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"Enhancing a Corruption Resilient Governance System in Georgia and Moldova by Strengthening Institutions and Empowering Civil Society as Actors of Change"

2024-2027

Abbreviations

CEC	Central Election Commission
CRRC	Caucasus Research Resource Centre
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DANEP	Danish Neighbourhood Programme
DKK	Danish Krone
EU	European Union
EUN	Department of European Neighbourhood
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
IACC	International Anti-Corruption Conference
LNOB	Leave No One Behind
MEAL	Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark
NDI	National Democratic Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ANC	Anti-Corruption Network
GRECO	The Group of States against Corruption
SEAH	Sexual Exploitation, Abuse and Harassment
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
TI Georgia	Transparency International, Georgia
TI Moldova	Transparency International, Moldova
TI Secretariat	Transparency International Secretariat

1. Introduction

The present project document outlines the background, rationale and justification, objectives and management arrangements for development cooperation concerning the project "Enhancing a Corruption Resilient Governance System in Georgia and Moldova by Strengthening Institutions and Empowering Civil Society as Actors of Change" 2024 as agreed between the parties: Transparency International Secretariat (TI Secretariat), Transparency International Georgia (TI Georgia) and Transparency International Moldova (TI Moldova) and The Department of European Neighbourhood (EUN) of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DMFA). The project document is an annex to the legal bilateral agreement between TI Secretariat and DMFA and constitutes an integral part hereof together with the documentation specified below.

The project is planned for four years (2024 – 2027). An agreement for the three years (2025-2027) will be signed third quarter of 2024 based on the experienced gained in 2024, including the pilot activities developed in Moldova – subject to approval of the Danish Parliament.

The project supports the activities of TI Georgia's Strategy (2021-2025) 'Reversing Georgia's institutional setbacks and stagnation' (the Strategic Plan). TI Georgia's main aim is to support building and empowering state institutions, develop good governance and the rule of law, ensure the transparency and direct accountability of the state institutions, support fair and democratic elections (including election observations), and protect universally recognized human rights. The project will also support pilot activities for TI Moldova to promote transparency, integrity and accountability in Moldova. The TI Secretariat's will provide project management and technical support to both chapters alongside its regional support to chapters in the European Neighbourhood region more broadly.

The project document outlines the background, rationale, justification, objectives, and management arrangements for the development cooperation, as agreed between the parties.

2. Context, strategic considerations, and justification

2.1 Country Context

Georgia

Georgia has made significant progress in reducing certain forms of corruption over the past two decades, but it faces persistent challenges, including state capture, high-level corruption, an opaque governance system, and the influence of informal networks on both state and non-state actors. Furthermore, the country's democratic development has stagnated and even backslid in recent years on the central as well as the local government level. This has been reflected in various international rankings, including Freedom House's Nations in Transit, the Corruption Perception Index, and the World Justice Project indices. There are already multiple cases of foreign (US) designations of high-level officials on the basis of their involvement in corruption. The deteriorating media environment, declining public trust in state institutions, and rise in disinformation against Georgia's western integration are additional concerns.

In addition to the threats of corruption, the situation is complicated due to the lack of a proper checks and balances system. Especially problematic is the oversight function of the parliament, which, despite certain improved legislations, is not implemented effectively. At the same time, the role of the opposition and their powers are limited, weakening the overall influence of the parliament.

Of particular concern is the fact that for many years, Georgia has faced difficulties in conducting high-quality democratic elections. In recent years, elections in Georgia have been characterised by

issues such as vote buying, abuse of administrative resources, and a lack of trust in the Central Election Commission (CEC).

The situation on the local government level is concerning as well. The problems described above in relation to corruption and lack of checks and balances are especially acute on the local government level. The latest Decentralisation Reform has resulted in weak subnational public administrations that are unable to act independently from the central government, do not respond to citizens' needs and are prone to corruption.

The justice system in Georgia grapples with issues of inefficiency, to some extent a lack of independence politicisation, creating significant challenges. The absence of political will to fortify and depoliticize the justice system has hindered essential changes. Reforms to address shortcomings in the judiciary, law enforcement, and the prosecutor's office have been delayed for years. As a result, justice institutions are not functioning effectively to strengthen the rule of law and protect the rights of Georgians. Allegations of politically motivated investigations and high-profile criminal cases, along with claims of corruption within the judiciary, heighten the situation. The U.S. Department of State's public designations of Georgian judges in April 2023, citing significant corruption, serve as evidence of the problem. The European Commission, in its recent Communication on EU Enlargement Policy, highlights the need for comprehensive justice reform. Specifically, addressing the independence, accountability, and impartiality of judicial and prosecutorial institutions, including the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor General, and the High Council of Justice, is crucial. These trends and challenges, combined with the government's reluctance to conduct comprehensive reform, impede justice institutions' ability to function effectively within the democratic system.

Georgia's media faces challenges, with instances of the ruling elites silencing journalists covering corruption. Despite Euro-Atlantic aspirations, pro-government outlets exhibit anti-Western patterns, aggravating political polarisation. The media, divided into pro-Western and critical versus anti-Western and government-aligned groups, plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion, especially during elections. Anti-Western sentiments, resembling Russian propaganda, raise concerns for the 2024 elections. Critical and pro-Western outlets face financial constraints, attacks, and smear campaigns, compromising media freedom and professional standards. Instances of SLAPP cases, violent attacks, and governmental interference warrant international attention, emphasising the precarious state of Georgia's media landscape.

In this context, it is clear that a comprehensive and sustained intervention is needed to consolidate Georgia's democratic gains, improve governance, and address systemic corruption. This work will be essential considering the crucial Parliamentary elections in 2024 and the local government elections in 2025. Georgia's EU integration process presents a unique opportunity in this regard that needs to be used to the fullest.

This project recognises that no single organisation can tackle these complex issues in isolation and that a collaborative approach involving a wide array of anti-corruption stakeholders is essential. In the absence of continued meaningful long-term intervention and watchdog monitoring efforts from civil society, the country will remain vulnerable and susceptible to further over concentration of decision-making power and deterioration of government accountability, coupled with more corruption at both lower and higher levels of government.

Moldova

Moldova remains Europe's poorest country, despite nearly three decades of sovereignty. The country is grappling with a challenging geopolitical position and deeply rooted corruption issues. The political landscape of Moldova has been marked by prolonged political gridlock, static reform implementation, and severe economic challenges. Politicians and their associated oligarchic

networks have often viewed the state apparatus as a means of personal financial gain, resulting in numerous instances of embezzlement and high-level money laundering scandals.

In 2022, Moldova demonstrated remarkable resilience in the face of multiple crises triggered by the Russian invasion of Ukraine and Russia's manipulation of energy resources. Collaborating with external partners, Moldovan authorities undertook efforts to address the refugee crisis, enhance border management, and alleviate energy-related pressures. External financial support played a pivotal role in funding a government-established social mechanism designed to assist vulnerable citizens with their energy expenses.

Significant strides were made in certain reform areas, such as the adoption of a pre-vetting mechanism to bolster the rule of law and the introduction of innovative elements like online voting in the electoral field. However, revelations stemming from leaked Telegram conversations in November 2022, involving Justice Minister Sergiu Litvinenco and other high-ranking officials, raised concerns about the orchestration of executive appointments within certain legal institutions, including the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office. Notably, while an investigation into the leaks occurred, there was no inquiry into potential misconduct in the appointment process. This episode cast a shadow over the political independence of public institutions and the integrity of ongoing reforms.

Cooperation with civil society organisations (CSOs) on specific reforms, including pre-investigation procedures and the electoral code, generally remained constructive, although it was accompanied by criticism of government restrictions on public protests. The government also actively promoted human rights, including gender equality and LGBT+ issues. Efforts to enhance the integrity of Moldova's anti-corruption initiatives have continued. New heads for anti-corruption agencies and other law enforcement institutions, although allegations surfaced that the ruling party may have sought to exert political influence over anti-corruption institutions to intimidate the opposition.

2.2. Strategic Considerations and Justification

The project document is fully aligned with, and informed, by Denmark's revised Strategic Framework for the Eastern Neighbourhood region; Danish Eastern Neighbourhood Programme 2022-2026, which sets out the overall vision and strategic objectives for Denmark's engagement in the region. Specifically the project responds to the strategic objective on " Support reforms and strengthening of the countries' democratic institutions and processes so that they can meet the EU admission criteria - including respect for human rights, an effective division of state power and strong independent control bodies, where a politically engaged population, an organized and independent civil society and free media can hold the authorities to account - and ensure inclusive societies with equality and recognition of diversity. Furthering the development of democracy and human rights; the development and consolidation of democratic societies with respect for human rights, effective tripartite separation of state power and strong independent control bodies, where a politically engaged population, an organised and independent civil society and free media can hold the authorities accountable – and ensure inclusive societies with gender equality and recognition of diversity.[1]

[1] Revised Strategic Framework: Denmark's partnership with the Eastern Neighbourhood Countries 2022-2026, October 2023 p 23.

More specifically, the action falls under the specific objective with regard to Georgia on "fight against corruption and support to democratic institutions, and support to development of a sustainable civil society with particular focus on youth and a democratic culture [2], as defined in the Revised Strategic Framework: Denmark's partnership with the Eastern Neighbourhood Countries 2022-2026.

The proposed project is also highly relevant against the background of the aspiration for the European integration of Georgia and fulfilling the requirements set by The European Union (EU) for granting a candidate status to Georgia. Since its independence, Georgia has clearly expressed its European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations. The European ambition is included in the Georgian Constitution and is supported by the people of Georgia (75% of Georgians approve joining the EU3) and across the political spectrum. This has been a driver for several key reforms founded on European values and standards since the independence of the country.

On March 3, 2022, Georgia presented its application for membership to the EU in the context of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. On June 23, 2022, a decision by the Council of the European Union leaders endorsed the European Commission's recommendation to extend EU candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova. However, to Georgia, while recognizing its European Perspective, they set conditions to qualify for the same status in the future. To get the candidate status, Georgia would have to fulfil a number of conditions established by the European Commission including reducing political polarisation, implementing reforms to strengthen the independence of the judicial system, and bolstering anti-corruption efforts[4]. The Commission monitors Georgia's progress to address these priorities. On November 8, 2023, the European Commission recommended granting the status of a candidate state for EU membership to Georgia[5]. However, the European Commission took this decision with nine conditions remaining to be fulfilled.

The proposed intervention areas for this current project document works in support of the strategic objective of Denmark's Strategic Framework for the Eastern Neighbourhood region and will also serve support and complement the spirit of the EU candidacy conditions to advance Georgia's democratic and rule of law agenda through meaningful and targeted political, judicial, and anti-corruption reforms.

3. Project Objective

The overarching goal of this project is to enhance Georgia and Moldova's resilience against corruption, strengthen democracy, promote separation of powers and good governance throughout the country by empowering civil society, youth and media to act as change agents, promoting European integration, and advocating for crucial reforms, with a special emphasis on the local government level.

The development objective of the development cooperation among the parties is to bolster state institutions that empower the people, foster good governance, and uphold the rule of law. To achieve this, TI Georgia aims to ensure the transparency and accountability of state institutions

[2] Revised Strategic Framework: Denmark's partnership with the Eastern Neighbourhood Countries 2022-2026, October 2023 p 46.
[3] National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Caucasus Research Resource Centre (CRRC) survey" Taking Georgians' pulse - Findings from August 2022 face to face survey", September 2022. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Poll%20Results%20%28English%29_0.pdf , https://www.ndi.org/publications/ndi-poll-eu-remains-destination-choice-vast-majority-georgians-disenchantment
[4] Commission Opinion on Georgia's application for membership of the European Union, COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND THE COUNCIL, Brussels, 17.6.2022
COM (2022) 405 final. https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/opinion-georgias-application-membership-european-union_en
[5] https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/news/commission-adopts-2023-enlargement-package-recommends-open-negotiations-ukraine-and-moldova-grant-2023-11-08_en

through a sufficient level of decentralisation, checks and balances, support for fair and democratic elections, promotion of actors from the media, civil society organisations (CSOs), and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and safeguarding universally recognized human rights. Specifically, the main objective of the project is: *"Reducing opportunities for corruption through transparency, accountability and integrity in key institutions"*.

TI Moldova aims to contribute to the project's objective by conducting periodic assessments on the impact of corruption on the social, economic and democratic development of the country, by increasing the capacities of the Moldovan government to improves its anti-corruption policies and by strengthening the capacities of civil society to withstand corruption and supporting investigative journalism. The project will work towards this objective by contributing to corruption-resilience, good governance, and democratic consolidation, building resilient actors of change in civil society and media, and supporting Georgia and Moldova on its European path.

3.1 Cross cutting priorities

Reflecting Danish Policy Priorities, policies, as well as the concrete challenges to be addressed by the project, TI Georgia will mainstream a number of priorities to shape the design and implementation[6]:

Youth: For political systems to be inclusive and diverse, they must include all parts of society, including young people. Young people in Georgia have traditionally constituted a large group of society that is disillusioned with political leadership and marginalised from mainstream politics. Young people's low public trust and engagement in politics means that their interests and voices are mostly left at the side lines. TI Georgia will work to ensure that young people can become catalysts for positive change, contribute to building a culture resilient to corruption and be at the forefront of securing democratic spaces. To this end, the project will integrate youth components in all possible activities during the planning and implementation phases.

Gender: TI Georgia will aim to incorporate a gender dimension into all of its activities. Research and monitoring actions will aim, among other things, to identify any negative trends in the relevant areas with regard to gender, while the resulting advocacy interventions will be designed to rectify the situation. Meanwhile, TI Georgia's training and capacity-building actions will incorporate a gender component during the planning and implementation phases.

Environment: There is a growing awareness of and concern over environmental problems throughout Georgian society. Corruption in public administration (especially in management of natural resources through licences and privatisation) is a major factor that has had a negative impact on the environment. TI Georgia will aim to facilitate positive changes in this area by identifying and publicising any relevant cases of misconduct and proposing recommendations for greater transparency, accountability, and integrity in the process of adoption of decisions with environmental consequences.

Marginalisation: Corruption tends to have the most significant negative effect on vulnerable groups (including people living below the poverty line) as it diverts resources away from social programs or results in mismanagement of the resources already allocated for those programs. TI Georgia's efforts to reduce corruption in public administration and to increase government accountability will therefore contribute to more effective policies toward reducing poverty and focus on LNOB. Additionally, low-income population groups are among the primary beneficiaries of TI Georgia's free legal aid programme again with a LNOB lens, as well as of the organisation's

[6] TI Moldova will decide during the pilot phase how to and to what extent to address the listed cross-cutting priorities.

efforts to aid the process of land registration in rural areas. Media-driven Anti-Western narratives contribute to the heightened stigmatisation of vulnerable groups, especially minorities.

Human Rights Based Approach: TI Georgia will integrate human rights both as a lens for its overall objectives and outcomes, as well as in its implementation through a focus on participation, accountability, non-discrimination, and transparency in the management, partner, and stakeholder relations of the project.

4. Theory of change and key assumptions

TI Georgia

TI Georgia's overall strategy works towards Georgia as a country that is free of corruption in all areas of public life. Corruption is seen to arise primarily from the lack of transparency and accountability in government and therefore promotion of transparency and accountability is considered the most fundamental element of anti-corruption efforts. Central to the programme is the understanding that corruption cannot be defeated through narrowly focused law enforcement work. It is necessary to reduce the opportunities for corruption through well-designed preventive measures. TI Georgia's approach and associated ToC are based on Transparency International's theoretical framework of the National Integrity System which is defined as a set of institutions (both state and non-state) that all play an essential role in enhancing a country's resilience against corruption. According to this framework, successful fight against corruption is impossible unless institutions such as the executive branch, the legislature, the judiciary, the media, the civil society, the private sector, and others are characterised by high levels of independence, transparency, accountability, and integrity.

Reflecting this, the project's ***Theory of Change*** is that ***IF*** *legislative framework, institutional capacities and civic awareness for meaningful anti-corruption efforts are strengthened,* ***AND IF*** *the capacity of citizens living in regions to engage in citizen-responsive local governance is empowered and supported,* ***AND IF*** *parliamentary effectiveness for oversight is strengthened,* ***AND IF*** *the justice system strengthens its independence and transparency,* ***AND IF*** *the pluralistic, competitive and fair elections held,* ***AND IF*** *the capacity of media to watchdog the cases of corruption is empowered and supported,* ***AND IF*** *foreign malign influence and disinformation are identified and countered,* ***THEN*** *there will be higher awareness of corruption instances and thus opportunities for corruption will be reduced, democracy will be strengthened, and citizen participation will be increased.*

The objectives and actions proposed under this project are based on the assumptions that a monopoly of decision-making power, formation of informal collusive networks influencing main decisions taken by the Government, lack of judicial independence, extreme politicisation of state institutions and the lack of government accountability are the main obstacles to Georgia achieving further progress in anti-corruption and public administration reforms. These major shortcomings of the political system (rather than specific flaws of anti-corruption policy) can be considered as the primary cause of persistence of complex forms of corruption (and other types of abuse of power).

Several steps outlined in the 9 recommendations issued by the European Commission in November 8, 2023 are directly addressed by this project, which include addressing political polarisation, ensuring the fairness of elections, particularly in the context of the upcoming 2024 parliamentary elections, enhancing institutional independence and impartiality within the country, improving parliamentary oversight, implementing judicial reform, combating corruption, promoting de-oligarchization, safeguarding human rights, minority rights, media, and civil activists, and actively countering disinformation, foreign information manipulation, and interference related to the EU and its values.

Reflecting the ToC the project will support interventions towards the following outcomes:

Outcome 1: Reduced opportunities for corruption (including high-level corruption) in the executive branch;

Outcome 2: A more transparent, accountable, and citizen-responsive local governance;

Outcome 3: Increased transparency, accountability, and integrity in Parliament, its effectiveness as an oversight institution and a branch of power counter-balancing the Executive;

Outcome 4: More pluralistic political system through greater transparency and accountability in political parties and more competitive and fair elections;

Outcome 5: Empowered rule of law, judicial independence and access to justice of underrepresented communities;

Outcome 6: Increased independence, professionalism, and investigative activities of journalists to empower media as an anti-corruption watchdog;

Outcome 7: Raised awareness on matters regarding a reform agenda which will reduce opportunities for corruption and strengthen democracy and citizen participation.

In realising these outcomes, the project will support interventions such as:
Outcome 1:

- Conducting evidence-based comprehensive research and monitoring of the anti-corruption governance system to identify shortcomings and areas for improvement in compliance with the international commitments/requirements;
- Advocating for necessary legal and institutional reforms supported by evidence-based studies to strengthen anti-corruption measures through utilising anti-corruption reforms support platforms like OGP, OECD/ACN, GRECO, EU 12 Priorities, National Anti-Corruption Strategy, and PAR among others;
- Developing/improving tools (companyinfo.ge; tendermonitor.ge; politicaldonations.ge) for identifying, reporting, and tracking corruption within the public sector;
- Collaborating with all branches of government, both at the national and local levels, to enhance the anti-corruption system, ensuring it is effective and responsive, transparent, accountable and ethical;
- Raising public awareness about the detrimental impact of corruption on society, with a particular focus on young people, underrepresented and marginalised groups;
- Enhancing the capacity of civil society organisations with a special focus on municipal level actors, including media, NGOs, and youth activists, enabling them to identify and report on corruption effectively.

Outcome 2:

- Working with relevant Parliamentary committees to advance real and effective decentralisation reforms in cooperation with local civil society actors. This also involves expanding the Council of Concerned Citizens to enhance youth participation and coverage in marginalised and minority areas, ensuring a more inclusive representation in the decentralisation process;
- Conducting evidence-based assessments of Municipal Councils' performance and oversight functions, provide recommendations and advocate for improvement;
- Monitoring the spending and distribution of municipal budget resources, advocating for good governance practices, including program budgeting;

- Monitoring municipal-level anti-corruption systems, identifying and reporting instances of corruption and conflicts of interest in local government activities, and advocating for tailored anti-corruption reforms at the municipal level;
- Promoting comprehensive capacity development by fostering the skills of public officials, civil servants, and local CSO representatives, including emerging and existing youth groups, in implementing oversight functions, public financial management, budgeting, procurement processes;
- Fostering a more inclusive and representative decision-making process through citizen and NGO/CSO engagement in local government decision-making, policy and budget planning, and enhancing the capacity of local civil society.

Outcome 3:

- Conducting an evidence-based assessment of the Parliament's performance, particularly regarding its anti-corruption oversight role, and advocate for improvements, performance of councils of The Parliament -Gender Equality Council, Ethics Council, Council of open Parliament;
- Advocating for the openness and accountability of the Parliament and facilitating citizen/stakeholder engagement with the parliament and the legislative process;
- Strengthening the legislatures and staff of Parliament anti-corruption capacities through expert training sessions and international study visits;
- Monitoring the legislative process and producing analytical publications on important draft legislation.

Outcome 4:

- Monitoring and reporting on elections at both national and local levels, covering irregularities in the pre-election period and on election day. This includes addressing issues such as black money in politics, abuse of administrative resources, intimidation, and vote-buying;
- Advocating for relevant electoral reforms based on monitoring results;
- Creating platforms for political parties where experts from civil society will share their experience about important issues and reforms;
- Raising voter awareness about the electoral process throughout the country.

Outcome 5:

- Monitoring of justice system institutions to identify shortcomings, exposing undue influences and advocate for changes through specific recommendations;
- Exposing corruption risks, legal loopholes, and systemic weaknesses through regular risk assessments and reporting;
- Providing free legal aid and awareness raising activities, with a special emphasis on underrepresented communities in regions, ensuring access to justice for those with limited resources and in need;
- Building legal precedents through strategic lawsuits in Common Courts, Constitutional Court, and European Court of Human Rights;
- Strengthening the capabilities of regional activist groups in utilizing legal mechanisms for both rights implementation and advocacy.

Outcome 6:

- Monitoring and reporting on the state of the Georgian media environment and advocating for legislative improvements;

- Promote journalists' and their sources' rights: Provide free legal assistance to safeguard the rights of journalists' and their sources (whistle-blowers included) rights, protect them from the undue interference and uphold freedom of expression.
- Organising workshops for journalists and students countrywide. Encourage engagement of academia in these initiatives.
- Sustaining a Media Help Desk to provide assistance and advice to media professionals, especially municipal level journalists, in conducting research and investigative efforts to expose corruption and crime.

Outcome 7:

- Serving as a knowledge base for international partner organizations and institutions, facilitating their support for a democratic reform agenda – which might also be supported by Georgia's Euro-Atlantic integration;
- Providing citizens with information about necessary reform efforts;
- Advocating for measures to raise public and institutional awareness about the importance of media literacy and the threat posed by mis- and disinformation.

TI Moldova

TI Moldova will conduct pilot activities to develop out a long-term project aligned with its mission to promote transparency, integrity and accountability as the main ways to prevent corruption and improve the quality of governance in Moldova. TI Moldova aims to achieve this mission by (1) conducting periodical assessments on the impact of corruption on the social, economic and democratic development of the country via qualitative and empirical studies; (2) increasing the capacities of the government to improve their anti-corruption policies by providing trainings for public servants, expertise of legal framework, issuing policy papers, advocating for changes and monitoring their implementation; (3) strengthening the capacities of civil society to withstand corruption by providing free legal assistance, raising public awareness to diminishing the public tolerance towards corruption; and (4) supporting the investigative journalism by providing consultancy and motivating equidistant, argued and ethical investigations. To enhance the strategic delivery of its objectives and strengthen its institutional and operational capacities, this grant will support TI Moldova to learn and exchange from its peers including TI Georgia and other chapters as relevant. Because of the decision to consider the first part of support to TI Moldova as a pilot, no results framework will be presented as part of this present project document.

TI Secretariat

TI Secretariat will provide overall project management and oversight for this grant, alongside technical support to TI Georgia and TI Moldova more specifically, but also chapters in the European Neighbourhood more broadly. Through regional advisory support, the TI Secretariat will provide technical support and advice to chapters on advocacy priorities and approaches related to the how to further countries resilience against corruption, strengthen democracy, promote separation of powers and good governance, which will also support EU Enlargement and other developments in the region. The TI Secretariat will provide civic space and security support, both through publications and statements, as well as security needs assessments and trainings, including digital security, as requested by chapters in the region. Given the eroding civic space and security for anti-corruption activists witnessed in the broader region, the TI Secretariat will also participate in relevant conferences and forums, such as the Global Interagency Security Forum, to strengthen its own capacities and that of chapters to prevent and mitigate security risks. The TI Secretariat will also participate with chapters in relevant regional and global anti-corruption meetings, such as the International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC), to advance TI's regional and global advocacy priorities and partnerships.

5. Summary of the results framework

For results-based management, learning and reporting purposes Denmark will base the actual support on progress attained in the implementation of the project as described in the documentation. Progress will be measured through TI Georgia's monitoring framework focusing on a limited number of key outcomes and corresponding outputs and their associated indicators.

A summary of the results framework for "Enhancing a Corruption Resilient System in Georgia by Strengthening Institutions and Empowering Civil Society as Actors of Change" is presented below:

Project	Enhancing a Corruption Resilient Governance System in Georgia by Strengthening Institutions and Empowering Civil Society as Actors of Change.
Project Objective	Reducing opportunities for corruption through transparency, accountability, and integrity in key institutions.
Impact Indicator	Reduced opportunities for corruption in the public sector based on a number of recommendations advocated by civil society reflected in governmental action plans and alleged corruption cases exposed by TI Georgia.

Outcome 1		Reduced opportunities for corruption (including high-level corruption) in the executive branch	
Outcome indicator		Draft law on improving the anti-corruption system of Georgia prepared by TI Georgia and submitted to the Parliament as a legislative proposal. Number of alleged high level corruption cases identified, and submissions made to relevant investigative bodies.	
Baseline	Year	2021-2022-2023	- 1 draft law submitted to the Parliament - 150 alleged cases of high-level corruption have been identified and referred to relevant investigative bodies
Target	Year	2024-2027	- 1 draft law submitted to the Parliament - At least 50 new high level corruption cases identified and referred to investigative bodies
Outputs		1.1 Key anti-corruption policy shortcomings identified and recommendations given to the government 1.2 Investigations into corruption related violations by public officials conducted 1.3 Existing anti-corruption investigative online tools maintained and updated 1.4 Compliance of Georgian Government with international commitments monitored 1.5 Citizen awareness about corruption, its various forms and consequences improved	
Output indicators		*- Number of policy analysis papers published* *Baseline: 1 in 2023 Target: at least 4*	

		- Number of draft laws prepared *Baseline: 1 in 2023 Target: at least 2* *- Number of appeals to investigative bodies following monitoring of asset declarations of civil servants from the central government level* *Baseline: 10 in 2023 Target: at least 40* *- Number of consultations with international partners* *Baseline: 1 in 2023 Target: at least 4* *- Number of existing anti-corruption tools maintained and updated* *Baseline: 2 in 2023 Target: at least 4*	
Outcome 2		A more transparent, accountable, and citizen-responsive local governance	
Outcome indicator		Number of appeals to relevant authorities to take measures on alleged violations by local government representatives successfully resolved in favour of citizens and local communities.	
Baseline	Year	2022-2023	- 30
Target	Year	2024-2027	- 80
Outputs		2.1 Investigations into corruption and conflict of interest related violations by local government public officials identified 2.2 Local Councils' capacities to monitor and provide oversight of the municipal executive government increased 2.3 National partnerships (including civil society, private sector, municipal, and business associations) for decentralisation supported 2.4 Local Governments' capacity to mobilise new revenue sources and utilise existing municipal property and finances in more effective and efficient manner is enhanced 2.5 Strengthening and enabling citizen participation in local governance affairs through the Councils of Concerned Citizens (CCC), including for minority and marginalised communities	
Output indicators		*- Number of blogs on significant possible corruption and conflict of interest related violations* *Baseline: 5 in 2023 Target: at least 20* *- Number of reports on performance of local councils* *Baseline: 4 in 2023 Target: at least 16* *- Number of trainings for local civil society organisations* *Baseline: 5 in 2023 Target: at least 10* *- Number of trainings for local government representatives on citizen engagement and participatory budgeting*	

		Baseline: 2 in 2023 Target: at least 10 *- Number of members of the Councils of Concerned Citizens increased* *Baseline: 50 in 2023 Target: at least by 100*	
Outcome 3		Increased transparency, accountability, and integrity in Parliament, its effectiveness as an oversight institution and a branch of power counter-balancing the Executive	
Outcome indicator		Draft law on improving Parliamentary oversight and better protection of human rights prepared by TI Georgia and submitted to the Parliament as a legislative proposal. Number of parliamentary staff and MPs have knowledge and skills to provide necessary support to the legislators to effectively conduct parliamentary oversight functions, efficiently participate in a legal drafting process, and make work of the Parliament more transparent.	
Baseline	Year	2021-2022-2023	- 3 - 120 (20 MPs and 100 parliamentary staff)
Target	Year	2024-2027	- 4 - 160 (MPs and/or parliamentary staff)
Outputs		3.1 Information on parliamentary performance is tracked and recommendations for improvements proposed 3.2 Possible instances of corruption/conflict of interests in MPs' business interests and asset declarations are monitored and reported 3.3 Assessment and recommendations on improvement of important draft laws are provided and advocated to the Parliament 3.4 Capacity of parliamentary actors to conduct effective parliamentary control is enhanced 3.5 Assessment/recommendations are devised and proposed to the Parliament for the improvement of parliamentary oversight mechanisms 3.6 The capacity of Parliamentary staff in their drafting, reporting and planning processes is increased	
Output indicators		*- Number of annual reports on Parliamentary performance* *Baseline: 1 in 2023 Target: 4* *- Number of publications/blog posts on alleged instances of corruption/conflict of interest among MPs* *Baseline: 0 Target: 1 publication in 2025* *- Number of blogs on assessment of draft laws* *Baseline: 5 in 2023 Target: 20* *- Number of in-depth assessment / recommendations / legislative proposals related to Parliamentary control, improvement of legislation related to the anti-corruption and Human rights* *Baseline: 2 in 2023 Target: 4*	

		- Number of trainings for parliamentary staff on drafting, reporting, planning and parliamentary activities *Baseline: 3 in 2023 Target: 12*	
Outcome 4		More pluralistic political system through greater transparency and accountability in political parties and more competitive and fair elections.	
Outcome indicator		Number of election precincts monitored Number of pre-election violations identified and acted upon Network of election monitoring actors created	
Baseline	Year	2023	- N/A [no elections were held in 2023] - N/A [no elections were held in 2023]
Target	Year	2024-2027	- at least 400 election precincts monitored - at least 80 pre-election violations identified and acted upon - Network of election monitoring actors
Outputs		4.1 Pre- and post-election processes are thoroughly monitored and findings reported to the public 4.2 Election day developments are monitored and violations revealed by static and mobile observer, violations are litigated in relevant election commissions and courts 4.3 Recommendations on improvements to the electoral legislation and practice are presented to relevant stakeholders 4.4 Political parties are better informed about public policy priorities of civil society actors 4.5 Raised voter awareness about the electoral process throughout the country	
Output indicators		*- # of reports on pre and post-electoral processes* *Baseline: N/A* [no elections were held in 2023] *Target: 4* *- # of reports on election day developments* *Baseline: N/A [no elections were held in 2023] Target: 4* *- # of important recommendations on improvement of electoral legislation and practice* *Baseline: N/A [no elections were held in 2023] Target: 5* *- # of meetings with political parties on public policy priorities of civil society actors* *Baseline: N/A [no elections were held in 2023] Target: at least 1 meeting at least 5 major political parties per meeting* *- # of educational video clips filmed and disseminated to inform citizens about their rights and existing electoral problems* *Baseline: 0 Target: at least 5*	

Outcome 5		Empower the rule of law, judicial independence and access to justice of underrepresented communities	
Outcome indicator		Number of national media coverage on findings and recommendations issued by TI Georgia following the monitoring process. The number of references to TI Georgia's reports/findings on challenges in regional courts and in prosecution service referenced in reports of international monitoring bodies or organisations (OECD, US State Department Report, Monitoring bodies of the Council of Europe and the European Union). The number of successful strategic litigation cases.	
Baseline	Year	2021-2022-2023	- Authoritative reports of international organisations and partner states 4
Target	Year	2024-2027	- At least 7 media sources - Reference in at least 3 authoritative reports
Outputs		5.1 Systemic shortcomings and/or corruption risks are exposed at the justice system institutions and relevant assessments and recommendations provided 5.2 Strategic litigation cases are identified and lodged annually at the Supreme Court or/and Constitutional Court 5.3 Regional-based beneficiaries are provided with more access to justice (Property, social and labour rights) 5.4. Regional activist groups are trained in legal litigation tactics	
Output indicators		*- Number of reports/blogs on assessing systemic challenges and/or corruption risks at justice system institutions* *Baseline 2023: 0 Target: at least 4 (1 annually)* *- Number of cases lodge at the courts* *Baseline 2023: 125 active cases Target: at least 85 cases annually* *- Number of strategic cases launched at the Supreme Court, Constitutional Court or ECHR* *Baseline 2023: 5 Target: at least 3 cases annually* *- Number of persons reached through mobile clinic meetings in the regions* *Baseline 2023: 5 Target: at least 5 mobile clinics with at least 10 cases initiated annually* *- Number of trainings of regional activists* *Baseline 2023: 1 Target: at least 3 meetings in 3 different regions annually.*	
Outcome 6		Increased independence, professionalism, and investigative activities of journalists to empower media as an anti-corruption watchdog	
Outcome indicator		Number of references in national and regional media, comments, including use of TI Georgia's investigative tools and/or other resources	

Baseline	Year	2021-2023	- Minimum number of 150
Target	Year	2024-2027	- At least 300
Outputs		6.1 Violations of journalist rights are identified and protected through advocacy and litigation 6.2 Media actors are empowered to deliver quality journalism 6.3. Media reports/statements/blogs are published and studies disseminated	
Output indicators		*- Number of cases on journalists' rights identified, protected and litigated* *Baseline: 60 in 2023; Target: at least 60* *- Number of trainings for national wide and, regional media representatives, students and activists* *Baseline: 5 in 2023; Target: at least 6* *- Number of participants of trainings/workshops* *baseline: 60 in 2023; Target: at least 80* *- Number of reports/blogs/statements prepared and published* *Baseline: 20 in 2023; Target: at least 40*	
Outcome 7		Raised awareness on matters regarding a reform agenda which will reduce opportunities for corruption and strengthen democracy and citizen participation	
Outcome indicator		Number of campaigns/activities with active public and civic engagement fostering good governance and democratic reforms	
Baseline	Year	2021-2022-2023	- At least 10 campaigns/activities - At least 40
Target	Year	2024-2027	- At least 3 - At least 4
Outputs		7.1 Georgian citizens receive accurate information about the country's democratic process and democratic reform agenda 7.2 Literary award organised 7.3 Contest for the best essay on good governance and democratic reforms organised 7.4 Voters education campaigns held 7.5 Video stories produced and aired on corruption cases, good governance, democracy, role of civil society and related issues 7.6 Contest for the best short movie/footage on corruption	

Output indicators	*- Number of awareness raising or informational campaigns/ activities on violations of corruption, democratic reforms, good governance, citizens' participation and threat posed by mis- and disinformation, promotion of the democratic values* *Baseline 2023: 2 Target: at least 16* *- Number of literary awards* *Baseline 2023: 1 Target: 4* *- Number of essays awarded* *Baseline 2023: 0 Target: 4* *- Number of voters education campaigns held* *Baseline 2023: 0 Target: 2* *- Number of video stories produced* *Baseline 2023: 5 Target: at least 20* *- Number of contests for the best short movie/footage on corruption realised* *Baseline 2023: 0 Target: 4*

6. Risks management

The risk matrix covers the project support to TI Georgia only, as risk matrix specifically for Moldova will follow the pilot phase.

Risk Factor	**Likelihood**	**Impact**	**Risk response**
Do not have media or civil society cooperation	Low	Medium	Work within existing civil society coalitions to ensure support for the work TI Georgia is implementing, build on relationships with media forged through other projects to ensure media involvement and reporting on organisation's work.
Low interest from the government and Parliament to reflect and participate in the discussions of the project's activities	Medium	Medium	Continued dialogue with government officials and parliament; leverage on the TI Georgia representation in parliament.
Impacts are not reinforced and therefore not sustained	Medium	High	Collaborate with other organisations working to improve governance to reinforce the findings and changes implemented as a result of TI Georgia's work. Work closely with government partners to encourage sustainable solutions to identified issues.
Public campaigns, oversight and monitoring is insufficient to influence government actions	Medium	Medium	Focus where there are opportunities for change, and where the government itself is interested in change. Where issues that do not have government buy-in, identify allies inside and outside of government to encourage an appetite for change.
Programmes currently being implemented by other	Medium	High	If the judicial branch is not capable of supporting accountability and transparency, then work to improve the other branches of government will

parties/donors are unsuccessful in judicial reform (transparency and depoliticisation)			be significantly weakened and it may result in a failure to achieve objectives.
Programmes currently being implemented by other parties/donors are unsuccessful in improving impact evaluation and policy development	Low	Medium	On-going monitoring of the environment and other programmes to identify weaknesses and react to them.
Political capture of media outlets	Low	Medium	The growing plurality in media is unlikely to be entirely reversed. This risk will continue to be monitored and if it becomes a greater concern, a mitigation strategy will be developed.
Low trust of citizens towards CSOs and low interest to participate in CSO activities	Medium	High	The project activities on promoting constituent accountability will help CSOs to establish close relations with their constituents.
Insufficient TI Georgia staff capacity to conduct research, advocacy, and capacity development	Low	High	Improved HR systems to manage staff and capacity appropriately. Hire appropriate new staff when needed and develop current staff capacity where necessary. Seek for additional non-project funding to increase the sustainability of the organisation in the short to medium term.

7. Budget

The Danish grant is to be spent solely on activities leading to the expected outcomes as agreed between the parties. TI is responsible for ensuring that the funds are spent in compliance with the agreement and with due consideration to economy, efficiency and effectiveness in achieving the results intended. Budget for 2025-2027 will be agreed on in Q3 2024.

Organisation	**Danish MFA Contribution for project activities**				**Total**
	2024 (DKK)	2025 (DKK)	2026 (DKK)	2027 (DKK)	DKK
TI Georgia (project funding)	3,950,000	tbc	tbc	tbc	tbc
TI Moldova (pilot activities)	375,000	tbc	tbc	tbc	tbc
TI Secretariat (technical advice)	347,898	tbc	tbc	tbc	tbc
Overhead (7%)	327,102	tbc	tbc	tbc	tbc
Total	**5,000,000**	tbc	tbc	tbc	tbc

As regards the 2024 overall budget indicated above, TI Georgia will submit an outcome-based project budget to EUN for approval during January 2024 in order to specify the distribution of funds between outputs under the seven outcome areas.

8. Grant Management and Reporting Arrangement

This grant will be centrally managed by the TI Secretariat, responsible for liaising between the parties, managing overall risks to progress and assuring consistent quality - including the common implementation of best practice standards and organisational compliance with defined Danish/donor 'red line' policies e.g., anti-corruption measures, safeguards against child labour and sexual exploitation, abuse, and harassment (SEAH). The TI Secretariat would also lead on identifying and implementing opportunities for peer dialogue and learning, monitoring overall progress and co-ordinating and synthesising consistent and high-quality reporting across all parties. For reporting purposes, TI Secretariat would be the main point of contact with the donor.

The TI secretariat will forward narrative and financial reporting according to the grant agreement. This will consist of an aggregate executive summary report synthesising the high-level achievements of each partner, alongside the annual report and financial report for TI Georgia (indicating distribution on use of Danish funds on outputs under the seven overall outcomes) and high-level summary report for TI Moldova and TI Secretariat on its activities.

The TI Secretariat will organise a coordination meeting with the donor and parties once a year, to review progress and direction, identify areas for learning and share insights and opportunities, and explore the value of any reviews that may take place during the period of the grant. The TI Secretariat would be responsible for organising these meetings and ensuring that agreed changes are documented and followed-up with the relevant parties. In addition, TI Georgia will invite the DFMA to attend its bilateral annual meeting with representatives from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) to engage in a detailed discussion concerning project results and achievements.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark shall have the right to carry out any technical or financial supervision mission that is considered necessary to monitor the implementation of the project. After the termination of the project/programme support, the Ministry reserves the right to carry out evaluations in accordance with this article. Any mission or evaluation requested by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark will be coordinated with the TI-S Grant Manager in line with TI-S MEL policies and quality control procedures.