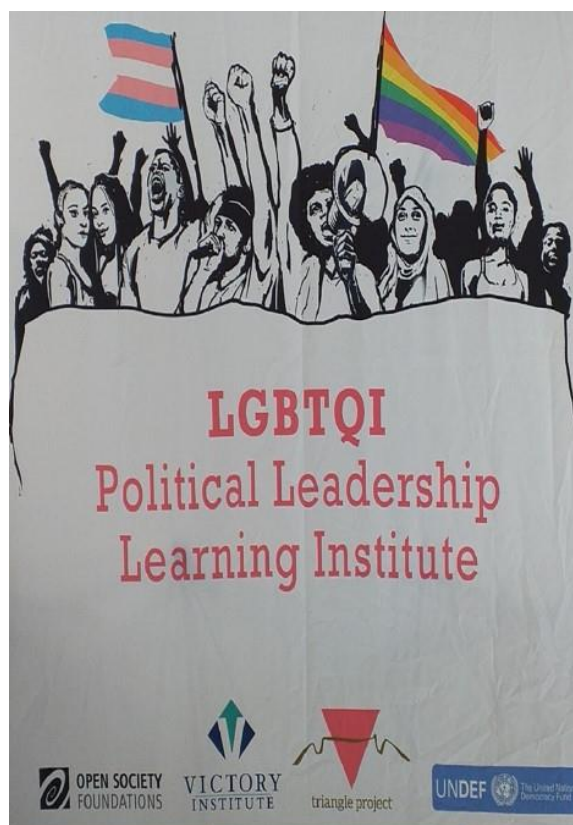


POST PROJECT EVALUATION



FINAL EVALUATION REPORT

UDF-17-750-SAF: Strengthening Democracy through Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex People's Political Participation in South Africa

Date: 16 August 2023

Table of Contents

- I. OVERALL ASSESSMENT 1**
- II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRATEGY 4**
 - (i) Development context 4*
 - (ii) The project objective 4*
 - (iii) Project strategy and approach 5*
- III. METHODOLOGY 7**
- IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS 8**
 - (i) Relevance 8*
 - (ii) Coherence 10*
 - (iii) Effectiveness 10*
 - (iv) Efficiency 14*
 - (v) Impact 16*
 - (vi) Sustainability 18*
 - (vii) UNDEF added value 19*
- V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 20**
- VI. LESSONS LEARNED 22**
- ANNEXES 23**
 - Annex 1: Evaluation questions for key informant interviews 23
 - Annex 2: Documents Reviewed 25
 - Annex 3: Acronyms 26

Acknowledgements

The evaluator wishes to place on record his thanks to the team at Triangle Project, in particular Estian Smit (Research, Advocacy and Policy Manager), for their invaluable support in enabling the undertaking of this evaluation. He also wishes to appreciate all the interlocutors who gave up their time to participate in the interviews. Finally, thanks are due to the UNDEF team who supported the organization of the fieldwork and provided technical input that aided the drafting of this report, along with insights provided by independent MEL expert, Suzane Muhereza.

Disclaimer

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

Authors

This report was written by Jamie Hitchen.

I. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

From 1 December 2018 to 31 May 2021 the Cape Town-based Triangle Project – a non-profit human rights organisation offering professional services to ensure the full realisation of constitutional and human rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, plus (LGBTQI+) persons, their partners, families and communities - implemented a project in partnership with the Washington DC-based LGBTQ+ Victory Institute, which works to achieve and sustain equality through leadership development, trainings and research. A total budget of USD 154,000, was used to train 27 LGBTQI+ activists through a Political Leadership Learning Institute (PLLI); to provide a select number with fellowships to monitor parliament and grants to host and build civil society forums; and to train and engage members of leading political parties on LGBTQI+ issues. These activities aimed to support the achievement of the overall objective of strengthening democracy in South Africa through the increased political participation of LGBTQI+I+ persons in the country.

Overall, the project has facilitated important strides forward for LGBTQI+ rights and issues with the training of individuals through the PLLI creating a strong cohort of LGBTQI+ advocates who have taken the knowledge acquired and applied it in their work. This is particularly evident in the work done by some of the civil society forums that have, for the most part, been able to sustain momentum and build grassroots networks. However, the proposed political party and electoral commission engagements of the project have had a less transformative impact and have largely been unable to achieve the outcomes envisaged in the project design. Nonetheless, keeping LGBTQI+ issues and awareness on the agenda of political actors and key stakeholders, through training and wider grassroots advocacy, has been an important contribution of this project.

The **relevance** of the multi-faceted nature of the project, which sought to not only create better equipped LGBTQI+ leaders who could enter the political space, but which also aimed to create greater acceptance and recognition of these individuals and their rights among political parties and electoral stakeholders, at a national political level, and through civil society forums, among communities more widely was clear. It also benefitted from the inclusion of a strong and technically able implementing partner with familiarity working to deliver training on these issues globally. However, for political parties and the Electoral Commission of South Africa (known by its original abbreviation of IEC) who were more difficult to engage, the trainings, research and engagements on LGBTQI+ issues appeared to be less of an internal priority, and due to competing timelines and funding constraints, the program did not always have sufficient capacity - both human and financial - to engage at crucial moments when fleeting opportunities did arise.

The fact that this project built on previous work to support and empower LGBTQI+ activists, and that the grantee and implementing partner had been working together before UNDEF funding, pointed to a **coherence** with existing initiatives. However, elements of the project design were unrealistic in their assumptions of what outcomes training outputs would deliver and that impacted on the ability of it to achieve the second outcome of the project as envisaged: a shortcoming that the grantee acknowledges.

The overall **effectiveness** of the training components of the project – a significant component of both outcomes one and two – varied depending on the participants and the formats deployed but was largely good. In-person PLLI training saw knowledge gains in line with targets and helped build informal networks among participants, who reflected very positively on the experience. Whilst online trainings with political parties - a necessity that followed the declaration of Covid-19 as a global pandemic in 2020 - made it more difficult to ensure participation and engagement and to effectively assess knowledge acquired. The lack of follow-up sessions with the latter, also reduced the embeddedness of this knowledge in a more structured way. Parliamentary monitoring fellows were also challenged by the remote working environment and that, combined with technical knowledge capacity gaps, was an obstacle to the realization of their envisaged impact. Civil society forums, that although challenged by difficulty of mobilizing grassroots engagement largely online, were more effective, building networks that continue to exist, and in at least one case, flourish, two years after the grant has ended.

The **efficiency** of the project was largely good, with efforts made to pivot and adapt to the Covid-19 pandemic done in ways that still sought to ensure the inclusion of marginalized groups and remain in line with proposed budgets. Changes in key personnel did cause some minor delays to implementation, and may have reset relations with key stakeholders, and with the implementing partner, but these were largely mitigated by the diligent work of the project manager. The strong partnership between the grantee and implementing partner also aided a more responsive and adaptive programming response.

The **impacts** of the project on those trained directly was largely very positive, with PLLI graduates discussing the ways they had used the knowledge acquired in their work, activism and political engagement. This was most clearly documented in the civil society forums, funded by the project and proposed by PLLI graduates, which have made strides in building grassroots momentum on issues that effect broader sets of marginalized groups, including LGBTQI+, and that have now extended beyond the project. However, the training of political parties has not had the same level of impact, with the changes largely limited to the not unimportant element of increased awareness of these issues but falling well short of the drafting of new policies envisaged in the project design.

