked. 3. Direct observation, regular contact with/reports from partners. # of reports and replacements tracked. 4. Direct observation, regular contact with/reports from partners. Women candidates tracked.	
	RESULTS	1. Partners have technological tools and increased capacity to conduct electoral and voters' list analysis. NDI research and analysis used in partners' activities 2. Political parties can identify problem areas using Improved methodology, tools and capacity. 3. Domestic monitors can track actions and appointments of election administration. 4. Political parties have strategies in place to increase the number of women candidates on party lists.	1. Increase in partners' capacity to conduct electoral analysis. Increase in and improvement of electoral research and analysis 2. Improved methodology and skills of parties to conduct analysis 3. Improved methodologies and tools of domestic monitors. 4. Improved strategies to increase the number of women candidates.	1. Direct observation and reports compared to baseline assessment. Media tracking. 2. Direct observation and reports compared to baseline assessment. 3. Direct observation, reports from monitors. 4. Written strategies produced. Observation and interaction with parties.	

P R O J E C T S E S	OUT PUTS	1. Training curriculum produced. Digital maps and voters' lists and electoral databases provided. Opinion research and analysis produced. 2. Methodology and lessons learned produced. 3. Methodology and tools produced. 4. Strategies and best practices produced.	1. #/frequency of training. # of research reports produced and presentations conducted. Increased/improved info and analysis produced. 2. #/frequency of training. # of participants trained. # of parties assisted. Improved methodology developed. 3. # of monitor reports. # of participants trained. 4. # of parties assisted	Information tracked by staff and recorded in database for regular programmatic reporting.	M O N I T O R
	ACTI VITIES	1. Needs assessment. Training curriculum developed. Subgrant enacted. Databases, maps and research developed. Training conducted. 2. Training on database use. Training of trainers. 3. Subgrants enacted. Consultations and training. 4. Research presentations and consultations conducted. Study missions conducted. Training for party leaders. Conference conducted.	# of partners trained. # of training sessions conducted. # of participants.	Information tracked by staff and recorded in database for regular programmatic reporting.	
	INPUTS	1. Subgrant. Election results database. Digital maps. Voters' list database. CRRC and NDI experts. 2. NDI staff, lessons learned, methodology 3. Domestic election monitors, subgrants 4. NDI global experience, resources, contacts, and partners. Study missions. NDI staff.	# of staff. Quantity and quality of tools. Financial burn rate/subgrant resources. # of study missions.	Regular programmatic and financial reporting.	



Review of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Georgia”, 2009-2013

Sweden finances the project “Building Public Confidence in the Electoral Process” in Georgia through the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The project aims at improving impartial electoral information and analysis, the accountability of political party election observers and officials, the transparency and accountability of electoral administration, and the electoral participation of women. This review concludes that by and large, project objectives have been reached, and that NDI is providing a relevant and adequate contribution to strengthening public confidence in the electoral process. Cost-efficiency is assessed as satisfactory. Project effectiveness is assessed as high, although exit strategies are missing in the design of the project. The review concludes that NDI’s work in this field should be continued, and that continued Swedish funding should be considered.

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