

**POST PROJECT EVALUATIONS
FOR THE
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EVALUATION REPORT

**UDF-18-793-SWA
Enhancing Women's Political Participation in Eswatini**

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Table of Contents

- I. OVERALL ASSESSMENT 1
- II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRATEGY 3
- III. METHODOLOGY 5
- IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS 6
- V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 18
- VI. LESSONS LEARNED 20

- ANNEX 1: EVALUATION QUESTIONS..... 23
- ANNEX 2: SUMMARY OF ON-LINE SURVEY 25
- ANNEX 3: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED 27
- ANNEX 4: PERSONS INTERVIEWED 28
- ANNEX 5: ACRONYMS 29

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Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluator. They do not represent those of UNDEF or any of the institutions referred to in the report. All errors and omissions remain the responsibility of the author.

Author

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I. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

This report evaluates the project "Enhancing Women's Political Participation in Eswatini". It was implemented by the Organisation Women and Law Southern Africa – Eswatini (WLSA), from 1 June 2020 to 30 November 2022, including a six-month no-cost extension. The project, covering all four regions of Eswatini, was funded by a UNDEF grant of USD 198,000, with USD 18,000 allocated for monitoring and evaluation.

The project's main purpose was to "to enhance the gender responsiveness of policies and practices in the electoral process in Eswatini". To achieve this objective, the grantee collaborated with key stakeholders including the Electoral Boundaries Commission, and Gender Parliamentary Portfolio Committee, for developing gender responsive electoral guidelines. Additionally, the project focused on educating citizens about gender equality and the importance of women's political participation and equipped a pool of women with leadership skills and strategies for effective campaign. The project concluded ten months prior to the national elections, which took place in September 2023.

Overall, the project had a positive impact on enhancing women's representation in Eswatini's decision-making structures, although it only partially achieved its intended goals. Its strongest points were its relevance and impact. The evaluation identified areas for improvement in the design phase, some shortcomings regarding the ownership of the gender responsive guidelines by key stakeholders and made recommendations that may be used in future exercises.

The project was **highly relevant** and addressed a real need of enhancing gender responsiveness and women participation in Eswatini's electoral process. Its timing and multilevel approach were particularly relevant. However, specific aspects could have been improved during the design phase, such as the strategy for beneficiary selection and the level of oversight in the selection process.

The project strategically aligned with the objectives of WLSA, building on prior initiatives and leveraging existing partnerships with both governmental and non-governmental organizations dedicated to gender equality and women's rights. Additionally, it demonstrated **coherence** with national and international frameworks focused on enhancing women's participation in decision-making processes.

The project made notable progress towards its main objective, although it only partially achieved its intended outcomes. The COVID-19 pandemic caused challenges and delays, affecting the implementation of activities and hindering the achievement of expected targets. Additionally, despite stakeholders acknowledging the importance of gender mainstreaming in the electoral process, the *Gender Responsive Electoral Guidelines*, drafted and validated during the project, have yet to be adopted by the Electoral Boundaries Commission.

As main achievements, the evaluation highlights the successful development of a 'Vote for Women' campaign strategy, the **effective** promotion of community-level changes to support women in leadership roles, and the improvement of leadership skills through workshops for potential women politicians. This success was exemplified by increased motivation among project beneficiaries to run for elections and develop individual political campaign strategies.

The grantee completed most activities planned for a six-month no-cost extension. Budget overspending in some areas was balanced by savings in others, showcasing the grantee's ability to reallocate resources and adapt to changes. Leveraging WLSA's established resources and partnerships further enhanced **efficiency**, enabling successful project delivery, despite some operational inefficiencies affecting project management.

The project has generated positive **impact** by enhancing women's representation in Eswatini's decision-making structures. The widespread recognition of the Vote for Women campaign and the project's influence on key beneficiaries underscore its success in fostering a more inclusive and equitable political landscape. By boosting women's self-confidence, skills, and collaborative networks, the project has contributed to increase the number of women elected to community and government positions.

Sustainability was demonstrated through the expansion and strengthening of advocacy capacities among community stakeholders to enhance women's participation in elections well after the project's end. The grantee's commitment to sustainability is further evidenced by securing external funding to continue empowering women beneficiaries in electoral processes beyond the project's closure. However, the evaluation highlighted insufficient ownership from key institutional stakeholders, which hindered the full adoption of the developed Gender Responsive Electoral Guidelines.

Overall, UNDEF's neutral standpoint and solid reputation contributed to enhancing women's participation in the Eswatini political landscape, fostering democratic development in the country. The "UNDEF brand" further promoted trust and confidence among stakeholders.

Some of the main recommendations and lessons learned identified in the evaluation are as follows:

- In the project design phase, involve community traditional leaders and relevant stakeholders in creating clear beneficiary selection criteria. Develop and use shared tools to ensure these criteria are consistently applied across all project locations.
- A multi-level approach that engages stakeholders from the grassroots level to the institutional level ensures consistency and has a higher chance of success in enhancing women's political participation.
- Develop a contingency plan to mitigate disruptions caused by external factors such as the COVID-19 pandemic or similar crises.
- Prioritize the formal adoption of developed guidelines by actively engaging key decision-makers and implementing a detailed plan with clear timelines, roles, and responsibilities for all stakeholders in future projects.
- Leveraging established partnerships and resources, particularly during disruptive situations such as the COVID-19 pandemic, enhances stakeholder endorsement and improves the potential for sustaining project activities.
- In future projects, consider implementing a mentorship program to enhance the capacity of elected women, providing guidance on the expected competencies of a member of parliament and other governance responsibilities.
- To ensure project sustainability and stakeholder ownership, it is vital to foster a comprehensive understanding of project outcomes among all stakeholders and to align project strategies with their mandates and constraints.

II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

(i) Development context

In Eswatini, women face significant challenges in accessing representation and decision-making roles within governmental and traditional leadership structures. Despite constitutional provisions and numerous international commitments aimed at promoting gender equality, as well as a visible increase in the number of seats in recent elections, resistance to women's participation in politics persists, mainly motivated by entrenched patriarchal norms.

The Kingdom of Eswatini, a constitutional monarchy established in 1968, blends traditional and modern governance, allowing traditional authorities to function alongside governmental institutions. The King holds supreme executive, legislative, and judicial powers, appointing the Prime Minister and members of the bicameral parliament, which includes the Senate and the House of Assembly. The King appoints 10 members to the House of Assembly and 20 to the Senate, with the remaining 66 House members elected by citizens. Since 1973, political parties have been banned, requiring candidates to run as independents.

Although the National Constitution mandates a 30 percent quota for women's representation in Parliament, women remain under-represented in parliament and all decision-making positions. Despite the supportive policy framework¹, law reforms², and numerous international commitments³ aimed at advancing women's political rights and promoting gender equality, the target has remained unmet since the Constitution's adoption in 2005.

For instance, in the 2013 general elections, women held 33.3% of the seats in the Senate but only 6.2% in the House of Assembly⁴. The 2018 elections saw an increase in women's representation in Parliament to 14%⁵. Following the enactment of the *Election of Women into the House of Assembly Act* of 2018⁶, this figure rose to 22%. However, these numbers still fall short of the constitutional mandate.

“Here in Eswatini, it is commonly said that a woman's place is in the kitchen. There is still a belief that women are inferior to men. For instance, during a political campaign, a man will give a speech standing, but a woman must speak while seated, preferably on the floor. If a woman stands in front of the voters, no one will vote for her.”

Project Stakeholder, Government

¹ Such as the National Gender Policy of 2010, and the National Development Plan 2019/20–2021/22 which sets a target of 50% women in the cabinet, executive bodies in the public sector, the judiciary and parliament.

² For example, on August 30, the Eswatini High Court ruled that the common law doctrine of marital power, which grants a husband ultimate decision-making authority over his wife, is unconstitutional (Human Rights Watch, 2020 World Report).

³ Eswatini has committed itself to several regional and international instruments to promote gender equality including the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development (Human Rights Watch, 2020 World Report).

⁴ IUP Parline, Global data on national parliaments, [House of Assembly \(September 2013\) | Election results | Eswatini | IPU Parline: global data on national parliaments](#)

⁵ IUP Parline, Global data on national parliaments, Election results 2018, [Eswatini September 2018 | Election results | Eswatini | IPU Parline: global data on national parliaments](#)

⁶ The Elections Act prohibits discrimination regarding the political participation of a voter and an electorate.

Despite clear progressive advances, patriarchal norms and attitudes persist, hampering the effective implementation of laws designed to foster gender equality. Traditional beliefs that prioritize male leadership roles and assert that women should occupy subservient positions remain entrenched, thus impeding women's participation in leadership and decision-making spheres.

(ii) The project objective

The project 'Enhancing Women's Political Participation in Eswatini' was implemented by Women and Law in Southern Africa - Eswatini, from 1 June 2020 to 30 November 2022. The project addressed the lack of representation and the marginalization of women in politics within Eswatini. There were no local implementing partners in the project although WLSA collaborated with key stakeholders (cf. the following paragraph). The total budget allocated for this project was USD 198,000 (including monitoring & evaluation). The project benefited from a 6 months no-cost extension.

The primary goal of the project was "to enhance the gender responsiveness of policies and practices in the electoral process in Eswatini" through collaboration with key stakeholders such as the Attorney General's Office and the Electoral Boundaries Commission (EBC), for developing gender responsive electoral guidelines.

Additionally, the project focused on educating citizens about gender equality and the importance of women's political participation. It also aimed to equip women potential politicians with leadership skills, as well as effective campaign and mobilization strategies. The project contributed to the advancement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 5, 10, and 16⁷. The project concluded ten months prior to the national elections, which took place in September 2023.

(iii) Project strategy and approach

The overarching premise of the project's Theory of Change (ToC), as outlined in the project document, asserts that educating citizens about the importance of women's political participation and equipping them with the necessary skills to engage in the political process will change their perception of the role of women in political leadership. This shift in perception will lead to a long-term increase in the number of women elected to positions of political leadership.

The project adopted a multi-faceted strategy crafted to transform the perception of women's roles within communities and to ensure that these changes are embraced at both a grassroots and institutional level. Additionally, the project trained community-based paralegals to conduct awareness raising campaigns about gender equity and the importance of women's participation in politics across the four regions of Eswatini.

Complementing these efforts, the project also implemented advocacy campaigns aimed at promoting women's political participation. These campaigns sought to inspire and mobilize both the public and political figures to support and implement changes that enhance women's roles in political decision-making.

To achieve its objectives, the project identified 3 main outcomes:

⁷ Gender Equality (SDG 5); Reduced Inequalities (SDG 10); and Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions (SDG 16).

- Outcome 1- The Elections and Boundaries Commission and other key stakeholders are receptive to a gender-responsive electoral process.
- Outcome 2 – Increased awareness of gender equity in decision-making among citizens across all four regions of Eswatini.
- Outcome 3 – A "Vote for Women" campaign strategy for 2023 is developed, potential female political leaders are prepared for parliament, and have viable campaign strategies.

The project design included the following activities:

- **Development of gender-sensitive electoral process guidelines** through a participatory approach engaging key stakeholders, including the Attorney General's office and the Electoral Boundaries Commission. The Gender Responsive Electoral Guidelines aimed at influencing the electoral system to be more inclusive and supportive of female candidates.
- **Training community-based paralegals and community leaders for gender equality sensitization** to enhance their understanding and ability to support women's rights at the grassroots level.
- **Advocacy campaigns and community sensitization** delivered by the trained paralegals to raise awareness about gender equality and the importance of women's participation in politics.
- **Development of a "Vote for Women Campaign" strategy** for 2023 elections, involving diverse stakeholders.
- **Training for potential women politicians** to equip them with effective campaign strategies and skills to participate and influence the 2023 elections, aiming to increase the representation of women in political positions.

The project was implemented in the four regions of Eswatini: Hhohho, Lubombo, Manzini, and Shiselweni, with a focus on communities within each of the country's 59 constituencies. It aimed to reach a total of 6,219 direct beneficiaries, which included potential female politicians, community leaders, and voters, particularly women and community-based paralegals. Indirect beneficiaries included members of the Elections and Boundaries Commission, the Gender Parliamentary Portfolio Committee, the Human Rights and Integrity Commission, and national Civil Society Organizations (CSO).

III. METHODOLOGY

This evaluation draws on data collected from project documentation and relevant reports, supplemented by 26 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) using a semi-structured guide; and an online survey distributed among 86 project beneficiaries from the four project regions. Different groups of stakeholders were involved in the evaluation, including the WLSA organization team, traditional leaders, project beneficiaries, and governmental stakeholders.

The document review included the initial project document, Milestone Verification Reports (MVR) – prepared by a representative from the local United Nations Resident Coordinator Office (RCO), as well as the Project's Narrative Progress (NPR) and Financial Utilization Reports (FUR). Additionally, the desk review examined materials produced throughout the

project, such as the *Gender Responsive Electoral Guidelines*; the *Vote for a Woman Strategy*; newsletters; and visibility materials.

The evaluation covered the four project regions. KIIs were carried out in-person in Hhohho, Lubombo, Manzini. In the case of Shiselweni region, some key informants travelled to Manzini or Hhohho for face-to-face interviews, while others were interviewed by phone. The regions selected for on-site assessments were chosen based on their geographic accessibility.

The online survey, aiming to assess the effectiveness and impact of the project activities across the four regions, was shared among the project beneficiaries who were randomly selected from the participants list. It was launched via WhatsApp during the field mission period and collected responses over three weeks. The survey response rate was 14%, with representation from Hhohho, Manzini and Lubombo regions at 25%, 42%, and 33%. there were no responses from the Shiselweni region in the survey.

The grantee supported the evaluator in establishing contacts with key informants and arranging interviews. However, they were not present during the discussions to allow key stakeholders to share their experiences freely. The field mission included a presentation of the preliminary findings and conclusions to WLSA, inviting their active involvement in refining the evaluation's final conclusions and recommendations.

The evaluation faced some methodological limitations, primarily due to the circumstances of the grantee organization at that time. WLSA was relocating its headquarters, experiencing a lack of funds and active projects, and dealing with a significant staff shortage⁸. Most of the project staff were no longer with the organization, which hindered the ability to meet the entire project team. The evaluator met with the project manager and finance officer who oversaw the project during its final year of implementation.

Additionally, disseminating the survey proved difficult due to the absence of key project staff, which limited the compilation of a representative respondents list. Although the grantee committed to sharing the survey with relevant project beneficiaries, the evaluator had to randomly select contacts from the provided participant lists without comprehensive knowledge of their engagement levels in the project. This approach may have resulted in a less representative sample for the survey and could explain the low participation rate of 14%.

IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS

The evaluation findings presented below are based on a comprehensive analysis of the KIIs, the responses from the online survey and a thorough review of documentation and materials produced during the project⁹. The evaluation focused on key questions anchored on the

⁸ During the evaluation period, WLSA's staff comprised one board member and two volunteers, with no paid staff. Although they were part of the organization during the project implementation period, only one volunteer was a project team member.

⁹ The documentation reviewed includes the Project Document and Project Extension Request Form, Milestones Verification Reports, Project Narrative Reports, Final Financial Utilization Reports, UNDEF Post-project survey, and

UNEG/DAC's evaluation criteria of effectiveness, sustainability, relevance, coherence, efficiency, and impact, supplemented by UNDEF's value added (see Annex 1: evaluation questions).

(i) Relevance

The evaluation gathered substantial evidence that **the project design was highly relevant, addressing a real need to enhance the gender responsiveness of policies and practices in Eswatini's electoral process.** The timing of the project, launched and completed prior to the national elections, and its multilevel approach, were particularly relevant. Nevertheless, the evaluation identified areas for improvement, specifically in the beneficiary selection strategy.

All stakeholders unanimously acknowledged that the project addressed an important need identified by women, traditional leaders, and government officials. Women beneficiaries expressed a keen interest in participating in political and decision-making processes. In contrast, traditional leaders and government authorities, including the King¹⁰, emphasized the importance of integrating women's perspectives into governance to comply with the National Constitution's mandates.

The project's implementation timeline proved particularly relevant as the national elections took place in August and September 2023¹¹, ten months after the project's closure, representing a real opportunity to foster a more inclusive democratic process in Eswatini.

Additionally, the project's approach, which operated from the grassroots level (engaging rural communities and traditional leaders) to the institutional level (electoral management bodies, public institutions, and the government), enabled concerted effort to enhance women's political participation in the subsequent elections.

The selection of stakeholder institutions for the main activities, such as *drafting gender-responsive electoral guidelines* and developing a *vote for women campaign strategy*, was appropriate as it included representatives from relevant governmental and non-governmental entities¹². Additionally, the selection of the project communities appears appropriate, focusing on areas where the organization had previously identified a need to enhance women's rights and gender equality.

However, the evaluation identified some areas for improvement in the beneficiary selection process, particularly for paralegals and potential women politicians who participated in

specific materials produced by the project, such as the Electoral Guidelines, the Vote for Women strategy, newsletter, workshop reports and visibility material.

¹⁰ Project stakeholders interviewed stated that the King, during the Marula Festival 2023, specifically endorsed the Vote for Women campaign and emphasized the importance of increasing women's participation in parliament.

¹¹ Primary elections were held on 26 August 2023, to elect local administrative authorities at the community level. Secondary elections were held on 29 September 2023, to elect the members of the House of Assembly.

¹² Such as the EBC, the Human Rights and Integrity Commission, the Gender and Family Issues Department of the Deputy Prime Minister's Office, and other CSOs.

community sensitization meetings and trainings. Most of those beneficiaries were selected by community traditional leaders without clearly defined criteria or proper oversight from the grantee. Consequently, stakeholders noted that some selected individuals lacked the necessary qualifications to effectively serve as paralegals or fully benefit from the workshops aimed at potential women politicians.

(ii) Coherence

The evaluation found evidence that **the project strategically aligned with the objectives of WLSA, as well as national and international frameworks focused on increasing women's participation in decision-making processes.** Moreover, the project was able to successfully leverage previous WLSA initiatives and existing partnerships at community and governmental level.

WLSA Eswatini, established in 1996, is part of the larger WLSA regional network and focuses on the legal advancement and protection of women and girls. Key stakeholders interviewed highlighted WLSA as a well-known and important organization, recognized as a pioneer in promoting women's political involvement and advocating for women's rights in Eswatini, despite current funding challenges.

In its strategic approach, the project built on WLSA's previous initiatives, utilizing an already trained pool of community-based paralegals¹³ and following up on activities and synergies undertaken in other projects and partnerships, such as a previous 'Vote for a Women Campaign'¹⁴.

The project aligned with the National Development Plan 2019-2022, particularly with outcomes 3 (Enhanced Social & Human Capital Development Inclusive Growth) and 4 (Efficient public service delivery that respects human rights, justice, and the rule of law), as well as their specific targets, such as "developing strategies to increase women's representation in decision-making positions" and "achieving 50% women representation in parliament"¹⁵.

Additionally, the project was consistent with the National Gender Policy¹⁶ in force when it was conceived, specifically its programme area of "Women participation in decision-making and in politics", implemented by the Department of Gender and Family Issues in partnership with national CSOs.

Furthermore, the project aligned with the priorities established in the United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework (UNSDCF) 2021-2025 for Eswatini, particularly output 3.2: "The capacity of rights-holders, particularly women, children, and

¹³ In previous interventions, WLSA created a pool of paralegals that provide legal advice to women and girls at the community level.

¹⁴ A 'Vote for a Women Campaign' was developed by WLSA in the 2018 elections in partnership with other CSOs.

¹⁵ Eswatini National Development Plan 2019/20-2021/22, Appendix A – Monitoring and Evaluation Framework, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Kingdom of Eswatini.

¹⁶ National Gender Policy 2010, Deputy's Prime Minister Office, Swaziland Government, 2010.

other vulnerable groups, to participate in decision-making processes, claim their rights, access justice, and seek redress is strengthened.”¹⁷

(iii) Effectiveness

The evaluation data and testimonies demonstrate that **the project made notable progress towards its main objective, although it only partially achieved its intended outcomes.** Despite stakeholder recognition of the importance of gender mainstreaming in the electoral process, the gender-responsive electoral guidelines remain unadopted by the EBC. However, the project effectively developed a 'Vote for Women' campaign strategy and successfully fostered community-level changes to support women in leadership positions, even though there were significant implementation challenges.

The evaluation findings indicate that none of the project outcomes were fully achieved, with only 28% of the outputs being fully completed¹⁸. While target indicator 3.2¹⁹ was fully achieved, the five other indicators were only partially met. The project faced significant challenges due to the COVID-19 pandemic, resulting in lockdowns and sanitary measures that impacted more than half of the implementation period. Furthermore, political instability²⁰ in Eswatini during the same timeframe caused additional delays and disruptions, necessitating adjustments in scheduling and implementation strategies.

As a result, planned in-person meetings were moved online or combined, and community engagements were scaled down to comply with health guidelines. This led to fewer interactions with beneficiaries and hindered the achievement of the expected target indicators. Additionally, the organization experienced a difficult period of funding shortages, high staff turnover and loss of key staff, particularly in leadership and management positions posing operational challenges and affecting the project effectiveness.

The main achievement under Outcome 1 - *The Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC) and other key stakeholders are receptive to a gender responsive electoral process* - was the drafting and validation of the Gender Responsive Electoral Guidelines, involving a wide range of stakeholders, such as the Gender and Family Department, the Human Rights and Integrity Commission, the EBC, and CSOs involved in the electoral process as national observers²¹.

Despite extensive stakeholder engagement and clear recognition of the importance of inclusive electoral management bodies for promoting women's political participation and mainstreaming gender in the electoral process, the guidelines have not been formally adopted. Although some stakeholders, including the Gender and Family Department and the

¹⁷ United Nations Eswatini, “A prosperous, just and resilient Eswatini where no one is left behind”, United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework 2021-2025, 2021.

¹⁸ The 28% achievement rate reflects the completion of 4 out of the 14 planned outputs, specifically Outputs 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, and 3.2.

¹⁹ Target Indicator 3.2: By the end of the project, the stakeholders (Gender and Family Issues Department under the Deputy Prime Minister's Office, The EBC and CSOs including CANGO, Elections Network members) validate and align with the national “Vote for Women” campaign.

²⁰ Pro-democracy protests flare up in Eswatini | Reuters

²¹ Outcome 1 was significantly affected by the lockdown, as it obliged the consolidation of the six planned meetings into just two: one for drafting the guidelines and one for its validation.

Human Rights and Integrity Commission, reported using key messages from the guidelines during the 2023 elections, they are still awaiting formal approval from the EBC.

One of the strengths of the project was the community sensitization meetings on gender equality and the capacity building of traditional leaders on the importance of women's participation in politics (outputs 2.2 and 2.3) conducted under Outcome 2 - *Increased awareness of gender equity in decision-making among citizens in all four regions of Eswatini.*

Based on the testimonies of key informants, these meetings significantly contributed to fostering support among community leaders for women's nominations to stand for elections in their communities. Additionally, the meetings enhanced citizens' knowledge of the Constitution, particularly the provisions related to women's rights and the importance of women's political participation.

The number of sensitization meetings was reduced due to the COVID-19 lockdown and associated sanitary measures, which required cutting participant numbers from 100 to 50. Consequently, the target indicator for this outcome²² was not achieved²³. While some intended community meetings were conducted face-to-face, the majority were held remotely via WhatsApp and coordinated by the project paralegals²⁴. Stakeholders interviewed reported that this remote model was less effective comparing to the face-to-face meetings conducted, as it excluded individuals without smartphones or those with lower levels of literacy, thereby hindering the follow-up on the message contents with all the beneficiaries.

Despite these challenges, project beneficiaries noted that WLSA's solid relationships with the project communities, traditional leaders, and paralegals enabled continuous citizen sensitization and advocacy for women participation in leadership positions. Data and testimonies show that community meetings and capacity-building for traditional leaders and paralegals effectively shifted community attitudes to support women in elections, resulting in increased support for female candidates in the project constituencies.

“If it would not be for WLSA and this project, many women would still be at home in the kitchen, without even the courage to dream of becoming leaders one day. The project has opened the eyes of many women to their importance in society and in decision-making structures.”

Project beneficiary

²² Target indicator 2.2: By the end of the project 5,900 (100 people in each of the 59 communities) sensitized eligible voters have improved their knowledge of the importance of gender equality in decision making positions and demonstrated the ability to take action to address human rights violations, including holding leaders accountable.

²³ Instead of sensitizing 5,900 citizens, the project reached 2,569 only.

²⁴ WLSA produced and shared 15-minute videos, to be distributed by the project paralegals to citizens in each community via WhatsApp, accompanied by explanatory messages.

Project stakeholders also reported observing increased support from men for female candidates. This was evident in the by-elections²⁵ held during the project implementation, where two women from communities that participated in face-to-face sensitization meetings conducted by the project were elected²⁶.

Furthermore, 58% of respondents to the online survey indicated that the main outcome of the project activities was *increased knowledge about the importance of women in politics*. Additionally, 50% of respondents stated that *the project significantly contributed to raising awareness about gender equality in Eswatini communities* (see Annex 2: Summary of the online survey, questions 8 and 12).

Moreover, under this outcome, outputs 2.4 and 2.5 were also only partially achieved. Output 2.4 aimed to train women's traditional regiment leaders on gender equality and gender-responsive electoral processes, reached 66% of its target population. Output 2.5, focused on conducting a media advocacy campaign on gender-responsive electorate, gender equality, and the importance of women's political participation, reached only 15% of its target population²⁷. Although the COVID-19 pandemic played a role in limiting the full achievement of these targets, KII revealed that internal organizational issues also contributed to these shortfalls. WLSA faced a period of insufficient funds, leading to staff turnover and ultimately a shortage of staff, which hindered its ability to follow up on activities and deliver all intended outputs.

The outputs under Outcome 3 - *A "Vote for Women" campaign strategy for 2023 is developed, potential female political leaders are prepared for parliament and have viable campaign strategies* – were implemented during the 6 months no-cost extension period. To ensure completion, the activities under Outputs 3.1 and 3.5 were combined²⁸, while others were redesigned to include support for a pool of women candidates for the elections.

A notable achievement under Outcome 3 was the successful engagement of various stakeholders, including the Family Issues Department, several CSOs²⁹, traditional leaders, and citizens, in the "Vote for Women Campaign". The evaluator confirmed that the campaign was widely followed across all four regions of the country through radio, TV, and community leaders' advocacy.

²⁵ Eswatini held by-elections on 30 July 2022 (during the project extension period) to fill seats that became vacant due to COVID-19 deaths, in the House of Assembly and other local positions.

²⁶ According to the FNR, *2 women were elected in two constituencies where WLSA conducted community Sensitization Meetings during the By-Elections in 2022 – one MP and One Bucopho (Constituency Councilor)*.

²⁷ Following Narrative Report 2, The COVID-19 pandemic significantly impacted these activities as the number of participants on training had to be reduced and radio stations were busy broadcasting educational program to students at home.

²⁸ Instead of two meetings with 100 potential female candidates divided into groups of 50 (Output 3.1) and one workshop on leadership and community mobilization with 100 potential female politicians (Output 3.5), the project conducted four regional meetings on "campaign strategies" and four regional training workshops. The final workshop trained a group of 33 women candidates for the 2023 elections.

²⁹ Stakeholders such as national CSOs and the Department of Gender and Family Issues were also funded by different donors to implement activities under the Vote for a Women campaign, which continued after the project closure.



Figure 1: Vote for Women Campaign, held under redesigned output 3.2



Figure 2: Vote for Women Campaign, held under redesigned output 3.2

Another significant strength of the project, supported by both KIIs and findings from the online survey, was the enhancement of women's leadership skills through workshops on viable and effective campaign strategies, conducted for thirty-three potential female candidates (Outputs 3.1 and 3.5). Project beneficiaries reported considerable improvements in their self-confidence, public speaking abilities, and campaign strategies³⁰.

“The project helped me realize that I had the capacity to be a leader. It gave me the strength to stand for elections.”

Project beneficiary

The project effectively motivated women to stand for elections. This is also indicated in the online survey, where 83% of respondents stated that they had developed an individual political campaign strategy for the 2023 elections after the project workshops (see Annex 2: Summary of online-survey).

Nevertheless, stakeholders' testimonies highlight that women continue to face challenges in maintaining their campaign due to a lack of economic resources³¹. This financial constraint was presented as one of the main factors hindering women from fully participating in the election, even when nominated by their communities.

(iv) *Efficiency*

The evaluation findings note that **the grantee completed most activities** planned for the six-month no-cost extension, **despite significant obstacles, disrupting timelines and affecting efficiency**. Budget overspending in some areas was balanced by savings in others,

³⁰ In question 8 of the online survey, “From your perspective, what were the main outcomes of the project activities?” 50% of the respondents stated having improved political campaign skills and enhanced leadership skills.

³¹ As previously mentioned, political parties are prohibited in Eswatini, and election candidates must finance their own political campaigns.

showcasing the grantee's ability to reallocate resources³² and adapt to changes. Leveraging WLSA's established resources and partnerships further enhanced efficiency, enabling successful project delivery.

As previously mentioned COVID-19 lockdown periods significantly impacted planned activities and timelines³³. Despite these disruptions WLSA made the necessary adaptations to both the activities and the budget to align with emerging project needs and respond to these unforeseen challenges.

The financial analysis of the project revealed a slight over-utilization of funds, with total expenditure reaching 100.58% of the approved budget, due to the extension period. The project managed to realize savings in direct costs³⁴ by shifting to remote activities during the lockdown. However, it faced over-expenditures in staff³⁵ and travel costs³⁶ due to unforeseen post-pandemic price increases.

According to the grantee's testimonies, the rise in general prices post-lockdown was one of the main challenges in budget execution. The COVID-19 pandemic also incurred additional costs for masks, disinfectants, and extended travel days to comply with government-imposed sanitary measures. Consequently, the pandemic doubled the workload in some cases, as activities intended to be completed in one day had to be extended to two days to accommodate smaller groups of participants³⁷ and comply with the government requirements.

Internal instability within WLSA, marked by high staff turnover, the loss of financial resources and key personnel, exacerbated operational inefficiencies. These inefficiencies included delays and inconsistencies in submitting narrative reports (NPRs) and the final narrative report (FNR)³⁸. Discussions with the WLSA team indicated that these issues stemmed from overlapping responsibilities³⁹ and a lack of qualified staff, ultimately compromising project management.

³² According to the Final Audit Report, conducted by an external company at the end of the project, *all relevant requirements of the agreement between International Project Implementer and the partner have been adhered to.*

³³ According to the NPRs and FNR all the outputs in Outcome 1 were shifted to the second implementing period (March 2021-May 2022) of the project; and the outputs from Outcome 3 were delivered in the project extension period (May 2022 – November 2022). The outputs under Outcome 2 remained unaffected.

³⁴ Direct project costs accounted for 46% of the total budget, covering event-based activities such as venue hire, meals, and related expenses. The approved budget for these costs was USD 83,146, but the actual spending amounted to USD 75,791, resulting in a surplus of USD 7,354.54.

³⁵ Approximately 17.6% of the budget - USD 31,792.00 – was allocated to staff and other personnel costs, including project management staff and consultants. However, the actual expenditure was USD 39,340.41, leading to an over-expenditure of USD 7,548.41.

³⁶ Travel costs constituted approximately 20% of the budget - USD 37,090.00. However, the actual spending was 37,779.24.

³⁷ This was the case for Output 2.1: Training of paralegals on gender-responsive elections, which was conducted on two different days to accommodate two groups of 20 people (NPR M2).

³⁸ NPR2 outlines achievements for Output 2.4, mentioning a "three-day training workshop for The National Women's Regiment on gender equality and gender-responsive guidelines," whereas NPR3 and the Final Narrative Report (FNR) state that "a two-day training on gender-sensitive electorate was conducted."

³⁹ Evaluation findings revealed a period during which the WLSA National Director simultaneously held the positions of Project Manager and, in some situations, Financial Manager. This accumulation of roles resulted in

Despite the obstacles faced, the project leveraged WLSA's established resources, community and institutional partnerships, and its strong background in promoting women's rights and gender equality in Eswatini, which are widely recognized by peer organizations and project stakeholders. This strategic utilization of networks and expertise mitigated many inefficiencies caused by internal and external difficulties, enabling the successful delivery of the project's main outputs.

(v) Impact

The evaluation gathered substantial evidence that **the project has generated positive effects in enhancing women's representation in decision-making structures in Eswatini**. The widespread recognition of the *Vote for Women* campaign, and the project's influence on key beneficiaries, underscore its success in fostering a more inclusive and equitable political landscape. By boosting women's self-confidence, skills, and collaborative networks, the project has contributed to increase the number of women elected to community and government positions. The evaluation includes some examples demonstrating the project's influence across different groups of stakeholders.

All project stakeholders recognized the broad impact of the *Vote for Women* campaign, which resonated across different segments of society. The campaign's influence extended from community engagement, driven by project-trained traditional leaders and paralegals, to institutional involvement, including the Gender and Family Department, the Human Rights Commission, and various civil society organizations. The campaign's significance was further underscored by mentions from the highest authorities, including the King and the Queen Mother, during the Marula Festival 2023⁴⁰, emphasizing the importance of increasing women's participation in parliament.

“The *Vote for Women* Campaign was broadcast nationwide on radio and television, reaching communities across Eswatini. Even the King endorsed its key message urging, ‘I would like you to consider women candidates in these elections’.”

Project stakeholder

All project stakeholders highlighted a notable increase in the number of women nominated in communities where the project conducted sensitization meetings on gender equality and the importance of women's political involvement. According to testimonies from traditional leaders, in constituencies where these activities took place, the average number of women

an overwhelming workload and responsibilities, leaving insufficient time to respond rigorously to reporting requirements.

⁴⁰ The Marula Festival, also known locally as the Buganu Festival, is a cultural event in Eswatini that celebrates the harvest of the marula fruit. It was celebrated in March 2023.

nominated for the 2023 primary elections increased from one to three compared to the 2018 elections.

The evaluation findings indicate that the project significantly influenced women's views regarding their potential to hold space and influence within their communities and the political sphere. Consequently, more women were encouraged to accept nominations and run for elections. This rise in nominations within the project communities led to the election of one woman to parliament, while two others secured community-level administrative positions. Notably, these three women were also part of the pool of candidates trained by the project, underscoring the project's role in their political success.

"In the last elections, women felt more confident to accept nominations and stand for elections. The project opened women's eyes to their rights and leadership skills within the communities. It empowered women to support each other, which was not the case in the 2018 elections."

Project beneficiary

Furthermore, the project fostered a supportive network among women candidates, encouraging collaboration and shared learning, further bolstering their preparedness and confidence in running for elections. According to the online survey, 83% of respondents stated they had stood for elections and developed individual campaign strategies (see Annex 2: Summary of on-line survey, questions 9 and 9.1).

Although it is difficult to establish a direct link between the project's impact and the results of the 2023 general elections, it is important to note the significant increase in women's representation in Eswatini's parliament. In the House of Assembly, directly elected women rose from 2 in 2018 to 8 (out of 59 members), with appointed women increasing from 3 to 5. This brought the total from 5 in 2018 to 13 in 2023, raising overall representation from 8.4% to 22%⁴¹ in the last election. According to the project stakeholders, the King's public endorsement of the "Vote for Women" Campaign influenced the number of appointments.

⁴¹ ESWATINI: Parliamentary Elections 2023, Naomi Ndifon, Make Every Woman Count (MEWC) organization, 14 December 2023 ([ESWATINI: Parliamentary Elections 2023 \(mewc.org\)](https://mewc.org))

Success Stories

“Women are capable of doing anything, and can be as good as men, or even better because they have empathy. This was the message I spread after the meetings with WLSA and during the election period. In my community, I supported women to accept nominations and stand for both the by-elections and general elections. Two of these women won seats.”

Traditional Leader, project beneficiary, Region of Manzini

“We saw some men supporting their wives, encouraging them to stand for elections, and even providing financial support for their political campaigns. This was a significant change observed in the last elections.”

Project stakeholder, Government

“Through the project's community meetings and workshops, I felt empowered to stand for elections. When I did not win in the primary elections, I supported another woman candidate who won a seat in the Indvuna Yenkhundla (the community-level administration). Together with the other women trained by the project, we embraced the message 'YES WE CAN!'”

Project beneficiary, Woman candidate

(vi) Sustainability

The evaluation gathered evidence that **the project had sustainable effects in terms of expanding and strengthening the advocacy capacities of community-based paralegals and traditional leaders to enhance women's participation in decision-making**. Furthermore, WLSA's commitment to sustainability is demonstrated by having successfully sought external funding to continue empowering women beneficiaries in electoral processes beyond the project's closure. However, the evaluation identified areas for improvement, particularly in the adoption of the gender-sensitive guidelines by all key stakeholders.

WLSA's commitment to sustainability was evident in the planning and execution of this project. Initiatives such as ‘capacity-building for community-based paralegals’ and the ‘Vote for Women campaign’, were developed in previous projects and provided lessons and human resources for the UNDEF-funded project. Specifically, the project expanded the WLSA existing pool of paralegals and continued to strengthen their capacities, focusing on promoting women's participation in decision making sphere.

During the evaluation, a strong sense of ownership over the project was observed among community paralegals and traditional leaders. These stakeholders continued to promote women's participation in elections after the project ended, notably during the general election, which took place ten months later. Moreover, up to the evaluation time, paralegals continued to support women in standing for their rights and advancing gender equality within the project communities.

A noteworthy example of sustainability is WLSA's ongoing support for potential female politicians trained by the project⁴², through additional international funding. This enabled the organization to assist these women in preparing for and standing in the 2023 general elections.

However, the evaluation also identified areas where sustainability could be strengthened. Although stakeholders unanimously agreed on the relevance of the gender-responsive electoral guidelines developed during the project, there was insufficient evidence of their ownership by all key stakeholders. Notably, the EBC has not fully adopted the guidelines, citing their position of neutrality and impartiality as a barrier to promoting campaigns that specifically encourage voting for women.

“Organisations such as EBC advocate for the representation of women, youth and persons with disability in the parliament. It is not easy for an electoral management body to advocate specifically for one group or comply with guidelines targeting one specific group, as this can be seen as campaigning.”

Project stakeholder

A primary reason for this lack of ownership appears to be the insufficient follow-through after the initial validation process. Although the EBC supported the development of the guidelines and validated them during a stakeholders' validation meeting⁴³, they requested additional time for further engagement with the guidelines before national adoption. At this stage, WLSA could have played a more active role in encouraging the adoption of the guidelines, even extending efforts beyond the project's timeframe. Additionally, WLSA could have built broader coalitions with stakeholders who strongly recognized the importance of the guidelines, to collectively advocate for their adoption.

Moreover, during the KII with EBC staff, it was revealed that significant staff changes had occurred, including the departure of those directly involved in the guidelines' development. This turnover likely resulted in a loss of institutional memory and a diminished understanding of the guidelines' purpose among the current staff. The EBC's argument that advocating for women's representation would constitute campaigning fails to fully consider the broader legal and policy framework of the country, particularly the national constitution, which mandates that at least 30% of the parliament be composed of women⁴⁴. In this context, promoting gender-responsive guidelines should not be viewed as partiality but rather as an alignment with national and international obligations.

⁴² Outputs 3.1 and 3.5: Workshops on viable and effective campaign strategies. For more details, see the Effectiveness section.

⁴³ Output 1.3

⁴⁴ National Constitution, Part 2: Composition of Parliament, Articles 94 and 95.

(vii) UNDEF value added

Overall, UNDEF's neutral standpoint and solid reputation contributed to enhancing women's participation in the Eswatini political landscape, fostering democratic development in the country. The grant came at an opportune time, helping maintain WLSA's active presence in Eswatini, even when the organization faced internal and external challenges.

The project's transparent branding as supported by UNDEF further promoted trust and confidence among stakeholders. This support also enabled the project to reach remote areas, thereby motivating and strengthening stakeholder engagement.

"I want to thank UNDEF for the role played in opening eyes for many women during the workshops and supporting paralegals to reach many remote areas where without support it would be impossible to reach."

Project beneficiary

The involvement of UN RCO in project milestone verification and related reporting added accountability and value to the project activities. However, UNDEF could have added further value by taking a greater oversight role during the project. Providing the external observer with more information about the project and the challenges faced by the grantee could have facilitated timely discussions on potential solutions.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion	Recommendation
The project design was highly relevant in addressing the need to enhance gender responsiveness in Eswatini's electoral process.	In similar future initiatives, apply the same foresight and ensure that project applications related to electoral processes are submitted well in advance of key electoral timelines.
The evaluation identified a lack of clearly defined criteria and insufficient oversight in the beneficiary selection process for paralegals and potential women politicians, leading to the inclusion of underqualified individuals by community traditional leaders.	Involve community traditional leaders and relevant stakeholders in creating clear beneficiary selection criteria. Develop and use shared tools to ensure these criteria are consistently applied across all project locations. For example, implement a simple and visual scoring system, such as a scorecard with symbols representing the selection criteria, to promote consistency and facilitate monitoring by the grantee.
The project made effective progress towards its main objective across all outcomes. However, the evaluation findings indicate that none of the project outcomes were fully achieved due to the	Develop a contingency plan for future projects to address disruptions from external factors like the COVID-19 pandemic and similar crises. Create a pool of qualified volunteers to quickly

COVID-19 pandemic and organizational instability caused by understaffing and high turnover.	address staffing issues and ensure project continuity and progress.
The project had an effective contribution to the development of a 'Vote for Women' campaign strategy and successfully fostered changes at the community level to support women in leadership positions.	Leverage the project's positive effects by developing initiatives that sustain and expand these outcomes. Engage community leaders and stakeholders in continuous advocacy and support programs for women in leadership. Continue enhancing public awareness campaigns to reinforce the importance of women's participation in leadership roles and develop mentorship programs for emerging female leaders.
The project workshops on viable and effective campaign strategies enhanced women's leadership skills and self-confidence, motivating them to stand for elections.	In future projects, promote initiatives that enable women to pool resources for their campaigns. This could involve establishing cooperative savings groups, crowdfunding platforms, and microfinance programs tailored for female candidates.
Overall, the grantee demonstrated efficiency in resource management by reallocating funds and adjusting activities faced with Covid-19 pandemic and consequent lockdown periods and price increases during project implementation.	N/A
Operational inefficiencies due to lack of funding and understaffing compromised project management and led to delays and inconsistencies in the narrative reports. These challenges affected project management and hindered accurate communication with UNDEF.	WLSA should prioritize writing proposals and applying for funding to stabilize the organization, re-staff effectively, and ensure its long-term sustainability. In future projects, when facing internal organizational challenges, clearly communicate these issues to donors and seek solutions collaboratively.
The project has had a significant impact on enhancing women's representation in Eswatini's decision-making structures.	In future projects, consider implementing a mentorship program to enhance the capacity of elected women, providing guidance on the expected competencies of a member of parliament and other governance responsibilities.
The project demonstrates significant sustainability through the continuation of activities beyond the implementation period. Key sustainability factors include the ongoing ownership and advocacy by community paralegals and traditional leaders to promote women's	Sustain and strengthen partnerships with governance structures, traditional leaders, and national organizations to support women's nomination at the community level and participation in elections.

<p>participation in elections, as well as WLSA's continued support for project beneficiaries, assisting women candidates in the 2023 general elections after project closure.</p>	
<p>The Gender Responsive Electoral Guidelines, although drafted and validated by project stakeholders, have not been formally adopted or utilized by the main electoral management bodies. The evaluation highlighted a lack of ownership and understanding within the Electoral Boundaries Commission (EBC) of the gender responsive electoral guidelines developed by the project.</p>	<p>In future projects, prioritize the formal adoption and sustained implementation of the developed guidelines by establishing and maintaining ongoing engagement with key decision-makers, particularly within electoral management bodies. Develop a detailed implementation plan that clearly outlines the steps for formal adoption, including specific timelines, roles, and responsibilities for each stakeholder involved. This approach should include regular consultations, follow-up meetings, and tailored support to ensure alignment with organizational priorities and to facilitate the seamless integration of the guidelines into standard practices.</p>
<p>Due to its neutral and solid reputation, UNDEF enhanced the inclusivity of Eswatini's electoral process and bolstered WLSA's interventions amidst internal challenges. While UN RCO's involvement in project milestone verification and related reporting provided accountability and value to project activities, increased oversight from UNDEF could optimize outcomes by addressing the existing challenges.</p>	<p>In future projects where issues are identified within reporting or activity implementation, UNDEF could consider increasing the frequency of monitoring visits, seeking enhanced collaboration with the RCO or another UN agency within the UNCT.</p>

VI. LESSONS LEARNED

- 1- The project experience underscored the importance of establishing clear and consistent beneficiary selection criteria in project activities from the outset. In this case, project stakeholders were responsible for selecting beneficiaries at the community level without clear guidance on the selection criteria from the grantee. As a result, some beneficiaries were included without the necessary qualifications, leading to difficulties in actively participating in trainings and effectively fulfilling their roles in the project.
- 2- Community sensitization via WhatsApp proved less effective than face-to-face meetings, as it excluded individuals without smartphones and those with lower levels of literacy. Due to the COVID-19 lockdown, the project adapted community sensitization meetings to a remote format. The grantee produced brief videos on gender equality and the

importance of women's participation in decision-making processes, disseminating these to project beneficiaries. While this method ensured the continuation of project activities during the lockdown, it is not recommended as a model for replication, except in similar situations where in-person engagement is unfeasible, as it failed to effectively reach all community members.



Figure 3: Community sensitization meeting in Manzini region, held under output 2.2

- 3- A multi-level approach that engages stakeholders from the grassroots level to the institutional level ensures consistency and has a higher chance of success in enhancing women's political participation. In this case, the project engaged rural communities, traditional leaders, electoral management bodies, public institutions, and the government. This comprehensive engagement enabled a concerted effort to enhance women's political participation in the subsequent elections.



Figure 4: National Women's Convention held under output 3.4

- 4- Leveraging established partnerships and resources, particularly during disruptive situations such as the COVID-19 pandemic, enhances stakeholder endorsement and improves the potential for sustaining project activities. In this project, the existing relationships and trust between WLSA and the project communities facilitated ongoing engagement and awareness during the lockdown periods. This ensured the continuity and engagement of project stakeholders.

- 5- Transparent and proactive communication between the grant recipient and the funder is essential to foster effective collaboration and mitigate operational inefficiencies. In this case, WLSA faced a shortage of funds and human resources, which hindered their ability to fulfil all project team responsibilities. This led to delays and inconsistencies within the narrative reports, which were never clarified by WLSA.
- 6- To ensure project sustainability and stakeholder ownership, it is vital to foster a comprehensive understanding of project outcomes among all stakeholders and to align project strategies with their mandates and constraints. In this project, the lack of ownership by the Electoral Boundaries Commission resulted in the Gender Responsive Electoral Guidelines not being adopted.

ANNEXES

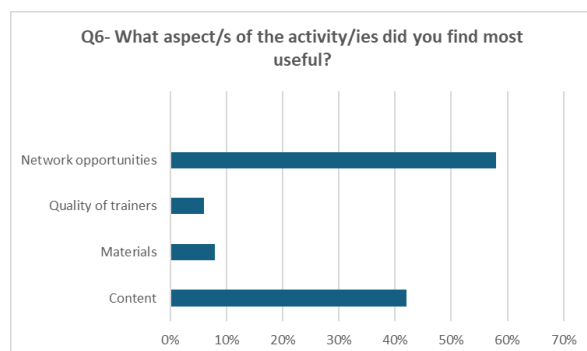
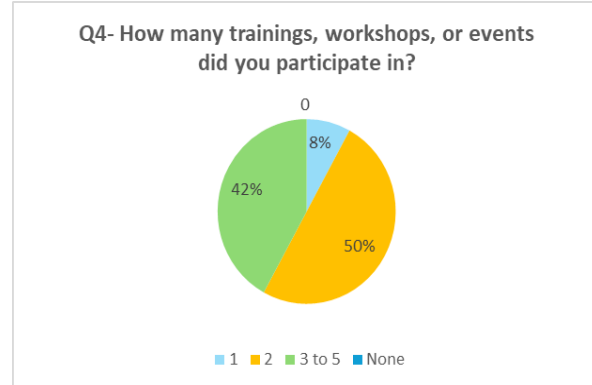
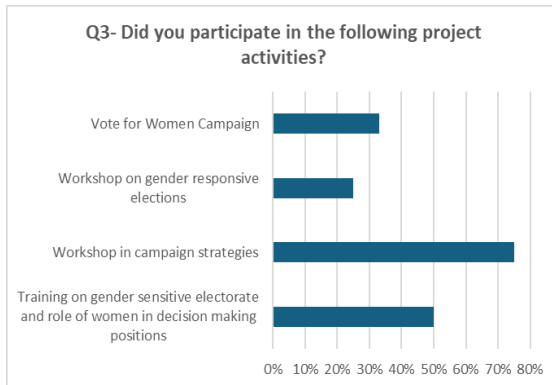
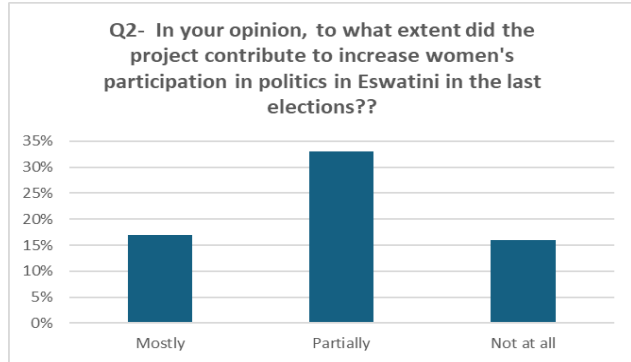
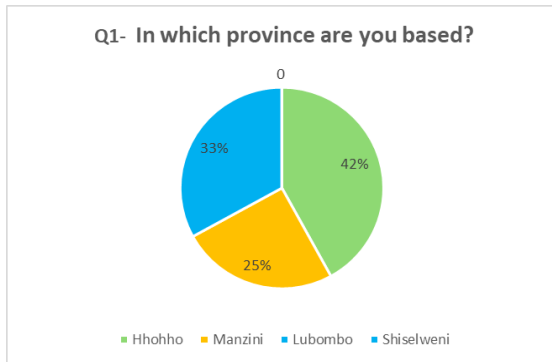
Annex 1: Evaluation questions

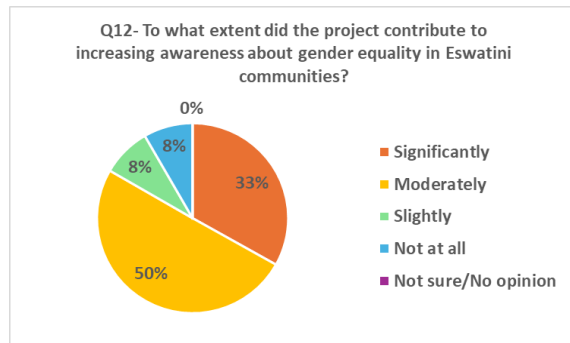
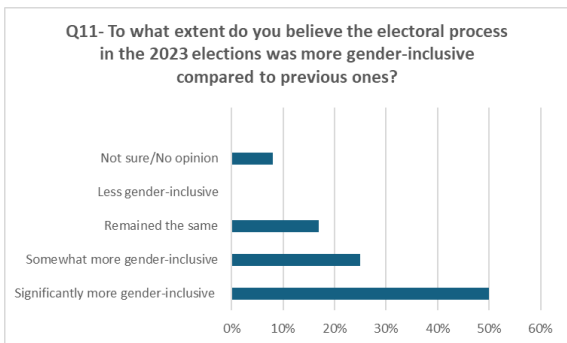
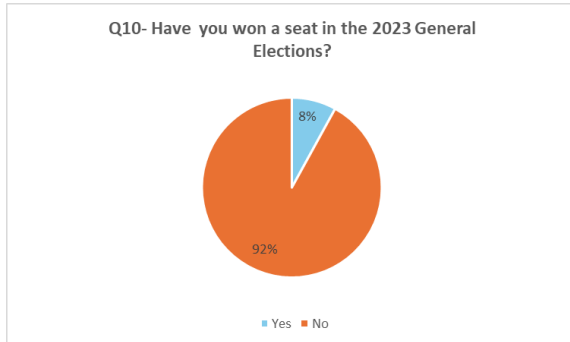
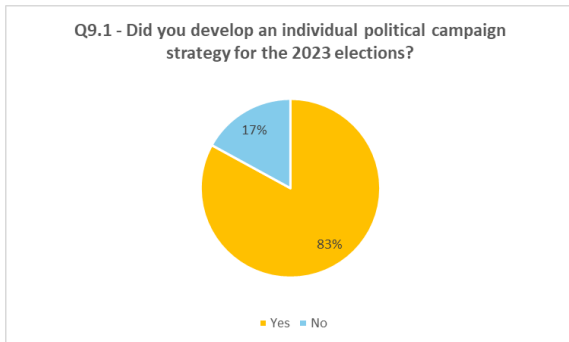
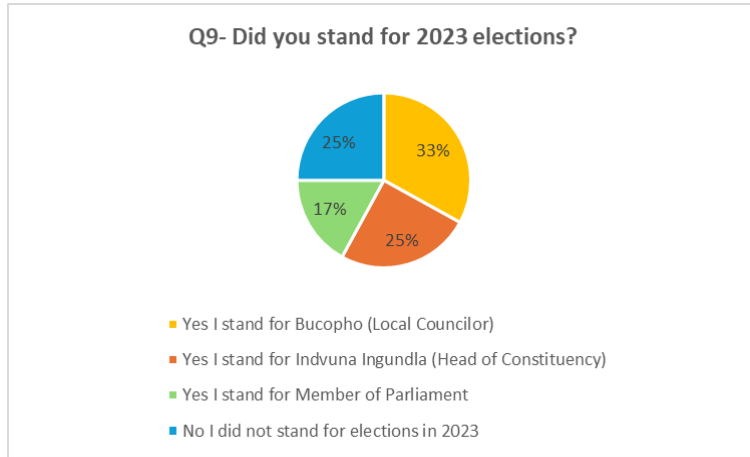
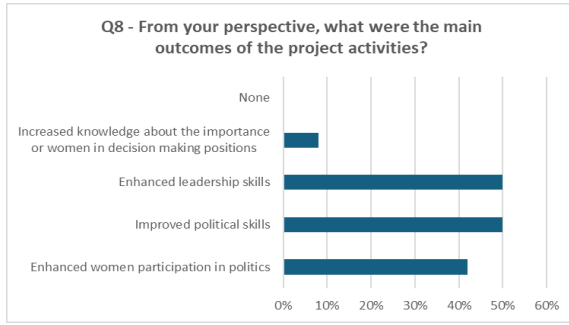
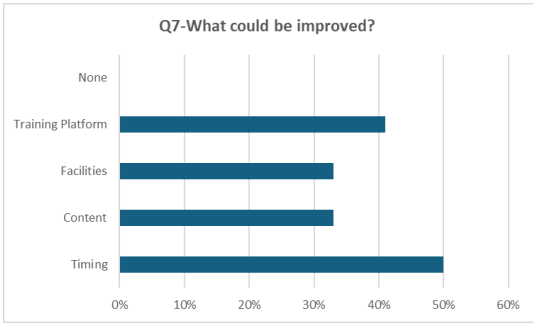
DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development and gender equity in Eswatini? Should another project strategy have been preferred to better reflect the needs, priorities, and context? Why? Were risks appropriately identified by the project? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse?
Coherence	How well did the project “fit”; i.e. to what extent was the project compatible with other projects and programmes in the country, sector or institution?	<p>Internal coherence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent are there synergies and interlinkages between the project and other initiatives carried out by the Implementing Agency? <p>External coherence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is there consistency with other actors’ initiatives in the same context? To what extent is there complementarity, harmonization and coordination between the Implementing Agency/the project and other organizations/projects working in the same context and on the same issue? To what extent is the project adding value while avoiding the duplication of efforts?
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent have the project’s objectives been reached? To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not? Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives? What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this? Did the COVID-19 pandemic impact the effectiveness of the project or require additional work?
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs? Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives?

Impact	<p>To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has the project enhanced the gender responsiveness of policies and practices in the electoral process in Eswatini? ▪ Have the project beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative? ▪ To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization? ▪ Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples?
Sustainability	<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 there any commitments/ actions taken by other stakeholder institutions which can contribute to the sustainability of the project efforts? ▪ Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own?
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? And what was the specific contribution of UNDEF's Lessons Learned in this respect?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What was UNDEF able to accomplish, through the project that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc). ▪ Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF's comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues? ▪ To what extent did the use of UNDEF Lessons Learned (undeflessonslearned.org) support or influence project implementation?

Annex 2: Summary of on-line survey

This annex presents the compiled data and the most relevant questions of the online survey responded by 12 project beneficiaries, from 06/06/2024 to 30/06/2024. All response values are presented in percentage points (%).





Annex 3: Documents Reviewed

Project documentation:

- UDF-18-793-SWA Project Document
- UDF-18-793-SWA Budget
- UDF-18-793-SWA Narrative Progress Reports – Milestone 2 and 3
- UDF-18-793-SWA Financial Utilization Reports – Milestone 2 and 3
- UDF-18-793-SWA Milestones Verification Reports 2 and 3
- UDF-18-793-SWA Final Narrative Report
- UDF-18-793-SWA Final Financial Utilization Report
- UDF-18-793-SWA Audit Report
- UDF-18-793-SWA Project Closure Checklist
- UDF-18-793-SWA Project Extension Request
- UDF-18-793-SWA Narrative Reports (Project extension period)
- WLSA Vote for a Woman Strategy
- WLSA Electoral Guidelines
- WLSA National Women’s Convention Report, November 2022
- WLSA takes legal advice to the community, Newsletter, September 2021
- WLSA Training participants list

Other documents:

- Human Rights Watch, World Report 2020
- Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, National Development Plan 2019/20 - 2021/22, Towards Economic Recovery, Kingdom of Eswatini, 2019
- United Nations, United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2016-2020
- World Bank, Accelerating Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Systematic Country Diagnostic, December 2020
- Naomi Ndifon, Parliamentary Elections 2023, Make Every Woman Count (MEWC) organization, 14 December 2023 ([ESWATINI: Parliamentary Elections 2023 \(mewc.org\)](https://mewc.org))

- The King and the Parliament, National Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 2005

Annex 4: Persons Interviewed

03 June	
Thabsile Mavimbela	WLSA Chairperson
Sibongile Mnisi	WLSA Head of programs
Phindile Dlamini	Woman politician - Constituency Headman Council
Sizakele Hlatshwayo	WLSA Project Officer
04 June 2024	
Travel to Manzini Region	
Edgar Ndallahwa	External Auditor
Vincent Dlamini	Community Leader, Manzini Region
Thandi Nxumalo	Woman politician (Candidate), Shiselweni Region
Binti Dlamini	WLSA Finance Officer
Nonhlanhla Dlamini	Women Politian, Manzini Region
05 June 2024	
Travel to Lubombo Region	
Robert Nyawo	Head of Constituency, Lubombo Region
Grace Mahlangu	Constituency Secretary
Arnold Dlamini	Manzini Regional Administrator
Magugu Ndzimandze	Paralegal, Lubombo Region
06 June 2024	
Travel to Manzini	
Purine Behembe	Paralegal, Manzini Region
Thulsile Dlamini	Woman Politician, Hohhoo Region
Joyce Vilane	Lutsango Woman Regiment Leaders
Phumelele Dlamini	Paralegal, Hohhoo Region
Zodwa Nkhambule	Paralegal, Hohhoo Region
07 June 2024	
Nomzamo Dlamini	Department of Gender and Family Issues
Khombisile Dlamini	Elections and Boundaries Commission
Bennedit Xabba	Clerk of Parliament
Nelsiwe Doane	Human Rights Commission CEO
Hlobsile Mkhwanaz	Human Rights Commission, Human Rights Examiner
Wakhile Mkhonza	RCO staff member, Milestone Verification Report
08 June 2024	
Ntombi	Paralegal, Shiselweni Region
Make Citrus	Community Leader, Hhohho Region

Annex 5: Acronyms

CSO	Civil Society Organization
EBC	Electoral Boundaries Commission
FUR	Financial Utilisation Report
KII	Key Informant Interview
MVR	Milestone Verification Report
NPR	Narrative Progress Report
RCO	Resident Coordinator Office
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
ToC	Theory of Change
ToR	Terms of Reference
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
UNSDCF	United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework
UN	United Nations
WLSA	Women and Law Southern Africa