Finally, on the **sustainability**, the fact that civil society forums remain operational in all three provinces point to the project's role in creating new inclusive grassroots structures that can ensure a focus on LGBTQI+ issues are retained. The PLLI alumni network also remains a potential platform for ensuring sustainability of the knowledge and learning acquired, even if more could be done to maximize its potential.

Drawing on this assessment the evaluator makes a number of key recommendations:

- In developing a theory of change for the project, building clear, direct, and attainable links between project outputs and envisaged outcomes, be that training equating greater knowledge or lobbying leading to shifts in policy, is vital.
- Offering training and technical guidance to support grassroots fundraising strategies and partnership-building in the project design could have helped civil society forums better sustain and build momentum.

- To further enhance sustainability, link cross-party activists to grassroots and community allies and groups to further enable coalition building.
- Ensuring mechanisms exist, or creating activities in the project design, that ensure follow-up engagements or refresher trainings can further embed and entrench learning.

It also highlights lessons learned that could be applied to other projects in this context and/or related to this theme:

- Project design processes must carefully think through the outputs required for outcomes to be achieved and be realistic in what transformation training can bring in a relatively short period of time to a political party, which is not just a technical entity, but a political body. One training on LGBTQI+ issues for a political party is unlikely to trigger significant policy or legal changes in a two-year period.
- Engagement with, and mapping of, prospective national institutional stakeholders in advance of a project taking place is critical to ensuring that the activities proposed align with their interests and priorities and are feasible in the timeframes proposed.
- Efficient communication between project and finance management staff, and between grantees and implementing partners, is key to ensuring the delivery of projects in challenging conditions, such as during a global pandemic or when significant staff changes take place, where adaptive programming is required.
- Supplementing training through follow-up coaching and mentoring and by creating platforms for ongoing dialogue and engagement can build and sustain networks that are driven by shared understandings on key human rights and LGBTQI+ issues across the political spectrum.

II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

(i) Development context

South Africa has an open multi-party democracy but equal representation of LGBTQI+ people and other marginalized groups remains a work in progress. Despite the fact that all major political parties expressly support the rights of LGBTQI+ people, they continue to be marginalized in society, experiencing high levels of violence and discrimination and political representation that remains very low. The lack of representation is a problem in and of itself but also means that policy development does not substantively include LGBTQI+ voices and their lived realities. Research¹ conducted in 2017 by Triangle Project suggests that while trust in political parties remains low, 58% of LGBTQI+ respondents felt that more representation of LGBTQI+ politicians in parties would better address their needs. Follow-up research² conducted by Triangle Project ahead of the local elections in 2021, indicates that political parties continue to fail to seize the potential of elections to signal their commitment to addressing LGBTQI+ issues and wider human rights.

However, the South African constitution explicitly recognizes and provides for the rights of the LGBTQI+ persons, making it an important outlier on the continent. In many African countries, colonial anti-LGBTQI+ laws and attitudes are still in full force, and individuals continue to be routinely targeted by government authorities, religious groups and those who claim to be fighting to preserve “traditional values”. Uganda recently introduced some of the most draconian new legislation against LGBTQI+ individuals, with debates and proposed legislation in Ghana, Kenya and Malawi – to name but a few – further reflecting a hardening of anti-LGBTQI+ attitudes and a growing threat to those who identify with the community. These prevailing narratives, combined with what Human Rights Watch described in 2022 as “South Africa’s continuing battle with violence directed at LGBTQI+ people”³, means that sustaining and further entrenching LGBTQI+ representatives and activists as important and respected members of society and politics is critical. This was a core component of the project implemented by Triangle Project with UNDEF funding.

(ii) The project objective

From 1 December 2018 to 31 May 2021⁴, the Cape Town-based Triangle Project – a non-profit human rights organisation offering professional services to ensure the full realisation of constitutional and human rights for LGBTQI+ persons, their partners, families and communities - implemented a project with the objective of strengthening democracy in South Africa through the increased political participation of LGBTQI+ persons in the country. This was implemented with the support of the Washington DC-based LGBTQ+ Victory Institute,

¹ Thorpe, J. (2018). [Power and Participation: How LGBTQI+ People can Shape South African Politics](#). Triangle Project & LGBTQ Victory Institute.

² Smout, J. (Forthcoming). Unmet Potential: How political parties are missing out on LGBTQI+ inclusion. Triangle Project & LGBTQ Victory Institute.

³ Reid, G. (2022). [Progress and setbacks on LGBT rights in Africa: An overview of the last year](#). Human Rights Watch.

⁴ The project was scheduled to end in November 2020, but a six-month no-cost extension was granted due to the impacts on implementation caused by the Covid-19 pandemic.

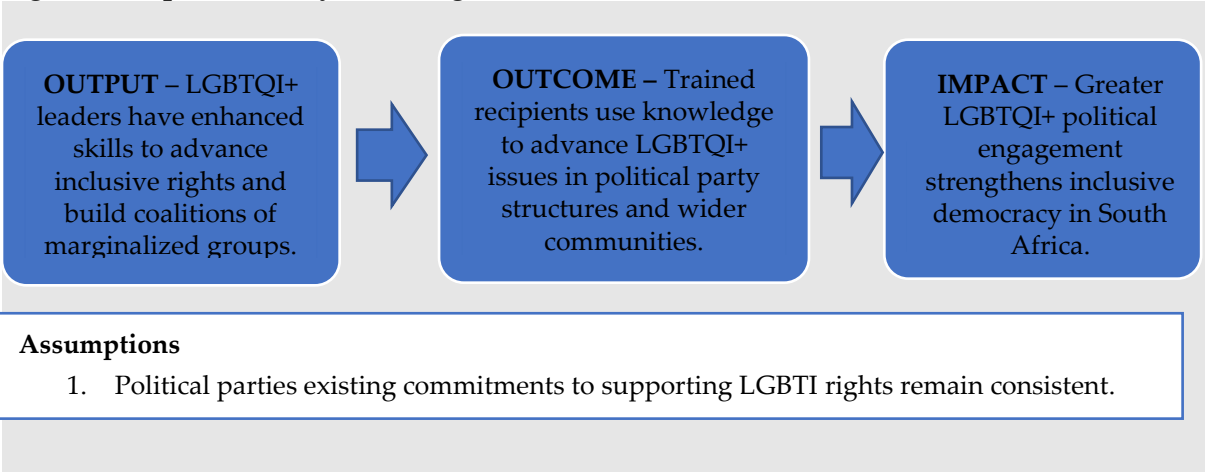
an organization that works to increase the number of LGBTQI+ people in public office and to provide programming services and other support to ensure their success. The total budget was USD 154,000, which included USD 14,000 set aside for monitoring and evaluation by UNDEF.

