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**POST PROJECT EVALUATIONS
FOR THE
UNITED NATIONS DEMOCRACY FUND**

EVALUATION REPORT

**UDF-16-696-MLI
Strengthening CSO Engagement with Defence Institutions to Reduce Corruption and
Strengthen Accountability in Mali**

24 February 2021

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Disclaimer

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

Author

This report was written by Kevin Lyne.

Project Area

This project covered the ten administrative regions in Mali – with activities (“Pôles” for Focus Group Discussions) across the country organised for Koulikoro/Kayes, Sikasso/Ségou/Mopti, Gao/Kidal/Ménaka, Tombouctou/Taoudénit, and the Capital District of Bamako.





Participants in a Focus Group Discussion for Kayes/Koulikoro, 15 September 2018.



Representatives of TI-DS, CRI-2002 and FOSC-DS, Bamako, 20 March 2019.

I. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

This report is the evaluation of the project entitled “Strengthening CSO Engagement with Defence Institutions to Reduce Corruption and Strengthen Accountability in Mali”. It was implemented by Transparency International – Defence and Security (as Implementing Agency) and the *Cercle de Réflexion et d’Information pour la Consolidation de la Démocratie au Mali* (CRI-2002, as Implementing Partner), from April 2018 to December 2019. The project benefited from a UNDEF grant of USD 187,000 and sought to reduce the risk of corruption in the Malian defence and security sector. It included a mix of capacity-building, advocacy and research work in order to build civil society’s ability to advocate for accountability and transparency in the defence sector, and to open a space for them to do so. Strengthening links between civil society and defence institutions and the democratic bodies charged with oversight of defence was an integral part of the approach.

Direct beneficiaries were civil society leaders, young leaders, representatives from communities and vulnerable groups, “non-staff personnel” (i.e. supporting project activities and thereby improving employability in the sector afterwards), and elected officials. Indirect beneficiaries were the general public, the Ministry of Defence and Veterans (MINDAC) and the Malian Armed Forces (FAMa).

Corruption in the defence and security sector in Mali is a highly sensitive subject. The approach of TI-DS and CRI-2002 has been to identify weaknesses and encourage positive efforts led by the government - maintaining a balance between raising awareness about corruption and advocating for change without antagonising the government and the army.

The project has contributed significantly to democratic development in Mali, at a time of considerable political and security upheaval, by building capacity of civil society organisations and opening collaborative channels between civil society and defence and security organisations to tackle corruption – which has been identified as one of the drivers of conflict in the country. It was arguably the first to zone in on connecting grassroots local civil society capacity building, awareness raising, training for defence and security stakeholders, and constructive recommendations for reform of legislative and parliamentary oversight for the defence and security sector.

Malian civil society is now equipped with a specific platform dedicated to advocate for reform in the defence sector (FOSC-DS), which has managed to build viable bridges between the Malian defence establishment and civil society around technical and practical issues such as civilian oversight, financial management and procurement processes.

Key Recommendations

- **Future funding should be secured** to ensure that the achievements of the project are not overlooked, and that FOSS-DS can reach full autonomy.
- The **FOSS-DS communications strategy should be updated to reflect changes in internet and social media usage** in Mali over the past two years, and rolled out.
- FOSS-DS should **update its engagement strategy to reflect the new political realities in Mali since the coup of August 2020**.

- In the absence of any formal arrangements for **donor coordination** on defence and security in Mali, MINUSMA’s SSR Unit could take a more pro-active role in promoting better understanding of how challenges are being addressed by the international community and civil society.
- As part of any strategy refresh **FOSC-DS should take stock of other CSO actors working on corruption in the defence and security sector** in Mali, and establish mutually beneficial coordination/deconfliction channels.

Key Lessons Learned

- Funding initiatives for **18 months in a highly volatile environment may not be long enough to ensure sustainability.**
- Primary victims of conflict and insecurity in post-conflict and fragile states are often located far away from capital cities - where decision-making and consultation processes are centralised – and their **voices are too often overlooked.**
- **Creating trust with the government** was key in a political environment that has been predominantly closed and opaque.
- In a crowded donor environment with multiple civil society actors, and a highly volatile and dynamic political and security context, the project demonstrated the **need to maintain good links with key actors in the International Community** as well as national government stakeholders.
- The project required a complex but clearly delineated **division of labour and responsibilities** between an external CSO/Implementing Agency and a country based CSO/Implementing Partner.
- The role of UNDEF was often poorly explained, or completely mistaken, in press reporting.

II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

(i) Development Context

Mali is in the interior of West Africa and is part of the Central Sahel region which in recent years has seen a “perfect storm” of conflict, weak governance, underdevelopment, demographic pressure, and climate change – currently leading to one of the worst protection crises in the world, aggravated by COVID-19.¹ Mali is among the 25 poorest countries in the world. Its HDI (Human Development Index) value for 2018 was 0.427 - which put the country in the low human development category - positioning it at 184 out of 189 countries and territories.²

¹ Ministerial Meeting (as part of the High-Level Humanitarian Event) on the Central Sahel on 20 October 2020, Hosted by the UN, EU, Denmark and Germany. Statement by Ilze Brands Kehris, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights, New York,

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=26422&LangID=E>.

² UNDP Human Development Report 2019, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/MLI.pdf.

The turbulent political and security situation in Mali is described here in some detail to provide context for the project and this evaluation.

Since 2012, Mali has faced a volatile crisis as political armed groups, including ethnic based movements, jihadist groups and transnational criminal networks, fight for hegemony and the control of trafficking routes in the north of the country. An “Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali”, signed in Algiers in 2015, remains difficult to implement and signatory groups still resort to violence to settle differences. Jihadist violence against security forces is increasing and militants have capitalised on local conflicts and the absence of the State in rural areas to secure safe havens and new recruits. The number of serious allegations of violations of international human rights and humanitarian law by state security forces in the context of counterterrorism operations has increased significantly over recent years.³ Mali’s instability also has regional consequences as violent extremism spills into neighbouring countries.⁴

In December 2019 the Government of Mali launched a National Inclusive Dialogue (*Dialogue National Inclusif*, DNI) to bring together all 703 communes, 49 cercles and 10 regions of the country to address concerns, challenges and perspectives of the State and the Malian population around themes that included defence and security governance. Although boycotted by the political opposition a new four-year Road Map was agreed for 2020-23, along with 4 resolutions and 117 recommendations, many relating to defence and security.⁵

Legislative elections in March-April 2020 took place amid growing insecurity (from armed groups, and with a rise in allegations of human rights violations by state security actors), and COVID-19. The election results were contested through large scale political protest against President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta. Demonstrations in Bamako in July 2020 included clashes with security forces that left 11 dead and over 120 injured. Protesters highlighted corruption of the State and the inability of the army to restore security. Mediation from ECOWAS included tasking a small number of Ministers (including for Defence & Veterans, and for Security & Civil Protection) with taking forward recommendations in the field of defence and security governance.

Protests continued over the summer, spear-headed by a new opposition grouping *Mouvement du 5 juin – Rassemblement des forces patriotiques* (M5-RFP). On 18 August 2020 the military took power in a coup. The coup was led by Army Colonel Assimi Goita and a network subsequently named the National Committee for the Salvation of the People (CNSP). It was quickly supported by the full military establishment. Unlike previous coups in Mali this was largely without violence and was broadly welcomed by the protestors and even the political opposition (who saw it as finishing what they had started). President

³ UN Independent Expert on the Situation of Human Rights in Mali: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G20/008/96/PDF/G2000896.pdf?OpenElement>.

Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/mali>. Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/africa/mali/report-mali/>.

⁴ International Crisis Group, CrisisWatch, June 2020: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/sahel/mali>.

⁵ Including an acceleration of Security Sector Reform and combatting corruption. Recommendations are summarised here: <https://maliactu.net/mali-dialogue-national-inclusif-les-recommandations/>.

Keïta and several government ministers were detained (though later released) and the government was dissolved though the constitution upheld. The CNSP demanded a three-year transition period before holding new elections. ECOWAS countered this and called for a civilian-led transition and elections within one year and imposed sanctions. The CNSP held nationwide consultations to determine the future shape of the transition, and on the basis of this and their negotiations with ECOWAS, settled on an agreed path. Sanctions were lifted on 6 October 2020 following the appointment of a civilian-led transitional government and a commitment to support the peace process, respect for international agreements and international partners, and elections within 18 months.

The International Community has welcomed the formation of the new transitional government, but remains cautious. Military officers, for example, retain strong influence in this government, with Colonel Goïta as Vice-President and other Colonels serving as Ministers for Defence, Security, Reconciliation and Territorial Administration. Of the 14 Governors across the country, 10 are military officers. A National Council of Transition (CNT) was inaugurated on 5 December 2020, with 121 members (approved by the government after weeks of negotiations with M5-RFP, political parties and members of civil society, and presided over by a military officer) and designed to replace many of the functions of the National Assembly (Parliament) during the transition period.

The COVID-19 pandemic has added to these difficulties. Infection rates have remained low, but border closures and global economic shocks have worsened socio-economic conditions in Mali and across the Sahel, and it has been more difficult to deliver humanitarian aid to some sites. Existing mistrust of governments was exacerbated by concerns that COVID-19 could be used as an excuse to extract more money from the International Community to divert to corrupt elites. In Mali, popular demonstrations and the coup in August 2020 were in part fuelled by such concerns. The full effects of COVID-19, especially on governance and trust in government institutions in the Sahel, have yet to be fully seen.

To conclude, what was described in the project's keystone publication in October 2019 (*Building Integrity in Mali's Defence and Security Sector*) as a "daunting backdrop" and "extremely difficult circumstances" became a considerably more complex and challenging environment for the project's beneficiaries over the course of 2020.

(ii) The Project Objective and Intervention Rationale

The full title of the project was "Strengthening CSO Engagement with Defence Institutions to Reduce Corruption and Strengthen Accountability in Mali". Total budget was USD 187,000.

The Grantee and Implementing Agency TI-DS (Transparency International – Defence & Security, hosted by the TI-UK Chapter in London) is part of the global Transparency International movement with an established track record of tackling corruption and strengthening transparency and accountability in the defence and security sector worldwide. It works within a network of more than 100 National Chapters that are locally established, independent organisations that fight corruption in their respective countries.

The Implementing Partner in Mali was the *Cercle de Réflexion et d'Information pour la Consolidation de la Démocratie au Mali* (CRI-2002). Established in 2000, it originally focused on political parties and elections (those of 2002). It now operates as an analytical think-tank to help CSOs address social, political and economic priorities in Mali. It has been the affiliated National Contact (though not yet National Chapter) for Transparency International in Mali since 2015, and it is an accredited member of the ECOWAS CSO Platform on Transparency and Accountability which is intended to enable civil society in Member States to support and promote integrity at national and regional levels.

The overall objective of the project was to promote civil society engagement and dialogue with Malian defence institutions to strengthen independent oversight of the defence and security sector. The intended outcomes of the project were:

- Outcome 1: Malian civil society accesses up-to-date research examining corruption risks in the defence sector, and how these risks affect citizens and contribute to instability.
- Outcome 2: Increased capacity of civil society to collectively initiate, influence and monitor anti-corruption reforms in the defence sector.
- Outcome 3: Strengthened oversight of Malian defence and security institutions by national civil society.

Direct beneficiaries were civil society leaders, young leaders, representatives from communities and vulnerable groups, “non-staff personnel” (i.e. supporting project activities and thereby improving employability in the sector afterwards), and elected officials. Indirect beneficiaries were the general public, the Ministry of Defence and Veterans (MINDAC) and the Malian Armed Forces (FAMa).

Project activities were coordinated in five geographic locations (*Pôles*) to ensure representative samples of the national population across the ten administrative regions of Mali, and based on the significance and density of the defence presence. The five focus areas comprised: Bamako (Capital District); Regions of Kayes and Koulikoro (Centre, West); Regions of Sikasso, Ségou and Mopti (Centre, South); Regions of Timbuktu and Taoudénit (North); Regions of Gao, Ménaka and Kidal (North).

The project started on 1 April 2018 and was originally planned to end on 30 September 2019. It received an extension of three months with a new end on 31 December 2019. This was largely due to cabinet reshuffles and changes in senior positions during 2018 and 2019 which made it difficult to engage with key official stakeholders in Mali at a time when findings and policy recommendations were ready to be shared with the Government and FAMa.

(iii) Project Strategy and Approach

TI-DS publishes a Government Defence Integrity Index (GDI)⁶ which assesses the existence, effectiveness and enforcement of institutional and informal controls to manage corruption risk in national defence institutions. For Mali, the TI-DS assessments were that the country faced considerable corruption risk across its defence institutions, with limited controls in operations, and little access to financial information. This lack of transparency hampered the effectiveness of external and internal audit bodies, which ultimately undermined the ability of the National Assembly (Parliament) to scrutinise the defence and security sector. The National Assembly suffered from a lack of adequate resources and expertise, and it had not been assertive in the governance of the defence and security sector in relation to the executive. Main institutions in the Malian oversight system responsible for government accountability, none of which were proving effective, comprised:

- Office of the Inspector General (*Bureau du Vérificateur Général, BVG*) – with a mission to contribute to better management of public resources by fighting corruption, waste, and abuse of public funds.
- Ombudsperson (*Médiateur*) - empowered to investigate cases, using special inspections, and to propose recommendations, but it does not have jurisdiction over the armed forces.
- Committee on National Defence, Security and Civil Protection (CDSPC, National Assembly) - composed of 12 members, and its main role is to study bills or proposals for legislation. Until recently chaired by ex-President Keïta's son, who resigned in the face of protests on 14 July 2020.
- Authority for the Regulation of Public Markets and Public Service Delegations (ARMDS).
- Central Office for the Fight against Illicit Enrichment (OCLEI).

The project sought to reduce the risk of corruption in the Malian defence and security sector: Malian Armed Forces (FAMa) comprising an army, air force and national guard, under the control of the Ministry of Armed Forces and Veterans (MINDAC) – with the project focusing on the army as the bulk of the military. It included a mix of capacity-building, advocacy and research work in order to build civil society's ability to advocate for accountability and transparency in the defence sector, and to open a space for them to do so. Strengthening links between civil society and defence institutions and the democratic bodies charged with oversight of defence was an integral part of the approach. It was run in two phases:

- (1) Strengthening Malian CSOs' understanding of defence corruption risks and developing a tailored strategy to influence anti-corruption reforms in the defence and security sector.
- (2) Implementing the CSO strategy and advocating for long-term and systemic anti-corruption reforms in the defence and security sector with Malian defence stakeholders and the International Community.

⁶ Previously named the Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index (GI), before choosing what TI-DS decided was a less antagonistic name in 2019.

A major output was the publication in October 2019 of the report *Building Integrity in Mali's Defence and Security Sector*.⁷ This developed from the first stage of the project which was to conduct research to enable engagement with CSOs interested in the defence sector. The project design then allowed the following logical flow of activities which are captured in the Results Framework:

Research/Focus Group Discussions => Regional workshops/Creation of a CSO Forum (Forum des Organisations de la Société Civile dans le Secteur de la Défense et Sécurité, FOSC-DS) => Roundtable/Development of CSO Strategy => Roundtable/Communications/Media plan => Workshops (2 Leadership Days) for Defence officials and leaders => Anti-Corruption Agenda/Policy recommendations.

The project also aimed to build on earlier TI-DS engagement in West Africa with UN agencies, governments and civil society on defence and security anti-corruption. This included an advocacy approach that involved engaging directly with defence institutions to draw attention to institutional risks and supporting the structured implementation of technical reforms. This has relied on some willingness by the defence establishment to opening dialogue with civil society, the defence institutions and the democratic bodies charged with oversight of defence. Where defence establishments have not been open to constructive engagement, TI-DS and its national partners have exerted pressure through advocacy and communications and by leveraging the International Community. Another significant aspect to this approach is that TI-DS project themselves as focusing on solutions, not just problems – which avoids some of the sensitivities when discussing corruption in the defence and security sector.

III. EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

The evaluation focuses on the achievement of the project's outcomes, as well as on the impact and programme effectiveness in achieving its ultimate goals. It uses a set of standard Evaluation Questions in line with the OECD-DAC Criteria, and adapted and developed to fit the context of the project (see Annex 1). The evaluation framework was participatory and people-centred, whereby stakeholders and beneficiaries were the key actors of the evaluation process and not the mere objects of the evaluation.

The evaluation followed a four-step process: (1) engaging project management and conducting a preliminary desk review to describe the project and evaluation framework and consider remote data collection tools (Launch Note agreed on 11 August 2020); (2) gathering credible evidence; (3) consolidating data and writing the report; (4) sharing the draft report with the main users for feedback then finalisation.

⁷ Available on the TI-DS website at: <https://ti-defence.org/publications/building-integrity-in-malis-defence-and-security-sector/>.

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic a field mission to Mali was not possible, so the evaluation was conducted remotely. Special considerations were agreed in advance between UNDEF, the evaluator, and the Implementing Agency (TI-DS) and Implementing Partner (CRI-2002), and included:

- For outreach and interviews, only telematic tools (such as telephone, emails, WhatsApp, Zoom, Skype) would be used in the data collection process. The type of tools chosen would be conditioned by the degree to which stakeholders felt comfortable using them. In other words, priority would be given to those tools with which the different stakeholders were most familiar. In practice, because of unreliable internet coverage outside Bamako this meant that interviews were mainly conducted by telephone.
- The time scope of the data collection would be more flexible than in conventional evaluations where there is a field mission with clear limits. Consequently, the data generation stage could be expanded to adapt to the availability of the different stakeholders. It was anticipated that the information analysis stage would largely overlap with the information generation stage. In practice, this proved to be the case as it took several weeks to conduct a sufficient number of interviews.
- At the end of the data generation stage a preliminary findings session would be organised (with the Implementing Agency, Implementing Partner, and with UNDEF) so that the evaluator could ensure that evidence had been collected and analysed correctly before writing the draft report. In practice, due to time pressures, this did not happen, but findings and recommendations were shared with TI-DS and CRI-2002 as soon as it was possible to do so, and feedback incorporated into the working draft that was submitted to UNDEF in late December 2020.

Identified limitations when compared to conventional evaluations, and proposed mitigation measures, included:

- Engagement with the Implementing Agency and Implementing Partner would not benefit from direct contact in the field, which usually allowed for a healthy degree of interaction, both ways, to build trust and understanding. Mitigation: Allow for adequate time to be spent over conference calls and with email exchanges to ensure that the ground had been fully prepared before moving to formal interviews.
- The volatility of the political and security context in Mali may make it difficult for certain stakeholders outside Bamako to convene to take part in any discussions with the evaluator, remotely. Mitigation: No additional risks should be taken by anyone in connection with the evaluation. If deemed appropriate by the Implementing Agency and Implementing Partner, the evaluation would be postponed until conditions improved. In practice the evaluation was indeed delayed over the summer of 2020 due to the political developments described above, but it was eventually possible to reach out to interviewees outside of Bamako.
- Engagement with beneficiaries and third parties may not be as productive or inclusive as usual field visits allow. Mitigation: Special attention would be paid to the names and institutions listed for interview, and the manner by which people would be contacted – e.g. direct calls versus use of email exchanges/questionnaires. Similarly, the key questions

to be asked would be as well-prepared in advance as possible, including feedback from the Implementing Agency and Implementing Partner.

During the evaluation 19 people (15 men and 4 women) were consulted (see Annex 3), using a combination of telephone calls, video teleconferencing, and email exchanges. **These numbers would have been higher without staff absences resulting from COVID-19 in Mali, and communication with some interviewees was occasionally hampered by poor internet and telephone connectivity, particularly in locations other than Bamako. Self-evidently, the evaluation would have benefited from more direct and longer contact with interviewees that a field mission would have allowed.**

Documents reviewed included: activity reports, progress reports, project documents, administrative reviews, multi-stakeholder strategies and third-party documentation (see Annex 2). The evaluator also conducted more than 100 Internet searches in news, social networks and pages of different organisations. Some of these have been cited in this report (see Annex 2).

This final report presents the main findings and gives answers to evaluation questions based on evidence.

IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS

Evaluation criteria, questions and sub-questions are listed in full at Annex 1.

(i) *Relevance*

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?

Main findings:

- The project built on TI-DS experience from other interventions in West Africa and included an early research phase to identify key challenges for Mali that also went on to help identify local level partners across the country and culminated in the October 2019 report that produced specific and realisable recommendations as to how the Malian authorities could render its defence and security services less corrupt and therefore more effective.
- The project's evidence base was TI-DS's Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index (GI, later to be called the Government Defence Integrity Index – GDI) of 2015 which highlighted how weak institutional capacity had led to a lack of appropriate equipment to fight off rebels in the North, how high levels of nepotism prevented the most qualified individuals to reach top-level positions in the military and how poor living and working conditions and the absence of anti-corruption guidelines encouraged corrupt and criminal behaviours by the military, including collusion with separatist groups. In

addition, high levels of secrecy and opaque processes in the sector meant that the otherwise vibrant Malian civil society had been unable to provide robust oversight over defence policies or play a crucial role in combatting defence corruption. The index is described by TI-DS as the “pillar” for its global strategy and provides an external benchmark and incentive for the government to work towards. The development of the latest GDI for Mali⁸ took place during the same period as the project. Activities such as the two Leadership Days helped TI-DS collect feedback from representatives of the Malian defence establishment on the data being compiled for the GDI assessment, covering areas such as: political, personnel, financial, procurement and operations.

- TI-DS’s choice of CRI-2002 as the Implementing Partner was based on collaboration since 2015, when the Peace Agreement identified the “fight against corruption and impunity” and a “reconstituted army” as being among the founding principles.
- National coverage for the project was obtained through the use of five geographical groupings (*pôles*) to encompass all ten administrative regions and the Capital District of Bamako, and basing activity on the relative presence of defence actors. Marginalised and vulnerable groups (Tuareg and Arab populations, Internally Displaced Persons, rural populations and youth) were also involved in the consultation process. 30% of FOSC-DS membership comprises at least 30% of marginalised and vulnerable groups.
- The project was gender-sensitive and ensured that women were given an equal voice during consultation. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs; 160 participants in total) included 50% male and 50% female participants. Initially the plan was to hold separate FGDs for each in order to allow women participants to speak openly and freely but after consultation with women organisations, they expressed their desire to hold mixed FGDs.⁹
- Senior Malian government stakeholders and representatives from the International Community told the evaluator that the project was arguably the first to zone in on connecting grassroots local civil society capacity building, awareness raising, training for defence and security stakeholders, and constructive recommendations for reform of legislative and parliamentary oversight for the defence and security sector.
- The timing of the conclusion of the project meant that FOSC-DS could play an active role in the *Dialogue National Inclusif*, in December 2019. The President of CRI-2002 participated as one of the moderators.
- The project timeline coincided with a worsening of the security situation, and considerable political turbulence, in Mali. These deteriorated further in the first half of 2020, leading to the military coup of 18 August 2020. At the height of political unrest and popular demonstrations in July 2020, the project’s October 2019 report *Building Integrity in Mali’s Defence and Security Sector* was being referenced by the prominent think-tank

⁸ <https://ti-defence.org/gdi/countries/mali/> - covering the period February 2018 – March 2019.

⁹ Despite this positive approach to gender sensitivity, TI-DS explained to the evaluator that when the project was designed in 2017 there was no formal strategy as such to include those components into its work. As part of the development of its new strategy (2021-2024), TI-DS now has a cross-cutting approach to ensure that gender and diversity are mainstreamed into TI-DS’ work. This includes a research agenda with specific components on those issues (to understand how the nexus between corruption and conflict is experienced by specific groups), as well as a new approach to mainstreaming gender and diversity into its programming.

European Council on Foreign Relations as evidence for the grievances being expressed against corruption.¹⁰

- Risk mitigation was set out clearly in the original Project Document agreed on 5 March 2018. This accurately foresaw a delay in the holding of legislative elections, though underestimated the challenges associated with “mobilising government counterparts” in support of the project – which were a result of repeated Cabinet reshuffles in 2018 and 2019 (see below under Effectiveness).

“At this time, as we begin the task of the refoundation of the State, this pilot project dedicated to the contribution of civil society organisations to the governance of the defence sector, is finding again its relevance.”

Minister Secretary-General Dr Abraham Bengaly, Ministry of the Refoundation of the State

“The word ‘corruption’ tends to alienate partners and create blockages. It is more effective to work for transparency/integrity than to work against corruption, especially when one combines grassroots level capacity building for civil society, training workshops for defence and security stakeholders, awareness raising, and oversight mechanisms. This was the first project to underline the importance of legislative and parliamentary oversight of corruption in the security sector.”

Ms Minna Nauclér, Folke Bernadotte Academy, Stockholm

(ii) *Effectiveness*

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?

Main findings:

- The project included an elaborate management plan for dividing responsibilities for delivery between TI-DS and CRI-2002, for outcomes,¹¹ which worked well.

¹⁰ *Unchecked escalation: Why Mali is in turmoil*, ECFR, 22 July 2020, at:

https://ecfr.eu/article/commentary_unchecked_escalation_why_mali_is_in_turmoil/.

¹¹ The evaluator understands ‘outcome’ to mean: behavioural, policy, procedure or budgetary change in target population/institution, partially attributable to project outputs, achievable by the end of the project, but more in the control of the project target population/institution.

- Outcome 1 (Malian civil society accesses up-to-date research examining corruption risks in the defence sector, and how these risks affect citizens and contribute to instability) was shared, with TI-DS leading on research for the GDI index, contacts with the international community, and training of CRI-2002; and CRI-2002 leading on interviews with Malian government officials, experts and civil society – and conducting the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Achievements: advocacy driven evidence-based research material is now being used by Malian civil society to build its own expertise on defence governance and to engage with defence officials on technical issues. The final report, translated into French, was disseminated and discussed in the ten regions of Mali.
- Outcome 2 (Increased capacity of civil society to collectively initiate, influence and monitor anti-corruption reforms in the defence sector) was led by CRI-2002, for identifying potential members of the forum and for bringing them together and drafting the strategy, with TI-DS providing support and subject matter expertise. Achievements: Malian civil society is now equipped with a specific platform dedicated to advocate for reform in the defence sector (FOSC-DS), which has gained access to representatives of the defence establishment. Despite the high level of staff turnovers mentioned elsewhere in this report, focal points for engagement have been retained in the MINDAC, FAMA, *Commissariat* for Security Sector Reform (C-RSS),¹² and Ministries with responsibilities for institutional reforms. Constructive interaction has continued: on 18 November 2020 a round table was hosted by CRI-2002 and FOSC-DS with members of Parliament, representatives of government, and civil society.
- Outcome 3 (Strengthened oversight of Malian defence and security institutions by national civil society) involved both TI-DS and CRI-2002 in agreeing policy recommendations based on the findings and material from Outcomes 1 and 2. CRI-2002 led on delivering a public campaign, and TI-DS and a senior consultant led in organising and developing content for the workshops (Leadership Days) with officials, with CRI-2002 delivering at the events. Achievements: the project has managed to build viable bridges between the Malian defence establishment and civil society around technical and practical issues such as civilian oversight, financial management and procurement processes. Although the target of having the government commit to “at least one specific policy commitment in response to civil society advocacy” has not been met (for reasons explained later in this report) the foundations for meaningful collaboration in the future have been built. CRI-2002 and FOSC-DS leveraged the *Dialogue National Inclusif* in December 2019 to gain momentum and bring defence corruption to the national debate.

(iii) *Efficiency*

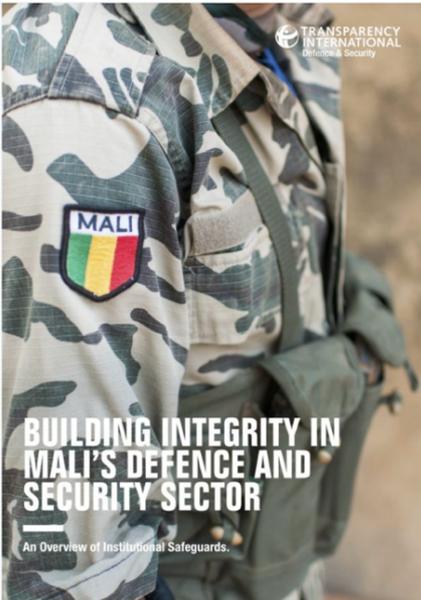
The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project¹³ impacts?

¹² Governmental bodies for Security Sector Reform in Mali have changed (including name) over time, since 2005. The main interlocutor for this project was the Commissioner for Security Sector Reform, General Ibrahim Diallo. For a more detailed explanation of these bodies, and their evolution, see DCAF background note: <https://issat.dcaf.ch/Learn/Resource-Library/Country-Profiles/Mali-SSR-Background-Note>.

¹³ The evaluator understands ‘output’ to mean tangible (infrastructure, equipment) products delivered/completed, changes in intangible (knowledge/skills) capacities of stakeholders as a result of project activities, and activities completed. Completely/significantly in the control of the project.

Main findings:

- The project delivered activities and outputs in a coordinated manner and with a high degree of efficiency.

Outputs	Achievements	
<p>Output 1.1: Publication of a report identifying institutional defence corruption risks in the Malian defence sector</p>	<p>The research for the report, and FGD findings, was also used for the new GDI assessment and was peer reviewed by TI-DS experts before publication in October 2019. This remains the most visible and perhaps most tangible result of the project. Available on the TI-DS website at https://ti-defence.org/publications/building-integrity-in-malis-defence-and-security-sector/.</p>	
<p>Output 1.2: 5 Focus Group reports</p>	<p>5 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were held across the country, collecting the inputs of 160 individuals from different backgrounds including civil society, defence and security forces, local authorities and traditional leaders. A synthesis of findings was presented to government officials and defence and security representatives during a National Dialogue event that was held in Bamako in October 2018. These events paved the way for creating a constructive dialogue between defence and security forces and civil society at both local and national level. Five reports were finalised and contributed to Output 1.1.</p>	
<p>Output 2.1: Creation of a CSO forum</p>	<p>The FOSC-DS was established in January 2019 comprising 30 CSOs with a common interest and specialisation in defence governance-related issues. To ensure sustainability and effectiveness, TI-DS and CRI-2002 provided the forum with organisational structure and internal regulation that should guarantee the development of both its capacity and its technical expertise on defence-related issues.</p>	
<p>Output 2.2: Development of a strategy</p>	<p>The strategy was developed by CRI-2002 and reviewed by TI-DS before being submitted to FOSC-DS for discussion and approval on 20 March 2019. During this process TI-DS communicated with relevant external international stakeholders to collect views and suggestions, including by holding two roundtable discussions.</p>	
<p>Output 3.1: Develop a communications plan and</p>	<p>TI-DS supported the development of a communications plan through a media study conducted by an external expert that identifies the</p>	

relevant targeted message	baseline of suitable communication channels for reaching audiences in each region, their availability/accessibility, and demographic spread. This was agreed by FOOSC-DS and the Ministry of Communication.
Output 3.2: Outreach campaign implemented using relevant and targeted communications material to advocate for accountability and integrity within the defence sector	FOOSC-DS capitalised on the <i>Dialogue National Inclusif</i> in December 2019 to implement the media plan. Throughout the process, and through a series of TV debates, radio interviews and press articles, FOOSC-DS advocated for defence corruption and building integrity in the Malian defence sector to be addressed through the reforms discussed during the DNI.
Output 3.3: Conduct of two workshops for defence officials and leaders	Two “Leadership Days” were held in June and October 2019. The first served as an introduction to civilian democratic oversight and defence integrity while the second focused on technical areas of the GDI (procurement and financial management). External speakers from TI-DS provided subject matter expertise, including (for the second event) TI-DS Senior Adviser Brigadier General (Retd.) General Patrick Nopens from the Belgian Army. The first was chaired by the Commissioner for Security Sector Reform, after the representatives of MINDAC pulled out just one hour before the beginning of the event. The second event experienced a much better rate of participation from government officials and was chaired by a Colonel and Technical Adviser at MINDAC – and reviewer for the GDI. In total, 45 individuals attended the two events, including 20 government officials. The UNDEF Project Officer, attending the first event, observed that this came across as “London people delivering a masterclass seminar to Malian security forces” and that form and process for such interventions should be as important as content. While not disagreeing with the point about form and process, the evaluator did not hear any negative comments about the event from people interviewed – who in fact praised it for its inter-active nature.
Output 3.4: Elaboration of an ambitious anti-corruption agenda	This agenda was integrated into the FOOSC-DS strategy, and the substance is also contained in the report <i>Building Integrity in Mali’s Defence and Security Sector</i> . TI-DS have also noted in their Final Narrative Report that the recurrent cabinet reshuffles during 2018 and 2019 undermined their ability to sustain political engagement at the highest levels of the MINDAC. Although engagement was maintained at technical level, government counterparts lacked the political weight to publicly commit to an ambitious anti-corruption agenda. This partly explains the inability to commit to “at least one specific policy commitment in response to civil society advocacy”, which had been the target for Outcome 3, covered above under Effectiveness.

- A no-cost three-month extension was requested, and quickly agreed, in August 2019 to allow more time for the MINDAC (following staff turnovers) to review the GDI, which was critical for later engagements with the government as well as for the dissemination of the report *Building Integrity in Mali’s Defence and Security Sector*. The report was

launched at a final press conference on 19 October 2019, the same week as the second Leadership Day.

- The budget was used in its entirety. The March 2020 audit on the Financial Utilization Report concluded that the application of funds complied with the provisions of the Grant Agreement and no additional matters or recommendations were raised.

(iv) *Impact*

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratisation, or to direct promotion of democracy?

“If this project had not existed it would have had to be invented, as it came at a time when the expectations of people were enormous in the context of the security situation and corruption risks in the defence and security sector [...] Oversight has been strengthened thanks to the various round tables, workshops, and the exchanges that civil society has had with defence and security institutions. These meetings have given civil society a better understanding of defence and security affairs, and the veil of secrecy has been lifted [...] We note an improvement in the collaboration between civil society and defence and security forces.”

Mr Issa Dembele, FOSEC-DS Secretary General

Main findings:

- Strengthening links between civil society and defence institutions and the democratic bodies charged with oversight of defence was an integral part of the project, and this approach had not been tried in Mali before.
- Corruption in the defence and security sector in Mali is a highly sensitive subject. Reporters Without Borders have reported that the “... the authorities harass the media over their coverage of security issues, and any criticism of the army can lead to arrest on a charge of “contravening standards and undermining troop morale”.¹⁴ The approach of TI-DS and CRI-2002 has been to identify weaknesses and encourage positive efforts led by the government - maintaining a balance between raising awareness about corruption and advocating for change without antagonising the government and the army. A good example of how the project has contributed to such awareness raising and “balanced” approach is provided by the Malian news outlet Le Sphinx from June 2020 which quotes the project’s October 2019 report *Building Integrity in Mali’s Defence and Security Sector*.¹⁵ It

¹⁴ Reporters Without Borders, website accessed on 12 December 2020: <https://rsf.org/en/mali>.

¹⁵ *Armée Malienne : Au moins 44 Milliards de FCFA de primes volatilisés*, Le Sphinx, June 2020.

highlights one of the specific recommendations in the report on the use of electronic bank transfers to regulate payment of salaries.

- The media campaign during the project and the work done by FOSC-DS during the *Dialogue National Inclusif* contributed to raising the profile of defence corruption in Mali, as did the workshops, round tables and Leadership Days organised by CRI-2002 and FOSC-DS.

“The Forum has a privileged partnership with CRI-2002. We have focused on awareness raising at the local level, where people are living side by side with defence and security forces. We want to see more transparency and trust. We work on concrete issues, and people like that”.

Mr Doulié Doumbia, FOSC-DS Focal Point for Koulikoro/Kayes.

- During the lifetime of the project there was a high turnover of political figures and senior officials. With the cabinet reshuffles affecting the MINDAC between July 2018 and May 2019 the approach was to focus at the technical level with permanent staff who were not affected by such reshuffles. TI-DS, CRI-2002 and FOSC-DS have been careful about maintaining a certain balance between what they express publicly and preserving a trusting relationship with the defence establishment.
- There has been less impact in terms of awareness of the project, over the past 12 months, among members of the International Community. The evaluator found that the project and its results lacked visibility with key Embassies and International Organisations in Bamako. It is worth noting in this respect that a very high number of civil society initiatives in Mali, combined with frequent staff turnovers, can undermine institutional memory with international actors. Stakeholder engagement is likely to continue to be challenging for CSOs like TI-DS and CRI-2002, and will probably require a combination of targeting both individuals and institutions over time, along with better use of communications and coordination (see Recommendations).
- The project has helped CRI-2002 in its accreditation process with Transparency International to become the movement’s National Chapter for Mali. This process has involved reviewing recent projects and key information on results and is expected to conclude successfully in February 2021.

(v) *Sustainability*

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?

Main findings:

- The project has contributed significantly to democratic development in Mali, at a time of considerable political and security upheaval, by building capacity of civil society organisations and opening collaborative channels between civil society and defence and security organisations to tackle corruption – which has been identified as one of the drivers of conflict in the country. One journalist told the evaluator that the regular communication channels opened up by the project were undeniably a “major step forward”, and that this was achieved through sensitive handling and an understanding of the “wider interest” (“*intérêt général*”) of the population on the one hand and of the defence and security forces on the other.
- What happens next seems to be a moot point in the absence of current new funding for the FOSC-DS. The original Project Document envisaged that TI-DS would provide ongoing support beyond the project to CRI-2002 and CSOs as they carry out longer-term advocacy and engagement with the Malian government, and draw attention to the value of work in this space with major partners and donors to attract funding and sustain interest. This situation has yet to be successfully resolved, though it is worth noting in this regard that the project’s findings have fed into a wider West Africa project of TI-DS (funded by The Netherlands MFA) which aims to advocate for anti-corruption to be mainstreamed into ECOWAS normative policy framework on Security Sector Reform. TI-DS is also seeking further funding to continue this work.

(vi) *UNDEF added value*

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?

“I think that the feeling of ‘neutrality’ that UNDEF enjoys among institutional and non-institutional actors is a very important asset [...] UNDEF’s reputation is being built in Mali.”

Mr Moro Siaka Diallo, Journalists for Human Rights (Bamako)

Main findings:

- There was broad agreement among those interviewed for the evaluation that UNDEF enjoyed a neutral/impartial reputation that lent itself well to the sensitivities of tackling corruption in the defence and security sector in Mali. It added to the credibility of the Implementing Partner. One donor commented to the evaluator that it was increasingly rare to find bilateral donor support for civil society organisations in developing countries, where tangible results through capacity building could often take years to materialise. “Niche” support from UNDEF was therefore particularly welcome in this area.

- UNDEF support for the project was visible in publicity materials for events and for outcome documents recording agreements and strategies.



- There was less visibility for UNDEF support in the written Malian press. The evaluator saw 23 articles from the period 18 September 2018 to 13 January 2020, and only 4 contained a correct reference to UNDEF support. Two wrongly ascribed support to UNDP – confusing the French acronym for UNDP (PNUD) with the French acronym for UNDEF (FNUD). The focus was more on the collaboration between CRI-2002 and TI-DS.
- The TI-DS website makes only a passing reference to UNDEF on its Mali page, and the link to the report *Building Integrity in Mali's Defence and Security Sector*. The UNDEF logo is not used in the report itself but contains the statement “This report was funded by the United Nations Democracy Fund” in small print behind the front cover.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion	Recommendation
<p>The project’s positive results have lost some visibility since its completion 12 months ago, and this could put positive impact at risk.</p> <p>Perhaps understandably given the dynamics of the political and security environment, CRI-2002 and FOSC-DS have prioritised establishing an enduring meaningful relationship with officials over fund-raising. This has resulted in TI-DS and CRI-2002 maintaining technical and other</p>	<p>(1) Future funding should be secured to ensure that the achievements of the project are not overlooked, and that FOSC-DS can reach full autonomy.¹⁸</p> <p>(2) The FOSC-DS communications strategy should be updated to reflect changes in internet and social media usage in Mali over the past two years, and rolled out.</p>

¹⁸ The evaluator understands that discussions are underway between TI-DS and The Netherlands MFA over a project that currently has a more regional scope and is based around support for the GDI index, but could include FOSC-DS in Mali, and that TI-DS has submitted another proposal to UNDEF to support FOSC-DS.

forms of support for the FOSC-DS throughout 2020, which is unlikely to prove sustainable.

Mali is a crowded donor environment, where civil society can make multiple demands for attention and funding. Grass roots organisations outside Bamako are also typically overlooked by large institutional donors. Combined with international staff turnovers, this can result in lapses of focus and engagement. UNDP, for example, claimed to be unsighted on the project even though they had conducted the milestone observation for UNDEF in November 2018. EUCAP, which has a team exclusively for engaging with CSOs in the defence and security sector, were similarly unaware of the project.

While there was good media coverage of the project during its implementation, this has been difficult to sustain. For example, in a special edition of the Mali Tribune dedicated to SSR, defence, security, justice and government accountability in June 2020 (published with the support of DCAF), there was no mention of the project and its results.¹⁶ The fight against corruption and improving democratic control of the defence and security sector are mentioned among the priorities of a new “strategic axis”, but are not elaborated. Since then, DCAF told the evaluator in January 2021 that they were planning to hold a high-level regional conference (covering Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger) in Bamako in February/March 2021 to discuss resource management challenges for the armed forces – expected to be the first of a new series of annual events hosted by DCAF on this topic. A member of the DCAF team preparing for the conference had been using the *Building Integrity in Mali’s Defence and Security Sector* report as “comprehensive” background and context for the initiative.

The report *Building Integrity in Mali’s Defence and Security Sector* is available on the TI-DS website, but not on the CRI-2002 Facebook page. And neither CRI-2002 nor FOSC-DS have a website.

¹⁶ RSS : *Défense, Sécurité et Justice efficacité, État de droit, redevabilité*, Mali Tribune Hors-Série, no 001, June 2020, available at <https://www.dcaf.ch/mali-production-communication-tools-crss>.

<p>CRI-2002 and FOSC-DS have admitted to the evaluator that they need more visibility to build on the successes of the project, but say that they have no resources to implement the communications strategy that was agreed in November 2018. As well as underlining the key medium of local radio, and relative importance of the Bamako-centred written press, the strategy rightly acknowledges the growing influence of the internet and social media, and use of smart phones across the country. This rapid increase in internet and social media use in Mali has continued. Active social media users increased by 11% from January 2019 to January 2020. The number of Facebook users grew from 1.57m in November 2018 to 1.96m in November 2020. The country has more registered mobile phones than population.¹⁷</p>	
<p>The FOSC-DS strategy was agreed before the events in Mali of 2020 and does not reflect the new institutional and political landscape of the transition period.</p> <p>This context includes new Ministries for National Reconciliation and for the Refoundation of the State. There is also a commitment to hold elections within 18 months of October 2020. In the meantime, a new National Council of Transition has replaced the functions of Parliament – which may or may not include oversight provisions for the defence and security sector.</p>	<p>(3) FOSC-DS should update its engagement strategy to reflect the new political realities in Mali since the coup of August 2020.</p>
<p>Donor coordination in Mali, for better governance in the defence and security sector, is weak. As is coordination/collaboration among CSOs.</p>	<p>(4) In the absence of any formal arrangements for donor coordination on defence and security in Mali, MINUSMA’s SSR Unit could take a more pro-active role in promoting better understanding (e.g.</p>

¹⁷ For more data on these trends see Datareportal at <https://datareportal.com/digital-in-mali> and Napoleon.Cat at <https://napoleoncat.com/stats/social-media-users-in-mali/2020/11>.

<p>There are no institutional arrangements for donor coordination in the sensitive area of defence and security.¹⁹</p> <p>Similarly, there are now a number of other CSOs working in the defence and security sector (e.g. on SSR and DDR) supported by MINUSMA and EUCAP whose work might logically need to be coordinated/deconflicted with the activities of FOSC-DS. This includes new CSOs calling for integrity, transparency and good governance in the defence and security sector.²⁰</p> <p>A senior official in the MINDAC told the evaluator: “We need a civil society which is better organised and speaks the same language”.</p>	<p>through stakeholder mapping) of how challenges are being addressed by the international community and civil society. This could, in time, lead to a new mechanism (such as a MOU) to help donors and stakeholders share information about activities. This could also help address a sometimes patchy “institutional memory” among the donor community which is the result of frequent international staff turnovers.</p> <p>(5) As part of any strategy refresh FOSC-DS should take stock of other CSO actors working on corruption in the defence and security sector in Mali, and establish mutually beneficial coordination/deconfliction channels.²¹</p>
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VI. LESSONS LEARNED

Some key lessons can be learned from the project that could be applied to other projects either in the same region or on the same theme.

- Funding initiatives for **18 months in a highly volatile environment may not be long enough to ensure sustainability**. This is now recognised by UNDEF and there are measures to support some projects up to four years.
- Primary victims of conflict and insecurity in post-conflict and fragile states are often located far away from capital cities - where decision-making and consultation processes are centralised – and their **voices are too often overlooked**. There was an appetite amongst both CSOs and uniformed personnel to take part in joint focus group discussions, and there was a constructive dialogue around improving communication between civil society and defence and security forces at the local level.
- **Creating trust with the government** was key in a political environment that has been predominantly closed and opaque. The grantee and implementing partner met with the Minister of Defence to introduce the project and its approach, and later shared results

¹⁹ In other areas, sectoral donor coordination architecture is well established with formal structures and MOUs for nine thematic working groups (development & finance, agriculture, justice, democratic process, transport, energy, WASH, education, health) and three cross-cutting issues (decentralisation, environment and gender).

²⁰ For example, the *Plateforme de Lutte contre la Corruption et le Chômage (PCC)*.

²¹ Keeping in mind that competition between CSOs for funding and influence can sometimes be difficult to reconcile with coordination/collaboration.

with officials from the Office of the Prime Minister, Ministry of Defence, Ministry for Reform of the Administration, and representatives of the defence and security forces to create positive engagement and bolster trust.

- In a crowded donor environment with multiple civil society actors, and a highly volatile and dynamic political and security context, the project demonstrated the **need to maintain good links with key actors in the International Community** as well as national government stakeholders. This requires an investment in time and resources. Considerations for mobilising and engaging with the international community should be an integral part of CSO planning and strategy, to ensure longer term durability and sustainability of projects.
- The project required a complex but clearly delineated **division of labour and responsibilities** between an external CSO/Implementing Agency and a country based CSO/Implementing Partner. This was well presented in the Project Document and was well managed during the course of the project, with the Implementing Partner providing local knowledge and relationships, and the Implementing Agency providing technical subject matter expertise and links with the wider donor and international communities.
- The role of UNDEF was **often poorly explained, or completely mistaken, in press reporting**. PNUD was sometimes used instead of FNUD (French acronyms for UNDP and UNDEF). It would have been helpful to have a short explanatory text on the role of UNDEF for project implementers to share with stakeholders in the media for use in communications.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Evaluation Questions

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context? Were risks appropriately identified by the project? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? The evaluation considered the quality of the evidence base provided by the Implementing Agency's online resources (GI, later GDI) and the identification of gaps and needs when addressing corruption in the defence sector in Mali, and its role as a conflict driver. The evaluation considered whether the project, as designed and implemented (e.g. the Implementing Agency's established advocacy approach used elsewhere in West Africa), was suited to the context. The evaluation considered whether the selection of the CSOs that came together to form the CSO Forum (FOSC-DS) were the most appropriate and how such selection was made, including related capacity building requirements and activities.
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives? The evaluation considered whether the activities of the project linked up and provided the best approach to achieving the objectives. Did rotation of project management staff (in London) have an impact on the effectiveness of project implementation?
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs? Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives? The evaluation considered how the project was organised and how cost-effective it was, including for work outside Bamako.

Impact	<p>To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratisation, or to direct promotion of democracy?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has/have the realisation of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address? ▪ Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? ▪ To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to the objectives of the project and democratisation more broadly – e.g. through the creation of the CSO Forum? ▪ The evaluation considered how the project has enhanced the Implementing Partner’s (CRI-2002) chances of becoming the National Chapter for Transparency International in Mali.
Sustainability	<p>To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact? ▪ Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)? ▪ What measures did the Implementing Agency and Implementing Partner put in place to ensure sustainability of achieved results? ▪ To what extent will the Implementing Partner and the CSO Forum be able to take forward work initiated by the project, supported by other means?
UNDEF value added	<p>To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF’s comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratisation issues? ▪ The evaluation considered other initiatives in the country that may have had the same aims, and the comparative advantage that UNDEF offered to the Implementing Agency and Implementing Partner - through interviews with UN staff in Mali (where there is a large peacekeeping mission, MINUSMA) and other members of the International Community. ▪ Is there evidence showing that UNDEF support to the Implementing Agency and Implementing Partner appears in all printed materials distributed during the project? Does UNDEF visibility appear also in all events organised by the Implementing Agency and Implementing Partner which are related to the project?

Annex 2: Documents Reviewed

Project documents:

- Project Document (PD), 5 March 2018.
- Milestone Verification Report 2, 12 November 2018.
- Financial Utilisation Report 2, 22 November 2018.
- Mid Term Progress Report, February 2019.
- Milestone Verification Report 3, 20 March 2019.
- Financial Utilisation Report 3, 29 March 2019.
- Final Narrative Report, 4 February 2020.
- Final Financial Utilisation Report, 27 February 2020.
- PO Field Monitoring Mission Report, July 2019.
- PO Information Note, 1 June 2020.
- *Building Integrity in Mali's Defence and Security Sector: An Overview of Institutional Safeguards*, October 2019.

Documents referenced by the Implementing Partner:

- Constitution du Mali du 25 février 1992.
- Accord pour la Paix et la Réconciliation au Mali issu du processus d'Alger signé les 15 mai et 20 juin 2015 à Bamako.
- Document Cadre de Politique Nationale de la Décentralisation (DCPND) et son Plan d'Actions Prioritaires (2017-2021).
- Loi N°00-46 du 07 Juillet 2000 portant régime de la presse et délit de presse au Mali.
- Loi N°2018-003 du 12 Janvier 2018 relative aux défenseurs des droits de l'homme.
- Ordonnance N°2014-006/P-RM du 21 Janvier 2014 portant création de la Haute Autorité de la Communication (HAC).
- Décret N°2016-0626/P-RM du 25 Août 2016 déterminant les conditions de mise en œuvre des sanctions non pénales prononcées par la Haute Autorité de la Communication (HAC).

Websites:

- Datareportal <https://datareportal.com/digital-in-mali>
- DCAF ISSAT <https://issat.dcaf.ch/Learn/Resource-Library/Country-Profiles/Mali-SSR-Background-Note>
- ECFR https://ecfr.eu/article/commentary_unchecked_escalation_why_mali_is_in_turmoil/
- Human Rights Watch <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/mali>
- International Crisis Group <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/sahel/mali>
- MINUSMA <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/minusma>
- Napoleon.Cat <https://napoleoncat.com/stats/social-media-users-in-mali/2020/11>
- OECD https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/the-geography-of-conflict-in-north-and-west-africa_02181039-en
- OHCHR <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/AfricaRegion/Pages/MLIndex.aspx>
- Reporters Without Borders <https://rsf.org/en/mali>
- SIPRI <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-backgrounders/2020/mali-fragmented-territorial-sovereignty-and-contested-political-space>

- UNDP <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/MLI>
- UN News (for High-Level Humanitarian Event on Central Sahel, October 2020) <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/10/1075732>

Recent press reporting in Mali:

- *Dialogue dans le secteur de la défense et de sécurité : CRI 2002 renforce l'expertise des membres du Forum des Organisations de la Société Civile Défense et Sécurité*, L'Eveil Info, 8 December 2020.
- *Refondation de l'État : L'engagement commun Plateforme-CRI-2002*, Info matin, 8 December 2020.
- *Mali : CRI 2002 fait la restitution des travaux du FOSEC-DS sur la gouvernance du secteur de la défense*, Afrikinfos, 3 December 2020.
- *Pour l'amélioration de la gouvernance du secteur défense et sécurité : une table ronde entre les représentants du gouvernement et de la société civile*, L'Indépendant, no 5096, 19 November 2020.
- *RSS : Défense, Sécurité et Justice efficacité, État de droit, redevabilité*, Mali Tribune Hors-Série, no 001, June 2020.
- *Armée Malienne : Au moins 44 Milliards de FCFA de primes volatilisés*, Le Sphinx, June 2020.

Recent (French/German) TV documentary, showing how corruption in the Malian Army is enabling non-state armed groups:

- *Mali: une armée dans le collimateur*, Arte, 20 November 2020 : <https://www.arte.tv/fr/videos/099960-000-A/mali-une-armee-dans-le-collimateur/>

Annex 3: People Consulted

Implementing Agency (London)

- Transparency International – Defence & Security
Mr Julien Joly, Project Manager – Conflict & Insecurity
Mr Matthew Steadman, Project Officer

Implementing Partner (Bamako)

- CRI-2002
Dr Abdoulaye Sall, President
Mr Hamidou Ly, Finance Officer

Beneficiaries (Mali)

- FOSC-DS
Mr Issa Dembele, Secretary General
Mr Dialla Diakite, Focal Point for Ségou
Mr Doutié Doumbia, Focal Point for Koulikoro
- Ministry of Defence and Veterans (MINDAC)
Colonel Mahamadou Dao, Chargé de Mission (Judge)
- Maison de la Presse
Mr Bertin Dakouo (journalist)
- Ministère de la Refondation de l'État
Minister/Secretary General Dr Abraham Bengaly

International Community

- DCAF
Ms Anne Bennett, Head of Sub-Saharan Africa Division (Geneva)
Ms Flore Berger, Analyst (Bamako)
- EUCAP
Ms Hanna Möllan, Cooperation Coordination/Civil Society Officer
- EU Delegation
Mr Geza Strammer, Head of Cooperation
- Folke Bernadotte Academy
Ms Minna Nauclér, Senior Desk Officer, SDSR Programme (Stockholm)
- MINUSMA
Mr Samba Tall, Head of SSR Unit
- Netherlands MFA
Mr Martijn Beerthuisen, Stabilisation & Humanitarian Aid Department

Others

- Mr Seán Smith, CIVIC (Bamako)
- Mr Moro Siaka Diallo, Journalists for Human Rights (Bamako)

Annex 4: Acronyms

ARMDS	Authority for the Regulation of Public Markets and Public Service Delegations
BVG	Office of the Inspector General (<i>Bureau du Vérificateur Général</i>)
C-RSS	Commissariat à la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité
CDSPC	Commission Défense, Sécurité et Protection Civile (Assemblée Nationale)
CNSP	Comité National pour le Salut du Peuple
CNT	Conseil National de Transition
CRI-2002	Cercle de Réflexion et d'Information pour la Consolidation de la Démocratie au Mali
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DCAF	Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DNI	Dialogue National Inclusif
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EUCAP	EU Capacity Building Mission - Mali
EUTM	EU Training Mission - Mali
FAMa	Forces Armées Maliennes
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FOSC-DS	Forum des Organisations de la Société Civile dans le Secteur de la Défense et de la Sécurité
GDI	TI-DS' Government Defence Integrity Index
GI	TI-DS' Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index (predecessor to GDI)
G5	Group of Five (Sahel countries: Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger)
LOPM	Loi d'Orientation et de Programmation Militaire
MINDAC	Ministère de Défense et Anciens Combattants
MINUSMA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
M5-RFP	Mouvement du 5 juin – Rassemblement des forces patriotiques
OCLEI	Office Central de Lutte Contre l'Enrichissement Illicite
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PD	Project Document
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, Timely
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TI-DS	Transparency International – Defence & Security
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund