



2020:6

Sida Decentralised Evaluation

FCG Swedish Development AB

Mid-Term Evaluation of the Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance (SWAG) Campaign, Zimbabwe

Final Report

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April 2020

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Sida Decentralised Evaluation 2020:6

Commissioned by Sida, Embassy of Sweden in Zimbabwe

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Date of final report: 2020-04-02

Published by Nordic Morning 2020

Art. no. Sida62296en

urn:nbn:se:sida-62296en

This publication can be downloaded from: <http://www.sida.se/publications>

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEADZ	Civic Engagement for Accountability and Democracy in Zimbabwe
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ET	Evaluation Team
FAWEZI	Forum for African Women Educationalists Zimbabwe Chapter
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GMC	Gender and Media Connect
GWEN	Girls and Women Empowerment Network
IYWD	Institute for Young Women Development
MP	Member of Parliament
MTE	Mid-Term Evaluation
NGP	National Gender Policy
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSISA	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
RAU	Research and Advocacy Unit
SADC	South African Development Community
SEK	Swedish Kronor
SWAG	Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
ToC	Theory of Change
ToR	Terms of Reference
VAWIE	Violence Against Women in Elections
WAG	Women's Action Group
WALPE	Women's Academy for Leadership and Political Excellence
WCoZ	Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WLZ	Women and Land in Zimbabwe
WIPSU	Women in Politics Support Unit
ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network
ZWRCN	Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network

Preface

This evaluation was contracted by the Embassy of Sweden in Harare, Zimbabwe, through the Sida Framework Agreement for Evaluation Services, and conducted by FCG Sweden.

The Evaluation Team consisted of Jonas Lövkrona, Belinda Musanhu and Nadia Masri-Pedersen. The Final Report was quality assured by Derek Poate, whose work was independent of the team.

Executive Summary

Launched in November 2017, the SWAG campaign has been implemented in all 10 of Zimbabwe's provinces. The overall goal is to increase the participation of women in local and national governance processes by coordinating various actors for collective action, and to hold governance, electoral and political actors accountable to women's rights and the gender provisions of the Constitution. The campaign is funded by Sida and managed by a consortium of three organisations led by the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) and including the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU) and Gender and Media Connect (GMC).

This evaluation was commissioned for both accountability and learning purposes. The specific objectives are to establish the relevance of the methods applied in the campaign, and how effective they are for achieving intended results, identifying areas of particularly strong performance and those in need of improvement and strengthening.

In line with the Terms of Reference (ToR), the evaluation follows a utilisation-focused approach whereby the participation of the intended users has been ensured in all stages of the process. Data was collected through a desk review, an on-line survey, interviews, focus group discussions, and two workshops. A sample of five provinces were selected for field work (Harare, Bulawayo, Manicaland, Mashonaland East, and Matabeleland South). The main limitation was the inadequate availability of outcome-level data generated by WCoZ's monitoring system.

The main conclusions and recommendations of the evaluation are presented below (more detailed recommendations are provided in Chapter 6).

Relevance

The SWAG campaign is generally perceived as a highly justified endeavour considering the limited participation of women in various governance and electoral processes, and the persistent barriers experienced by women in this regard. While the campaign has also addressed beneficiary needs and priorities, there is significant scope for making it even more relevant. This could be done both geographically, by expanding the outreach to rural areas within a selected number of provinces, and, thematically, by addressing underlying barriers to a greater extent.

Prior to expanding the scope, it would be necessary to clarify the Theory of Change (ToC). The campaign appears to have been designed in an unstructured manner with limited participation of stakeholders, such as WCoZ's member organisations and provincial chapters. Although a baseline survey was produced and informed certain activities, more attention could have been paid to the need for anchoring the activities in the baseline and the results framework. In 2019, a fourth outcome and several new activities were introduced but the overall structure of the campaign remained largely the same. In general, there seems to be limited critical

reflection on lessons learnt and contextual changes, including the economic crisis and the reduction in the number of elected women.

While gender equality and social inclusion perspectives have been integrated into the campaign, a more explicit strategy is required to mobilise men in order to effectively address negative gender stereotypes and identify male gender champions. The evaluation also shows that resource constraints prevent the participation of women with disabilities.

The campaign is well aligned with relevant national priorities and partner strategies. This suggests that the campaign contributes to the goals of the Government of Zimbabwe as well as capitalises on the comparative advantages of the different consortium partners. As no other funding apart from the Swedish grant has been mobilised, the financial sustainability of the campaign is at risk.

Effectiveness

Despite a conducive legal framework and a quota system, women's representation in elected bodies in Zimbabwe remains very low, especially at the local level, and has in some cases regressed rather than improved during the course of the campaign. Part of the reason can be found in the country's political parties, which do not promote or nominate women. At the same time, more women than men registered to vote.

Due to shortcomings in the monitoring system, determining the campaign's results is difficult. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the campaign has contributed to changing perceptions about women's ability to lead and take part in politics and given women a sense of increased confidence, solidarity and motivation. It has in some instances succeeded in establishing a constructive dialogue between duty bearers and rights holders, which reportedly has had a positive effect on service delivery, e.g. improvements in water waste and sewage water conditions. To some extent, the campaign has also contributed to developing the relationship and understanding between women Members of Parliament (MPs) and selected journalists.

There are many internal and external factors that influence the success of the SWAG campaign. Conducive factors that could be capitalised on more include the potential complementarity between the consortium partners, the growing engagement of young women, and the opportunities offered by social media. The lack of strategic management and coordination, inconsistent follow-up of activities, weak monitoring and reporting, and the poor branding and visibility of the campaign are disabling factors that require priority attention.

Efficiency

The efficiency of the campaign in terms of the delivery of activities and outputs has been mixed. With a few exceptions the targets for provincial activities have been reached. At the national level, several activities have been delayed, especially under the RAU and GMC component. While the discrepancy between budget and actuals for completed activities is small, the overall financial delivery rate of the campaign gives cause for concern.

The delivery of activities and outputs have been affected by both external and internal factors. The 2018 elections and the economic crisis, along with the

unavailability of MPs, have been particularly disruptive external factors. A significant internal factor is the limited capacity of some WCoZ member organisations to implement and report on activities.

The SWAG campaign has drawn extensively on the capacity and expertise of WCoZ's member organisations. Although external consultants have been contracted for some activities, the campaign mostly relies on in-house staff. Evidence suggests that WCoZ's capacity and skills to monitor and document results, coordinate consortium partners, and ensure effective internal and external communication must be strengthened.

Activities at the provincial level have required relatively limited investment and also appear to have been the most effective. In comparison, the activities related to the profiling of women MPs have been costly, engaged a limited number of beneficiaries, and, so far, not generated any clear results at the outcome level. Although a majority of the budget is directed to programme activities, it is noteworthy that WCoZ personnel costs make up more than one fourth of the budget, although most of the activities are implemented by member organisations.

Coordination and synergies

While WCoZ's member organisations and provincial chapters generally appear to have a good working relationship, the communication and coordination between consortium partners has been weak with the RAU and GMC component being disconnected from other activities. The establishment of a steering committee for the campaign is a step in the right direction but so far it has had a limited role. There is also a lack of communication and experience sharing between the implementing partners of the campaign.

WCoZ's member organisations have their own projects, some of which intersect with the SWAG campaign. Better linkages could be established between the campaign and these projects, as well as with other projects managed by the WCoZ secretariat. Limited efforts have been made to harmonise donor support to WCoZ, let alone to the area of women and governance as a whole.

Recommendations to the Embassy of Sweden

1. Consider extending the activity period of the agreement with WCoZ provided that the consortium partners can present a joint – and realistic – strategic plan and budget for 2020-2023, reflecting the recommendations of this evaluation. This would also allow for aligning the campaign with the electoral cycle for the 2023 elections in a timely manner.
2. Consider making an additional contribution to the campaign when the existing grant has been exhausted. This should be on the condition that a clear fundraising strategy and plan exist for the campaign, and that cost-sharing from other donors has been secured.
3. Facilitate a dialogue between the consortium partners and prospective donors of the campaign. This dialogue could also help to harmonise donor support to WCoZ, as well as identify linkages with other projects having similar objectives.

4. Request WCoZ and its consortium partners to prepare a formal management response and action plan for implementing agreed recommendations. The action plan could also identify any capacity development needs that the consortium partners might have, and suggest budget reallocations to address those needs (e.g. through training and consultancy support).

Recommendations to WCoZ, GMC and RAU

1. Consider how to match available resources with the need for expanding the outreach of the campaign to rural areas and wider governance spaces. This could include (i) narrowing the scope to a few provinces/districts, (ii) defining the intended beneficiaries in more specific terms, (iii) developing modules for training of trainers, and (iv) establishing a pool of community campaigners/monitors.
2. Explore other ways of enhancing the relevance of the campaign considering (i) women's economic empowerment as a key means of strengthening their political participation, (ii) the need to target men to a greater extent, (iii) adapting activities to the needs of youth and providing opportunities for youth to take lead on campaign activities, (iv) costs necessary for ensuring that women with disabilities can participate in activities, and (v) entry points and strategies for working with political parties.
3. Review and improve the ToC for the SWAG campaign. This exercise should include (i) revisiting the baseline survey report, (ii) identifying lesson learnt, contextual changes and new opportunities, (iii) a power/gender analysis about "how change happens" and the forces at play that help/hinder, (iv) defining more specific outcomes and change pathways, and (v) documenting the new ToC in a diagram with an accompanying explanatory narrative.
4. Revise the results framework and develop an accompanying monitoring and learning system. Particular attention should be paid to the need for (i) defining indicators for all outcomes and clearly separating outputs and outcomes, (ii) tracking the percentage of women being elected/assuming leadership positions, (iii) capturing changes in behaviour of target groups and intended beneficiaries, (iv) documenting results in a systematic manner, and, (v) ensuring effective learning mechanisms that can identify and share good practices.
5. Identify and adopt methods for social mobilisation, advocacy, volunteer management, etc., to ensure efficiency and consistency in activity implementation across provinces.
6. Make better use of social media as part of the continued efforts to profile and support women MPs, and consider how to expand the training of journalists so that more can benefit.
7. Strengthen internal communication and coordination to ensure that the campaign is managed in a consistent and strategic manner, and activities are complementary/mutually reinforcing.
8. Develop a multi-annual budget for the campaign (leading up to the next general elections in 2023) along with a fundraising plan focusing on how to sustain the campaign.

1 Introduction

The Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance (SWAG) campaign began in November 2017 and has been implemented in all 10 of the country's provinces. The overall goal is to increase the participation of women in local and national governance processes by coordinating various actors¹ for collective action, and to hold governance, electoral and political actors accountable to women's rights and the gender provisions of the Zimbabwean Constitution.

The campaign is funded by Sida and managed by a consortium of three organisations led by the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) and including the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU) and Gender and Media Connect (GMC).

1.1 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The Mid-Term Evaluation (MTE) is mandated by the grant agreement between the Embassy of Sweden in Zimbabwe and WCoZ, on support to the SWAG campaign (signed in November 2017).

As indicated by the Terms of Reference (ToR) dated 4 November 2019 (Annex 1), the purpose of the MTE is to provide inputs for improving conditions for achieving the expected results of the campaign. The MTE is expected to promote learning with regard to methods for enhancing women's participation in decision-making, which can feed into the next phase of the campaign.

The primary intended users of the MTE are the Embassy of Sweden, WCoZ and its member organisations, GMC and RAU. Secondary users of the MTE are other funding partners, project beneficiaries and government departments.

1.2 EVALUATION OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE

The overall objective of the MTE is to establish the relevance of the methods applied in the campaign, and how effective they are for achieving intended results, identifying areas of particularly strong performance and those in need of being improved. The MTE should cover the period from the start of the campaign in November 2017 to date.

¹ Women's rights organisations, individual women's rights activists, women in mainstream civil society networks, labour movement, business sector, youth movement, professional bodies, social movements, political parties, and faith based networks at national and provincial level.

1.3 EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The evaluation is guided by the evaluation criteria and questions defined in the ToR, as further elaborated on during the inception phase of the evaluation and presented in the Evaluation Matrix (Annex 2). While most of the evaluation questions in the ToR are found to be clear and succinct, there were a few cases of overlaps and questions that were deemed to be incorrectly categorised by evaluation criteria. These shortcomings have been addressed in the Evaluation Matrix, which also identifies a number of sub-questions and defines assessment methods and sources.

2 Methodology

2.1 OVERALL APPROACH

The MTE was conducted through a utilisation-focused approach. This means that the Evaluation Team (ET) has carefully considered how each step of the MTE, from design to final validation, will affect its use, and ensure that the intended users benefit not only from the deliverables but also from the process as such. A key element of this approach has been to promote the active involvement and participation of stakeholders in the MTE. The evaluation methods and process were discussed at a start-up meeting with the Embassy and, subsequently, with the Embassy and WCoZ at the Inception Meeting. During the subsequent phases of the MTE, the utilisation-focused approach has been ensured through:

- Semi-structured interviews encouraging key informants to expand on and raise new issues and allowing for a discussion on possible causes and solutions;
- Focus groups with beneficiaries and other stakeholders, conducted in way that promoted lively and natural discussion on results and challenges;
- A Theory of Change workshop with WCoZ, RAU and GMC to discuss and elaborate on the intervention logic of the campaign;
- A SWOT workshop with WCoZ, RAU, GMC and selected WCoZ member organisations;
- A debriefing for the Embassy and WCoZ at the end of the Zimbabwe visit, providing an opportunity to discuss tentative findings and “test” preliminary recommendations before the start of the reporting phase.

In addition, the Embassy, WCoZ, RAU and GMC will have the opportunity to review and comment on this Draft Evaluation Report. The Final Evaluation Report will be presented at a dissemination seminar to which the same organisations will be invited.

The relevance and effectiveness of the campaign has been explored with the help of a theory-driven approach, including the use of Contribution Analysis. This has involved a joint assessment of the SWAG campaign’s Theory of Change (conducted through the above-mentioned workshop). A contribution narrative has been developed describing how the campaign was implemented, to what extent it contributed to any change, and the influence of other factors.

2.2 SAMPLING AND SELECTION OF PROVINCES

The SWAG campaign has been implemented in all the 10 provinces of Zimbabwe. During the inception period, it was agreed that, due to time and resource constraints, it would not be possible for the ET to travel to all of these provinces for field work. It

was therefore decided to select a sample of provinces. For this purpose, the following selection criteria were defined:

- Presence of key informants and stakeholders and the time needed to interact with them
- Type of activities conducted
- Regional representation
- Location and settlement types (rural, peri-urban, urban)
- Security considerations
- Accessibility of the provinces from Harare

The final selection of provinces (presented in Table 1) against these criteria was based on the information obtained through the initial desk review, consultations with the Embassy and WCoZ, and a geographical mapping of activities supported by the campaign.

Table 1 Sample of provinces

Province	Location	Mode of Data Collection
Harare	Urban, peri-urban	Field Visit
Bulawayo	Urban, peri-urban	Field Visit
Manicaland	Urban, rural	Field Visit
Mashonaland East	Urban, rural	Stakeholders were invited to focus group discussions in Harare
Matabeleland South	Urban, rural	Field Visit

2.3 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

Data collection was carried out through a mix of tools, including desk review, an on-line survey, interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and two workshops.

The desk review was conducted based on documents and data in the following main categories:

- WCoZ proposals to the Embassy, including budget
- Agreements between the Embassy and WCoZ and between WCoZ, RAU and GMC
- Narrative and financial reports
- Documented outputs of the SWAG campaign (e.g. baseline study, fact sheets, handbook, photobook, newsletter, etc)
- Meeting minutes
- Prior evaluations
- Strategic plans and policies
- Reports and data published by external actors

A full list of documents collected and reviewed is presented in Annex 3.

The on-line survey targeted the consortium partners, WCoZ's member organisations, and WCoZ's provincial chapters. A draft survey questionnaire was developed during the inception phase and finalised during the initial stage of the data

collection phase. The final survey questionnaire was administered through an email link to 36 individuals, of which 18 participated in the survey. A report on the results of the survey can be found in Annex 5.

Key informants for interviews were identified by the ET in consultation with WCoZ, RAU and GMC. In total, interviews were held with 40 individuals in the following categories:

- WCoZ, GMC and RAU managers and staff
- Representatives of WCoZ's member organisations
- WCoZ's provincial chapter coordinators and volunteers
- Central and local government representatives
- Other duty bearers from the five selected provinces
- Representatives of donor agencies, international organisations and CSOs
- External consultants

A full list of key informants interviewed is presented in Annex 4. All the interviews were semi-structured and based on interview guides developed during the inception phase. The interview guides were refined following a first round of interviews.

FGDs were held with a total of 68 people from the five selected provinces. A particular effort was made to include marginalised and vulnerable people, such as people living with disabilities. Table 2 presents a breakdown of the number of FDG participants by province.

Table 2 Participants in FGDs

Province	Provincial chapter committees	Beneficiaries
Harare	6	8
Bulawayo	6	8
Manicaland	7	9
Mashonaland East	4	9
Matabeleland South	5	6
Total	28	40

2.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The collected data was reviewed through a simplified Contribution Analysis approach. All data was categorised by evaluation question and entered into a data analysis sheet. The data analysis sheet helped the ET to identify patterns, associations, and causal relationships, and define tentative findings.

2.5 ETHICS AND PARTICIPATION

The MTE was conducted in line with the OECD/DAC Guidelines on Quality Standards for Development Evaluation. Accordingly, the ET has adhered to the principles of impartiality, independence and credibility. Stakeholders' confidentiality

has been protected when requested or as needed. Informed consent was sought in each interview and the rights to confidentiality and anonymity explained. There has been no undue influence or bias in the selection of provinces (for field visits) or key informants.

As elaborated on above, the MTE has had a utilisation focus and promoted the participation of stakeholders in all steps of the process. Comments and suggestions on the Draft Evaluation Report will be sought from intended users and handled in a systematic manner.

2.6 LIMITATIONS

The boundaries of the MTE are defined in the ToR and further delineated in the Inception Report. The main limitations grounded in the framing of the MTE have been:

- The limited (and in some respects negative) change in the situation with regard to women's participation in politics and governance since the start of the campaign;
- The lack of outcome-level data on trends in women's representation beyond the parliament and local government, and
- The weaknesses of the existing monitoring system, which cannot properly capture whether, and to what extent, the activities have motivated women to engage in politics and governance, and how successful they have been.

These shortcomings have made it difficult for the ET to follow all of the proposed steps in the Contribution Analysis process, but are not deemed to have affected the quality of the report.

No other significant challenges were encountered during the data collection process. The Embassy, WCoZ, RAU and GMC have provided all the requested background documents and information, and the visit to Zimbabwe, including the provincial field work, went smoothly. The ET would have expected a higher response rate to the survey (half of the invited individuals responded) given that the survey was targeted to stakeholders involved in the implementation of the campaign.

3 Brief overview of the SWAG campaign

3.1 CONTEXT

Although women in Zimbabwe constitute 52 percent of the population they are poorly represented as leaders and decision makers in the formal structures of governance at both local and national levels². These structures include village committees, ward committees, chiefs' committees, school development committees, and political spaces such as the legislature, the executive, local authorities and other government institutions.

While Zimbabwe's Constitution has provisions to ensure that women and men have equal opportunity in every sphere of society³, including in politics, there are cultural, social, political and economic factors that have a negative impact on women's participation in politics and access to leadership positions. These include political violence and the burdens of the domestic and carer roles that women play in society. Some women also lack information and skills to participate in politics and may avoid politics due to the negative associations and portrayals of female politicians. Capture of political spaces and resistance by men also reduces opportunities for women to become leaders⁴.

3.2 FOCUS AND SCOPE

The SWAG campaign was launched in November 2017 and has been implemented in all 10 of the country's provinces. The campaign's overall goal is to increase the participation of women in local and national governance processes by coordinating various actors⁵ for collective action, and to hold governance, electoral and political

² Gender Links "Zimbabwe: Gender and Election" at <https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/zimbabwe-gender-and-elections/> Retrieved 20 March 2020

³ These include Sections 17 which enjoins the State to promote gender equality in all spheres, and Section 56 which states that men and women are equal before the law and must and that there must be equal opportunities in the political social, economic and cultural spheres. Section 80 states that women have full and equal dignity of the person with men and Section 124 (1) b, which provides for reserved seats for women for two election cycles after the promulgation of the Constitution.

⁴ Maphosa, Mandlenkosi, Tshuma, Nevel Ncube, Gracious, 2015 "Participation of Women in Zimbabwean Politics and the Mirage of Gender Equity" in Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict and Social Transformation, Volume 2 Number 2; Zvobgo, Ellen F and Dziwa Cowen, 2017 "Practices and challenges in implementing women's right to political participation under the African Women's Rights Protocol in Zimbabwe" African Human Rights Yearbook at <http://doi.org/10.29053/2523-1367/2017/v1n1a4>, Retrieved 20 March 2020

⁵ Women's rights organisations, individual women's rights activists, women in mainstream civil society networks, labour movement, business sector, youth movement, professional bodies, social movements, political parties, and faith-based networks at national and provincial level.

actors accountable to women's rights and the gender provisions of the Zimbabwean Constitution. The SWAG campaign Theory of Change (ToC) identifies three outcomes that are expected to contribute to the increased participation of women in electoral and governance processes:

1. Women are increasingly aware of governance processes, institutions and structures in Zimbabwe
2. Elected officials and duty bearers ensuring women's equal participation in governance processes.
3. Elected officials and duty bearers increasingly respond to, ensure, and consult women in governance and electoral processes

A fourth outcome "Women leaders are confident and convincing when engaging with the general public or the media" was added when the Sida grant was extended in May 2019.

The various activities of the campaign are a combination of social mobilisation, civic education, and advocacy. Key activities and outputs include:

- A baseline survey
- The development of a handbook on women's participation
- The development of fact sheets on women's participation
- Provincial education forums for women
- Public meetings at the provincial level
- Multi-stakeholder symposiums
- A media campaign
- Post-election consultative forums
- The development of a photobook profiling women MPs

3.3 PROGRAMME MANAGEMENT

The SWAG campaign is implemented by a consortium of three organisations led by the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) and including the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU) and Gender and Media Connect (GMC). WCoZ holds the agreement with the Embassy of Sweden and has the overall project and financial management responsibility. RAU and GMC have both signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with WCoZ and receive funding from and report to WCoZ.

The campaign is mainly implemented through WCoZ's provincial chapters and member organisations⁶. The member organisations are organised into thematic clusters, intended to enhance advocacy and promote strategic partnerships, networking, information sharing, and coordination. The WCoZ provincial chapters coordinate activities and mobilise beneficiaries and participants at provincial level. Chapter coordinators act as the focal persons of the campaign at the provincial level. Selected WCoZ member organisations and thematic cluster leads are assigned

⁶ In 2019, WCoZ had 26 member organisations and over 10 000 individual members.

responsibility for specific components of the campaign and work with WCoZ's chapters to implement these activities. A steering committee composed of representatives of the three consortium partners and the Embassy of Sweden was established in July 2019.

3.4 BUDGET

The first agreement between the Embassy and WCoZ amounted to SEK 3,486,000 and covered activities during the period from 1 November 2017 to 31 April 2019. In June 2019, the agreement was amended, extending the activity period to 30 November 2020 and increasing the Swedish contribution to SEK 7,342,000. This amount covers costs related programme activities, personnel, monitoring and evaluation, administration, and some (limited) equipment. A maximum of SEK 2,195,000 is set aside for activities implemented by RAU and GMC.

4 Analysis and findings

4.1 RELEVANCE

4.1.1 Responsiveness to the challenges of women's participation

In line with the ToR, the evaluation has assessed to what extent the objectives of the SWAG campaign are consistent with the challenges associated with women's participation in governance and electoral processes in Zimbabwe. This assessment has primarily been made based on the views and evidence presented by key informants, including through individual interviews, the survey and focus group discussions, although some research and policy papers have also been consulted, such as existing gender analyses.

All the stakeholders consulted agree that the SWAG campaign is a highly justified endeavour considering the limited participation of women in various governance and electoral processes, and the persistent barriers experienced by women in this regard. As indicated by the survey, there is also a common view that the campaign has addressed relevant needs and priorities of the target group/intended beneficiaries. The comments provided by the respondents reveal that the holistic and multifaceted approach taken by the campaign is deemed to be appropriate since it ensures inclusiveness and space for tackling some of the underlying barriers to women's participation.

At the same time, a number of suggestions have been made on how to increase the relevance of the campaign. First and foremost, in a majority of interviews (particularly at provincial level) and several survey responses, remarks are made about the need for the campaign to expand its outreach to rural areas. The perception is that the campaign has predominantly focused on urban and peri-urban areas. According to interviews, the main obstacle to realising this ambition is lack of funding. Several provincial chapter coordinators mentioned how limited activity budgets prevent them from reaching out to rural settings, and how follow-up is a challenge.

Similarly, a large number of interviewees and focus group participants singled out the lack of resources as one the biggest barriers to women's participation in governance and electoral processes. In line with the baseline survey conducted by the SWAG campaign and other research, the interviewees noted that many women who were motivated to stand for elections were unable to do so because of lack of enough campaign funding to challenge male contenders. Women duty bearers as well as activists expressed how the SWAG campaign offers more 'soft support' as they called it, which was useful but not enough to overcome the 'harder' barriers to participation, such as securing campaign finances. Financial constraints have also been a barrier to intended beneficiaries participation in the activities of the SWAG campaign. Several interviewees as well as survey respondents commented that, due to the economic

crisis in Zimbabwe, they have been pre-occupied with feeding their families and do not have enough time to engage in the campaign.

Another barrier identified by many interviewees, which the SWAG campaign so far has addressed to a fairly limited extent, is the reluctance of political parties to promote women within party structures, and, consequently, put forward women candidate for local and national elections. This barrier is also widely recognised in existing literature. In the 2018 harmonised elections, the two main contesting political parties (ZANU-PF and the MDC Alliance) did not even achieve 10 percent women representation. The interviewees and survey respondents expressed the view that there is a need to expand and engage political parties as a key target group for sensitisation and awareness raising activities.

Moreover, there is common recognition that, while the stakeholders are aware of the role of men as both enablers and spoilers to women's participation, and although there are some men attending activities, women have remained the main beneficiaries and target group of the SWAG campaign. Interviewees indicated that the men should not be forgotten and that activities should focus more on men's involvement (see Chapter 4.1.3).

Both interviewees and the survey also pointed to the need for the campaign to consider women's participation in various governance spaces (e.g. school development committees, community governance structures etc.). While the campaign to some extent recognises this, the main focus, at least during the first year, has been on women's participation in national and local elections. The needs of women vary considerably depending on whether they are aspiring to join a school development committee or run for local government or National Assembly elections. The campaign could do more to address these varying needs.

Finally, some interviewees felt that the campaign should do more advocacy and 'make more noise', particularly to bring about changes in electoral systems and quotas. The campaign is by many perceived to lack a clear identity and, consequently, visibility. While several advocacy initiatives have been pursued, it is not clear what has been the outcome, or what the added-value of the campaign has been.

***Main findings:** While the SWAG campaign is generally perceived as relevant and timely, there is significant scope for making it even more relevant by expanding its outreach, both geographically (to rural areas) and thematically (addressing barriers relating women's lack of economic resources, political party culture, and women's participation in broader governance spaces). Evidence furthermore suggest that more could be done to involve and target men, as well as to step-up advocacy at all levels.*

4.1.2 Intervention logic

The SWAG campaign was originally based on two proposals submitted to the Embassy, one from RAU and GMC and one from WCoZ. At the request of the Embassy, the three organisations formed a consortium whereby WCoZ became the

Embassy's agreement partner. However, the proposals were not merged. What is described in the final proposal and budget submitted to the Embassy in November 2017 is only the WCoZ component of the SWAG campaign. This is also the case with the SWAG campaign Theory of Change (ToC), the initial budget, and the first results framework.

As mentioned above, the evaluation has involved an assessment of the SWAG campaign ToC with a view to validate the campaign strategy and suggest improvements. This assessment was guided by a set of ToC quality standards⁷ and conducted through a ToC workshop. The assessment revealed that, contrary to good practice, the ToC was not developed through a participatory process. In fact, most stakeholders are not even aware that an explicit ToC exists for the campaign. It is noteworthy that half of the respondents of the survey indicated that they had been involved in the design of the campaign. As can be seen from some of the comments, however, some respondents understand involvement more generally, including in terms of how individual activities have been planned and implemented. The overall impression is that the campaign has been primarily designed from the top down, although previous feedback and ideas from stakeholders have been considered.

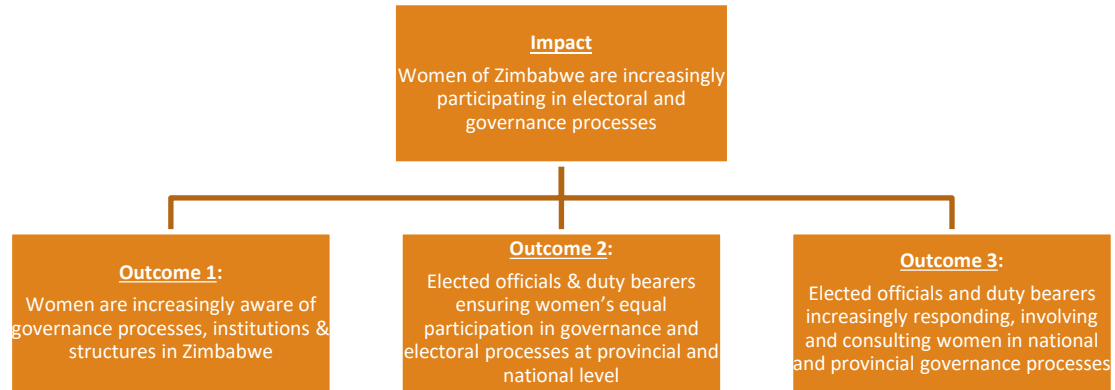
Interviews suggest that the SWAG campaign builds on previous initiatives, particularly the Women and Constitution campaign, coordinated by WCoZ from 2012 to 2015. WCoZ also commissioned a comprehensive baseline survey "to ground the SWAG campaign in the current dispensation"⁸. The specific objectives of the baseline were to explore existing governance and electoral structures, processes, stakeholders, duty bearers, and legal framework, and assess the status of women's representation, opportunities and available spaces for increased participation in governance and electoral processes at different levels. However, the survey was only conducted in March 2018, at which time the campaign, including the ToC, had already been developed and activities started. Hence, while the baseline informed the development of a handbook and several fact sheets on women's participation, it did not influence the overall design of the campaign.

In the proposal for the period November 2017-April 2019, the SWAG campaign was geared towards three outcomes, as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

⁷ The standards were adapted from HIVOS (2015): HIVOS ToC Guidelines – Theory of Change thinking in practice.

⁸ WCoZ (2018): SWAG campaign – Baseline survey report.

Figure 1 Expected outcomes of the SWAG campaign (from 2018 results matrix)



Several observations can be made about these outcomes. The first outcome is about increasing women's 'awareness'. This is normally not considered an outcome-level results but an output, in this case generated by activities such as the development and use of the handbook on women's participation, the dissemination of fact sheets, and the provincial education forums. During the ToC workshop, the consortium partners underlined that they see *awareness* as a first step in a strategy to promote women's *agency* and supporting women them to take *action*. While the ToC does not capture this pathway, the proposal for the extension period May 2019-October 2020 explicitly states that 'WCoZ needs to build women's agency'⁹.

The second and third outcome statements are rather similar as they both deal with changing the behaviour of elected officials and duty bearers. At the ToC workshop questions were raised about what is meant by elected officials "ensuring" women's equal participation, and how this could be measured. In the proposal for the extension period, a fourth outcome is added: "Women leaders are confident and convincing when engaging with the general public or the media". This outcome is linked to the activities of RAU and GMC on profiling women MPs in the media, which were not reflected in the initial proposal or results framework.

The ToC mixes various concepts of activities, outputs, outcomes, and is not consistent with results-based principles. For instance, it defines 'women can use handbooks' (an output) as a result at the same level as 'increased participation of women' and 'collective advocacy' (examples of outcomes). In the result matrix, some sub-outcomes are in fact outputs or activities and not sub-outcomes. This means that the change pathway is not clearly communicated, and hence not convincing.

⁹ WCoZ (2019): SWAG May 2019-October 2020 Final Proposal.

***Main findings:** The underlying theory of change of the SWAG campaign is not clear. The campaign appears to have been designed in an unstructured manner with limited participation of stakeholders and not enough attention being paid to need to anchor the activities in the baseline and a proper results chain. The proposal for the extension period introduces a new outcome but the overall structure of the campaign remains largely the same and there appears to be limited critical reflection on lessons learnt and contextual changes.*

4.1.3 Mainstreaming of gender equality and social inclusion perspectives

While the SWAG campaign's results framework does not include gender-disaggregated indicators or targets, provincial chapters are instructed that all activities must involve a certain number or share of men and marginalised people, including people with disabilities. The reports to Sida also present figures on the number of men and women who have attended various events. Nevertheless, in practice, as indicated by the numbers reported to Sida, the campaign has mainly benefitted women. The involvement of men has been largely limited to duty bearers and community members attending provincial-level meetings, and the male journalists who were trained on profiling women in the media. Several interviewees (as well as the survey) suggested that the campaign should do more awareness raising among men, including by identifying and supporting male gender champions.

All provincial chapter committees include a representative of women with disabilities and a younger woman. The women with disabilities who were interviewed perceive that the campaign takes their specific needs into account. At the same time, WCoZ has found it challenging to cater to different disabilities (e.g. people with hearing disabilities, visual or physical impairment). According to interviews, this is mainly an issue of resources. One interviewee highlighted the case of wheelchair-bound women, who cannot use public transport and therefore have not been able to participate in campaign activities.

***Main findings:** The evaluation shows that the gender equality and social inclusion perspectives have been integrated with the campaign, but primarily at the activity level and by targeting women. There is a need for a more explicit strategy for mobilising men to enable effective awareness raising around negative gender stereotypes and identifying male gender champions. In addition, resource constraints prevent the participation of women with disabilities. This should be factored in when developing future campaign budgets.*

4.1.4 Alignment with national priorities and partner strategies

The assessment of the alignment of the SWAG campaign with national priorities and partner strategies has focused on how the campaign relates to Zimbabwe's National Gender Policy (NGP), the organisational strategies of the consortium partners, and

Sweden's Strategy for Development Cooperation with Zimbabwe. A new NGP was developed in 2019 but is not publicly available. Table 3 below compares these documents to the scope of the SWAG campaign.

Table 3 The SWAG campaign's alignment with national and partner priorities

Document	Key priorities	Covered by the SWAG campaign
Zimbabwe's National Gender Policy (NGP) 2013-2017	Gender, constitutional and legal rights	X
	Gender and economic empowerment	
	Gender, politics and decision-making	X
	Gender and health	
	Gender, education and training	
	Gender-based violence	
	Gender and environment	
	Gender, media and ICTs	X
WCoZ's 2019-2023 Strategic Plan	Movement building	X
	Networking, lobbying and advocacy	X
	Resource mobilisation	
GMC's Strategic Planning Document 2016-2019	Advancement and empowerment of women	X
	Policy and advocacy	X
	Knowledge management and resource centre	
	Communication, branding and visibility including networking and partnership	X
RAU's Programme Strategy 2015-2018	Active citizenship	X
	Community security	
	Influencing policy	X
Sweden's Strategy for Development Cooperation with Zimbabwe 2017-2021	Human rights, democracy, the rule of law and gender equality	X
	Equitable health	
	Livelihoods, environment, climate and energy	

In addition to linking up with the priority of human rights, democracy, the rule of law and gender equality, the SWAG campaign fits well with the rights-perspective applied by Sweden's Strategy for Development Cooperation with Zimbabwe 2017-2021, which emphasises the importance of enhancing the visibility of individuals and groups that are discriminated against, excluded and marginalised.

With regard to the alignment with WCoZ's 2019-2023 Strategic Plan, it is noteworthy that the campaign does not cover the priority of resource mobilisation. The campaign is clearly a multi-year endeavour but is run on the basis of short-term plans/budgets, and remains dependent on one donor (although attempts have been

made to attract other donor funding). While there is no reference to financial sustainability or resource mobilisation in the proposals submitted to the Embassy, interviews suggest that there are some ideas about mobilising private donations and private sector funding. Even if Sweden continues to fund the campaign beyond the current activity period of the grant (ending in October 2020), there is a need for mobilising additional resources to match the desire to expand outreach and scope.

***Main findings:** The SWAG campaign is well aligned with relevant national priorities and partner strategies. This suggests that the campaign contributes to the goals of the Zimbabwe Government as well as capitalises on the comparative advantages of the different consortium partners. As resource mobilisation has not been a priority, the financial sustainability of the campaign is at risk.*

4.2 EFFECTIVENESS

4.2.1 Changes in women's participation in politics and governance

Zimbabwe is a signatory to several international and regional treaties and instruments promoting women's rights and gender equality¹⁰. There are also constitutional provisions calling upon the state to ensure that women and men have equal opportunities in every sphere of society, including politics (sections, 17, 56 and 81). When the constitution was revised in 2013 a quota was introduced aiming at increasing female representation in Parliament¹¹. No corresponding quota exists for women's representation in local government.

With the introduction of the quota system, the representation of women in Parliament increased from 19 percent in 2008 to 34 percent in 2013. However, following the 2018 harmonised elections, this share decreased to 31 percent. The share of women in the House of Assembly (lower house) and the Senate similarly decreased, to 28 percent and 44 percent respectively. Meanwhile, the share of women in cabinet increased from 12 percent to 31 percent¹².

At the local government level, women's representation has gradually decreased, from 18 percent in 2008, to 16 percent in 2013 and 14 percent in 2018. Following the 2018 harmonised elections, Bulawayo province has the highest percentage of female

¹⁰ including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, the African Charter on the Rights of Women, the Southern African Development Community Protocol on Gender and Development, etc.

¹¹ An additional 60 women MPs are elected from the 10 provinces through a system of proportional representation bring the total number of representatives in the Parliament to 270.

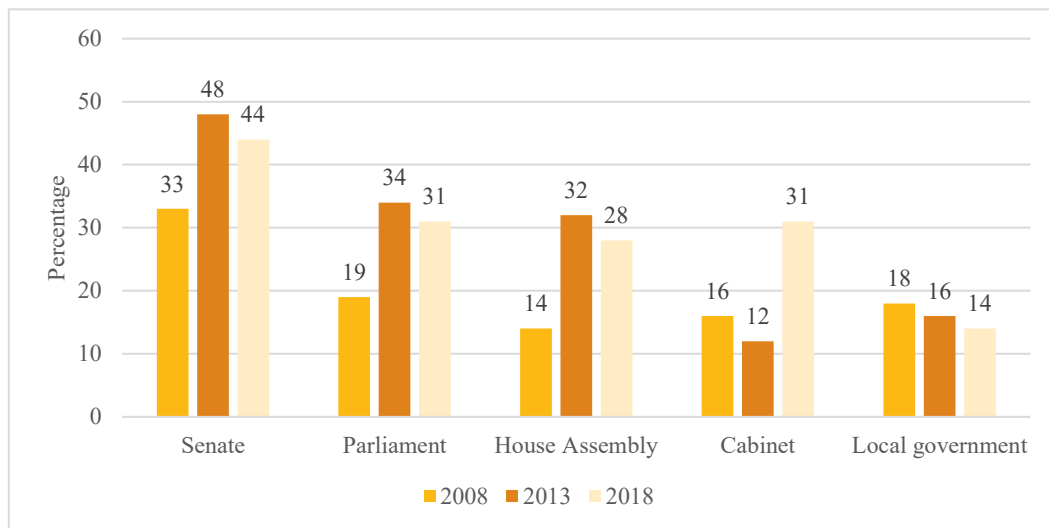
¹² Gender Links (2018): Gender in the 2018 Zimbabwe Local Government Elections.

councillors in the country (28 percent). In most other provinces the share ranges between 13 percent and 19 percent, the exception being Masvingo province, at a low 10 percent, and Mashonaland Central province, at an even lower 6 percent¹³.

A comparison between the 15 countries in the SADC region shows that Zimbabwe has a lower share of women in Parliament than South Africa (44 percent), Mozambique and Namibia (both 40 percent), and Tanzania (37 percent), but higher than all other countries. With regard to women's share in local government, Zimbabwe only outperforms DRC (13 percent) and Zambia (9 percent). All other countries have a higher representation of women in local government¹⁴.

Figure 2 provides an overview of trends in women's representation in elected bodies at the national and local level in Zimbabwe.

Figure 2 Women's political representation 2008-2018



Source: Gender Links (2018): *Gender in the 2018 Zimbabwe Local Government Elections*.

None of the contesting political parties were close to attaining the 50/50 representation of male and female candidates. The main contesting political parties (ZANU-PF and the MDC Alliance) did not even achieve 10 percent women representation. Only 14 percent of the candidates for the House Assembly elections were women¹⁵. Among the candidates standing for local government elections, only 17 percent were women. Nevertheless, in terms of numbers, there has been a slight increase in women candidates standing for local government elections (from 899 in

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ SADC Gender Protocol Alliance (2019): *State of Women in SADC*.

¹⁵ ZESN (2018): *Report on the 30 July Harmonised Elections*.

2013 to 1176 in 2018). In addition, more women registered to vote in 2018 than in the previous electoral cycles^{16,17}

The SWAG baseline survey from 2018 (pre-election) provides disaggregated data on women's representation at both national and local levels, including different state institutions and community bodies (in sampled sites). This data is reproduced in Table 4 and 5 for future reference. Since no comparable data is available for previous or later years, it is not possible to do a trend analysis.

Table 4 Level of women's participation in national structures 2018

Level	Women	Men	% women
<i>Legislative:</i>			
Parliament (MPs)	88	182	34
Senate	38	42	48
<i>Judiciary:</i>			
Magistrates	91	97	48
Labour court	10	4	71
High court	15	23	39
Supreme court	5	6	45
Constitutional court	5	6	45
<i>Executive:</i>			
President	0	1	0
Vice-Presidents	0	2	0
Cabinet Ministers	3	20	13
Resident ministers	3	7	30
Permanent secretaries	9	25	26
Principal Directors	13	25	34

Source: SWAG (2018): Baseline Survey Report.

Table 5 Level of women's representation in local structures 2018

Level	Women	Men	Range/ % women
<i>Local –sampled sites:</i>			
Village heads	26	258	0-18
Village committees	43	49	0-73
School development committees	64	113	25-53
Chief committees	4	33	0-25
Mambo committees	2	10	0-40
<i>National data:</i>			

¹⁶ GIZ (2018): Gender Analysis for the Strengthening Democracy and Citizen Participation Programme in Zimbabwe and the standalone measure "Promotion and Enforcement of Human Rights and Good Governance".

¹⁷ There is no available statistics on actual voter turnout by gender.

Rural ward councillors	243	1322	16
Urban ward councillors	69	321	18
Mayors	1	15	6

Source: SWAG (2018): Baseline Survey Report.

Main findings: Despite a conducive legal framework and a quota system, women's representation in elected bodies in Zimbabwe remains very low, especially at the local level, and has in some cases regressed rather than improved during the course of the campaign. The share of women in local governance is among the lowest in the region. Part of the reason can be found in the country's political parties, which do not promote or nominate women. At the same time, more and more women register to vote.

4.2.2 The SWAG campaign's contribution to change

CSOs are recognised to have played a significant role in the promotion of gender equality and women's rights in Zimbabwe. The women's rights movement is also widely credited for having contributed to the increase in women candidates standing for local government elections, as well as the increase in women's registration as voters.

The extent to which the SWAG campaign has influenced change is difficult to determine. For one, the campaign is still relatively new and, as argued by many interviewees, launched too close to the 2018 harmonised elections to have a real impact on the elections results. Secondly, the monitoring system used by WCoZ is mainly focused on tracking activities and outputs. According to interviews, WCoZ monitors the campaign through periodic visits to events, pre- and post-training evaluations forms, and based on activity reports submitted by member organisations and provincial chapters. In connection with some events, case studies of individual women are also prepared. However, since both the training evaluation forms and the case studies are completed immediately following the events, there is no information on whether, and to what extent, the activities have motivated women to engage in politics and governance, let alone how successful they have been. This explains why the reports to Sida includes very limited analysis of results. There is also an issue with attribution. Several interviewees could not clearly tell whether some of the activities implemented by their own organisation were part of the campaign or other projects.

According to the survey of consortium partners, WCoZ member organisations and provincial chapters, there is a widely held belief that women's capacity and willingness to stand for national and local elections, and seek government and public service professions, has increased during the past two years. Close to 60 percent of the respondents think that women's capacity in this regard has increased "to a great extent". Judging by focus group discussions with women beneficiaries and provincial chapter members, the campaign has especially helped to increase women's

confidence. This is credited to the exposure to women role models (e.g. women who have run for elections) and the sense of solidarity generated by campaign activities. The activities are said to have provided a safe space for women to voice and examine their fears as well as support each other through knowledge and experience sharing. Focus group discussions indicate that some women have become more motivated to take on leadership positions or run for elections.

Survey respondents commented that more women now understand their rights, and as such, feel empowered to make demands regarding their presence and participation in governance and the public sector. It is also noted that there is increased awareness, amongst women as well as the surrounding communities, of the abilities of women as strong leaders and front-runners. As mentioned above, WCoZ has collected case studies of women who express a desire to stand as candidates in upcoming elections. There is also some anecdotal evidence of women who have succeeded to take up leadership roles or have contested elections following their participation in SWAG activities. However, this could not be corroborated by the ET.

The survey indicates that the provincial education forums for women is perceived as the most effective activity of the campaign (83 percent of respondents think that this activity has been effective to a great or very great extent). The public meetings and multi-stakeholder symposiums at the provincial level also receive a particularly high rating (72 percent think that these activities have been effective to a great or very great extent). This is also the case with the handbook on women's participation (73 percent). The survey suggests that the handbook has been a good reference tool and been helpful during trainings. At the same time, participants in focus group discussions at the provincial level had not heard about, let alone, used the handbook.

In conformity with the high rating given to public meetings and multi-stakeholder symposiums, 64 percent of survey respondents feel that elected officials and other duty bearers' willingness to respond to, involve, and consult women in national and provincial governance processes, has increased to a great or very great extent. According to focus group discussions, the public meetings and multi-stakeholder symposiums have made women feel that they have a voice and are taken seriously. In several locations, women's groups have advocated for improved service delivery. There are positive reports that duty bearers have been responsive to this advocacy, including actions taken to improve water waste and sewage water conditions in Bulawayo, Gwanda, Gweru and Marondera.

A separate evaluation of the RAU and GMC component of the SWAG campaign¹⁸ finds that the activities leading up to the development and launch of the photobook profiling women MPs has contributed to developing the capacity of women MPs to engage with the media, as well as the capacity of journalists to engage with and report on women MPs. Nevertheless, the ET notes that the photobook was also supposed to support the women MPs in their campaigns for the 2018 elections, yet it was only

¹⁸ RAU & GMC (2019): Multi-Media Campaign: Increasing Women in Governance Visibility and Participation through Profiling. Evaluation report.

published after the elections. Several of the women MPs profiled in the photobook and who have benefitted from the related activities were not re-elected. Moreover, the number of journalists trained was very limited (the evaluation report claims that only 8 journalists completed the training), and only 10 stories were reportedly published.

***Main findings:** In the absence of a proper monitoring system, determining the SWAG campaign's results is very difficult. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the campaign has contributed to changing perceptions about women's ability to lead and take part in politics and given women a sense of increased confidence, solidarity and motivation. It has in some instances succeeded in establishing a constructive dialogue between duty bearers and rights holders, which reportedly has had a positive effect on service delivery. To some extent, the campaign has also contributed to developing the relationship and understanding between women MPs and selected journalists.*

4.2.3 Factors influencing the success of the campaign

Table 6 presents a summary of the conducive and disabling factors influencing the success of the campaign in the format of a SWOT matrix. The factors have been identified based on the discussion at the SWOT workshop with consortium partners and selected member organisations, but also considers information obtained from the survey, focus group discussions, individual interviews and the desk review.

Table 6 Summary of conducive and disabling factors

Conducive factors	Disabling factors
Internal environment	
Strengths	Weaknesses
• WCoZ's membership structure and nation-wide outreach • Holistic approach • Member organisations' active involvement in the campaign • Consortium partners' comparative advantages • Good cooperation with government ministries at provincial level	• Lack of strategic direction and dialogue • Inconsistent follow-up to activities • Weak monitoring and reporting system • Poor branding and visibility of the campaign • Not enough focus on the potential of young women • Limited policy advocacy capacity
External environment	
Opportunities	Threats (or challenges)
• Constitutional and legal provisions promoting women's participation • Commitment of local communities, women and leaders to participate in activities	• Deteriorating economic situation of Zimbabwe • Power cuts and rising communication costs

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing engagement of young women • Opportunities offered by social media • Working with men as gender champions • Political parties' role as key to promoting women's political participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative perceptions of women leaders and gender-based violence in politics • Women's lack of resources to engage in politics • Patriarchal society and cultural norms • Increased competition for funds • Shrinking space for CSOs |
|---|---|

WCoZ's structure and outreach is found to be among the most important conducive factors in the internal environment. The provincial chapters have enabled implementation and advocacy at the local level that, in many cases, have driven the campaign forward. The holistic approach is another conducive factor, allowing the campaign to tackle some of the underlying barriers to women's participation. As elaborated on in Chapter 4.3.3, WCoZ has also made good use of its member organisations and many interviewees also highlighted the complementary roles of WCoZ, RAU and GMC. However, as further discussed in Chapter 4.2.4, the ET does not think that this complementarity has been capitalised on fully, partly as a result of the lack of a strategic dialogue between the consortium partners. The ET observed that at provincial level there is good level of collaboration between the provincial chapter and provincial offices of government ministries, in particular the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

An important disabling factor in the internal environment has been the lack of systematic follow-up of activities such as the various types of meetings organised at the provincial level. The meetings are viewed by some as an important means to increase WCoZ's membership base and therefore prompted the provincial chapters to continuously seek to invite "new" people, rather than engage prior participants and build their capacity in a long-term manner. This tendency is also reflected in the results indicators of the campaign, which focus on numbers of people trained rather than on what capacities are being developed. Moreover, the potential of young women does not seem to have been fully harnessed by the campaign, as indicated by the fact that the focus group discussions with WCoZ's provincial chapter committees were dominated by participants above the age of 40.

Among the most important conducive factors in the external environment are the existing constitutional and legal provisions promoting women's participation in governance and electoral processes. Focus group discussions with provincial chapter and beneficiaries also indicate that local communities, women and duty bearers are actively engaged in the campaign, although the economic crisis diverts the attention towards more mundane things like earning a living. Apart from engaging more women, there is an untapped potential to make better use of social media in the campaign.

Some of the threats (or challenges) in the external environment are clearly beyond the control of the campaign (the economic crisis, increasing costs, shrinking space), while others could possibly, if not overcome, at least be addressed by the campaign.

The latter includes the negative perceptions of women leaders and women's lack of resources.

***Main findings:** There are many internal and external factors that influence the success of the SWAG campaign. Conducive factors that could be capitalised on more include the potential complementarity between the consortium partners, the growing engagement of young women, and the opportunities offered by social media. The lack of strategic direction, inconsistent follow-up of activities, weak monitoring and reporting, and the poor branding and visibility of the campaign are disabling factors that require priority attention.*

4.2.4 Flexibility to adjust to changing context and emerging issues

The SWAG campaign, as designed, addresses the need for increasing women's participation in governance and electoral process in a comprehensive manner. However, given that the campaign was launched just months before the 2018 harmonised elections, the focus during the first year was on advancing the representation of women in the Parliament and local councils. As earlier noted, there is a common sentiment that the campaign should have started much earlier to have an effect on the elections. In line with the findings of the baseline survey and as reflected in the proposal for the extension period, in 2019, the campaign returned to the original ambition of a more holistic approach.

As indicated above and further elaborated on in Chapter 4.4.1, insufficient strategic management and coordination and dialogue between consortium partners is found to have negatively influenced the success of the campaign. It has consequences for the ability of consortium partners to ensure good planning and redirect the campaign when things are moving in the wrong direction. Likewise, the limited extent of outcome-level monitoring and data (see Chapter 4.2.2) presents a challenge for ensuring that the campaign is guided by past experiences, lessons learnt and results. The commissioning of a SWAG Campaign Strategy is an important step in remedying this situation.

Interviews with provincial chapters indicate that while there is regular dialogue and coordination with WCoZ's secretariat in Harare, they have limited influence on the type, number and timing of activities. This was felt to reduce the ability of the provincial chapters ability to reflect on experiences, adjust and respond to emerging demands.

The proposal for the extension period May 2019-October 2020 includes a range of new activities, including governance participation learning groups (briefly mentioned in the 2017 proposal), a women in governance barometer, non-state actor's governance participation forums, duty bearers interface, etc. No major change is observed regarding the project's target groups, except for the addition of traditional leaders. The addition of a fourth outcome shows an increased focus on women's agency and visibility in the media. At the same time, the theory of change section remains exactly the same as in the original proposal. Hence, it is not evident that the extension proposal is informed by changes in the context.

***Main findings:** While the focus and scope of the campaign has evolved, it is not always clear what has prompted the changes and to what extent they have been informed by past experiences and the context. There is a need for enhancing strategic guidance from the top and, at the same time, allow for more flexibility in terms of the planning of activities on the ground.*

4.3 EFFICIENCY

4.3.1 Timeliness and budget management

The planned activities and expected outputs of the SWAG campaign are outlined in the original proposal to Sida (for the period November 2017-April 2019) and the proposal for the extension period (May 2019-October 2020). Both the proposals are accompanied by a detailed budget specifying costs by outcome, sub-outcome/output and activity as well as results frameworks identifying activities, indicators, baselines, targets, means of verification and assumptions. It should be noted that although the period May 2019-October 2020 is commonly referred to as an extension phase, the sub-outcomes/outputs and activities differ significantly from the ones in the original proposal, budget and logframe. In addition, a fourth outcome has been added.

Table 7 presents, for each outcome, the key outputs, activities and targets¹⁹ of the campaign, the current status of the same, as well as a comparison of the agreed budget and actual costs by activity. The information has been collected through a desk review of the documents referred to above and the narrative and financial reports submitted to the Embassy. To the extent possible, the information has been corroborated through interviews.

As indicated by the table, the key activities and outputs under outcome 1 have been delivered in overall conformity with the original proposal. This includes the baseline survey, the handbook and the provincial education forums. With regard to outcome 2, the targets for public meetings, multi-stakeholder symposiums and the media campaign were similarly reached²⁰. This is also the case with the post-election governance consultative forums organised under outcome 3.

¹⁹ The table focuses on what is deemed to be the most important outputs and activities and is therefore not exhaustive.

²⁰ The target for the multi-stakeholder symposiums was widely exceeded. An additional 19 symposiums were organised to reach out to non-political actors (such as trade unions, government ministries, police, faith based and community-based organisations, CSOs, headmen, media, education officials, etc.)

The activities and outputs that have not been delivered as planned include the national and provincial petitions (only two out of 15 petitions have been submitted so far) and the social media events (only 2 out of 5 events have been held) under outcome 2, the duty bearers' plans of action under outcome 3 (no plans have been produced), and the photobook²¹ under outcome 4²². Being the main output of RAU's and GMC's work, the photobook was expected to be completed during the first year of the campaign, ahead of the elections, but was only finalised and launched in May 2019.

Very limited progress has been made with regard to the new activities and outputs planned for the extension period. The progress report to the Embassy indicates that work has started on the drafting of one position paper and the development of the Women's Participation Barometer, but the extension proposal also includes a number of other activities and outputs, including training manuals, videos, a large variety of meetings, forums and learning platforms, a status of women journal, etc. These activities have not yet started or are only in the early stages of implementation.

Table 7 Status of key activities and outputs

Key outputs & activities	Targets	Current status	Budget	Expenditure SEK
Outcome 1: Women are increasingly aware of governance processes, institutions and structures				
Baseline survey	1 Baseline report	Baseline survey report finalised in March 2018	366,769	368,098
Women's participation handbook	1 handbook printed and distributed	A first version of the handbook was produced during the first year. A second, revised version is being drafted		
Provincial education forums	20 forums for a total of 1000 women	12 forums conducted during the first year and eight during the second year, reaching a total of 910 people (884 women)	314,363	302,543
<i>Extension phase:</i>				

²¹ GMC and RAU (2019): Counting the Gains: A Profile of the Zimbabwe Women 8th Parliamentary Caucus.

²² The photobook is not reflected in the original proposal or logframe. In the logframe of the extension phase it is presented under outcome 4 but in the narrative reports submitted to the Embassy it is accounted for under outcome 1.

Development of position papers, opinion pieces, policy briefs and fact sheets	20 position papers, 12 opinion pieces, six policy briefs, and 12 fact sheets	A first position paper is being drafted	125,800	0
Women's Participation Barometer	No target stated	A first version of this tool has been developed but not completed	92,500	70,350
Outcome 2: Elected officials & duty bearers ensuring women's equal participation in governance and electoral processes at provincial and national level				
Public meetings	30 meetings reaching a total of 3,000 people	27 public meetings during the first year and three during the second year, attended by a total of 2906 people (2564 women)	287,518	296,967
Multi-stakeholder symposiums	20 symposiums with at least 50 stakeholders each	22 symposiums conducted during the first year and 15 during the second year, attended by a total of 984 people (830 women)	364,166	365,538
National and provincial petitions	5 national petitions and 10 provincial petitions	Two national petitions have been drafted and submitted, one in 2018 and one in 2019.	N/A	N/A
Fact sheet development, printing and distribution	600 factsheets distributed during first phase	Two fact sheets developed and published during the first year and one during the second. No data available on distribution.	37,350	34,987
Media campaign	20 radio programmes, five TV programmes, and five social media events	12 radio programmes and four TV programmes have been produced and aired. A Twitterthon live event and Facebook live event was held during the first year.	129,480	130,886

Outcome 3: Elected officials and duty bearers ensuring women's equal participation in national and provincial governance processes				
Post-election governance consultative forums	10 consultation forums with at least 50 duty bearers	Nine forums held, attended by a total of 449 people (338 women). No details provided on the number of duty bearers.	191,370	156,571
Duty bearers action plans	1 plan per province	No information available	0	0
Outcome 4: Women leaders are confident and convincing when engaging with the general public or media				
Photobook production and dissemination	500 copies published and disseminated	Published and launched in May 2019	664,000	640,203
Printing and dissemination of weekly newsletter	No target stated	One newsletter has been produced but not yet disseminated		
Writing and publishing of media articles	No target stated	16 journalists (eight women) ²³ trained and 10 stories published		
Social media profiling	120,000 bulk SMS's sent	Social media profiling campaign for female MPs initiated		

Budget and expenditure figures have been retrieved from the audited financial report submitted to the Embassy, covering the period 1 November 2017 to 30 September 2019 (and hence does not include expenditures since October 2019). As shown by Table 7, with one exception (the post-election governance consultative forums), the discrepancy between budget and actuals for completed activities is less than 5 percent. At the same time, the overall delivery rate of the campaign is low. Of the SEK 7,452,075 granted by Sida from the beginning of the campaign until October 2019, only SEK 3,795,141 had been spent by the end of September 2019, after two years of implementation and with only a little more than a year remaining of the activity period. Table 8 provides a more detailed picture of the expenditure against budget by different types of costs.

²³ The report of the evaluation of the GMC and RAU component states that 8 journalists completed the training.

Table 8 Budget and expenditure breakdown

Type of cost	Budgeted	Expenditure in SEK (by 30/09/2019)	Percentage of budget spent
Personnel	1,666,844	840,790	50%
Capital equipment	72,760	69,188	95%
Programme activities	3,189,959	2,012,146	63%
Monitoring and evaluation	347,044	109,256	31%
Administration	249,629	123,558	49%
RAU and GMC costs	664,000	640,203	96%
Total SEK	6,190,236	3,795,141	61 %

Source: AMG Global (2019): WCOZ SWAG Financial Report for the period 1 November 2017 to 30 September 2019.

***Main findings:** The efficiency of the campaign in terms of the delivery of activities and outputs has been mixed. With a few exceptions the targets for the provincial activities envisaged in the original proposal to the Embassy have been reached. At the national level, several activities have been delayed or are off-track, especially under the RAU and GMC component. While the discrepancy between budget and actuals for completed activities is small, the overall financial delivery rate of the campaign gives cause for concern.*

4.3.2 Factors influencing delivery

While the reasons for the delay in delivery of certain activities and outputs vary, the demanding workload created by the 2018 harmonised elections has been a major factor, especially in the case of the provincial and national petitions and the production of the photobook. With regard to the photobook, the key target groups (women MPs and journalists) were reportedly pre-occupied with the elections, and therefore not available to take part in activities. Further delays were experienced after the elections, due to the court challenge to the presidential election results, during which MPs hesitated to talk to the media. As mentioned above (Chapter 4.2.4), the common view among stakeholders is that the campaign started too close to the elections to effectively engage political stakeholders and have an impact on the participation of women in the elections.

The economic crisis in Zimbabwe has been another significant influencing factor. Due to inflationary pressure and the devaluation of the currency, the cost of activities has gone up. This has affected the outreach of the campaign. The unavailability of fuel has been particularly problematic given the many activities taking place at the local level. Electricity shortages (including frequent power cuts) and increasing internet tariffs have also influenced stakeholders' ability to communicate in an effective manner. It is noted that a majority of the activities under the new outcome 4 are media-related and is dependent on good internet connectivity. Moreover, the

economic crisis and food shortages have made it more difficult to mobilise local communities as many people are busy just trying to make ends meet.

Other reasons cited as reasons for delay in implementation include the cholera epidemic that affected some of the provinces in 2018 (and led to the postponement of public meetings), unavailability of cash, and the shrinking space for civil society operations (manifested in deteriorating government-CSO relations and increasing suspicions towards CSOs). In addition, interviews suggest that several of the new activities planned for 2019 have been delayed because of the continued unavailability of MPs (who have been instructed to prioritize public outreach programmes for new laws).

An internal factor highlighted by the survey is the limited capacity of some of WCoZ's member organisations to implement and report on campaign activities, which reportedly resulted in delays. Interviews also indicate that the coordination between WCoZ, RAU and GMC is a matter of concern. Capacity and coordination issues are further discussed below (Chapter 4.3.3 and Chapter 4.4).

WCoZ and its implementing partners have tried to address the delays and respond to the surrounding circumstances as they arise. With regard to difficulties encountered with the Parliament, GMC has asked the Women's Parliamentary Caucus Secretariat for a meeting to discuss the best way of moving forward. Interviews suggest that the implementing partners had not foreseen the impact of the elections on the implementation of activities. While the proposal to Sida includes a risk matrix, the only internal risks identified are the risks of political interference and resistance of duty bearers.

***Main findings:** The delivery of activities and outputs have been affected by both external and internal factors. The 2018 elections and the economic crisis, along with the unavailability of MPs, have been particularly disruptive external factors. A significant internal factor is the limited capacity of some member organisations to implement and report on activities. No effective risk management system appears to be in place to mitigate the likelihood and impact of such factors.*

4.3.3 Capacity for implementing and managing the campaign

WCoZ has an extensive membership base and provincial chapters that cover the entire country. In the SWAG campaign, WCoZ has particularly drawn on the following member organisations:

- Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) for the baseline study
- Forum for African Women Educationalists Zimbabwe Chapter (FAWEZI) for the handbook on women's participation
- Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ), Girls and Women Empowerment Network (GWEN), and the Institute for Young Women Development (IYWD) for the provincial education forums
- Women's Action Group (WAG) for provincial public meetings
- Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) for multi-stakeholder symposiums

- Musasa Project for post-election consultative forums
- Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) for the development of fact sheets

RAU and GMC, which are also members of WCoZ, have mainly implemented activities relating to the development of the photobook. During the extension period, GMC has done some training for journalists and WCoZ's chapter coordinators, and is expected to do additional training for journalists at the community level, develop ICE material and an on-line portal, among other activities. RAU is currently conducting research for the Women's Participation Barometer. When necessary, WCoZ has contracted external expertise. This was the case for the baseline survey and the SWAG advocacy strategy. In general, however, the SWAG campaign relies on the in-house staff resources of the member organisations.

From the WCoZ secretariat side, six staff members are involved in the management of the SWAG campaign. This includes the National Coordinator, Finance Officer, Programme/Project Manager, M&E Officer, Communication Officer, and Finance Assistant. As indicated by the budget for the extension period, the Programme/Project Manager is expected to spend 90 percent of her time on the SWAG campaign. The time allocation of other staff members ranges between 13 and 20 percent of a full-time position. The budget also provides a salary contribution of between 10-20 percent to three RAU staff and three GMC staff.

The involved staff members represent a fairly good mix of competencies, although it is noted that the M&E officer position has been vacant for some time. Nevertheless, interviews indicate that there are concerns about the capacity to quality assure project deliverables and document results. As elaborated on in Chapter 4.2.2, WCoZ's monitoring system is focusing on activities and outputs with very limited analysis done to assess progress against outcomes and objectives. Moreover, the scattered nature of the campaign and the low visibility suggest that there is a need for strengthening the coordination and (internal and external) communication capacity of the WCoZ secretariat. These weaknesses are also identified by the SWAG Campaign Strategy.

***Main findings:** The SWAG campaign has drawn extensively on the capacity and expertise of WCoZ's member organisations. Although external consultants have been contracted for some activities, the campaign mostly relies on in-house staff. On paper, the human resources allocated to managing the campaign appears adequate. However, evidence suggests that the capacity and skills to monitor and document results, coordinate consortium partners, and ensure effective internal and external communication could be strengthened.*

4.3.4 Value for money

Given that the SWAG campaign has not been implemented for more than two years and that tangible results (outcomes) have so far not been achieved or documented, it is

difficult to tell whether the amount of money spent on different activities has been reasonable.

As shown by Table 8 above, the costs associated with the development, publication, launch and dissemination of the photobook is significantly higher (SEK 640,203) than any other groups of activity. While the photobook is seen as a tool for building the capacity of women MPs and journalists to engage with each other it was also meant to contribute to women's campaigning for the 2018 elections, yet it was published too late for this. It is also noted that merely 16 journalists were trained and only 10 stories published. In comparison, the many training and meetings held at the provincial level – the education forums for women, public meetings, and multi-stakeholder symposiums – have required relatively limited investment and have involved thousands of people. The public meetings, which attracted between 40-100 participants, had a budget of USD 1,000 per meeting. According to the survey, the provincial meetings are perceived by most respondents to be effective to a great, or very great, extent.

Table 9 below shows the budget allocation by different types of costs. Although a majority of the budget is directed to programme activities, it is noteworthy that WCoZ personnel costs make up more than 25 percent, especially as most of the activities are implemented by member organisations. RAU and GMC costs also include personnel costs of SEK 136,530 and SEK 143,190 respectively, as well as administration costs of SEK 76,068 in both cases. When adding these costs to the budget for WCoZ personnel and administration the total share of personnel costs increases to 31 percent and administration costs to 6 percent.

Table 9 Budget allocation by type of cost

Type of cost	Budget in SEK	Share of total
WCoZ Personnel	1,666,844	27%
Capital equipment	72,760	1%
Programme activities	3,189,959	52%
Monitoring and evaluation	347,044	6%
Administration	249,629	4%
RAU and GMC costs	664,000	11%
Total	6,190,236	100%

Source: AMG Global, 2019: WCOZ SWAG Financial Report for the period 1 November 2017 to 30 September 2019.

Interviews do not reveal any deliberate attempts to reduce costs during project implementation and this would anyway have been extremely difficult given the economic crisis and inflationary pressure in Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, there is reason to consider the alternative use of some of the funds. In particular, it can be argued that there are other ways of building the capacity of women MPs to engage with media, promoting their re-election, and inspiring other women to put forward their candidature than producing a photobook, especially with the opportunities offered by social media. This also seems to be recognized by WCoZ and its implementing

partners as social media profiling is one of the new activities in the extension proposal.

***Main findings:** Activities at the provincial level have required relatively limited investment and also appear to have been the most effective. In comparison, the activities related to the profiling of women MPs have been costly, engaged a limited number of beneficiaries, and, so far, not generated any clear results. Although a major share of the budget is allocated towards activities, WCoZ personnel costs make up a significant percentage.*

4.4 COORDINATION AND SYNERGIES

4.4.1 Partnership arrangements

The SWAG campaign was originally based on two proposals submitted to the Embassy of Sweden – one from RAU and GMC focusing on the development of the photobook profiling women MPs, and one from WCoZ with a much broader scope of women’s participation in governance. The latter drew on the results and experiences of the Women and Constitution campaign coordinated by WCoZ from 2012 to 2015. At the request of the Embassy, the three organisations – WCoZ, RAU and GMC – formed a consortium whereby WCoZ became the Embassy’s agreement partner. Separate MoUs were consequently signed between WCoZ and RAU and WCoZ and GMC, to formalise the division of roles and responsibilities and the arrangements for the transfer and management of funds.

Notably, the final proposal to Sida (dated November 2017) only describes the WCoZ component of the SWAG campaign. There is no reference to either RAU or GMC in the document. In other words, the two proposals were never merged but implemented in parallel, at least during the first year (with GMC and RAU considered ‘Third Parties’ as per the agreement with the Embassy signed November 2017). In the proposal for the extension period (May 2019-October 2020), RAU and GMC are explicitly recognized as co-applicants and management arrangements set out (a technical working group) for the coordination between the three organisations.

As described in Chapter 4.3.3, the WCoZ component of the campaign is to a large extent implemented through member organisations. Like in the case of RAU and GMC, WCoZ has signed MoUs with all member organisations to which funds are transferred for the implementation of activities. These activities are relatively clearly linked and well-sequenced. In particular, the baseline study fed into the development of the fact sheets and the handbook on women’s participation, which, in turn, guided the women’s training at the provincial education forums (this was, at least, the intention). The public meetings and multi-stakeholder symposiums followed upon the provincial education forums and were considered a first step in addressing barriers to women’s participation in the wider community and among duty bearers. Similar connections can be found among the activities leading up to the development of the photobook.

Most of the survey respondents (eight out of 11 respondents in both cases) are of the opinion that the SWAG campaign is well-coordinated, and that roles and responsibilities with regard to planning, implementation and monitoring are clearly distributed. Interviews give a more nuanced picture, however, as accounted for below. Representatives of WCoZ's provincial chapters generally appear to have relatively good communication with both the WCoZ secretariat and relevant member organisations. This has helped them to identify the best facilitators for meetings and refer beneficiaries to the most appropriate member organisation for help. Judging by the interviews with both provincial chapter committees and member organisations, there also seems to be a clear division of roles in terms of the planning and organisation of activities at the provincial level.

At the same time, there has been limited communication and experience sharing between member organisations. In a joint meeting with member organisations organised as part of the evaluation none of the participants had met before, despite the fact that three of the organisations had been implementing the same type of activities. The participants had also limited knowledge of the other activities in the SWAG campaign and could not tell whether some of the activities implemented by their own organisation were part of the campaign or other projects.

Interviews also suggest that the communication and coordination between consortium partners (WCoZ, RAU and GMC) has been weak. This is among other things reflected in the lack of clear linkages between the activities conducted by RAU and GMC on the one hand, and WCoZ and its provincial chapters and other member organisations on the other. For instance, the photobook, the main output of the RAU and GMC component, does not seem to have been systematically shared with all provincial chapter committees, and hence not used as a tool for mobilisation of women or local-level advocacy. It is also noteworthy that the Counting the Gains newsletter that was produced as a follow-up to the photobook only carries the logotype of one of the consortium members (GMC).

While the proposal for the extension period includes provisions for the establishment of a technical working group with representatives from the three organisations, a decision was taken in July 2019 to complement this mechanism with a higher-level steering committee, including also a representative of the Embassy of Sweden. According to the ToR for the steering committee, the committee should be convened monthly to share information on the implementation of activities and budget. In addition, the steering committee is tasked with ensuring the visibility of the campaign and mobilising funds. The steering committee does not have a mandate to provide strategic-level direction, which is commonly a key steering committee responsibility and something that is especially called for in a multi-stakeholder programme such as the SWAG campaign. It is not clear how many times the steering committee has actually been convened. Judging by meeting minutes, two of the meetings were entirely devoted to the planning of a festival in late October 2019.

Main findings: While WCoZ's member organisations and provincial chapters generally appear to have a good working relationship, the communication and coordination between consortium partners has been weak with the RAU and GMC component being disconnected from other activities. The establishment of a steering committee is a step in the right direction but so far it seems to have had a limited role. There is also a lack of communication and experience sharing between WCoZ member organisations.

4.4.2 Coordination with other projects

The SWAG campaign is only one of several campaigns and projects managed and coordinated by the WCoZ secretariat. At the time of the evaluation, WCoZ's project portfolio consisted of six ongoing projects, including:

- Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance Programme (OSISA),
- Civic Engagement for Accountability and Democracy in Zimbabwe (CEADZ),
- Strengthening Police Responsiveness to address Violence Against Women and Girls (TROCAIRE),
- Ending Impunity for Violence (VAWIE programme),
- Strengthening Women's Effective Participation and Leadership in Public Administration, Independent Commissions and Civil Society Organisations (HIVOS), and,
- The SWAG campaign (Sida).

Judging by objectives and outcome statements, the focus and scope of the OSISA, CEADZ and HIVOS projects are very similar to that of the SWAG campaign. For instance, the OSISA project aims at mobilising and coordinating community-based women's rights activists, including with a view to ensure women's participation in local government, parliament and independent commission consultations, hearings and submissions. It also seeks to promote women's rights policy submissions to local authorities, parliament, political parties and constitution commissions. Likewise, the CEADZ project aims to contribute to reduced barriers to participation for women, increased awareness of constitutional rights, roles and responsibilities, improved dialogue and learning platforms that link rights holders and duty bearers, and mechanisms for citizen advocacy and oversight.

The OSISA project is reportedly based on the SWAG campaign and appears to complement it by strengthening the women's movement's technical and organising capacity. In the case of the other projects, complementarities are less clear. The SWAG campaign proposals to the Embassy include a list of WCoZ projects but does not refer to any efforts to avoid overlaps, let alone ensuring synergies, between these projects. All in all, there is a need for clarifying the interconnectedness between different projects. Part of the reason for the proliferation of WCoZ projects with a similar focus and scope can be found in the donor agencies' preference for project

support. While WCoZ has organised an annual donor roundtable for the last two years, the focus of these meetings has been on information sharing. No strategic dialogue has been held to explore wider programme or core support, or other ways of harmonising donor support (e.g. basket funding) or requirements (such as with regard to reporting).

WCoZ's member organisations are engaged in the implementation of WCoZ projects, but also pursue their own individual projects and initiatives, which in some cases intersect with the SWAG campaign. Most notably, the Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) is implementing the 50-50, Vote for a Woman Campaign in which political parties are lobbied to ensure 50 percent representation of women in Parliament. Another example is Women and Law in Southern Africa (WILSA), which is implementing a project entitled "Using constitutionalism to enhance women's participation in decision making in Murewa District in Zimbabwe". Moreover, RAU has conducted research on women's participation in elections, most recently with a focus on the 2018 elections. In general, interviews indicate that the campaign could capitalise more on the strengths and already ongoing work of individual member organisations. One interviewee suggested that WIPSU should have been a consortium partner given its strategic role in advocacy for women's political participation.

Beyond WCoZ, there is a number of donor programmes and projects around women in leadership and women's political participation. Zimbabwe is one of the five target countries of HIVOS's global programme, "Women Empowered for Leadership", which uses a combination of advocacy, training, and coalition building and works directly with potential women leaders, as well as with political parties, trade unions, CSOs, and the media. The Netherlands Embassy funds the Women's Academy for Leadership and Political Excellence (WALPE), set up to advance knowledge and enhance the capacity of women running for public elected positions. UN Women is running a Women's Political Participation programme to promote the alignment of laws and policies to the new Constitution and create legal infrastructure to secure, monitor and enforce the gender equality and women's rights provisions. This programme involves capacity building of both rights holders and duty bearers. Moreover, GIZ is planning to initiate another phase of its governance programme in 2020, which previously provided grants to several WCoZ member organisations through a call-for-proposal procedures.

***Main findings:** WCoZ's member organisations have their own projects, some of which intersect with the SWAG campaign. Better linkages could be established between the campaign and these projects, as well as with other projects managed by the WCoZ secretariat. So far, limited efforts have been made to harmonise donor support to WCoZ, let alone to the area of women and governance as a whole.*

5 Conclusions

5.1 RELEVANCE

The SWAG campaign is generally perceived as a highly justified endeavour considering the limited participation of women in various governance and electoral processes, and the persistent barriers experienced by women in this regard. While the campaign has also addressed beneficiary needs and priorities, there is significant scope for making it even more relevant. This could be done by expanding the outreach, both geographically, to rural areas within a selected number of provinces, and thematically, addressing underlying barriers to a greater extent.

Prior to expanding the scope, it would be necessary to clarify the theory of change. The campaign appears to have been designed in an unstructured manner with limited participation of stakeholders, such as WCoZ's member organisations and provincial chapters. Although a baseline survey was produced and informed certain activities, more attention could have been paid to the need to anchor the activities in the baseline and the results framework. In 2019, a new outcome and several new activities were introduced in 2019 but the overall structure of the campaign remains largely the same. In general, there seems to be limited critical reflection on lessons learnt and contextual changes.

While gender equality and social inclusion perspectives have been integrated with the campaign, a more explicit strategy is required to mobilise men in order to effectively address negative gender stereotypes and identify male gender champions. The evaluation also shows that resource constraints prevent the participation of women with disabilities.

The campaign is well aligned with relevant national priorities and partner strategies. This suggests that the campaign contributes to the goals of the Government of Zimbabwe as well as capitalises on the comparative advantages of the different consortium partners. As no other funding apart from the Swedish grant has been mobilised, the financial sustainability of the campaign is at risk.

5.2 EFFECTIVENESS

Despite a conducive legal framework and a quota system, women's representation in elected bodies in Zimbabwe remains very low, especially at the local level, and has in some cases regressed rather than improved during the course of the campaign. Part of the reason can be found in the country's political parties, which do not promote or nominate women. At the same time, more and more women register to vote.

Due to shortcomings in the monitoring system, determining the SWAG campaign's results is difficult. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the campaign has contributed to changing perceptions about women's ability to lead and take part in politics and given women a sense of increased confidence, solidarity and motivation.

It has in some instances succeeded in establishing a constructive dialogue between duty bearers and rights holders, which reportedly has had a positive effect on service delivery. To some extent, the campaign has also contributed to developing the relationship and understanding between women MPs and selected journalists.

There are many internal and external factors that influence the success of the SWAG campaign. Conducive factors that could be capitalised on more include the potential complementarity between the consortium partners, the growing engagement of young women, and the opportunities offered by social media. The lack of strategic management and coordination, inconsistent follow-up of activities, weak monitoring and reporting, and the poor branding and visibility of the campaign are disabling factors that require priority attention.

5.3 EFFICIENCY

The efficiency of the campaign in terms of the delivery of activities and outputs has been mixed. With a few exceptions the targets for provincial activities have been reached. At the national level, several activities have been delayed or are off-track, especially under the RAU and GMC component. While the discrepancy between budget and actuals for completed activities is small, the overall financial delivery rate of the campaign gives cause for concern.

The delivery of activities and outputs have been affected by both external and internal factors. The 2018 elections and the economic crisis, along with the unavailability of MPs, have been particularly disruptive external factors. A significant internal factor is the limited capacity of some member organisations to implement and report on activities.

The SWAG campaign has drawn extensively on the capacity and expertise of WCoZ's member organisations. Although external consultants have been contracted for some activities, the campaign mostly relies on in-house staff. Evidence suggests that WCoZ's capacity and skills to monitor and document results, coordinate consortium partners, and ensure effective internal and external communication must be strengthened.

Activities at the provincial level have required relatively limited investment and also appear to have been the most effective. In comparison, the activities related to the profiling of women MPs have been costly, engaged a limited number of beneficiaries, and, so far, not generated any clear results. Although a major share of the budget is allocated towards activities, WCoZ personnel costs make up a significant percentage.

5.4 COORDINATION AND SYNERGIES

While WCoZ's member organisations and provincial chapters generally appear to have a good working relationship, the communication and coordination between consortium partners has been weak with the RAU and GMC component being disconnected from other activities. The establishment of a steering committee for the campaign is a step in the right direction but so far it seems to have had a limited role.

There is also a lack of communication and experience sharing between the implementing partners of the campaign.

WCoZ's member organisations have their own projects, some of which intersect with the SWAG campaign. Better linkages could be established between the campaign and these projects, as well as with other projects managed by the WCoZ secretariat. So far, limited efforts have been made to harmonise donor support to WCoZ, let alone to the area of women and governance as a whole.

6 Recommendations

6.1 RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE EMBASSY OF SWEDEN

1. The Embassy should consider extending the activity period of the agreement with WCoZ provided that the consortium partners can present a joint – and realistic – strategic plan and budget for 2020-2023, reflecting the recommendations of this evaluation. This would allow for aligning the campaign with the electoral cycle for the 2023 elections in a timely manner.
2. The Embassy could consider making an additional contribution to the campaign when the existing grant has been exhausted. This should be on the condition that a clear fundraising strategy and plan exists for the campaign, and that cost-sharing from other donors has been secured.
3. The Embassy could facilitate a dialogue between the consortium partners and prospective donors of the campaign. This dialogue could also help to harmonise donor support to WCoZ, as well as identify linkages with other projects aiming at promoting women's participation in governance and electoral processes.
4. The Embassy should request WCoZ and its consortium partners to prepare a formal management response and action plan for implementing agreed recommendations. The action plan could also identify any capacity development needs that the consortium partners might have, and suggest budget reallocations to address those needs (e.g. through training and consultancy support). The action plan should be regularly reviewed by the SWAG campaign steering committee.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS TO WCOZ, GMC AND RAU

1. WCoZ and its consortium partners should consider how to match available resources with the need for expanding the outreach of the campaign to rural areas and wider governance spaces. The following options could be explored:
 - Narrowing the scope of the campaign to the national level and a few provinces/districts that can feel the full effect of the campaign.
 - Defining the target groups and intended beneficiaries of the campaign in more specific terms (e.g. marginalised, young, rural women in x and y province, women MPs and councillors, male political party leaders, etc.).
 - Developing modules for training of trainers (and possibly on-line platforms) for cascading subject matter knowledge down to women in local communities.

- Establishing a pool of community campaigners/monitors acting as focal points for the campaign at the local level.
2. WCoZ and its consortium partners should explore other ways of enhancing the relevance of the campaign considering the following:
 - Recognising women's economic empowerment as a key means of strengthening their political participation.
 - Targeting men to a greater extent to enable effective awareness raising around negative gender stereotypes and identifying male gender champions.
 - Including youth by adapting activities to the needs of youth and exploring opportunities for youth to take lead on campaign activities.
 - Budgeting for additional costs necessary for ensuring that women with disabilities can participate in campaign activities.
 - Exploring entry points and strategies for working with political parties, including by advocating for gender-sensitive party policies and practices.
 3. WCoZ and its consortium partners should, together with selected WCoZ member organisations and with the support of an experienced facilitator, review and improve the ToC for the SWAG campaign. This exercise should include the following steps:
 - Revisiting the SWAG campaign baseline survey report of 2018.
 - Identifying lesson learnt, contextual changes and new opportunities since 2018.
 - Conducting a power/gender analysis about “how change happens” and the forces at play that help/hinder.
 - Defining more specific outcomes and change pathways, including what change is supposed to happen with each target group (e.g. when women are targeted in events, and want to become part of the campaign or stand for elections/seek a leadership position – what is the next step, how can they be involved, what will this lead to, and how can the SWAG campaign facilitate collective action?).
 - Documenting the new ToC in a diagram with an explanatory narrative.
 4. WCoZ and its consortium partners should, based on the new ToC, revise the results framework of the campaign and develop an accompanying monitoring and learning system. When doing so, particular attention should be paid to the need for:
 - Defining indicators for all outcomes and clearly separating outputs and outcomes.
 - Tracking the percentage of women being elected/assuming leadership positions in targeted provinces, districts and communities.
 - Capturing changes in behaviour of target groups and intended beneficiaries, including duty bearers and elected officials.
 - Documenting results in a systematic manner (i.e. in internal reports) and specifying sources for objective verification.
 - Ensuring effective learning mechanisms that can capture good practices across member organisations and provinces.

5. WCoZ and its consortium partners should identify and adopt appropriate methods and tools for social mobilisation, advocacy, volunteer management, etc., to ensure efficiency and consistency in activity implementation across provinces (e.g. how to plan and prepare for activities, how activities should be facilitated and what exercise should be used, how activities should be monitored and followed-up, etc.).
6. WCoZ and its consortium partners should, as part of the continued efforts to profile and support women MPs, make better use of social media and consider how to expand the training of journalists so that more can benefit.
7. WCoZ and its consortium partners should strengthen internal communication and coordination to ensure that the campaign is managed in a consistent and strategic manner, and that activities are complementary/mutually reinforcing. The following measures should be considered to that end:
 - Expanding the membership of the SWAG campaign steering committee to other, key member organisations involved in the campaign, and giving the steering committee a more strategic mandate and formal decision-making powers.
 - Identifying what skills (e.g. M&E, social media, advocacy, campaigning, etc) the WCoZ secretariat needs to possess to effectively manage the campaign.
 - Assign clear roles and responsibilities to RAU and GMC whereby RAU could take lead on evidence generation/research in general and GMC could become the focal point for activities with the Parliament and media.
 - Using social media to keep WCoZ's member organisations and provincial chapters updated on the campaign, including the decisions of the steering committee.
 - Developing a quarterly action/implementation plan for the campaign.
8. WCoZ and its consortium partners should develop a multi-annual budget for the campaign (leading up to the next general elections in 2023) along with a fundraising plan focusing on how to sustain the campaign in the event that Swedish support comes to an end.

Annex 1 – Terms of Reference

Terms of Reference for the Mid-Term Evaluation of the Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance (SWAG) campaign, Zimbabwe.

Date: 04-11-2019

1. Evaluation object and scope

SIDA and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) entered into three-year agreement from November 2018 to 31st August 2021. The project was being co-implemented with Research Advocacy Unit (RAU) and Gender Media Connect (GMC). The total value is SEK 7 342 000 through which SIDA supports the WCoZ's campaign on Strengthening Women's Advocacy in Inclusive Governance (SWAG) is being implemented at national and local levels in Zimbabwe.

The implementation of the project is based on a theory of change which has 3 results areas:

1. Women are increasingly aware of governance processes, institutions and structures in Zimbabwe.
2. Elected Officials & duty bearers ensuring Women's equal participation in governance processes.
3. Elected officials & Duty bearers increasingly respond to, involve, and consult women in governance and electoral processes).

The purpose of this review is to **provide inputs for improving conditions** for positive results achievement in the SWAG campaign. The evaluation is expected to **strengthen learning within WCOZ and its partners**, as well as with Sida, when it comes to positive results achievement of work methods on enhancing women's participation in decision making. This will enable WCoZ to look ahead to its new phase of project implementation for further intervention, seek recommendations towards this and the future evolution of the SWAG Theory of Change.

Establish the relevance of the work methods used by WCOZ, and how effective they are for achieving intended results including areas of particularly strong performance as well as those in need of being enhanced. Provide recommendations, on the basis of lessons drawn from the above findings for shaping implementation in year three.

The evaluation will be used to ***inform decisions on how the intervention may be adjusted and improved*** as an input to the development of improving women participation in electoral and governance processes

Delimitations

The evaluation will select participants from the 10 provinces of project implementation to understand what knowledge and skills they have gained from the intervention. The participants will include women who participated in different project initiatives such as public forum on women's participation in governance and

electoral processes, provincial educational forums, those who received handbooks on women's participation on governance and electoral processes. The evaluation will also focus on the duty bearers, assessing on how effectively they are supporting the women's participation in electoral and governance processes.

2. Evaluation rationale

This a mid-term evaluation with emphasis on ensuring that project results are achieved. The rationale behind this is to review the progress made in achieving the projects outcomes as well as document lessons learnt from implementation.

3. Evaluation purpose: Intended use and intended users

The purpose or intended use of the evaluation is:

- To help WCoZ assess how well it is doing in implementing the SWAG campaign and meeting its goals. This will provide a learning platform to learn from what works well and less well.
- The evaluation will be used to inform decisions on how the intervention may be adjusted and improved as an input to the development of improving women participation in electoral and governance processes.
- provide Sida and its partners with an input to upcoming discussions concerning the preparation of a new phase of SWAG project.

The primary intended users of the evaluation are

- The Embassy of Sweden in Harare
- WCoZ and its implementing partners (RAU & GMC)
- WCoZ membership

Secondary Users of the Evaluation are:

- Other Funding Partners
- Project beneficiaries
- Government Departments

The evaluation is to be designed, conducted and reported to meet the needs of the intended users and tenderers shall elaborate in the tender how this will be ensured during the evaluation process. Other stakeholders that should be kept informed about the evaluation include:

- Local authorities
- Government institutions (Ministry of Women's Affairs, Community Development, Small and Medium Enterprises)

During the inception phase, the evaluator and the users will agree on who will be responsible for keeping the various stakeholders informed about the evaluation.

4. Evaluation criteria and questions

The objectives of this evaluation are to

- evaluate the *relevance* of the SWAG project and formulate recommendations on how to improve and adjust implementation.
- evaluate the *extent to which the intervention's objectives* of the SWAG project were *achieved, or are expected to be achieved, taking into account their*

relative importance, and formulate recommendations as an input to upcoming discussions concerning the preparation of a new phase of the project.

The evaluation questions are:

Relevance

1. How relevant is the project in responding to the challenges of women participation in leadership in Zimbabwe?
2. How does the project fit in country priorities as well as WCoZ, GMC, RAU and SIDA strategic plans?

Effectiveness

3. To what extent has the project managed to achieve its objectives?
4. Are there deliberate attempts by the project to mainstream marginalised and vulnerable people such as people living with disabilities and other minority groups?
5. Was the project appropriately designed to meet objectives?
6. What has so far facilitated or inhibited success in project implementation?
7. How flexible is the project in responding to the changing environment and emerging issues during implementation?
8. How did activities contribute to the achievement of objectives?
9. How useful are the partnerships that WCOZ used during project implementation?

Efficiency

10. To what extent has WCoZ and its partners managed to conduct activities and meet targets within the specified timelines and budgets?
11. How has WCoZ and its partners managed to utilize local resources and available expertise to successfully implement the project?
12. Was the project implemented in a way that demonstrate value for money and are there deliberate attempts to reduce costs during project implementation?

Coordination and Synergies

13. To what extent is the project harmonised with other projects within the Women's Coalition and its consortium of partners?
14. To what extent have the interventions of different actors been harmonised?

More questions are expected to be developed in the tender by the tenderer and further developed during the inception phase of the evaluation.

5. Evaluation approach and methods for data collection and analysis

The evaluator will analyse how has gender equality been integrated into the design, planning and implementation of the intervention? To what extent has the intervention contributed to the improvement of gender equality? Has the project had any positive or negative effects on gender equality? Could gender mainstreaming have been improved in planning, implementation or follow up?

Data will be collected through different mechanisms not limited to focus group discussions, desk review, key informant interviews (KII) and a survey. The Evaluator will explain how data will be collected.

6. Organisation of evaluation management

This evaluation is commissioned by the Swedish Embassy in Harare. The intended users are the Swedish Embassy, Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe and its partners. The intended users of the evaluation form a steering group, which has contributed to and agreed on the ToR for this evaluation. The steering group is a decision-making body. It will approve the inception report and the final report

7. Evaluation quality

All Sida's evaluations shall conform to OECD/DAC's Quality Standards for Development Evaluation²⁴. The evaluators shall use the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation²⁵. The evaluators shall specify how quality assurance will be handled by them during the evaluation process.

8. Time schedule and deliverables

Time Schedule: The evaluation is planned to be carried out between November 2019 and February 2020. The timing of any field visits, surveys, desk research and interviews will be agreed with the contracted Evaluator in dialogue with the main stakeholders during the inception phase. A schedule of key deliverables for the evaluation process will be agreed at inception with the evaluator.

Reporting: The Contractor will report to the WCoZ Program Manager for all issues related to logistics and fieldwork during the evaluation.

Communication: The evaluation shall be communicating and liaising with the Programme Officer at the Embassy in Harare in terms of requirements etc during evaluation period. The table below lists key deliverables for the evaluation process. Deadlines for final inception report and final report must be kept in the tender, but alternative deadlines for other deliverables may be suggested by the consultant and negotiated during the inception phase.

Deliverables	Participants	Deadlines
1. Start-up meeting at the Embassy in Harare	Embassy in Harare Women's Coalition Gender Media Connect Research and Advocacy Unit	25 th November 2019
2. Draft inception report	Embassy in Harare Women's Coalition Gender Media Connect Research and Advocacy Unit	2 nd December 2019

²⁴ DAC Quality Standards for development Evaluation, OECD, 2010.

²⁵ Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management, Sida in cooperation with OECD/DAC, 2014.

3. Inception meeting WCoZ office	Embassy in Harare Women's Coalition Gender Media Connect Research and Advocacy Unit	9 th December 2019
4. Comments from intended users to evaluators	Embassy in Harare	9 th December 2019
5. Final inception report	Embassy in Harare Women's Coalition Gender Media Connect Research and Advocacy Unit	16 th December 2019
6. Debriefing/validation workshop (meeting)	Embassy of Sweden Women's Coalition Gender Media Connect Research and Advocacy Unit	31 st January 2020
7. Draft evaluation report	Embassy of Sweden Women's Coalition Gender Media Connect Research and Advocacy Unit	10 th February 2020
8. Comments from intended users to evaluators	Embassy in Harare	17 th February 2020
9. Final evaluation report	Embassy In Harare	24 th February 2020
10. Seminar Harare Zimbabwe	Embassy of Sweden Women's Coalition	27 th February 2020

The inception report will form the basis for the continued evaluation process and shall be approved by Sida before the evaluation proceeds to implementation. The inception report should be written in English and cover evaluability issues and interpretations of evaluation questions, present the evaluation approach/methodology, methods for data collection and analysis as well as the full evaluation design. A clear distinction between the evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection shall be made. A specific time and work plan, including number of hours/working days for each team member, for the remainder of the evaluation should be presented. The time plan shall allow space for reflection and learning between the intended users of the evaluation.

The final report shall be written in English, and be professionally proof read. The final report should have clear structure and follow the report format in the Sida Decentralised Evaluation Report Template for decentralised evaluations (see Annex C). The executive summary should be maximum 3 pages. The evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection used shall be clearly

described and explained in detail and a clear distinction between the two shall be made. All limitations to the methodology and methods shall be made explicit and the consequences of these limitations discussed. Findings shall flow logically from the data, showing a clear line of evidence to support the conclusions. Conclusions should be substantiated by findings and analysis. Recommendations and lessons learned should flow logically from conclusions. Recommendations should be specific, directed to relevant stakeholders and categorised as a short-term, medium-term and long-term. The report should be no more than 35 pages excluding annexes (including Terms of Reference and Inception Report). The evaluator shall adhere to the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation²⁶.

The evaluator shall, upon approval of the final report, insert the report into the Sida Decentralised Evaluation Report for decentralised evaluations and submit it to Nordic Morning (in pdf-format) for publication and release in the Sida publication data base. The order is placed by sending the approved report to sida@nordicmorning.com, always with a copy to the Sida Programme Officer as well as Sida's Evaluation Unit (evaluation@sida.se). Write "Sida decentralised evaluations" in the email subject field and include the name of the consulting company as well as the full evaluation title in the email. For invoicing purposes, the evaluator needs to include the invoice reference "ZZ980601," type of allocation "sakanslag" and type of order "digital publicering/publikationsdatabas.

(The final sections of the ToR are about evaluation team qualification, resources, annexes, and have been deleted from this version to save space).

²⁶ Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management, Sida in cooperation with OECD/DAC, 2014

Annex 2 – Evaluation matrix

Criteria/Evaluation question from ToR	Sub-questions	Assessment method	Sources
Relevance			
R.1 How relevant is the project in responding to the challenges of women participation in leadership in Zimbabwe?	•To what extent do the defined outcomes, outputs and activities address the identified needs of the target groups/beneficiaries? •Has the Campaign been designed based on evidence on “what works” in the Zimbabwean context?	Review and testing of existing theory of change based on primary and secondary data (part of the Contribution Analysis)	•Baseline survey report •Existing fact sheets and testimonials •Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports •RAU research papers •Other relevant research, policy documents and evaluations
R.2 Was the project appropriately designed to meet objectives? (This question has been re-categorised. In the ToR, it was listed under the effectiveness criterion)	•Is it clear from the existing ToC/results framework what should be achieved? Is the vision plausible? Is the timeframe realistic? Will the activities deliver the specified outcomes? •Have the beneficiaries been able to provide feedback during the implementation of the Campaign?		•Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations) •Focus group records (beneficiaries) •Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)
R.3 Are there deliberate attempts by the project to mainstream marginalised and vulnerable people such as	•To what extent was gender equality and social inclusion considered during the design and implementation of the Campaign?	Desk review and interviews/survey	•Baseline survey report •Existing fact sheets and testimonials •Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports

people living with disabilities and other minority groups? (This question has been re-categorised. In the ToR, it was listed under the effectiveness criterion)	•How does the Campaign seek to address negative attitudes and beliefs, including gender stereotypes? •To what extent has the Campaign been targeted to men, people living with disabilities, and young women between 18 and 35 years? •Could further action be taken to mainstream of gender and the social inclusion perspective in planning, implementation or follow-up?		•Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations) •Focus group records (beneficiaries) •Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)
R.4 How does the project fit in country priorities as well as WCoZ, GMC, RAU and Sida strategic plans?	•Has the Campaign been developed in an inclusive way ensuring the participation and ownership of partners and members? •To what extent does the Campaign build on the priorities and strengths of WCoZ, GMC, and RAU? •How does the Campaign contribute to the goals of Sweden's development cooperation with Zimbabwe? •To what extent is the Campaign aligned with Zimbabwe's gender policy? •How does the Campaign complement interventions by other actors?	Desk review and interviews/survey	•Interviews records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC and RAU) •WCoZ, GMC and RAU strategic plans •Strategy for Sweden's development cooperation with Zimbabwe 2017-2021 •Zimbabwe National Gender Policy
Effectiveness			
E.1 To what extent has the project managed to achieve its objectives?	•To what extent has the campaign influenced a change in a) women's knowledge and behaviour, and b) their participation in governance and electoral processes?	•Development of contribution narrative	•Baseline survey report •Existing fact sheets and testimonials •Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports

•What change, if any, can be identified in terms of: ○ Representation of women in the national assembly and local councils ○ Nomination of women candidates to national and local elections ○ Women’s participation as voters at national and local level ○ Women’s representation in public service professional posts ○ Women’s representation in local government ○ Structural barriers to women’s participation in governance and electoral processes (e.g. discriminatory laws, practices, attitudes, cultural and religious barriers, etc) ○ Level of advocacy and lobbying for women’s equal participation in governance and electoral processes by women candidates and leaders ○ Elected officials’ and other duty bearers willingness to respond to, involve and consult women in national and provincial governance processes ○ Media reporting on women’s issues and women politicians	•Collection of further evidence (as required) •Revision and strengthening of narrative (as required) (part of the Contribution Analysis)	•Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, selected WCoZ member organisations, independent academics/researchers, un-associated development works (e.g. donor representatives), etc.) •Focus group records (beneficiaries) •Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)
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	○ Visibility of elected women? ●How and why did the changes occur? What role did the campaign play in bringing about the changes?		
E.2 To what extent has the intervention contributed to the improvement of gender equality? (New question picked up from section 5 of the ToR)	●To what extent has the intervention had any positive or negative effects on gender equality?		●Baseline survey report ●Project proposals to Sida, including result frameworks and budgets ●Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports ●Interview records (meetings with WCOZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations) ●Focus group records (beneficiaries) ●Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)
E.3 How did activities contribute to the achievement of objectives?	●Which activities/methods have proven to be most effective? ●To what extent has complementarity between activities been ensured? (also part of the Contribution Analysis under E1 above))	●Development of contribution narrative ●Collection of further evidence (as required) ●Revision and strengthening of narrative (as required)	●Baseline survey report ●Existing fact sheets and testimonials ●Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports ●Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations) ●Focus group records (beneficiaries) ●Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)

		(part of the Contribution Analysis)	
E.4 What has so far facilitated or inhibited success in project implementation?	•What internal and external factors have influenced the Campaign? •What conditions are needed to make the Campaign succeed in the future?	•Expansion and adaptation of theory of change (also part of the contribution analysis under E1 above)	•Project proposals to Sida •Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports •Interview records (meetings with WCOZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations) •Focus group records (beneficiaries) •Survey data (WCOZ member organisations)
E.5 How flexible is the project in responding to the changing environment and emerging issues during implementation?	•To what extent have the Campaign responded and adapted to the factors identified under E4 above (including contextual changes in Zimbabwe since 2017)? •Are lessons learned captured and used to inform the direction and activities/methods of the campaign?	Desk review and interviews/focus groups/survey	•Project proposals to Sida •Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports •Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations) •Focus group records (beneficiaries) •Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)
E.7 How important have the partnerships created for the Campaign been for the achievement of results?	•In what way have WCoZ, GMC, RAU, and WCoZ member organisations complemented each other? •Are roles and responsibilities with regard to planning, implementation and monitoring the Campaign clear and efficiently allocated?	Interviews and survey	•Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports •Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations)

(this question has been rephrased. In the ToR it was formulated as follows: “How useful are the partnerships that WCoZ used during project implementation?”)	•How could the partnership be further strengthened?		•Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)
Efficiency			
Ef.1 To what extent has WCoZ and its partners managed to conduct activities and meet targets within the specified timelines and budgets?	•Have the activities and outputs been delivered as anticipated in project work plans and budgets? •What have been the reasons for any delays in the delivery? •What has been done to mitigate and respond to delays?	Desk review and interviews	•Project proposals to Sida, including result frameworks and budgets •Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports, including financial reports •Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, member organisations & provincial chapters)
Ef.2 How have WCoZ and its partners managed to utilize local resources and available expertise to successfully implement the project?	•Does WCoZ and its implementing partners have sufficient capacity to implementing the Campaign? If not, what are the gaps? •To what extent has the Campaign been able to mobilise local resources and expertise in areas where WCoZ, GMC and RAU are short of such resources/expertise?		
Ef.3 Was the project implemented in a way that demonstrate value for money and are there deliberate attempts to reduce costs	•Are the costs for the different activities reasonable considering the results? •Has the budget been properly allocated between different types of costs (staff costs, capital expenditures, direct programme costs, administration costs)?		

during project implementation?	•Could the activities and outputs have been delivered with fewer resources without reducing their quality and quantity? •Are costs and results adequately monitored?		
Coordination/Synergies			
C.1 To what extent is the project harmonised with other projects within the Women’s Coalition and its consortium of partners?	•To what extent does the campaign build on, and complement, related initiatives pursued by WCoZ member organisations, GMC and RAU? Are there any overlaps?	Desk review, interviews and survey	•WCoZ, GMC and RAU strategic plans •Annual reports to Sida and internal SWAG campaign reports •Interview records (meetings with WCoZ, GMC, RAU, and selected WCoZ member organisations) •Survey data (WCoZ member organisations)
C.2 To what extent have the interventions of different actors been harmonised?	•How has the coordination between different partners and members worked? Are consortium partners satisfied with the set-up? •What actual synergies have been achieved between different members’ contributions? •What has been done to ensure coordination with the interventions of other actors?		

Annex 3 – List of documents

AMG Global (2019): WCOZ SWAG Financial Report for the period November 2017-September 2019.

Courage, M & Forget, K (2019): Factors influencing women political participation: The case of the SADC region. In Cogent Social Sciences, 5:1.

Gender Links “Zimbabwe: Gender and Election” at <https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/zimbabwe-gender-and-elections/> Retrieved 20 March 2020.

Gender Links (2018): Gender in the 2018 Zimbabwe Local Government Elections.

GIZ (2018): Gender Analysis for the Strengthening Democracy and Citizen Participation Programme in Zimbabwe and the standalone measure “Promotion and Enforcement of Human Rights and Good Governance”.

GMC (2016): Realigning Gender and Media Connect to the Demands of Today’s Media Industry for Increased Effectiveness and Impact. Strategic Planning Document 2016-2019.

GMC and RAU (2019): Counting the Gains: A Profile of the Zimbabwe Women 8th Parliamentary Caucus.

HIVOS (2015): HIVOS ToC Guidelines – Theory of Change thinking in practice.

Maphosa, Mandlenkosi, Tshuma, Nevel Ncube, Gracious, 2015 “Participation of Women in Zimbabwean Politics and the Mirage of Gender Equity” in Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict and Social Transformation, Volume 2 Number 2.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2016): Strategy for Sweden’s development cooperation with Zimbabwe 2017-2021.

Ministry of Women’s Affairs, Gender and Community Development (2017): The National Gender Policy (2013-2017).

RAU (2010): No Hiding Place: Politically Motivated Rape of Women in Zimbabwe.

RAU (2013): Occasional visitors? Attendance in the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe.

RAU (2015): Programme Strategy (2015-2018).

- RAU (2016): Participation but no Voice: A Preliminary Report on Proportional Representation in Zimbabwe.
- RAU (2016): Zimbabwean Politics: Very Constrained and Confined. The Lack of Middle-Class Young Women's Voices in Political Discourse.
- RAU (2017): Women's Wings in Zimbabwe in 2017: Are They Necessary?
- RAU & GMC (2019): Multi-Media Campaign: Increasing Women in Governance Visibility and Participation through Profiling. Evaluation report.
- SADC Gender Protocol Alliance (2019): State of Women in SADC.
- SWAG (2018): Annual Report. Final.
- SWAG (2018): Baseline Survey Report.
- SWAG (2019): Counting the Gains Newsletter. Vol 01.
- SWAG (2019): May 2019 – October 2020 Proposal. Final.
- SWAG (undated): Campaign Strategy 2019-2023. Draft 2.
- SWAG (undated): Handbook. Final draft.
- SWAG (undated): Project Report November 2018 to October 2019.
- SWAG and WCoZ (2017): Theory of Change: Strengthening Women's Movement for Effective Participation Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe.
- WCoZ (2017): Amendment to the Agreement on Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance between Sida and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe. Amendment No. 2.
- WCoZ (2017): Grant Agreement Between Embassy of Sweden in Zimbabwe and WCoZ.
- WCoZ (2017): WCoZ-Sida-SWAG Final Proposal. November 2017.
- WCoZ (2017): WCoZ-Sida-SWAG Proposed Budgeted 6th August 2017.
- WCoZ (2018): SWAG. Appraisal of Intervention. Final.
- WCoZ (2018): SWAG campaign – Baseline survey report.
- HIVOS (2015): HIVOS ToC Guidelines – Theory of Change thinking in practice.
- WCoZ (2018): SWAG campaign – Baseline survey report.

WCoZ (2018): Women’s Participation in Governance Processes Analysis. Fact Sheet.

WCoZ (2018): Women’s Representation in Governance Structures. Fact Sheet.

WCoZ (2018): Report Year 1, November to October 2019.

WCoZ (2019): Final SWAG May 2019 – November 2020 Proposed Budget. 13 June 2019. Revised.

WCoZ (2018): Report Year 2, November to October 2018

WCoZ (2019): SWAG May 2019-October 2020 Final Proposal.

WCoZ (2019): SWAG Steering Committee Meeting Action Points.

WCoZ (2019): SWAG Steering Committee Meeting Minutes 26 July 2019.

WCoZ (2019): SWAG Steering Committee Meeting Minutes 27 September 2019.

WCoZ (2019): 2019-2023 Strategic Plan 2019 – 2023.

WCoZ (undated): Case Studies

WCoZ (undated): Steering Committee Terms of Reference.

WCoZ (undated): Agreement between Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe WCoZ and Research and Advocacy Unit RAU. Final.

WCoZ (undated): Agreement between Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe WCoZ and Gender and Media Connect GMC. Final.

WCoZ (undated): Strengthening Women’s Advocacy for Inclusive Governance (SWAG). Log Frame.

WCoZ (undated): Strengthening Women’s Advocacy for Inclusive Governance (SWAG) May 2019 – October 2020. Results in Log Frame. Revised.

WCoZ (undated): Women and Governance Handbook.

ZESN (undated): Mechanisms to increase representation of women in elections and governance in Zimbabwe. Position paper.

Zvobgo, Ellen F and Dziwa Cowen, 2017 “Practices and challenges in implementing women’s right to political participation under the African Women’s Rights Protocol in Zimbabwe” African Human Rights Yearbook at <http://doi.org/10.29053/2523-1367/2017/v1n1a4>, Retrieved 20 March 2020.

ZESN (2018): Report on the 30 July Harmonised Elections.

Annex 4 – List of interviewees

Name	Position	Organisation
Chatsaka, Patience	Inspector	Ministry of Education, Marondera
Chidongo, Farai	Desk Officer	Zimbabwe Women's Parliamentary Caucus
Chidzero, Nyasha	Junior Advisor	GIZ
Chigwedere, Sheryl T	Programme Officer	Girls and Women Empowerment (GWEN) Trust
Chikanya, Larissa W.	Intern	Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU)
Chikonyora, Tsitsi	Provincial Coordinator - Mashonaland East	Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ)
Chimboza, Ernest	Provincial Head - Harare	Ministry of Women's Affairs - Harare Provincial Office
Chinaka, Chris	Editor-in-Chief/Trainer	ZimFact/Gender Media Connect (GMC)
Chitsike, Kuda	Consultant, former RAU Director	-
Chumera, Maria	Programme Officer	Women's Action Group (WAG)
Dingani-Kandororo, Ellen	Programmes Coordinator	Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN)
Dzinavane, Tsitsi	Programme Officer	Embassy of Sweden
Gamanya, Abigail	National Director	Gender Media Connect (GMC)
Gwasela, Sophia Rudo	Councillor Ward 8	Mutare City Council
Homwe, Takudzwa	Intern	Gender Media Connect (GMC)
Kauzani, Joseph	Regional Coordinator, Eastern	National Association of Non-Governmental Associations (NANGO)
Madzimure, Tambudzai	Project Manager	Hivos
Makaza, Dorcas	Gender Advisor	Transparency, Responsiveness, Accountability, and Citizen Engagement (TRACE)
Maravanyika, Patience	Administrative Officer	Ministry of Women's Affairs - Marondera Office
Matizha, Caroline	Director Programmes	Zimbabwe Gender Commission

Mhlaba, Clarah	Programme Officer	Women's Action Group (WAG)
Moyo, Bridget	Administrative Officer	Ministry of Women's Affairs - Gwanda
Moyo, Nappy	Councillor	Gwanda Ward 2
Moyo Skhululekile	Councillor	Bulawayo Ward 17
Mpedzisi, Patrick	Independent Consultant	-
Muchenjekwa, Kudzai	Programme Assistant	Gender Media Connect (GMC)
Mudada, Memory	Administrative Officer	Ministry of Women's Affairs - Mutare District Office
Mudiwa, Farirai	Provincial Chapter Coordinator - Manicaland	WCoZ Manicaland Provincial Chapter
Mukuze, Hedwige	District Development Officer	Ministry of Women's Affairs - Mutare District Office
Munyikwa, Norman	Programme Coordinator	Women in Land Zimbabwe (WLZ)
Ncube, Sally	National Coordinator	Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ)
Nhunhama, Ruvimbo	Programme Manager	Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ)
Njeru, Shastry	Team Leader	Research and Advocacy Unit (RAO)
Nyamayemombe, Caroline	Deputy Country Representative	UN Women
Nyathi, Moreen	Provincial Chapter Coordinator - Matabeleland South	Gwanda Provincial Chapter (WCoZ)
Shonge, Maureen	Head - Governance and Women in Leadership	UN Women
Sifelani-Ngoma, Sakhile	Executive Director	Women In Politics Support Unit (WIPSU)
Siun, Miriam	Programme Assistant - Governance and Peace Building	UN Women
Toffa, Jasmine	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Zimbabwe
Vikitar , Elizabeth	Legal Intern - Mashonaland East	Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA)

Annex 5 – Survey Report

SWAG Campaign Evaluation – SURVEY REPORT

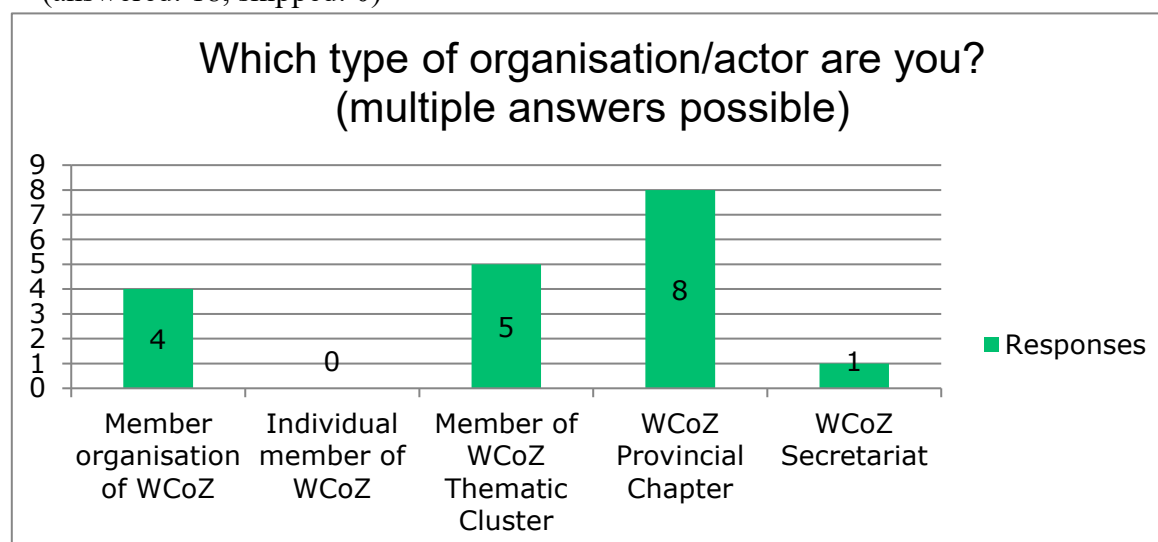
Out of 36 participants, 18 participated in the survey. Although more than 50 % participation is not bad, for this particular campaign, a higher survey participation rate would have been preferred. For most questions, there were several people who chose to skip the answer. This is food for thought and should be an indication that perhaps questions were unclear, repetitive, felt inapplicable or required too much effort on the participant's part, i.e. open-ended questions. That said, the survey does present a lot of interesting findings, perceptions and recommendations relevant for the SWAG Campaign Evaluation.

Below are the survey results of the SWAG Campaign Evaluation, presented question by question with an assessment of the responses. The open-ended comments have been inserted in bullet points. Above each answer, the response rate is indicated.

Question 1: Which type of organization/actor are you? (multiple answers possible)

Most participants answered that they were part of the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) at some level, and a majority were specifically from the WCoZ Provincial Chapters. Four people checked that they engaged in the SWAG Campaign as part of a WCoZ member organisation. 5 out of 18 respondents were from WCoZ Thematic Clusters. The distribution of respondents is positive, in that it provides a feedback from a range of SWAG stakeholders/implementers.

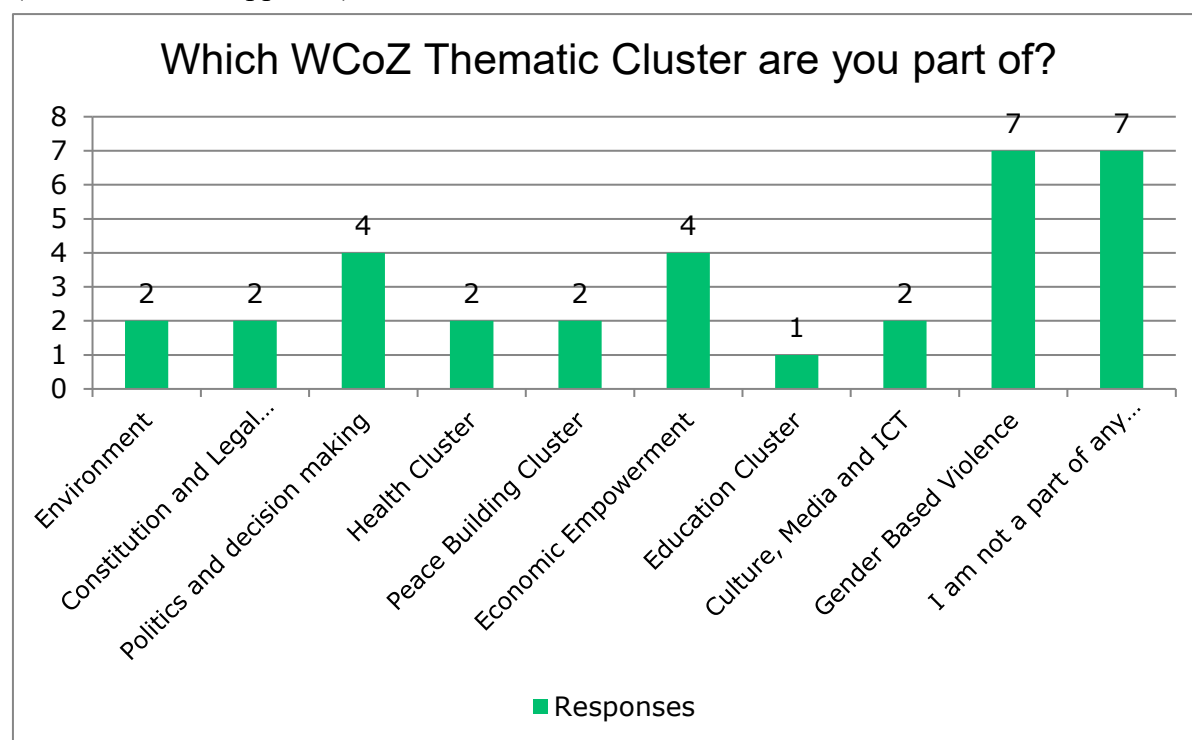
(answered: 18, skipped: 0)



Question 2: Which WCoZ Thematic Cluster are you part of? (multiple answers possible)

There was great variety in the thematic clusters amongst the participants – both as part of specific thematic clusters and as separate entities outside of the clusters. As evident by the numbers in the graph, people checked more than one cluster/option. This adds diversity, different perspectives and experiences that are all useful/important component. Approximately 7 of the respondents were not part of the thematic clusters.

(answered: 17, skipped: 1)

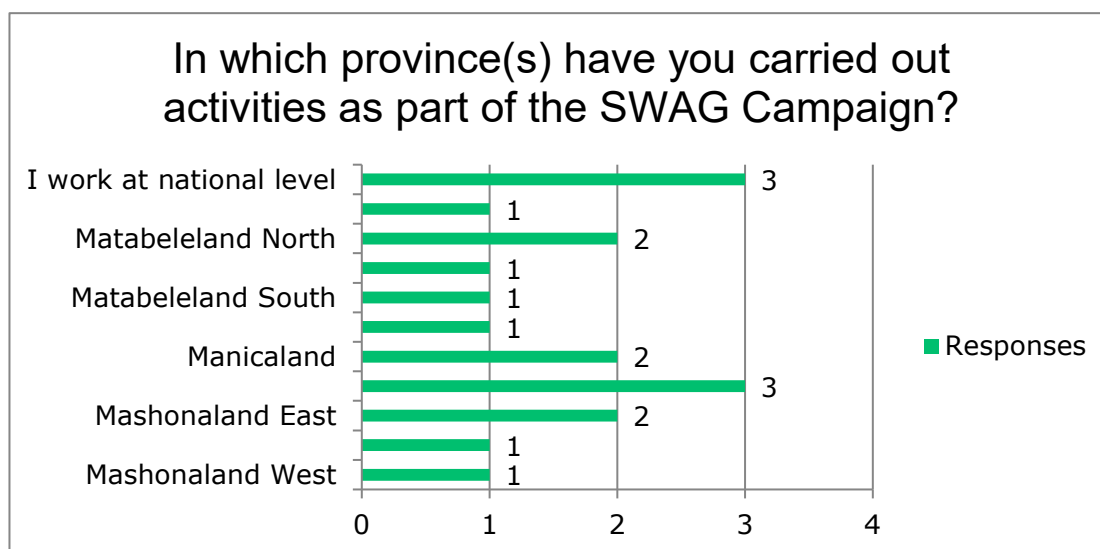


Question 3: In which province(s) have you carried out activities as part of the SWAG Campaign? (multiple answers possible)

For question 3, there were 18 respondents and 18 responses. Hence, 15 persons have worked within one province, and have not expanded outside of their immediate area. 3 respondents responded that they work at a national level.

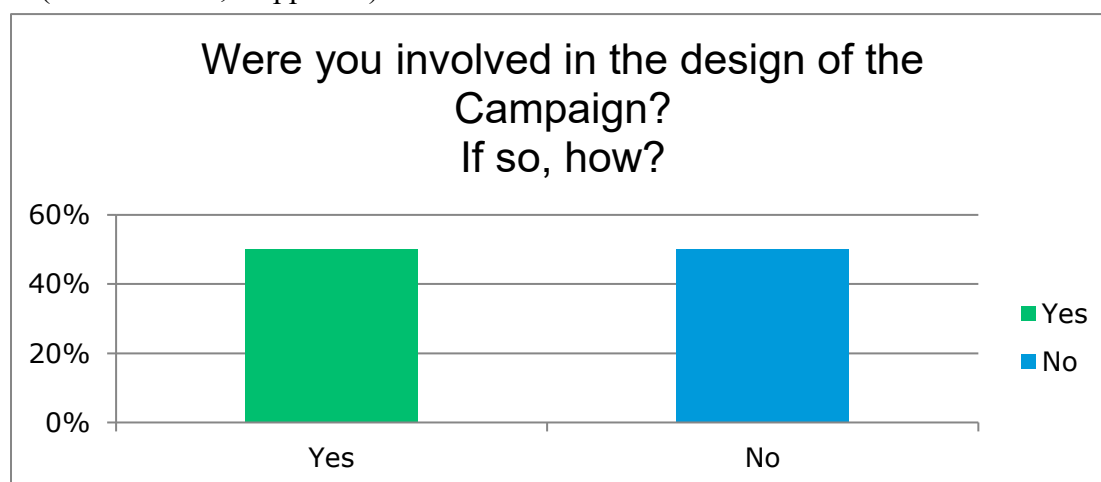
(answered: 18, skipped: 0)

Question 4: Were you involved in the design of the campaign? If so, how?



Half of the respondents indicated that they were involved in the SWAG Campaign design process, and their comments indicate that they were very involved in different stages and areas of the design and implementation of the campaign (see bulleted list right above). The other half indicated that they were not involved, which is more in line with findings from the field visit in Zimbabwe, which showed a limited involvement in the design process of actors outside the WCoZ secretariat and SWAG consortium.

(answered: 16, skipped: 2)



If yes, please describe how you were able to influence the SWAG Campaign

- First, we had training on identifying advocacy issues and how to write a petition
- We conceptualised and wrote the proposal together incl. implementation
- Selection of activities to be done, targeting of stakeholders
- As the provincial chapter coordinator, I was highly involved in the design of the campaign through outreach and raising awareness, targeting and identifying our prospects targets
- Co-creating the campaign with secretariat and implementing partners and members

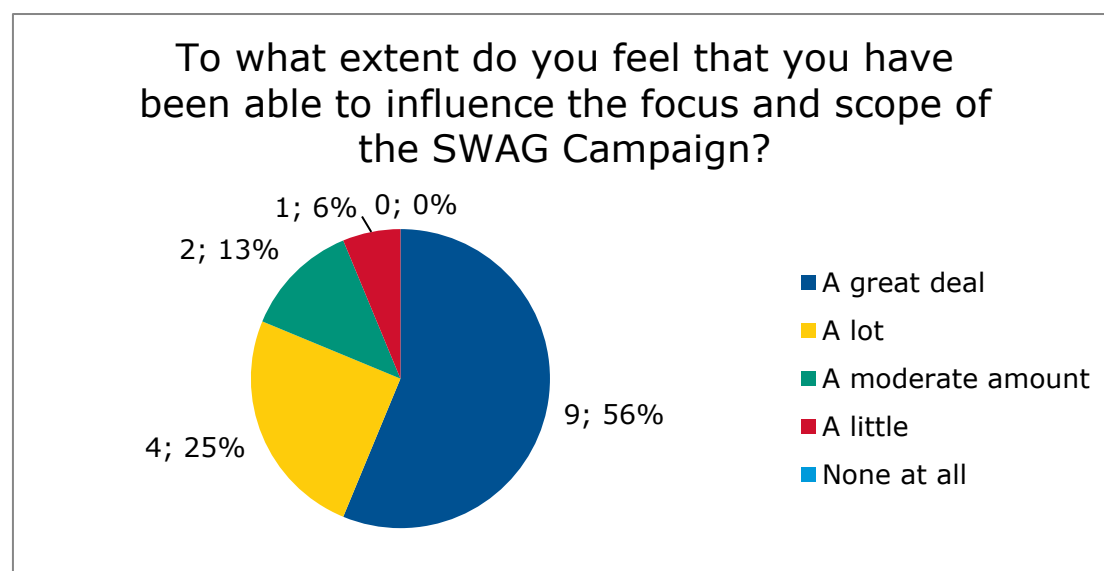
- We were part of the members who created the first #s for the campaign and identification of gaps in women participation in civic spaces.
- Lobbied for participation of rural women in the campaign through selection of areas
- Doing facilitation

Question 5: To what extent do you feel that you have been able to influence the focus and scope of the SWAG Campaign?

It is encouraging to see that 81 % of participants feel that they had a ‘great deal’ or ‘a lot’ of influence in developing the scope and focus of the campaign. The comments show great level of enthusiasm and engagement.

This number is also interesting considering that only 50 % were part of the actual design of the campaign (see question 4). It could indicate that those who were not part of the campaign design itself feel that they can influence the implementation. Some of the comments to this questions show that there could be a misunderstanding of the questions, as they refer to the implementation of the campaign activities.

(answered: 16, skipped: 2)



Please describe how were able/not able to influence the project:

- We engaged the city fathers on service delivery and also had workshops to strengthen and build women confidence especially before election where we encouraged them to take up leadership and decision-making positions
- As a Chapter we have facilitated platforms that have allowed stakeholders in the Chapter to analyse the current participation of women in governance, to ascertain why women's participation in governance is negligible, to reflect on women's participation in the recently held 2018 harmonised

elections, to assess the barriers to women's participation in governance and to map the way forward regards encouraging women's participation in governance and create a platform to raise women participation. We determined and assessed key issues which should be remedied or those in need of advocacy and lobbying to enhance and encourage female involvement and ensured that stakeholders understand the importance of female participation in governance.

- We plan activities, share experiences through periodic meetings and updates
- Timeous activity implementation, fruitful partnerships with stakeholders to raise awareness, capacitating women to demand accountability and good governance from public institutions
- Through the trainings that were done at district level we were able to collect information from the community members who participated in training. The information was used to further shape SWAG campaign.
- Identifying the project needs, identifying constraints, identifying necessary changes and expectations and assessments
- through involving members and some beneficiaries through the implementation of the campaign
- By mobilizing women and girls to attend trainings and workshops
- Leading workshops on strengthening women and organising and following up on members to get feedback
- Being able to control and determine the content for the project.
- As the chairperson could mobilise and encourage women to participate in governance activities starting at local level the spaces they have in church or community and to participate in them fully. Also, to take up any leadership position that may arise in any forum.
- When implementing activities, the focus was strictly directed to the expected target group which ensured that they were capacitated

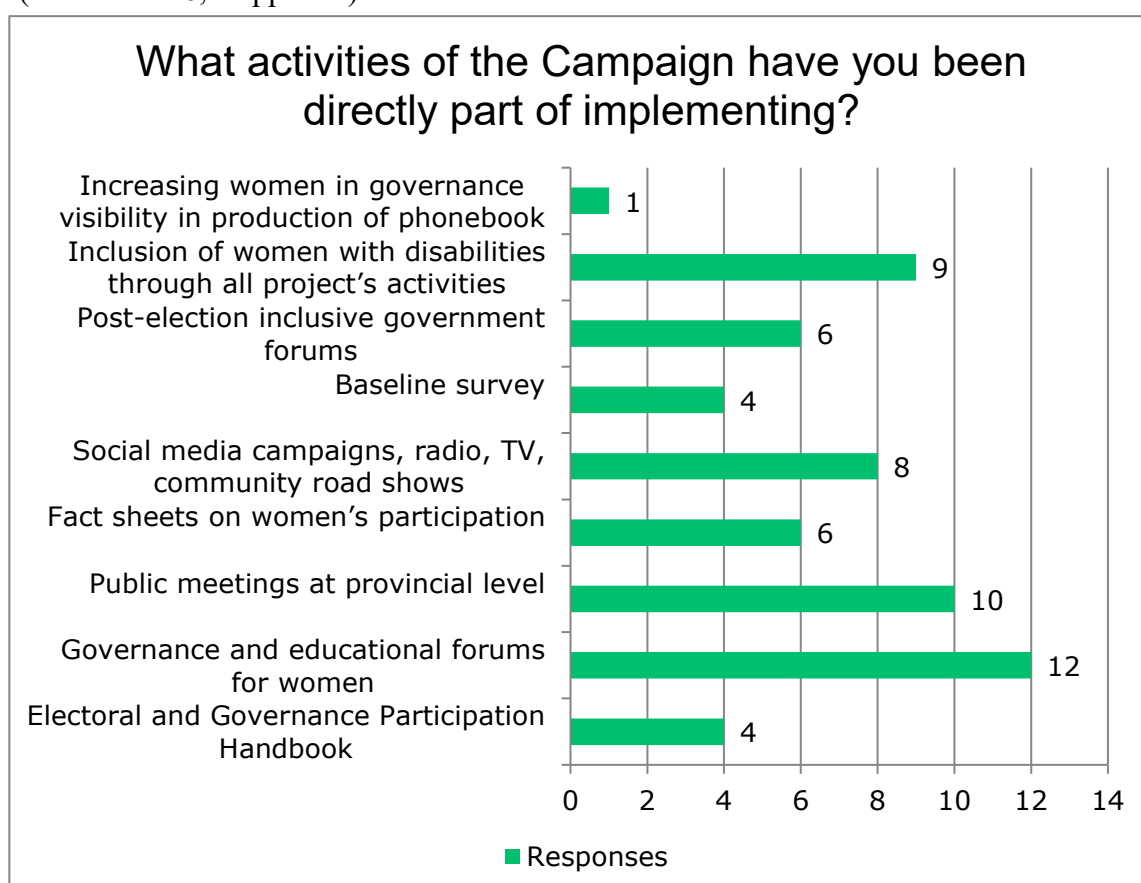
Question 6: What activities of the campaign have you been directly part of implementing? (multiple answers possible)

Evidently, most participants have been part of more than just one campaign activity. The top 4 activities that participants indicated that they have been directly part of are Governance and Educational Forums, Public meetings, Inclusion of women with disabilities and Social media, radio, TV etc. The activities, which respondents had least realised where the baseline survey, the governance participation handbook and the photobook. The latter is in line with the findings from the field visit, which showed that little awareness of the handbook and photobook.

- 1) Governance and educational forums for women (12)
- 2) Public meetings at provincial level (10)
- 3) Inclusion of all women with disabilities through all project activities (9)

- 4) Social media campaigns, radio, TV, community road shows (8)
- 5) Fact sheets on women's participation and Post-election inclusive government forums (6)
- 6) Baseline survey and Electoral and Governance Participation Handbook (4)
- 7) Increasing women in governance visibility in production of photobook (1)

(answered: 16, skipped: 2)



Question 7: To what extent do you think that the campaign addressed the relevant needs and priorities of the target group/beneficiaries?

All respondents, except one, believe that the campaign, to a 'great deal' or 'a lot', has addressed important areas and priorities of the beneficiaries.

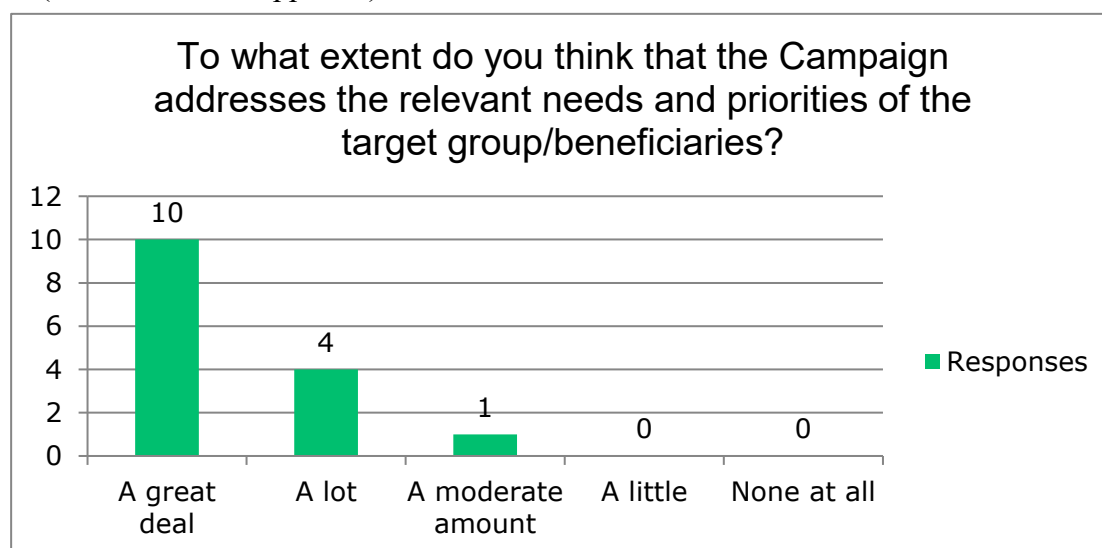
Respondents mentioned that they have seen an increase in the number of women in leadership roles, that more women now understand their rights, and as such, feel empowered to make demands regarding their presence and participation in governance and the public sector. There was an increased awareness, amongst women as well as the surrounding communities, of the abilities of women as strong leaders and front-runners.

For the women themselves, the forums provided a space in which they could voice and examine their fears in taking up leadership roles and responsibilities, as well as

support one another in their endeavours as leaders. There were discussions about the challenges that women face, possible solutions for mediating/overcoming such challenges, and there was a great deal of sharing of knowledge and experiences.

It was indicated in several comments, that the campaign should reach all women, including young grassroot women, women in rural communities and women with disabilities.

(answered: 15, skipped: 3)



Please explain the reason for your rating:

- Had more women now in leadership and more women understand their rights
- Because of the **multifaceted approach** the campaign takes which ensure the different and **relevant needs and priorities are addressed**.
- Project is reflective and forward looking in terms of women's capacity needs
- **Women empowered to demand accountability**, women having meaningful participation in governance, campaign gave confidence to young women in public sector
- The **campaign brings about the realisation that women can also lead**. Through the educational forums, women were able to identify their leadership strengths. They were also able to analyse the barriers in their taking up leadership roles. **The forums also provided space for women to examine their fears in taking up leadership positions as well as support each other.**
- Women were sensitized on the importance of taking leadership roles in governance, leadership skills enhancement and development, person development, intellectual development through education forums and experiences sharing i.e. information

- We conducted a baseline survey and issues raised by the target beneficiaries informed the content and approach of the campaign
- As a new chapter this campaign was relevant as from the t-shirts with the SWAG messages, we changed a lot of survivors and we are treated with respect I wish we get more support to roll out this campaign to the remote area where a lot of disabled women suffer
- The campaign is very relevant just that it leaves out young grass roots women in planning.
- As Women of Zimbabwe we need a holistic approach in terms of fighting for inclusion of women in governance structures and we need not have to leave out any group of women
- The campaign included all women of minority. Inclusive in all the campaigns hence seeing women participating in all spaces being community, church council public meetings without no hinderance
- it gives target group an in-depth insight of the challenges they face, causes as well as bring forth resolutions

Question 8: What should be done differently to make the SWAG Campaign more relevant to the needs of the target group? Please provide suggestions for increasing the relevance to the needs of the target group.

Among the responses there seems to be agreement around how the SWAG campaign could have been done differently. There should be higher focus on integrating the target group from the beginning phases: to ensure a campaign that targets rural women's engagement, these same women should be part of the design and scope of the campaign. Rural women, rural folk, and women with disabilities, should be at the forefront of the campaign – both as planners and receivers.

Additionally, there are a few comments about the need for follow-up meetings with the women who have made it clear their intentions of pursuing leadership roles in the future. These women need continuous support, through meetings or mentorship workshops, to ensure they feel empowered and supported to be successful in their endeavours [in public office].

Below are the things that respondents believe should be done differently. The bolded words highlight the main feedback of each comment. As evident, the words 'rural', 'grass-root', 'follow-up' and 'inclusion of target groups' appear several times.

(answered: 14, skipped: 4)

- There is need for more **community-based** activities in order to strengthen many women
- More inclusion and consultation of target groups in developing the campaign so it speaks to their needs.
- project should be branded and not operate in silos

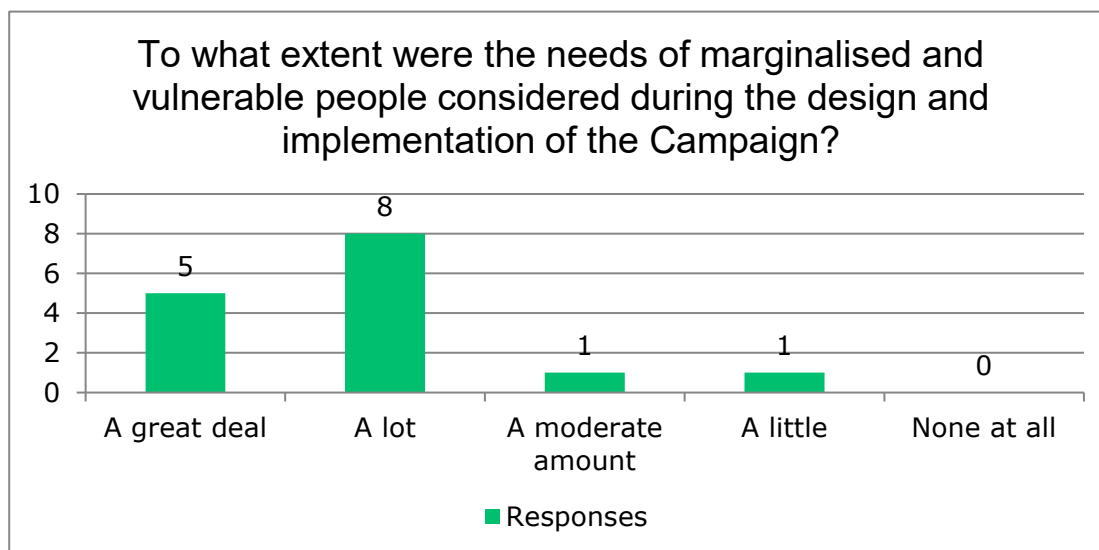
- SWAG should branch out and target more women in the rural areas and those with disabilities. SWAG should be more grassroots oriented
- Targeting **rural** women, have exchange visits and inter provincial symposiums
- There should **follow up** meetings for those women who were clear that they would like to take up leadership positions in future. This will strengthen the capacities of these women to stand for public office.
- there is need for the campaign to reach to the grass-root women i.e. the rural women
- establishing a campaign fund and volunteer pool for the **campaign for sustainability of the initiative** so that we support communities through their desired actions to keep the campaign going
- More work should be done on its **visibility**
- **Rural areas to get more campaigns** as most of the times big cities were [targeted]. we have empowered women programmes end there and furthest funds are never there even cascading no resources are allocated so us small CBO cannot take it to our remote rural grassroots
- For **campaigns to be targeted at smaller grassroots groups of young women**. For planning organisations to give full support to small implementing organisations
- more campaigns are needed in **provinces**
- To provide more spaces for women especially the **rural** folk. To continue to have **mentorship workshops** or meeting and testimonies from those who have made it.
- **follow-up** on target groups to be intensified

Question 9: To what extent were the needs of marginalized and vulnerable people considered during the design and implementation of the campaign?

Despite the feedback in Question 8, the comments in this question, show that the campaign was indeed successful in reaching the intended target group, and in capacitating more women to stand up for themselves. Respondents express that knowing and understanding their rights, women now confidently participate in public hearings, and marginalized women have become active participants. The campaign had a holistic approach where marginalized groups were heard and listened to in the implementation process.

This, however, does not mean that there are not more things that need improvement. There is a need for more safe spaces for all women to grow and gain the confidence needed to participate in public forums and take on leadership roles. One person commented that there is still too far between ‘us’ (the campaign) and the very rural communities, to where information travels slowly and is less mobile: “... most of our young girls drop out of school and get married as they have no access to information”.

(answered: 14, skipped: 4)



Please explain the reason for your rating:

- The **women reached by the campaign now understand their rights** and now participants a contributes at public hearings
- It was **an inclusive campaign that included women from different socio-economic backgrounds and those with disabilities.**
- women's needs were not only limited to the able bodied and the project encouraged marginalized to be active participants
- **SWAG tries to be inclusive in its approach.** Women in politics, women with disabilities are primary targets of SWAG. It also aims to capacitate women and girls to speak out against injustices in their communities and to give them a platform to come together and have an amplified voice in advocating for their issues
- Women with disabilities also included in program participation, context addressed gaps towards marginalized groups
- the campaign had **a holistic and comprehensive approach as it reached and targeted the marginalized and vulnerable people** i.e. women living with disabilities and the youth
- We are too far and our communities are in hard to reach areas as we are not mobile most of our young girls drop out of school and get married as they have no access to information
- fact that rural women' concerns were factored in
- More spaces should be provided for the marginalized, and be encouraged to participate
- all implementations strictly incorporated the marginalized and vulnerable

Question 10: To what extent, in the past two years in Zimbabwe, have you seen changes in in terms of women’s participation in governance and electoral processes in the following areas?

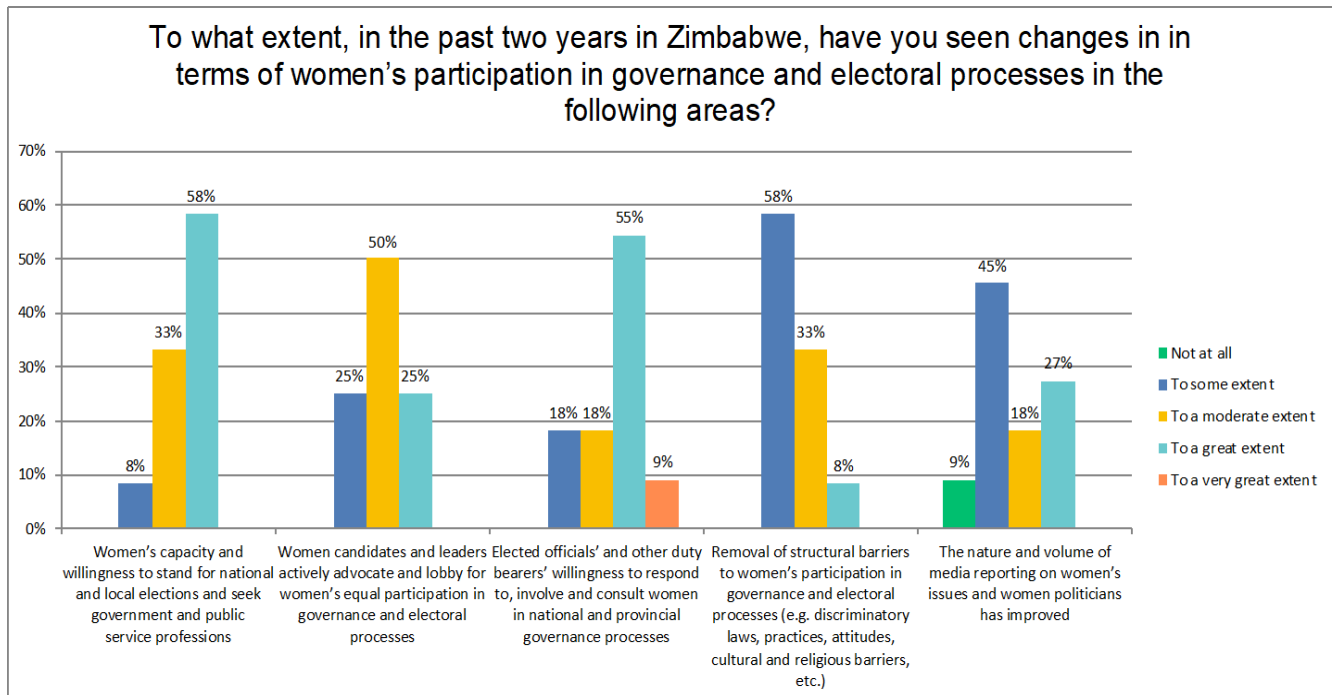
According to the respondents, they have seen the greatest changes in three areas over the last two years:

- 1) 58 % of the respondents believe that, Women’s capacity and willingness to stand for national and local elections and seek government and public service professions, has increased to a **great extent**.
- 2) 64 % of the respondents believe that, Elected officials and other duty bearers’ willingness to respond to, involved and consult women in national and provincial governance processes, has increased to a **great or very great extent**.
- 3) 58 % of the respondents indicate that, there has been a **moderate change** to the removal of structural barriers to women’s participation in governance and electoral processes

Overall, the respondents report perceived positive changes across all five areas over the past two years. The biggest changes are those mentioned above. Although 9 % indicate that there have been no changes to the media reporting on women’s issues, 45 % indicate it has in fact improved to a moderate or great extent. The structural barriers still remain for women in politics, and as such, the numbers are still too low.

Nevertheless, as evident from the comments, there is still much body shaming in the media towards women, the government is making big promises and taking actions on paper yet lacks to follow through with the implementation. This is a structural issue, and as pointed out in the comments, it is too early to rate the participation rate of women – the issues are too engrained in the societal structures to see consistent changes at this stage.

(answered: 12, skipped: 6)



Please provide relevant comments to your ratings

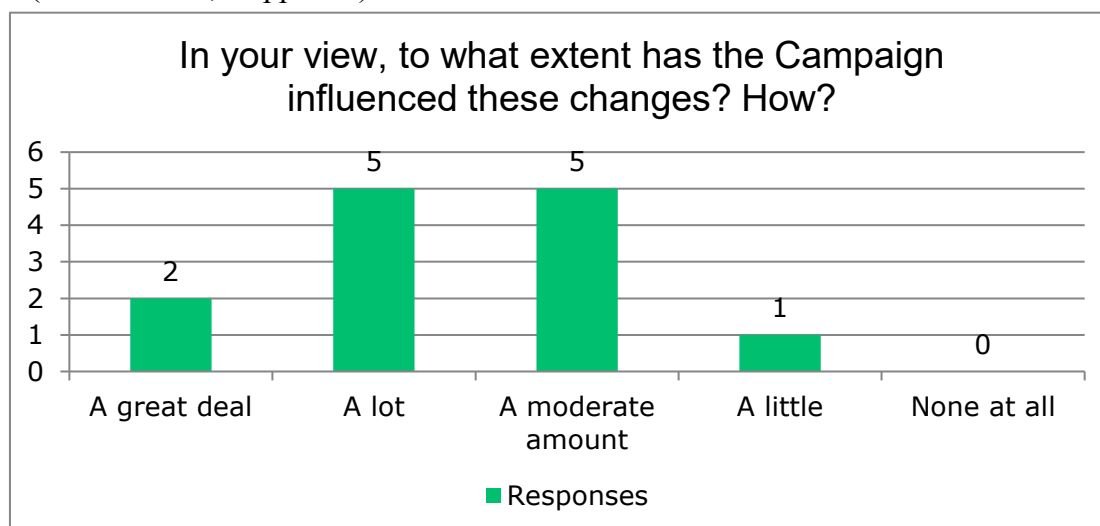
- **There was an improvement in the number of women candidates in the 2018 elections however the numbers do remain low due to the structural barriers.** There is need for a more coordinated consistent advocacy campaign where all women speak with one voice so there can be some impact.
- **The media is now more willing to highlight women's issues,** duty bearers are more responsive and the women themselves are now more involved
- Increase in number of women aspiring to assume political leadership, advocacy initiatives towards calls for improving service delivery, median now portrays women in a positive lens, ZEC consulted CSOs in post-election reviews
- despite all the statutory instruments put in place to enhance women's participation in governance and elections, women participation and **representation is still relatively low owing structural barriers that hinder women to fully participate in politics,** negative media around women leaders and **elected officials who are not willing to champion women's rights**
- There is still more work to be done and too early to rate women's participation
- many **women were and are willing to participate however patriarchy is still strong**

- I ranked to a great extent in all questions because there are still some gaps which need to be improved. There is **still discrimination of women** in participating in government processes
- Women still have the pull her down syndrome and that affects how they address other women. **The media is still not women friendly** there is so much body shaming directed to females. **Government is not showing seriousness in removing structural barriers it is all talk and no action**

Question 11: In your view, to what extent has the campaign influenced these changes? How?

The responses to this question, indicate that the campaign has contributed a lot to the changes mentioned in Question 10.

(answered: 13, skipped: 5)



Please provide examples of how the Campaign has influenced/not influenced these changes:

- As the Coalition we engaged and advocated for the appointment of women Ministers for the Powerful Ministries
- **Before SWAG, duty bearers were not willing to be engaged but through constant lobbying in Gweru for example, I have been noticing that the City Council has changed the way it views and reacts to gendered issues.** Through the various petitions that the Chapter has presented to Council, service delivery has somewhat improved though there are structural issues that still need to be addressed
- Masvingo has 2 female Councillor in urban and peri urban constituencies, campaign instilled confidence in young women forum as 4 of them have leadership positions in government bodies in other CSOs, **symposiums provided an engagement platform with stakeholders for buy in and commitment was secured**

- **The campaign has just been implemented and results are not yet visible. Some results may be visible during the year when general elections are conducted.**
- through sensitization meetings, **women's willingness to partake in governance processes has increased**, and women candidates have been fully lobbying and advocating for equal participation has been influenced by the campaign
- Matebeleland North needs more campaign
- **We have many women ready to take up leadership position** and even to stand up as independent candidates
- **Women are now participating in local governance and some women are geared for 2023 elections to participate**
- Those participants reached have become more vocal and aware of their capabilities however **the system still is tight for them to perform to the best of their capabilities. e.g. party politics**

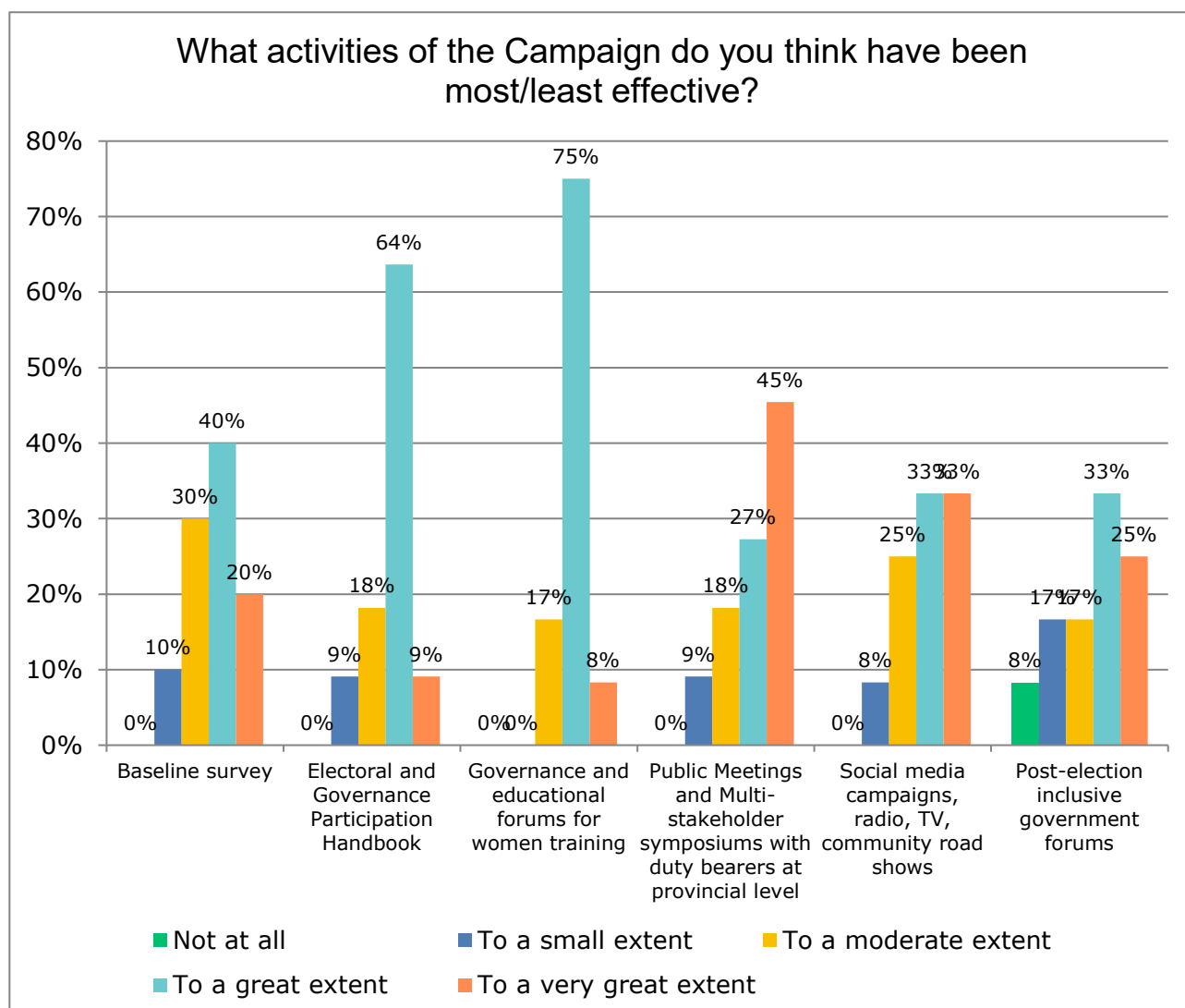
Question 12: What activities of the Campaign do you think have been most/least effective? (multiple answers possible)

The activities that received the highest number of responses, i.e. those that have been effective to a great, or very great, extent, were:

- 1) Governance and educational forums for women trainings
 - a. These trainings also worked as networking opportunities for the women who attended and allowed women from various spaces to share ideas and knowledge.
- 2) Electoral and Governance Participation Handbook
 - a. The handbook has become a referral point for the SWAG campaign. Very helpful during trainings
- 3) Public meeting and multi-stakeholder symposiums with duty bearers at provincial level
 - a. Allowed for women holding high positions, to bring it down to a common level where everyone could participate and share.
- 4) Baseline survey
 - a. For any project to be successful, it is important to understand from where the project springs out. Having a baseline survey provided the campaign with a starting point and a strategic direction.

Overall, the activities were thought to be effective from a ‘moderate’ to ‘a very great’ extent. Not surprisingly, the activities that allowed for interaction between women from different societal spaces to interact and share experiences, and those in which women were ensured time and space for them to learn, grow and gain confidence in themselves as leaders, were the activities that were deemed most effective by the respondents.

(answered: 13, skipped: 5)



Please provide relevant comments to your ratings

- The baseline gave a starting point and a strategic direction for the campaign. The handbook has helped in training the women and has become a referral point for SWAG and visibility of the campaign was very high through the use of social media platforms
- the identified activities have been the most effective to a greater extent because it allowed women from different spaces to network, link, share ideas and co-create. it helped women to boost their self-confidence and made them remind each other that they have an equal share same as men in governance.
- Informed the status quo on the ground
- All were so effective, but the symposiums were effective in the sense that they brought those in higher positions who were also to share experiences and to learn from each other

Question 13: What have been the key challenges facing the campaign in reaching its objective? (multiple answers possible)

Four areas were found to be road blockers for the campaign:

Deteriorating economic environment causing an increase in prices, negatively affecting project spending and budgets

- a. Many respondents checked the ‘Deteriorating economic environment’ as the main challenge for the campaign to reach its objective. Economic uncertainties affect budgets and project spending and can easily derail a project if such fluctuations are not taken into considerations.

Difficulty getting access to and engaging female MPs and councillors

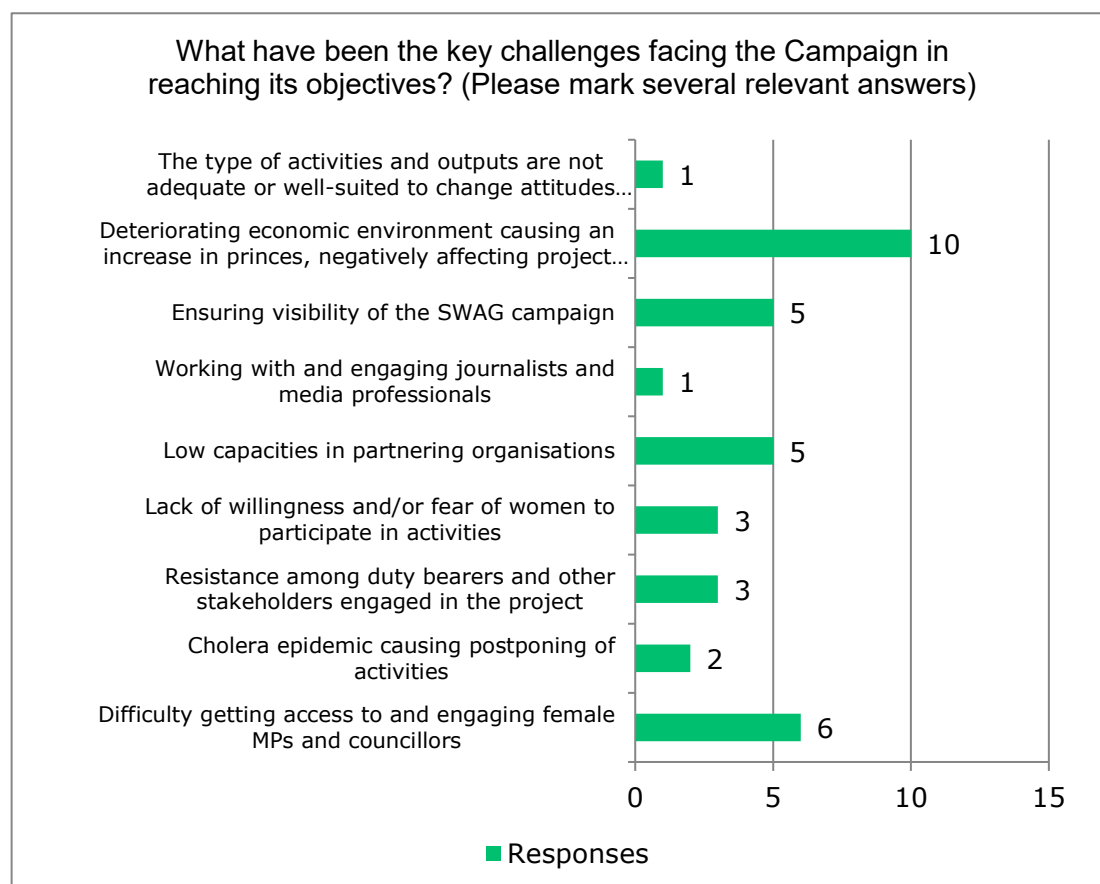
- b. Comments related to this challenge were aimed at the scarcity of female MPs, and as a result, they were difficult to get a hold of. There were, however, several male MPs who were willing to help with the campaign – which is also a good sign.

Ensuring visibility of the SWAG campaign

- c. As the elections got closer, it became more difficult to access duty bearers. There is a need for consistent coordinated visibility of the campaign.

Low capacities in partnering organisations

(answered: 13, skipped: 5)



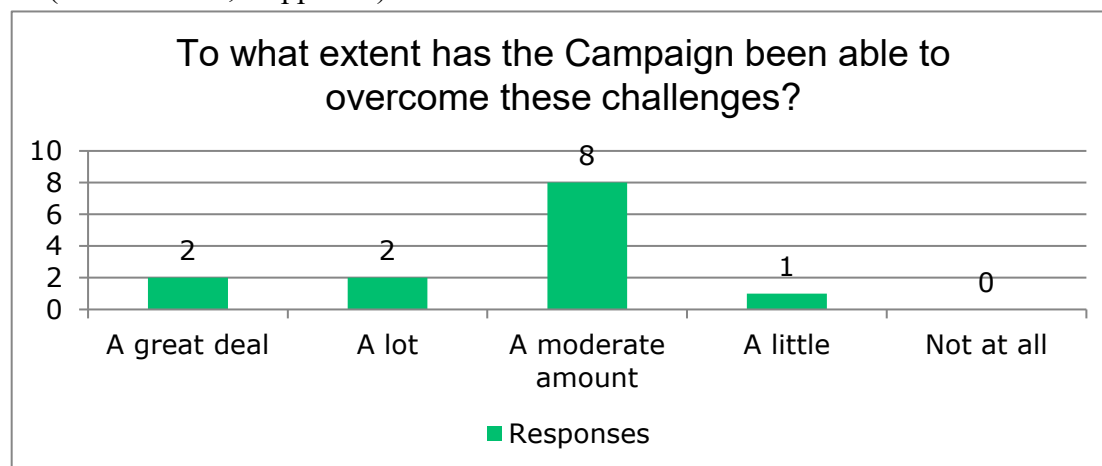
Please elaborate on your ratings and/or provide examples of other key challenges you have faced during implementation:

- On the economic meltdown it affected the participation of women due to high transport costs. Also, there is an outcry from the women that instead of give them refreshment
- It was difficult particularly closer to the elections to access duty bearers. There was need for consistent coordinated visibility of the campaign.
- CSO and government relations marred by suspicion, shrinking CSO operational space
- the campaign had few challenges except for the ones identified above. Female MPs are out of reach, we needed so that they can be able to share with aspiring candidates, so they navigate the terrain collectively as women. The deteriorating economic environment had an impact in our budget as there were constant changes and due to that instead of reaching 100 women the budget can only allow 60 women.
- Increase in processes and shortages and unemployment most people are busy trying to make ends meet
- political environment was too volatile
- Getting in touch of female councillors was excellent but the MPs was so difficult because we have few of these and could give a lot of excuses. We then end up working with the male MPs who in turn were very helpful

Question 14: To what extent has the Campaign been able to overcome these challenges? (multiple answers possible)

To the question of whether or not the campaign has been able to mitigate these challenges 8 out of 13 respondents answered: ‘a moderate amount’. This could indicate that the challenges have been difficult to overcome.

(answered: 13, skipped: 5)



Please explain the reason for your rating and where applicable, the ways in which the Campaign adapted:

- In general, **those that have interfaces with the campaign have come to appreciate what it seeks to achieve** and have found value such that even in the face of challenges, they are willing to push the objectives of the campaign
- Seeking clearances before activity implementation, good relations with line ministries enabled joint implementation and wider reach
- the chapter devised other avenues and strategies so as to meet the target goals i.e. inviting the required number and participants would share what is available, conducting meetings in community halls requiring less venue hire funds and this in turn had to cut on transport reimbursements
- When a fee was there at a meeting, women participated fully
- the challenges are still evident in other programmes

Question 15: What were the main enabling factors (both internal and external) that positively influenced the implementation of the Campaign? Please give examples of the positive enabling factors.

The different stakeholders of SWAG that came together under this campaign, was a big factor. Additionally, the willingness in the community to engage in the campaign, the willingness and bravery of women to advocate for inclusive governance, and the willingness of the media to publicise the campaign, were all part of the success of the campaign. Also, the ability of the campaign to connect to female MPs (although it was hard to establish meetings), was a push in the right direction.

(answered: 11, skipped: 7)

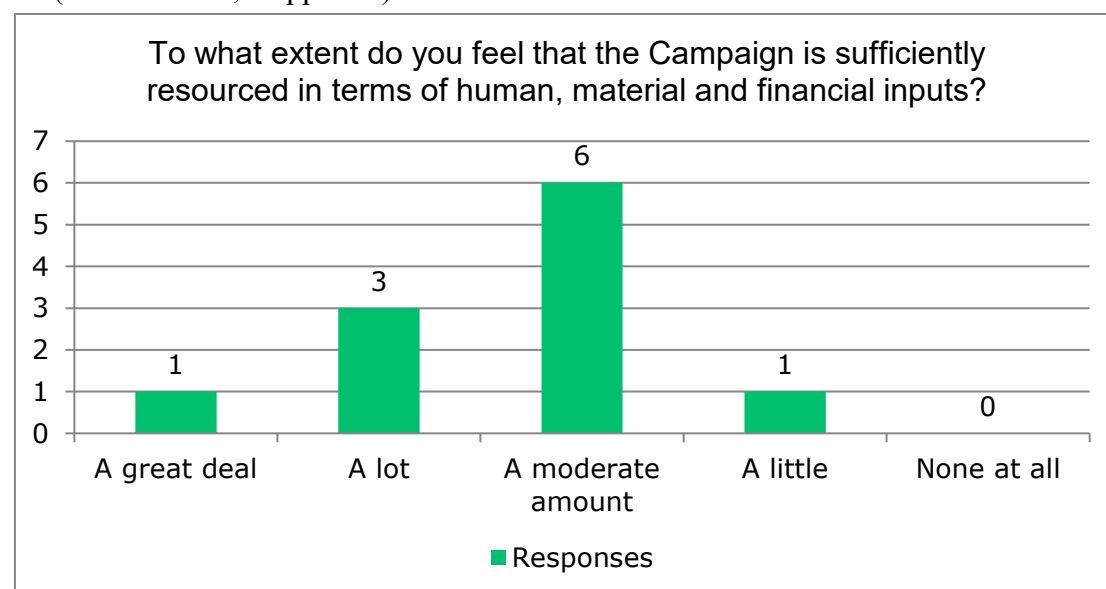
- Bring **different stakeholders to one platform**
- **Implementing partners** and the political environment.
- Funding; Political will from duty bearers; **Willingness from women and girl**; Partnership with like-minded CSOs; **Willingness by media to publicise the campaign**
- Timely disbursement of funds, **support from national office**, well-crafted project document, continuous process monitoring
- support from **partner organizations** and **participating communities**, communication and building relationships, participatory approach, research and data collection, funding and resources and team work
- **working with communities and members for campaign ownership** , periodic steering committee meetings to strengthen coordination of the campaign, **women's willingness** to advocate for inclusive governance, implementing campaign in **all provinces**
- Willingness of **female MPs** to participate

- Information and education materials distributed and allowances and food at gatherings
- **The campaign's ability to connect with MPs;** Social media and IEC materials distribution; Partnerships within civil society and also with line ministries and departments
- fact that **women are mobilized and speaking in one voice is a strength** which we need to ride upon and support from friends outside the country
- political environment was calm which enabled implementation

Question 16: To what extent do you feel that the Campaign is sufficiently resourced in terms of human, material and financial inputs?

6 out of 11 persons said that the Campaign is ‘to a moderate amount’ sufficiently resourced in terms of human, material and financial inputs. It was mentioned that there is a need for more resources to ensure visibility of the Campaign and to support community-based platforms and that there could have been more activities. 3 people answered ‘a lot’ and 1 ‘a great deal’. The reasons given were that staff are suitable and that the Campaign is well-funded.

(answered: 11, skipped: 7)



Please explain the reason for your rating

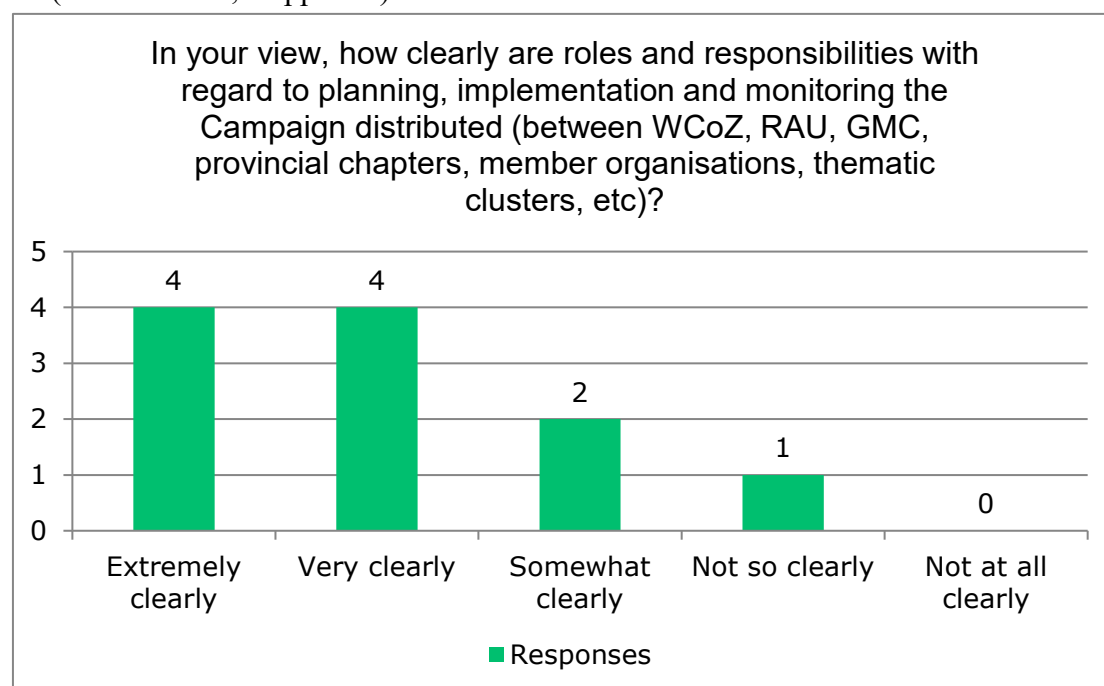
- There is more resources required for a robust visibility of the campaign, and there is need for a support fund to support community-based ongoing platforms to sustain the momentum of the campaign. Community champions both men and women as community resource can strengthen the sustainability of the campaign.

- Transport is now above the reach of many and eroding pockets especially the vulnerable
- Suitable staff- WCoZ secretariat, well-funded
- Decentralize
- Well-coordinated
- the activities conducted could have been more

Question 17: In your view, how clearly are roles and responsibilities with regard to planning, implementation and monitoring the Campaign distributed (between WCoZ, RAU, GMC, provincial chapters, member organisations, thematic clusters, etc)?

On whether roles and responsibilities of the Campaign were well-distributed between Consortium members and WCoZ entities 8 answered either ‘extremely clearly’ or very clearly’ while 3 answered ‘somewhat clearly’ and ‘not so clearly’. It gives a positive image regarding the respondents perception of the clarity of roles and responsibilities.

(answered: 11, skipped: 7)



Please explain the reason for your rating:

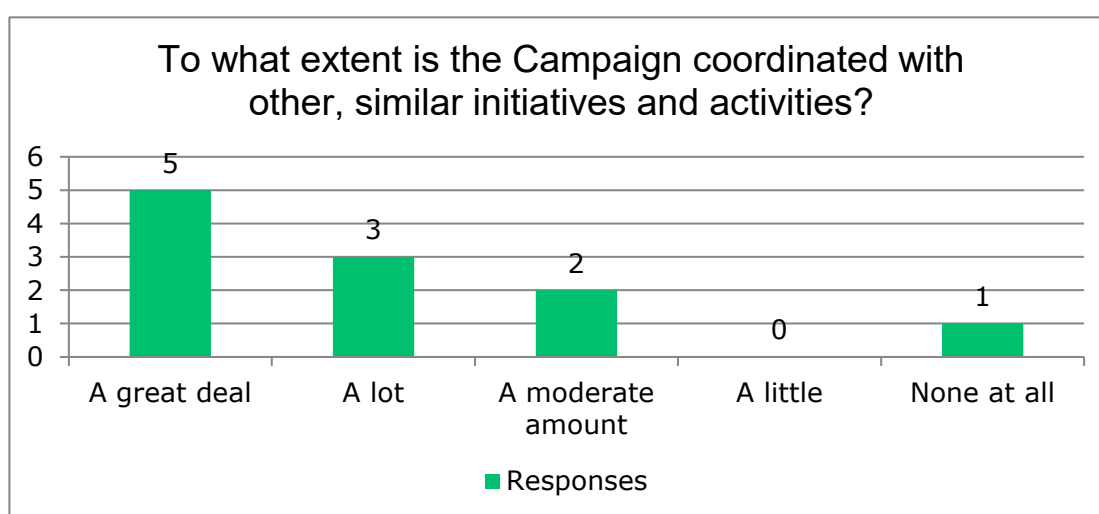
- **all actors have the necessary knowledge in terms of roles and responsibilities to avoid duplication**
- At least WCoZ is in all provinces but my province was not given the same treatment as a new chapter
- partners knew their roles

- Both **parties played a great role**. Some involved in the planning something in resourcing and some implementation resulting in achieving the key objectives

Question 18: To what extent is the campaign coordinated with other, similar initiatives and activities?

(answered: 11, skipped: 7)

On the issue of whether the Campaign has coordinated with other similar initiatives and activities within and outside the main Campaign actors, 5 said ‘a great deal’, 3 said ‘a lot’, 2 said ‘a moderate amount’ and 1 ‘none at all’.



Please explain the reason for your rating:

- **WCoZ has engaged and partnered with other CSOs, NGOs, CBOs with same minded initiatives**
- **SWAG is a better approach**
- each partner had to link with its own work

Question 19: Do you have any final recommendations for WCoZ, RAU or GMC on the future implementation of the Campaign? Please provide specific recommendations.

(answered: 8, skipped: 10)

- That it should now **focus on Communities and the Rural and Pre-Urban women**
- **Better coordination** amongst the partners.
- there is **need for the campaign to reach to the grass-root level** i.e. rural women and there is **need to involve men in the programming** for effective results
- Increase visibility

- WCoZ to be able to support grassroots organization so that we leave no one behind RAU and GMC are for national as those trained national are not empowered to cascade no resources no follow up
- To **include all partners in the planning of activities.**
- more campaigns are needed
- **Continuation of the project** as we still have a lot to do to mould those women who want to participate in 2023.



Mid-Term Evaluation of the Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance (SWAG) Campaign, Zimbabwe

The Strengthening Women's Advocacy for Inclusive Governance (SWAG) campaign began in 2017 and has been implemented all across Zimbabwe. The overall goal is to increase the participation of women in local and national governance processes by coordinating collective action, and to hold electoral and political actors accountable to women's rights. The objective of this Mid-Term Evaluation is to establish the relevance of the campaign's methods and how effective they are for achieving intended results.

Overall, the evaluation finds that the campaign is perceived as highly justified considering the limited participation of women in politics, but there is scope for making it even more relevant to beneficiary needs and priorities. Due to shortcomings in monitoring, determining the results is difficult, but anecdotal evidence suggests that the campaign has contributed to changing perceptions about women's ability to take part in politics and given women a sense of increased confidence. The efficiency of the campaign has been mixed, with uneven financial delivery rate between central and provincial activities. The evaluation recommends that Sida support is extended to allow the consortium partners to present a joint and realistic strategic plan and budget for 2020-2023, with a plan for expanding outreach, an enhanced results framework and strengthened internal communication and coordination.

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