To achieve this objective the project aimed to improve the skills and knowledge of LGBTQI+ leaders and activists through training, giving them the tools to better engage in democratic processes. This was to be complemented by engagements with three leading political parties – Africa National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) - and research with political party members, as well as collaborative research with the Electoral Commission of South Africa (known by its original abbreviation of IEC) to raise their awareness of the needs of the LGBTQI+ population and to highlight the importance of diverse representation. Finally, the project sought to build wider momentum for more inclusive political representation by supporting a strengthening of alliances between other underrepresented communities and LGBTQI+ groups through the creation and initial financing of three civil society forums (CSFs).

(iii) Project strategy and approach

The overarching premise of the project's implicit theory of change, which was constituted by the evaluator following a review of the project document, was that more knowledgeable and better equipped LGBTQI+ advocates, have the skills to better engage both more receptive and aware electoral and political actors, and wider networks of underrepresented groups at the community level. In doing so, they are able to contribute to a strengthening of LGBTQI+ political participation in South Africa at different societal levels.

Figure 1: Implicit Theory of Change



The key beneficiaries this project targeted were 30 LGBTQI+ leaders who were to be trained under the aegis of the LGBTI Political Leadership Learning Institute (PLLI), an approach previously deployed by the grantee. Selected based on an open application process, they were trained across four two and a half day sessions which focused on understanding South Africa’s political structures, improving understandings of the sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics (SOGIESC) human rights frameworks, the importance of communication and advancing their campaigning skills and techniques. From these trainees, the project was to recruit and support two parliamentary monitoring fellows

(PMFs) to observe and contribute to advocacy efforts in support of LGBTQI+ rights in South Africa's national legislature and to fund select graduates, based on submitted proposals, to lead three CSFs that proposed ways to bring together and advance underrepresented groups, including LGBTQI+ groups, around a particular issue at the provincial level. Thereby extending the reach of the project beyond these direct beneficiaries. The other main component of the project design aimed to engage political parties and the IEC to enhance their internal knowledge about LGBTQI+ issues and SOGIESC human rights that in turn would contribute to shaping new policy commitments around the issues (in the case of political parties) or greater inclusion efforts in electoral processes (in the case of IEC).

III. METHODOLOGY

This evaluation draws on both existing and available project documentation and relevant reports, and supplements the information presented in these with 16 key informant interviews (KIIs) held using a semi-structured guide, for the most part in-person in Cape Town, but also online with stakeholders based elsewhere in the country or in the United States, as was the case for the implementing partner. Stakeholders interviewed included graduates and alumni of the PLLI, representatives from political parties, grantee and implementing partner staff, training consultants, members of CSFs and one PMF. An effort to speak with officials from the IEC was unsuccessful.

Relevant project documentation, reports and literature included the project document, mid-term progress and milestone verification reports, the final narrative report produced by the grantee, the training manuals used for the PLLI sessions and political party trainings, reports produced by the parliamentary monitoring fellows, a post-project survey, reports discussing the formation and activities of the three CSFs, the results of post-training questionnaires and other relevant reports and documentation shared by the grantee. It should be noted that the grantee produced a significant number of reports and analysis of the project as part of its implementation, which assisted with the evaluation process, and this was reflected in their own learnings and reflections in the final narrative report.

IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS

The findings presented below draw heavily on the KIIs undertaken by the evaluator as well as the information provided in the reviewed project documentation. They are captured with regards to six key criteria: relevance, coherence, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability.

(i) Relevance

South Africa has consistently performed well in global rankings such as the Freedom in the World Index⁵ and has one of the highest levels of female representation in parliament in the world⁶. But a 2018 report authored by Triangle Project noted that “despite significant legislative progress since 1994, LGBTQI+ persons continue to face barriers to political participation including discriminatory attitudes, fear of violence, and disinterest in political opportunities”⁷. Triangle Project’s follow-up study⁸ ahead of the local elections in 2021, indicated the manifestos of South Africa’s larger political parties did not include commitments that related to LGBTQI+ persons. Concluding that political parties yet again failed to seize the potential of elections to signal a strong commitment to addressing LGBTQI+ issues and SOGIESC human rights, even if some political party members were outspoken about their party’s commitment to doing so.

This project was therefore highly relevant in that it sought to not only create better equipped LGBTQI+ leaders who could enter the political space, but also aimed to create greater acceptance and recognition of these individuals and their rights among political parties and electoral stakeholders, at national, provincial and local political levels, and through CSFs, among communities more widely. The fact that there were over 500 applicants for the 30 spots at the PLLI was indicative not just of the interest and appetite among those in LGBTQI+ communities for this type of support and opportunity but also underscores the rootedness in these networks of the grantee, who advertised on a whole array of platforms – including LGBTQI+ focused dating applications like Grindr – to reach broad and varied potential applicants. A rigorous interview process then ensured that the best applicants were invited to be part of the PLLI.

Another relevant aspect of this project was the multi-faceted engagement approach proposed in the design, albeit one that was not fully realised in implementation. It gave important recognition to the fact that for trained leaders to be able to apply the skills and knowledge they acquired during the PLLI, there needed to be a more accepting environment within political parties and wider communities. This could help create opportunities for them to build

⁵ South Africa scored 79/100 in the 2022 iteration of the Freedom in the World Index, giving it a ranking of ‘free’ - <https://freedomhouse.org/country/south-africa/freedom-world/2022>

⁶ See data collected by the Inter-Parliamentary Union - <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

⁷ Thorpe, J. (2018). *Power and Participation: How LGBTQI+ People can Shape South African Politics*. Triangle Project & LGBTQ Victory Institute.

⁸ Smout, J. (Forthcoming). *Unmet Potential: How Political Parties are Missing Out on LGBTQI+ Inclusion*. Research Report. Triangle Project & LGBTQ Victory Institute.

grassroots networks and bases focused on advancing issues experienced by a broad coalition of marginalized groups. Although, in the view of several respondents, there are more LGBTQI+ people now that are visible and comfortable to be in politics, LGBTQI+ people, a few are even present within parliament, there is still significant work to be done to strengthen institutional approaches in order to ensure LGBTQI+ concerns and SOGIESC human rights are included in policies on key thematic areas such as health, housing, education, legal gender recognition and prohibition of intersex genital mutilation. This was an area targeted in the design of the project, but its relevance for political parties themselves was perhaps overstated and it was not always clear that enough strategic thinking had been deployed in the way the project approached political parties, including making provision for enough human and financial resources to enable the level of intensive engagement needed to bring about the desired change.

Although the project sought to engage internal party structures such as the ANC OR Tambo School of Leadership, there was not enough strategic focus on national, provincial or local structures or enough effort to target particular committees or working groups within party structures that may have been more engaged, and more able to embed learnings in wider party thinking or structures. As was noted during the evaluation process, political parties in general are still limited by a lack of basic knowledge of the issues and a hesitance among some members to advocate for these issues. Furthermore, one respondent stated, “there was limited appetite from our party to actually participate and take part in the project and the pandemic [Covid-19] further reduced this appetite”. However, they did note that their own experience of being queer in a political party was that “the more we talk about this issue, the more accepting people become” highlighting the relevance of pushing the issue onto the table.

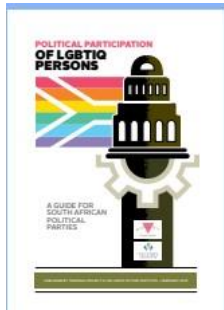
Greater pre-project engagement with proposed target beneficiaries – particular political parties and the IEC – and a more robust effort to understand the incentive structure of these entities to engage on LGBTQI+ issues would have increased the relevance of the intervention to them further. As it was, the design was done on the assumption that political parties and the IEC would be keen on what was being proposed, with less focus on what support they needed and at what level. This was part of the reason for the inability to deliver some of the components of the second outcome – notably the engagement and research with the IEC – as they were focused primarily on upcoming local elections – held in October 2021 - and have arduous research protocols in place that need to be met to undertake the kind of research proposed by the project. “In design of project, sometimes we forget that things are messy and can be tricky and dependent on personal relationships and building trust with key partners” noted one respondent, who stressed that political parties are by nature not technical entities and as such choose to work on issues that are perceived to advance their political cause or position in society.

The partnership with LGBTQ+ Victory Institute was highly relevant, with their experience of working to support and promote LGBTQI+ political participation in other parts of the world, dovetailing well with the grantees extensive experience working to support LGBTQI+ communities in South Africa for over four decades – through the provision of health and other support services and now increasingly on political and advocacy components. The fact that the grantee and implementing partner had worked together since 2016 and had together mapped out how best to engage on the issue within South Africa’s political system ensured

that materials developed and used in the project were designed with a combination of context specific and global relevance in mind.

(ii) Coherence

The project connected well to previous work that Triangle Project had done, whilst expanding it further to strengthen work in provinces outside of the Western Cape. The PLLI training was adapted and improved, following on from a training of a first cohort of leaders, in partnership with LGBTQ+ Victory Institute in 2017 and 2018. In the same year, the grantee published a guide for political parties in South Africa on supporting the better engagement of LGBTQI+ persons in political affairs and issues⁹, as well as a guide to LGBTQI+ political participation for civil society and activists.¹⁰



Furthermore, the project was well aligned with the wider work of the grantee, which aims to protect and promote the rights of LGBTQI+ individuals and communities, and support them through the provision in basic services, in South Africa. This was particularly the case with the work the project supported in creating CSFs – one each in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, Western Cape and Eastern Cape – that aimed to create broader agendas for underrepresented and marginalized groups in these communities and which provided an opportunity for select PLLI graduates to test out the skills and knowledge they had acquired during the training in a practical setting.

However, the coherence of the designed project suffered from a lack of understanding about the level of transformative impact training and interactions were likely to have on individual and group actions. It was unrealistic to expect a handful of training with political party members, for example, to lead to transformative policy changes within a party on this issue, or any issue. This shortcoming was recognized by the grantee during the fieldwork interviews with one respondent commenting on this design flaw by stating that “it was ambitious to think a political party is going to change or adopt policies, the same applies for IEC, within a two-year period. I don’t think it was feasible”. This led to the project ultimately falling short in its delivery of some of the proposed outputs under the second outcome, even if the engagements had important, if less policy transformative impacts, on those who participated in the case of political parties.

(iii) Effectiveness

The effectiveness of the training components of the project – a significant element of both outcomes one and two – varied depending on the participants and the formats deployed. For the 27 PLLI participants, three shy of the targeted 30 as a result of withdrawals, who received all four sets of two and half days of in-person training – covering communication strategies, SOGIESC human rights frameworks, political campaigning and broader understandings of how politics works – the information shared was perceived very positively, and this was

⁹ Thorpe, J. (2018). [Political Participation of LGBTQI+ Persons: A Guide for South African Political Parties](#). Triangle Project & LGBTQ Victory Institute.

¹⁰ Thorpe, J. (2018). [Power and Participation: A Guide to LGBTQI+ Political Participation for Civil Society and Activists](#). Triangle Project & LGBTQ Victory Institute.

reflected in the knowledge gained in pre and post self-assessments undertaken by the grantee. Participant satisfaction surveys for each of the four modules all score over four out of five – averaging 4.35 – and knowledge increased on average 16% across the four modules, just above the target 15%, though with notable variation. The campaign messaging and political communication module recorded an average 41% increase, whilst the first module, which was more of an introductory series of sessions, saw just a 3% increase.

Respondents also highlighted the value of the way the training brought together young activists – some of whom had very different political convictions and affiliations – and the opportunity it afforded them to establish and build networks. As one PLLI graduate stated, “I am all for remote work, but when it comes to these sorts of training it is difficult for these to work online. I am very happy we had an in-person training, not only did it foster learning but most importantly it fostered connections with other participants, and connections I have kept up to today and we have built our relationships and support networks”. The way several PLLI graduates have subsequently applied the knowledge gained in their everyday actions – both as part of the project and outside of it – also points to the effectiveness of the training and the networks it helped establish. This is most evident in the role they played in establishing and building the momentum behind the three CSFs supported by the project - “it was rewarding to see the PLLI graduates working so hard to create the initiatives and build sustainable ventures” noted one respondent – but also is reflected by the fact that three PLLI graduates will campaign for elective office in the 2024 polls.

For the trainings undertaken with political parties, the effectiveness was limited by the need for the activities to take place online – a pivot required given the declaration of a global pandemic in March 2020 – that made participation more challenging; obtaining pre and post assessments harder and therefore an ability to measure effective learning more difficult, as completion rates were often quite low; and that reduced the opportunity for informal interactions and dialogue between participants. As one evaluation respondent reflected, “people learn more from each other in a room. Connections to the internet were sometimes poor and people not always tech savvy. Monitoring and evaluation were extremely difficult. It was hard to build personal connections that could have helped with longer-term sustainability. These connections could have helped us to direct our partnerships moving forward”. In spite of these challenges, there was still positivity about the trainings from participants who took part, and there has continued to be an expressed interest from all three

Reflections on trainings with political parties

- “I would have appreciated some sort of follow up. We only had one training, but we need to sustain momentum on this” – Political party representative.
- “People were enthusiastic attending the trainings and curious. Understanding was at a very basic level. We got stuck on alphabet soup [the meaning of key terms] and it was hard to get onto law and policy issues” – Project Triangle staff member.
- “The training was well packaged and prior to the day there was good preparation work by Triangle Project that was very helpful. The fact that they [the grantee] helped us with data which aided with greater participation” - Political party representative.

parties engaged for subsequent trainings following the conclusion of the project in 2021, although they have not been willing to fund them, with one exception.

The grantee also did an excellent job identifying leading experts, with knowledge of both politics and LGBTQI+ rights, to conduct the trainings. However, it was suggested that efforts to integrate training consultants more into the design of the overall training approach could be a good practice in order to further strengthen the content, their design, and monitoring and evaluation efforts. As it was, the framing of the training modules was largely done by the grantee, in partnership with the implementing partner. Even though both have extensive experience in this area working at a global level.

Another area where positive strides were made was in the inclusion of some PLLI alumni from 2017 in the training of this cohort. As one respondent noted, “we have also been able to connect with the class of 2017, they have helped serve as mentors and advisers, and inspired us to know what is possible”. However, the engagement of alumni in the support of current PLLI graduates could have been more structured and explicit. Whilst there were some efforts to bring in PLLI alumni to support in the delivery of training and through the CSF partnerships developed, a more explicit effort to bring together these two groups could have further enhanced the connections and learnings among the graduates.

Across the board, the training approaches and tools were largely well received, even if the switch to online limited the participatory nature of some political party engagements. The transparent approach taken by the grantee in its work across all prominent political parties – the three parties supported hold almost 90% of the seats at the National Assembly – has also effectively mitigated against accusations of political capture or suggestions that they are working to support one political parties’ agenda. However, it could have been more strategic and purposeful in its engagement with individual political party structures. Understandably, and for the most part, it utilized existing connections and allies when engaging political parties, but this did lead to engagements with segments of political parties in the three main groups targeted. “Not a lot of high-level people were present” noted one respondent. To ensure a more consistent national or provincial level engagement the project could have tried to map gatekeepers and allies in political parties to further champion the entrenching of the trainings within party structures and on party thinking on a range of human rights issues.

The effort to create self-study manuals for political parties and IEC officials was an innovative effort to respond to the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic and obstacles to partnering with the electoral commission. But it was not clear from the conversations held with individuals representing political parties during the evaluation that these were used internally in a comprehensive way. One respondent did organize a follow up training for other members of their party, following on from the Triangle Project-led activity, for local councillor candidates of their party ahead of the 2021 elections, though they noted challenges of getting people to attend due to the virtual nature of the session.

Greater efforts to ensure the follow-up delivery of training materials using the developed manuals and guide beyond initial trainings could have further entrenched learning. Another approach to further embed the learnings presented could have been through stretching out

trainings into a series of modules, building greater opportunities for more in-depth dialogue and discussion on the issues. As one respondent suggested, “the trainings provided a lot of information at a time, could we have done this over say three workshops to allow for longer engagements, more opportunities to unpack these issues – rather than just one”. Although given the time constraints imposed by several political parties this may have presented its own set of challenges. Follow up could have also included activities beyond training, such as policy brainstorming sessions guided by grantee or implementing partner experts, that would have supported a greater embedding of new knowledge in everyday party discussions and approaches and could have helped the project get closer to its initial goal of supporting the development of new policies that related to LGBTQI+ issues. As it was, the design of the project was not likely to lead to this outcome.

The lack of prior engagement with the IEC in the design phase of the project was also a factor in limiting the effectiveness of output 2.3, as they were not in a position to undertake the proposed activities and research whilst preparing for the 2021 local government elections. Although the project was able to sustain communication with IEC, competing priorities, which could have been better foreseen in the project’s risk analysis, ultimately reduced the effectiveness of this component of the project, which largely went unimplemented. The extent to which this impacted on the overall effectiveness of the project is difficult to assess comprehensively, but it was an important part of the interventions efforts at improving grassroots participation in politics, specifically electoral politics, for indirect beneficiaries. The fact that the proposed engagements with IEC were unable to take place could have reduced the project’s holistic efforts to create a more supportive environment for LGBTQI+ political participation and engagement.

Another component of the project was the selection, from the PLLI, of two graduates to be PMFs for a period of eight months, later extended to ten months, with training and support to develop their skills further provided by the project. In this role they were to support Triangle Project’s ongoing work monitoring of the National Assembly by attending specific portfolio committees relevant to furthering the agenda of LGBTQI+ issues and SOGIESC rights and deepening LGBTQI+ civic participation, and by working to deepen communication and support networks with allies and provide a consistent presence at the National Assembly.

However, their envisaged role was heavily affected by the restrictions put in place to tackle Covid-19 and its impact on the focus and functioning of parliament. The work was done completely remotely as a result, with PMFs attending sessions online, producing analytical reports for the grantee, and assisting with building relationships with the IEC and political parties. Working remotely during Covid, coupled with the management team’s heavy workloads, was a significant challenge for both the PMFs and the organization, particularly in terms of the fellows’ need for a more structured work environment with enough oversight, mentoring support, knowledge transfer and a sense of belonging.

Reflections on Parliamentary Monitoring Fellow's

Respondents expressed concerns about the duration of the fellowship and the capacity of those selected to do what had been envisaged in the design of the project:

- “I didn’t really have the policy experience, so this was a bit of a shortcoming, and I found it a lot. It [the fellowship] was not long enough to see the fruits of the labour of such efforts. When things started to happen, and connections had been built, we had to leave, and this was frustrating because it felt incomplete” – PMF fellow.
- “We underestimated the level of experience, knowledge and expertise we needed fellows to have for this role, particularly research, legal and policy expertise. Due to Covid, the fellows could not physically attend parliament and learn from working with the Parliamentary Monitoring Group as was intended, and we did not have the capacity to provide them with the degree of mentoring and support they needed. So, they were sometimes a bit out of their depth.” – Project Triangle staff member.

The third outcome of the project focused on building civil society coalitions to broaden the grassroots reach of the work, and to generate more inclusive issue-based momentum for reforms that could improve conditions for LGBTQI+ and other marginalized groups. According to the project document they had four main goals:

1. Provide an opportunity for trainees to put in practice what they learned during the PLLI, reinforce their leadership and raise their profile before relevant local civil society stakeholders and politicians.
2. Identify the needs and common goals of other underrepresented populations around the need to increase civic engagement and political participation.
3. Reinforce the work implemented by Triangle Project raising awareness and advising political parties and the IEC on diversity and inclusion.
4. Reinforce Triangle Project connections with other underrepresented populations, in order to create an informal alliance ahead of the next elections.

Despite the challenge of trying to build and sustain momentum for these forums during Covid-19, where physical meetings were difficult, these four objectives were largely achieved. Their effectiveness can be seen in terms of their ability to engage both grassroots networks and political and policymakers and in getting the issues – access to healthcare, greater recognition for LGBTQI+ rights and safe shelter – on the agenda and engaged with by prominent local officials. However, there were some question marks about whether the forums were “too policy geared” and that this had seen them “lose a bit of momentum” as the limited funding for each forum expired. One respondent was of the view that “a more organic resistors process – things like illegal occupation - not just marching and protestors” might be more effective, though this is not the sort of approach that would be likely to gain the support of funding partners.

(iv) Efficiency

Overall, the project was efficiently managed, with strong communication between the finance and project management teams and high levels of attention to detail fundamental to its

effective delivery despite a challenging environment. The initial budget was adhered to where possible, and where changes were forced as a result of Covid-19, these were well communicated and justified. It is the assessment of the evaluator that budget reallocations enabled the project to reformulate its approach whilst maintaining the envisaged focus and value-for-money. For example, there were a number of budgetary alterations as a result of switches to online trainings and changes in the proposed activities. Justifications for these were well documented, and financial reallocations were clearly communicated and explained. In fact, the only comment the evaluator would make about the budget is that, in the design of the project, the grantee could have requested a larger sum, in order to maximise follow-up from the trainings and in the case of the CSFs provide additional financial support to help them establish themselves and their movements in the three provinces.

Changes in grantee and implementing partner staff did cause disruption and delays to the implementation of the project¹¹, especially when both grantee and implementing partner focal persons, who were instrumental in the design of the initiative, left in 2019 and 2020 respectively. Although strong replacements for these two positions were found, this did cause some initial delays to the implementation of the project and it was further acknowledged by grantee staff that gaps and changes in these, and other, personnel did make it more difficult to sustain relationships with key beneficiaries, “it is not just the gaps, but the handover and relationship building work required” noted one respondent.

The project’s implementation period spanned much of the Covid-19 pandemic, which placed significant restrictions on movements and gatherings, and therefore on the carrying out of activities envisaged in the design of the project. Much of the training proposed, particularly for political parties and the IEC, was initially to be in-person but with this not possible the decision was taken to move the activities online. To further ensure participation, the project provided a data allowance to all participants, this was also the case for community related initiatives of the CSFs. This was a good attempt to try and mitigate some of the challenging circumstances under which the project had to be implemented. However, as one respondent noted “this was more difficult in the rural areas, where people had limited data, access or even phones. Sometimes people took our data and didn’t show up”. It was also noted by one respondent that, “there was also a lot of chaos in the country at the time, and people were focusing on other issues; everyone was so focused on Covid”. This combination of a challenge of access and a focus on more immediate challenges, in the case of political parties’ priorities, did impact on the project’s delivery. But given the unique, and largely unforeseeable challenge of a global pandemic, the efforts to mitigate the obstacles it posed were done efficiently and in a way that ensured the activities stayed in line, as much as possible, with what was originally envisaged.

The partnership with the implementing partner was also valuable, with it also providing some initial financial support along with its technical expertise that ensured the quality of the training was in line with global standards. “There was lots of joint collaborative work in terms of conceptualisation and implementation that has supported institutional learning [at Triangle

¹¹ The project applied for and received a six-month no-cost extension.

Project]” according to one respondent. Another agreed that “they [the implementing partner] have a lot of knowledge and expertise in this area and this was key in the design and implementation of the project”. That is not to say there were not normative differences of opinion on what constitutes success – electoral participation versus changes in policies and approaches – and these differences led one respondent to describe trying to meet both grantee and implementing partner expectations as “like serving two gods”. But on the whole, the fact that the partners were able to engage in robust dialogue and reach consensus on the many adjustments that had to be made during implementation reflected the “meaningful participation in which adaptive programming was to the fore”. The partnership remains ongoing with LGBTQ+ Victory Institute involved in efforts to ensure additional financial resources are directed towards Triangle Project, and in seeking to build its networks with other groups doing similar work in Latin and South America.

(v) Impact

“This training really changed my life. At the time of joining the fellowship I had dropped out of university due to financial difficulties, although I was into politics, I never really knew the systems and the way in which politics works from the foundational level, how democracy works, how state operates. This was a key learning. I learned so much as a result of the trainings that were practical and actionable. PLLI changed who I am and started my journey in politics, policy and activism”.

The project had ended 24 months before this evaluation was undertaken, which was more conducive to an assessment of impact, and the sustainability of that impact. One clear finding is that the PLLI graduates interviewed were very positive about the training, and its impacts not just on their knowledge of their issues but on their ability to become stronger advocates for LGBTQI+ rights.

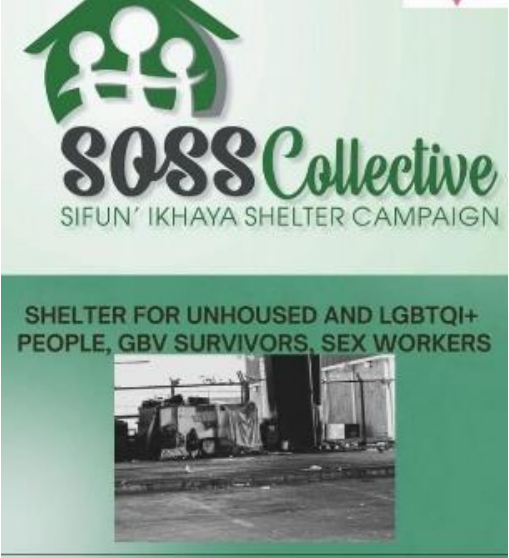
Several noted that the PLLI was their first experience of getting to see people from LGBTQI+ all together and

discussing politics and rights, “just bringing us together was a healing process and helped me see we are not alone”. Acknowledging that “PLLI allowed me to meet people I would have never met, from all across South Africa, and this built a sort of nationwide network that would have been very difficult to create without the project”. Furthermore, a respondent noted how the network “has, and continues to be, valuable. We have political allies that we can call upon now and, in the future”. However, there are still challenges inherent with working in a political space as one respondent explained, “whilst the PLLI training helped me to cultivate ground for my own work, the competition of politics internally makes it quite difficult to work with political parties”.

Nonetheless, at least three PLLI graduates are planning to contest for seats in the 2024 national assembly elections which will see them draw on political campaigning skills developed during the PLLI. Whilst others have applied the learnings and knowledge gained from the training in the operation of the CSFs supported as the primary element of the third outcome of the project. There was also optimism among many respondents that political parties had approached the grantee since the end of the project to request additional training and guidance on improving their engagement with, and approach towards, LGBTQI+ issues. Even if this was tempered by

the lack of financial support available to fulfill these requests and continuing concerns that LGBTQI+ issues are not sufficiently mainstreamed and are often taken up by party members who are part of the community. This again reiterates the limitations of having just one training course with a party to change attitudes and suggests that more sustained engagement over time could have delivered more impactful results.

The PMF’s impact was less clear. Whilst their reporting helped Triangle Project retain a clear and visible political presence and ensured that project staff could retain awareness of key legislative developments, it was noted that the analysis was not at the level required to enable substantive legal analysis and challenges to be undertaken. Whilst the evaluator appreciates the efforts of the project to offer opportunities for PLLI graduates to improve and hone their skills in such a setting, this could have been enhanced by having them act in support of and mentored by an experienced legal consultant who could have ensured that more robust analysis of proposed legislation and regulation was done. The evaluator also recognises that this was part of the design, in that PMFs were to learn from experts within the legislature, but with the changes to its operational function because of Covid-19, these relationships could not be established.



The third outcome of the project aimed to support the holding of CSFs in three provinces to broaden out issues affecting LGBTQI+ communities to grassroots levels and to cover thematic areas that see overlaps with other marginalized groups. The Sada Oms Sada Saub (SOSS) Collective¹², originally made up of eight members, focused on a Sifun’Khaya Campaign to address access to shelter in the Western Cape – “we want a home” in isiXhosa. The collective sought to bring together different stakeholders to get them to agree to inclusive shelter in the townships, a challenge that worsened during the Covid-19 pandemic. The coalition included sex workers, women who are victims of gender-based violence and LGBTQI+ community members. In the Eastern

Cape, the Isidima Collective was founded with the objective of establishing a LGBTQI+A+ helpdesk in in the premier’s office as well as the district and local mayoral offices.

Both collectives held their events, online, in the first half of 2021, which focused primarily on engagement with policymakers and political actors, but they had already made an impact on their communities, one which has been sustained, particularly in the case of Isidima. “We have become a known organization in the community, and this has been key in building coalitions and support. We are now being invited by traditional leaders to discuss the importance of co-existence among LGBTQI+ populations and wider populations in rural communities” noted one member. Although this CSF in the Eastern Cape has not been able to achieve its initial goal of creating momentum for a LGBTQI+A+ desk in the office of the premier, it has been able to

¹² A Khoi phrase that means ‘Our Home, Our Protection’

build a community base enabling it to push political parties to consider these issues in the development of manifestos and in how they respond to policies.

Awareness campaigns were targeted at political actors, housing assemblies and wider communities, largely online by the SOSS collective. However, it has found momentum more difficult to sustain over time with limited funds. “When we started, we really built momentum, however, over time people were a little left behind”, noted one member, who contended that “engaging with government is still a challenge”. This was also a challenge encountered by the third forum, Isibani, in KwaZulu-Natal, which has also found it more difficult to build a collective movement, “it is just a one person band that seeks to amplify certain key issues”.

However, Isibani has managed to build a network of LGBTQI+ activists and organisations in the province, held several meetings, sent a memorandum to political parties, hosted an online forum in November 2020 to highlight lived experiences of the trans community in the province, received media exposure, and produced a short film that remains a valuable tool in advocating for gender-affirming healthcare access.¹³ Reflecting on the challenges of engagement in a difficult economy, it was noted that funds were needed to mobilize communities and that whilst “we are proposing ideas, follow up advocacy is harder to sustain”. In addition to funding, strategic efforts to build networks of allies is another important part of efforts to help sustain momentum and this could be an area where greater non-financial support was offered by the project. Whilst progress of these collectives has been stymied in part by a lack of funding available for them to continue their activities, in each instance the latent power of the collective platform remains, and the wider community engagement and impacts derived from that can be important in laying the groundwork for future initiatives.

(vi) Sustainability

CSFs functioning beyond the initial funding provided by the grantee is good for the sustainability of the intervention and shows that they have been able to make a difference in their areas of operation. The Isidima collective, for example, has evolved into an incorporated non-profit body, which has then been able to support individuals in court cases. As one of the founding members explained, “it has offered both macro level policy focused activities and micro level support to individuals, to support their rights”. Such organizations are potential partners for Triangle Project as they implement other projects in ways that can build on and strengthen grassroots structures. Isidima is supporting Triangle Project’s efforts to engage university students who are LGBTQI+ to get more involved in politics. “We chose them [Isidima] because they have really made a mark in Eastern Cape” noted one respondent from the grantee.

The grantee has also benefitted from the project in terms of the internal learning it has developed and taken on board in its wider, and ongoing, political engagement work. As one respondent noted “the skills we have applied in this project are being transposed into other community focused work that we do. So, learnings from this project have had wider impacts

¹³ Isibani Civil Society Forum. (2021). [Stand with Us: Voices of Trans People on Access to Gender Affirming Healthcare in South Africa](#). H27 Productions. Supported by Triangle Project and LGBTQ Victory Institute.

on the organization's approach and methods. For example, the PLLI approach has been applied at the local level for activists in communities [the Activists Leadership Learning Institute]". Another noted how the project has helped Triangle Project build its national footprint when it comes to advocating for LGBTQI+ rights among political parties, "initially we were focused on Western Cape, but now we have expanded and been exposed to officials from political parties about our work", even though efforts to substantively engage the IEC have yet to move on significantly. Efforts have also been made to build on greater LGBTQI+ representation that occurred during the 2021 local council elections in the Northern Cape, and to do so in a way that builds cross-party engagement on relevant issues. The development of training manuals and tools for this project has enabled the grantee to respond to requests for training from political parties when funding becomes or is available. In June 2023, Triangle Project was able to train 12 members of the Patriotic Alliance political party's new established LGBTQIA+ League. Two other political party trainings are planned ahead of the 2024 national elections using the training manuals developed with UNDEF funding.

The network of PLLI alumni – which includes the cohort trained with UNDEF funding and those trained prior to the project – also provides for the sustainability of the application of learning obtained during the program. Connecting them in WhatsApp groups and other forums has sustained a cross-network of political inclined individuals working to promote LGBTQI+ rights. But one respondent noted that although there has been evidence of this network coming together to speak with a collective voice – during the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown it produced a co-signed statement by all members in support of LGBTQI+ individuals and demanding government action that emerged from an interactive drafting process – this tends to have been "facilitated, at least initially, by Triangle Project staff". Whilst it may not have excelled in creating this network, the alumni network offers an important resource for peer-to-peer engagement and learning based on individual experiences and one which has, and should, be continually used to widen and broaden Triangle Project's work on LGBTQI+ issues with political parties.

(vii) UNDEF added value

The most significant value addition provided by UNDEF to this project was in the fact that it was willing to substantially fund advocacy and lobbying work on this issue. It was noted that a lot of funders want to avoid too close an association with political parties, but that UNDEF's willingness to fund this initiative showed they understood the importance such bodies can have in improving wider outcomes for LGBTQI+ individuals and communities. For the grantee the funding "was instrumental in enabling us to do our politically focused work and really enable us to push this forward and to start more substantive engagements with political parties". However, the challenge of finding follow-up funding since the conclusion of the grant in 2021 was noted by several KII respondents, suggesting that whilst UNDEF's grant was critical in supporting this type of work in South Africa, it does not necessarily mean that there is significant future funding available, from other funders, to sustain it beyond the life cycle of the project.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion	Recommendation
The implementing partner provided valuable technical input to enhance the <i>effective</i> delivery of the project.	Encourage and support applications that include implementing partners with clear value-addition to a project.
The lack of follow up engagement with political parties reduced opportunities to embed and ensure the <i>impact</i> of newly acquired knowledge.	Design activities that ensure there are regular touch points/engagements with key stakeholders over the duration of a project.
The inability of the grantee to deliver the proposed activities envisaged in the project design with the Electoral Commission of South Africa, limited the <i>effectiveness</i> of efforts to engage the wider public on LGBTQI+ issues and political participation.	Prior engagement with, and the identification of key individual allies and structures within the IEC to explain the proposed design and its relevance to their work, could have helped to mitigate implementation challenges.
Parliamentary Monitoring Fellows lacked the technical expertise to be fully <i>effective</i> in their roles.	The idea of giving Political Leadership Learning Institute (PLLI) graduates an opportunity to utilise knowledge acquired in training is commendable, but greater supervision and mentoring by technical experts was needed to ensure they were impactful.
The Civil Society Forums (CSFs) played a critical role in the project's <i>impact</i> and <i>sustainability</i> at the grassroots level.	Offering training and technical guidance to support grassroots fundraising strategies and partnership-building in the project design could have helped CSFs better sustain and build momentum.
The project design (specifically its second outcome) did not adequately reflect the realities and possibilities of what outcomes the project activities were likely to achieve, which affected the project's <i>coherence</i> .	In developing a theory of change for the project, building clear, direct, and attainable links between project outputs and envisaged outcomes, be that training equaling greater knowledge or lobbying leading to shifts in policy, is vital.
In-person trainings offered additional value, beyond what was being taught, that enhanced the <i>effectiveness</i> and <i>impact</i> of the project.	Building in-person relations is an important component of training that can help sustain longer term partnerships and build networks. Hybrid or online trainings can be used, but should supplement these in-person approaches, rather than replace them where possible.
Project consultants were integral to the <i>effective</i> delivery of the project's training but were not well embedded in the design of	Integrate consultants into the design of the overall training approach to strengthen the quality of the content and the measures for

materials and the development of its M&E tools.	monitoring, evaluating and assessing impact.
The multifaceted approach was <i>relevant</i> in enabling the grantee to build out its political work in several different directions.	UNDEF should continue to encourage grantees to develop projects that take a holistic engagement to improving political engagement that includes a range of key stakeholders.
Limited sources of funding exist to support political advocacy on LGBTQI+ rights work which can undermine its <i>sustainability</i> .	UNDEF should continue to provide the much-needed financial support to these types of initiatives and where possible support grantees capacity to fundraise for follow-up activities and programs.
PLLI graduates have utilized the knowledge and skills acquired during the trainings to <i>impact</i> LGBTQI+ causes across the three targeted provinces.	Better document the efforts and success of alumni and PLLI graduates as this can demonstrate impact and serve as an inspiration to others.
Changes in grantee personnel weakened or reset relations with key partners, which took time to rebuild, thus impacting implementation <i>efficiency</i> .	Grant recipients should ensure detailed internal handover processes are in place to reduce the impact of personnel changes.
The project was <i>effectively</i> able to establish and build links across political parties on LGBTQI+ issues.	To further enhance sustainability, link cross-party activists to grassroots and community allies and groups to further enable coalition building.

VI. LESSONS LEARNED

- Project design processes must carefully think through the outputs required for outcomes to be achieved and be realistic in what transformation training can bring in a relatively short period of time to a political party, which is not just a technical entity, but a political body. One training on LGBTQI+ issues for a political party is unlikely to trigger significant policy or legal changes in a two-year period.
- Engagement with, and mapping of, prospective national institutional stakeholders in advance of a project taking place is critical to ensuring that the activities proposed align with their interests and priorities and are feasible in the timeframes proposed.
- In-person training conducted through a series of shorter sessions over a period of several months, rather than one training condensed into a short period of time, can improve learning and support the building of connections and networks between participants, which is important to recognize and leverage.
- Supplementing training through follow-up coaching and mentoring and by creating platforms for ongoing dialogue and engagement can build and sustain networks that are driven by shared understandings on key human rights and LGBTQI+ issues across the political spectrum.
- Access to online training and engagement activities are limited by financial and logistical obstacles, a challenge sharply accentuated for marginalized groups in rural communities. Such activities should remain in-person where possible, and in scenarios where this is not an option, resources should be set aside to encourage grassroots participation.
- Building cross-party networks of LGBTQI+ activists can ensure that key issues are retained on the agenda and more substantively engaged across the political spectrum.
- Efficient communication between project and finance management staff, and between grantees and implementing partners, is key to ensuring the delivery of projects in challenging conditions, such as during a global pandemic or when significant staff changes take place, especially when adaptive programming is required.
- Financial obstacles remain a significant barrier to building community networks and grassroots movements on LGBTQI+ rights issues in challenging economic contexts. Support to empower grassroots mobilisation of resources should be part of efforts to mitigate this challenge which risks impacting on an interventions sustainability.
- Clarity around how, and who, to engage within political party structures is important for targeting interventions at those most likely to embed learning in the structure. But even when internal learning structures within political parties are engaged – like the ANCs OR Tambo School of Leadership, a lack of resources to cascade learning can limit the number of indirect beneficiaries.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Evaluation questions for key informant interviews

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs of project beneficiaries?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How did the design of the project seek to tackle or address documented barriers to political participation of LGBTI groups/individuals? ▪ Why was a predominantly top-down and political stakeholder focus preferred to a more bottom up, grassroots driven approach? ▪ How did the beneficiary selection process ensure the most relevant participants were selected from political parties as well as LGBTI leaders? ▪ Did the Covid-19 pandemic impact on the relevance to the project for key stakeholders, for example political parties? ▪ What value addition did the implementing partner add to the project?
Coherence	How well did the project “fit”; i.e. to what extent was the project compatible with other projects and programmes in the country, sector or institution?	<p>Internal coherence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent are there synergies and interlinkages between the project and other initiatives carried out by the grantee? ▪ How were learnings from these initiatives embedded in the design of this project? <p>External coherence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How does the project align with the work of other organisations building support for LGBTI political participation in SA? ▪ To what extent is the project adding value while avoiding the duplication of efforts?
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has the project’s objective been achieved? ▪ What evidence was collected to demonstrate how the outputs and outcomes of the project were met? Was it done comprehensively? ▪ Did the project outputs support and sustain the wider outcomes and objectives of the project? And how was this documented? ▪ Where it failed to achieve the outputs identified in the project document, what explains this? [probe re Covid-19] ▪ How much did the switch to online engagement, as a result of Covid-19, impact on the project’s effectiveness? ▪ Was the project able to adequately capture and respond to foreseeable risks?

Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? ▪ How did changes in personnel at both grantee and implementing partner impact on the delivery of the project? ▪ How were budget reallocations done to ensure feasibility whilst maintaining the envisaged focus and value-for-money? ▪ How were the challenges posed by Covid-19 effectively mitigated? ▪ How was knowledge created by the project embedded and used within the institution?
Impact	To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has the project objective been realised? Please give examples from your experience ▪ What role are political parties playing in advocating for greater LGBTI inclusion in political processes? ▪ Have the targeted LGBTI leaders and projects constituted networks of marginalised groups experienced tangible and lasting impacts? What are these? And how well have these been documented? ▪ What impacts did the lack of IEC participation as envisaged have on the projects overall impact? ▪ What are individuals/groups doing differently as a result of their involvement with this project?
Sustainability	To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards women's rights and protecting civic space?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How are the individuals and networks trained applying their learning to strengthen and push for more equitable democracy? ▪ How has the grantee applied project management learnings from this project to enhance its continued sustainability and build relations with key stakeholders? ▪ Are the self-learning training manuals continuing to shape engagements?
UNDEF value added	To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What was UNDEF support able to support the accomplishment of, through the project that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders? ▪ How much support did UNDEF provide in helping navigate the Covid-19 challenges?

Annex 2: Documents Reviewed

The following documents were reviewed in preparing this evaluation report:

- UDF-17-SAF-750 Project Document
- UDF-17- SAF-750 Final Narrative Report
- Project financial utilization reports
- Two milestone verification reports
- Select PMF reports
- PLLI training modules 1-4
- PLLI participant satisfaction survey results
- CSF reports – Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape
- UNDEF post-project survey (2022)
- Thorpe, J. 2018. 'Political Participation of LGBTQI+ persons: A guide for South African political parties', Triangle Project.
- Thorpe, J. (2018). Power and Participation: A Guide to LGBTQI+ Political Participation for Civil Society and Activists. Triangle Project & LGBTQ Victory Institute.

Annex 3: Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CSF	Civil society forums
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission / Electoral Commission of South Africa
LGBTIQI+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, Intersex, Plus
PLLI	Political Leadership Learning Institute
PMF	Parliamentary Monitoring Fellow
SOGIESC	Sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics
SOSS Collective	Sada Oms Sada Saub Collective
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund