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

EVALUATION REPORT

UDF-16-711-TUN

**Observatoire pour la Défense du Droit à la Différence en Tunisie
(Observatory for Minority Rights in Tunisia)**

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Disclaimer

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

Authors

This report was written by Amal Khlif.

I. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

(i) Project data

This report is for the evaluation of the project entitled “Observatoire pour la Défense du Droit à la Différence en Tunisie”. The project started on April 1, 2018 and was intended to last 24 months. It ended on March 31, 2020. This project is the first grant from UNDEF for the implementing agency called The Tunisian Association for the Promotion of the Right to Difference (ADD). Aside from the implementing agency, the association worked closely with six partners:

- The Tunisian Association for the Defence of Individual Freedoms;
- The Federation of Tunisian associations working on disability;
- The Unity in Diversity Association;
- The M'NEMTY Association;
- The IBSAR Association; and
- The DAMJ Association for Justice and Equality.

This was a local project, implemented in four cities: Tunis, Kairouan, Djerba and Medenine. The project benefited from a UNDEF grant amounting 176,000 USD to carry out the following activities:

Networking between stakeholders working on fighting discrimination:

- Census of 150 stakeholders involved in the fight against discrimination; and
- Organization of 6 networking events.

Research and documentation:

- Documentation of 200 cases of discrimination against minorities;
- Production and dissemination of research publications on the state of play of the minorities' situation;
- Organization of an international conference; and
- Production and dissemination of a best practices guide for defenders of minority rights.

Training:

- Training on project development focused on results-based management (RBM) for ADD and partners;
- Training of 10 local associations on minority rights for the reception and guidance of minorities who were victims of discrimination; and
- Training on communication and advocacy techniques for the benefit of 10 local associations.

Communication and awareness-raising:

- Production of four advertising videos as awareness-raising tools;
- Raising awareness to fight against discrimination among 300 decision-makers from CSOs, authorities and media; and
- Awareness campaign in six regions in Tunisia reaching 35,000 Tunisians.

Advocacy:

- Drafting a bill against all forms of discrimination;

- Mobilization of 50 decision-makers (ministries, deputies, and political leaders) reached by an advocacy campaign in favour of the bill.

(ii) Key findings

Relevance

Given Tunisia's political context at the time of the project design, its legitimacy and relevance were not questioned.

The project was an innovative response, promoting the new concept of "the right to be different" as a distinctive answer for the promotion of minority rights in Tunisia, at a crucial moment of the democratic transition.

The choice of target groups, namely activist associations operating for the various rights of minorities, was very relevant. The geographic coverage and areas of intervention selected by the project were also very consistent with the selected target groups' priorities and needs.

The relevance of some activities was not as high as expected due to the lack of strategic planning. Activities were diverse and focused on several levels such as the individual, organizational, community, and political levels, and did not revolve around a systematic, realistic, theory of change that can be demonstrated.

Effectiveness

The project was implemented in accordance with the logical framework. **Its implementation was effective insofar as all activities took place on time, and the target indicators were achieved and even exceeded at times. The observatory was created and effectively gathered more than 50 associations** working on the defence of minority rights on a significant geographical area.

Activities seemed to have been successful. Participants and trainers reported that implemented activities have been well-organized and professionally managed.

Efficiency

The project was efficient in terms of financial management. It is clear that costs and charges were very well under control and that most of the budget lines were respected. The budget enabled carrying out several activities and targeting a maximum number of beneficiaries. However, this did not suffice for the project to entirely attain its objectives.

The project's objectives were various and overambitious. Thus, resource allocation was insufficient for projects to produce concrete and measurable progress towards objectives.

Impact

Despite the design flaws, the project did have several impacts -albeit to varying degrees- that contributed to change. The main impacts were the creation of a strong partnership between heterogeneous and young associations working for minority rights, and an institutionalized and sustained collaboration mechanism among them.

Conducting research-based awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns informed by situation assessments had a considerable impact on the credibility of the campaigns and among decision-makers as well as the general public.

Sustainability

The project has attained elements of sustainable impact through the adoption of the following approaches:

- Targeting a wide range of regional and young civil society groups engaged in various minority rights' issues.
- Empowering the organization and forging strong cohesion through capacity building and smart participatory decision-making processes -through communications' technology and influencing through action.
- Most project activities resulted in documents that can be used and have been shared between partners and UNDEF. Research and seminars generated quality reports in several languages which were uploaded to the website of the observatory and made available to all.

On the other hand, **the intervention rationale lacked systematization and a sustainability mechanism in its design**, especially in terms of advocacy activities, which were "reactive and opportunistic" and were not based on a properly developed strategy.

II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

(i) Development context

Tunisia, long presented as a homogeneous country with a moderate Sunni Muslim Arab majority, no longer recognized its historical plurality for the sake of national unity. After the fall of the dictatorship, the issue of identity became central to the political and social debate.¹ Recognition and rights were demanded by people who were made a minority. The dominant political forces politicized the issue of identity, which became the battle horse of the double polarization between Islamist and nationalist parties.

In 2012 and 2013, attacks multiplied: anti-Semitic slogans, desecration of worship places, homophobic statements, anti-black racism, attacks on feminist women, attacks on artists, and several other incidents occurred. Living together seemed to be in danger, hence the mobilization of several stakeholders for the protection of the rights of minorities.

The new constitution of 2014 fosters the protection of civil and political rights, as well as social, economic and cultural rights. Article 21² stipulates that "female and male citizens are equal in rights

¹ <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/page/file/1117031/download>

² <http://www.legislation.tn/sites/default/files/news/constitution-b-a-t.pdf>

and duties before the law, without discrimination”, but discrimination against minorities does exist at several levels.

Nevertheless, the text represents a compromise between moderate Islamists and centre-left secular parties, with some troubling provisions included that could disadvantage minority communities. This includes the designation of Islam as Tunisia’s official religion, the requirement that the President must be a Muslim, and the entrenchment by the state of its ‘Arab-Muslim identity’³.

Religious, ethnic, linguistic and so many other minorities live in a state of neglect in Tunisia and even persecution. This is revealed by the hate speech and behaviours against them. Specialized associations have pointed out this situation, which could only be amplified in a context lacking an article in the Tunisian constitution which penalizes hate crimes.

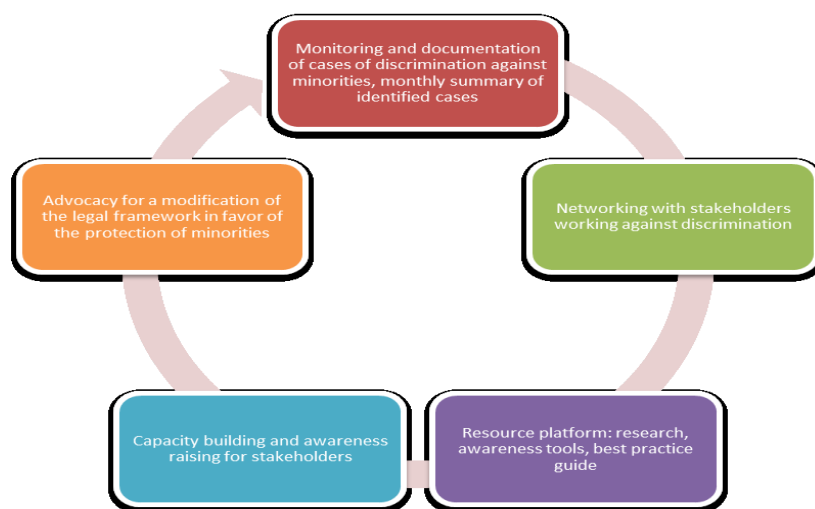
(ii) The project objective and intervention rationale

In a context characterized by:

- The absence of an article penalizing hate crimes in the Tunisian constitution.
- The ambiguity of State policy and socio-cultural norms, including the continuous question of the collective “white Muslim-Arab” identity.
- The lack of an assessment of the situation of discrimination against minorities and the isolation of CSO stakeholders working on the issue.

The principal objective of this project is to promote and strengthen the rights and the position of minorities in Tunisia for an equal citizen participation. The strategy is mainly based on the creation of an observatory for the defence of the right to difference in Tunisia, aiming to improve respect for minorities’ rights in marginalized and vulnerable communities.

Observatory for the Defence of the Right to Difference in Tunisia



³ <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/mrg-state-of-the-worlds-minorities-2014.pdf>

The observatory is a space dedicated to strengthening the engagement and collaboration between groups discriminated against, public stakeholders, and civil society. This is done through the networking between key stakeholders to rethink and fight injustices by designing structural reform. It is a monitoring tool that identifies cases of discrimination in order to make violations of minority rights visible.

The observatory is also a platform of resources dedicated to producing research on the actual situation of discrimination against minorities in Tunisia. For defenders of minority rights, it would be a guide of best practices, awareness and advocacy tools, policy briefs, and bills etc.

The observatory is dedicated to strengthening the capacities of CSOs through training on (i) human rights, (ii) the right to difference and the rights of minorities, (iii) techniques of communication, advocacy and, above all, (iv) reception and guidance of victims of discrimination. Trainings also include putting into practice of the fundamentals of support and familiarization with listening and reporting techniques.

The expected project results were:

- Outcome 1: The capacity for monitoring and reporting on discrimination increased;
- Outcome 2: The mobilization and level of knowledge (reception, orientation of victims) of public stakeholders and CSOs against discrimination increased; and
- Outcome 3: Support for a modification of the legal framework in favour of the protection of minorities increased.

Annex I inform on the original results framework of the project.

III. METHODOLOGY

This evaluation is intended to assist UNDEF in advising future projects and in project short-listing for future funding by building on the experience, achievements and lessons learned from project implementation experiences, and to propose recommendations for continued adaptations. The evaluation rationale is informed by the people-centred evaluation (PCE) approach and conducted in accordance with the Norms and Standards for Evaluations developed by the United Nations Evaluation Group and the OECD criteria of evaluation.

As the practice of remote post-project evaluations is gaining traction in many project management communities due to COVID-19, this evaluation was conducted entirely remotely. All interviews were held online, and data analysed and presented in this report were collected according to the OECD-DAC criteria of relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, and sustainability. Considering the lack of relevant data, the evaluator omitted the coherence criterion.

The evaluator prepared a preliminary launch note in June 2020, which was based on a review of the project's documentation (See Annex 3). The evaluator and the grantee then proceeded to hold introductory conversations on Zoom to develop a schedule of online interviews that took place from 22 June to 06 July.

Limitations of the evaluation

Data collection took place during the second phase of the deconfinement in Tunisia, so most people were not available or reachable online. Meetings and Skype calls were cancelled without prior notice, and group interviews were not set-up despite many attempts.

The evaluator set an ambitious methodology aiming to reach about 150 beneficiaries from different beneficiary target groups through an online survey, yet the limited availability of direct stakeholders and partners, coupled with the lack of responsiveness from project beneficiaries, led to the adaptation of the methodology. To mitigate the risk of central evaluation, the evaluator added interviews with external activists and experts about minority rights in Tunisia.

ADD provided all requested documents, but many names in the attendance sheets were not comprehensible. According to the project manager, there is no baseline assessment for the beneficiaries' capacities. The evaluator relied on triangulating and crosschecking information through qualitative data, by interviewing stakeholders and focusing more on the intervention logic. It was nonetheless very hard to confirm the reported results of outcome indicators. The evaluator was unable to confirm beneficiary numbers and percentages indicated in the final report.

Measurement of impact:

Some limitations in assessing impact are to be expected in this evaluation. The project had various degrees of impact at the level of partner organizations, of direct stakeholders engaged, of politicians, and of community members. It was very challenging for the evaluator to reach politicians and community members, so only change affecting partner organization and engaged stakeholders was captured.

It was difficult to “measure” impact due to the project’s design and the lack of a baseline / end line assessment or meaningful reporting that captures change during the project’s lifetime.

IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS

(i) Relevance

Given Tunisia’s political context at the time of the project design, its legitimacy and relevance were not questionable.

For the sake of national unity, Tunisia, long presented as a homogeneous country with a moderate Sunni Muslim Arab majority, no longer recognized its historical plurality. After the fall of the dictatorship, the issue of identity became central to the political and social debate. Recognition and rights were demanded by people who were made a minority and condemned to social or political inferiority, by people who were discriminated against, marginalized, and deprived of their rights on the basis of their differences, and by people who demanded distinct identity authenticity who had been made invisible for long. However, the issue of identity became the battle horse of the double polarization between Islamist and nationalist parties. The rise of populist discourse became threatening for people claiming their right to a dignified citizenship despite their differences. The project thus came to respond to an issue that is crucial for the success of the democratic transition, and to meet the needs of minorities struggling for visibility and egalitarian citizen participation.

Against the labelling of fights, focus on the right to be different

In 2016, a collective of associations called The Civil Collective for Individual Freedoms⁴ met for the defence of individual freedoms in Tunisia. Its members lead campaigns for advocacy, mobilization, and interpellation, especially for the repeal of articles 230, 231 and 236 of the Tunisian Penal Code, for the decriminalization of homosexuality, and in particular against the joint legal-forensic practice of anal tests.

On August 13, 2017, the former President of the Tunisian Republic Beji Caid Essebsi created the Commission of Individual Freedoms and Equality⁵. This Commission was made responsible for preparing a reform project, in accordance with the requirements of the 2014 constitution and international standards of human rights.

Despite the Commission’s independence, its work was immediately instrumentalized by the two political poles, and it contributed to the ideological polarization of the public opinion rather than to fostering understanding and critical thinking. Between those who are progressive on the one hand, and those who are Islamists on the other, little room was left for those concerned to defend their rights.⁶

⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Collectif_civil_pour_les_libert%C3%A9s_individuelles

⁵ <https://colibe.org/?lang=en>

⁶ <https://journals.openedition.org/anneemaghreb/6012>

In examining the relevance of the project, the evaluator distinguished two levels of analysis: (i) the relevance of the project as a response to a specific problem and (ii) the relevance of the project activities for the achievement of a specific objective at the time of intervention.

For the first level:

The creation of a coordination structure between groups that are discriminated against, disordered and geographically dispersed, in order to decompartmentalize fights, decentralize the debate, strengthen the capacity of stakeholders to better unite and influence social norms and political decisions, and spotlight cases of discrimination and the diversity of fights, seems to be an appropriate response to a crucial issue that is essential for the success of the establishment of a democratic culture at the right time of the democratic transition in Tunisia.

The choice of target groups, namely activist associations operating for the various rights of minorities, is a very relevant choice. The geographical coverage and areas of intervention selected by the project have also been very consistent with the selected target groups.

For the second level:

All projects activities were relevant. However, the observatory's objectives were slightly overambitious, due to the sensitivity of the issue in question, the local context, and the limited resources.

Thanks to the political environment, outcome three (support for a change in the legal framework for the protection of minorities) was highly relevant at the time of project design. However, there wasn't in place a risk mapping process that could identify potential risks such as the early elections, resulting in a major shift of the advocacy strategy. Consequently, output 3.2.1 was replaced by a 1 policy brief produced in favour of individual freedoms and a sociological reading of electoral programs. Output 3.2.4 was replaced by a media monitoring activity during the legislative and presidential campaigns.

The approach chosen by the implementing agency might not have been the most suitable to achieve the targeted project outcomes, given that the diversity of activities and the variety of beneficiaries made it difficult to build on concrete change. For the launch of such long-awaited observatory, a more robust approach could have been to set out a detailed internal strategy to lead a targeted, systematic and structured intervention.

(ii) Effectiveness

The project was implemented in accordance with the logical framework. Its implementation was effective insofar as the observatory was created and effectively gathered more than 50 associations working together on the defence of minority rights on a significant geographical area. As reported, project target indicators and intended outcomes have been achieved. Nonetheless, given the various profiles of partner associations, the political context, and the resources allocated, the project would have been more effective had the outcomes been realistically phrased in the design.

Outcome 1: The capacity for monitoring and reporting on discrimination are increased

All elements under outcome 1 took place on time, ADD provided the necessary documents demonstrating that the target indicators were achieved and even exceeded at times.

By the end of the project, the observatory counts more than 57 associations engaged in the defence of minorities rights, published a guide of best practice to orient and support victims of discrimination, and documented 497 case of discrimination against minorities.

Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives?

Under outcome 1, ADD listed five outputs including the creation of the observatory, the organization of an international conference to present cases of discrimination in different countries, and the documentation of cases of discrimination. When asked about the causal link between outputs and outcomes, interviewees failed to demonstrate it. The choice of outputs and some activities leading to this outcome is not clearly demonstrated in the project report; output indicators were well reported but it would therefore be difficult to judge to what extent and how they contribute to progress under outcome indicator 1.

"We tried to avoid duplicating work done by other actors and to fill the gaps. The international conference was necessary because there was a need to learn about the experiences of other countries.

I understand that activities are not interlinked, but they are logical. Unfortunately, we are still reactive as opposed to strategic."

Mr. Wahid FERCHICHI, President of partner association (ADLI)

Outcome 2: The mobilization and level of knowledge (reception, guidance of victims) of public stakeholders and CSOs against discrimination are increased

ADD provided the necessary documents demonstrating that the target indicators were well achieved and even exceeded at times.

CSOs Capacity building

One of the most effective components of this project was the one providing training for partners on the right to difference, rights of minorities, support and guidance, and communication and advocacy techniques. These trainings provided partners with:

- Better group cohesion.
- The decompartmentalization of micro-spaces to which they belong.
- More learning about the concepts, the human rights approach, and the legal framework.

All interviewed participants were satisfied with the sessions' content and training organization. Yet, according to their comments and explanations, knowledge transfer among members of associations remains limited. According to the trainer Mr Karim OUSAIFI, knowledge transfer about topics like human rights, LGBT rights, and racial discrimination is quite sensitive and needs more time and resources.

Ad hoc communication lacking veritable synergy with the advocacy objectives

The process of producing awareness-raising ads was very effective because it encouraged participants to reflect on the issue of discrimination, formulate the messages to be communicated, and be more aware and engaged of the various causes. However, by the time of the evaluation, only 30 users are subscribed to ADD's YouTube channel. ADD reported an average of 500 views for

each video produced. The very low reach of these videos on YouTube can be explained by the inadequate choices of messages and media, which is due to the absence of a well-thought and targeted communication. Whether these tools are effective enough to raise public awareness on the right to be different in a way to attain a change in perception and/or engagement in action remains to be assessed and discussed.

The strategy of joint action for mobilizing CSOs, authorities, and media (output 2.3) was not informed by a strategic document. At the time of project implementation, no concrete synergy was noted between (output 2.3) and the production of six video advertisements as awareness tools (output 2.2). The implementation of this activity, such as it was, was not conducive in concrete results towards outcomes: there were no plans concerning the intended audience for activities or events, nor for the dissemination of materials or the contribution to the advocacy campaign.

Regional events organized by the observatory partners (output 2.4) depended largely on their capacity. There was little information on these events in the project report and in the absence of an activity format and/or of quality assurance tools, there is no way to verify the reach of these activities. It is therefore very difficult to judge their contribution to outcome 2 and their actual level of effectiveness.

Outcome 3: Support for a change in the legal framework for the protection of minorities increased in Tunisia.

A key objective under outcome 3 was to prepare a draft law establishing the right to be different and to discuss it at the parliament. The advocacy expert stated that there was a solid chance that the draft law would be passed. However, the death of the former President Beji Caid Essebsi, and the announcement of the early legislative presidential elections created conditions that made the achievement of this ambitious objective unrealistic.

Keeping almost the same activities of the logical framework, efforts were concentrated on the bills already submitted to the Parliament so as to act on them and ensure advocacy that incorporates the right to difference and the respect for individual freedoms with applicants for legislative and presidential elections.

The activities, as they were implemented, did not have a direct link with the change of the legal framework in favour of the protection of minorities, but rather with increasing the political accountability on matters of individual freedoms and minority rights during the legislative and presidential electoral campaigns. However, activities under outcome 3 are considered as effective for moving forward towards the main objective of the project, that of promoting and strengthening “the law and the position of minorities in Tunisia for an egalitarian citizen participation”.

“We believed the time was right, we wanted to support the political movement in favor of rights and freedoms, that seemed possible at the time. But this project teaches us to be humbler and more realistic.”
Imed ZOUARI, Advocacy consultant

(iii) *Efficiency*

An evaluation of the project efficiency answers the question: “in what proportion would the relation between the allocated resources and the impacts obtained be reasonable?” Answering this question is difficult because on one end, financial resources were very well managed, but on the other end, the logical framework was too ambitious for the resources available and the objectives scattered.

From a pure financial management perspective, the project was efficient. Costs and charges were very well under control, most of the budget lines were respected and the budget enabled carrying out several activities and targeting a maximum number of beneficiaries. However, this was not entirely enough for the project to attain its objectives.

Ambitious objectives and limited resources

The logical framework of the project was overambitious for the resources allocated and the implementation team available, which makes it difficult to define the intervention rationale of the implementing agency and to discuss the rationale of resource distribution. The project management team was too small for to the actual workload. The lead association, as well as partners and allies, did not spare efforts and availability to make activities succeed and to attain the project objectives. Yet, much of the work was done informally, and depended largely on the goodwill and personal commitment of partners.

The foundation of the observatory was not efficiently thought through and implemented. To create a cohesive group, working tools, and a mutual understanding of the issues facing minorities in Tunisia required substantially more resources, training, as well as gatherings and joint activities. The latter would ensure the commitment and cohesion of the very heterogeneous group working to define the best joint advocacy strategy.

“I learned a lot from this project about the importance of internal *advocacy* to create an advocacy group. Although we are all committed activists, our views on certain points did not always align. We wanted to decentralize the mobilization but it required more resources and time.”

Imed ZOUARI, Advocacy Consultant

Partnerships versus contractual services

A considerable part of the budget was designated to pay contractual services of legal consultants and trainers. Although the costs of these services were well under control, the efficiency of resource management remains to be discussed, especially given that the most important experts were part of the observatory's partners or of its supporters.

The implementing agency justified this choice by the difficulty of finding profiles of consultants who were both technically competent and politically sensitive to minority rights. The use of paid expertise from the observatory's partners was a pragmatic choice to facilitate processes and benefit from professional and activist engagement at lower costs.

Notwithstanding, this choice had its limitations:

- The threshold between contractual services and the voluntary engagement were not established, making it difficult to recognize the contribution of volunteering and professional profitability in order to judge the efficiency of resource management.
- The knowledge production process, especially for research and policy brief, remained exclusive among observatory partners and reflected mainly positions.

- The informality of reports facilitated the work but did not allow the professionalization of the implementation and the documentation of the whole process.

Those funds should have been deployed under a different budget component to grant more efficiency.

(iv) Impact

The project had various degrees of impact at the level of partner organizations, of stakeholders engaged in the fight against discrimination, of politicians, and of community members. Nonetheless, the lack of linkages among beneficiary groups and across activities reduced prospects for deeper impact expected from more synergies and interlink between activities.

For Partners

The observatory allowed partners to move from micro-spaces in which they mobilized to an organizational structure with regional reach and decentralization of resources, and that was to have more presence and visibility.

The heads of interviewed associations all agreed on the importance of this structure and the substantial added value that the observatory brought in terms of concentration of networking, research, and advocacy efforts. It was no longer a one-off coalition for a given intervention, but an organization that institutionalizes solidarity and collaboration practices in a methodological approach of proposal and change in favour of minorities in Tunisia for an egalitarian citizen participation.

Organizational cohesion

The highly rapid expansion and the competition of Tunisian civil society associations constitute a particular challenge for post-revolutionary Tunisia, as the number of associations rose from 8,000 to 22,000 in 2019. Without a mapping of specializations, and without a monitoring of funding or an evaluation of the contributions of this increase, competition to stand out from the crowd and gain reputation and credibility with donors often induced associations to have rival relations and leadership problems, and to miss out on working in synergy and collaboration.

The heads of interviewed partner associations reported that the observatory helped to overcome this challenge thanks to the joint work charter and to preferring the participatory approach throughout the decision-making process. Without wanting to monopolize the visibility or the space of expression, the lead association proved itself to be inclusive and unifying. This process of organizational cohesion for such heterogeneous and young associations is based on respect for principles of solidarity, reciprocity and openness to learning. Partner associations gained in terms of learning, group work, participatory approach, and internal communication.

The decompartmentalization of struggles towards the understanding of intersectionality

The integration of minority groups based on human rights and not the hierarchy and competition of fights represents an important challenge for the Tunisian democratic process. Even minority groups tend to reproduce the same patterns of exclusion on other groups and close themselves off in a specific fight.

The various activities of training and networking, as well as the work on the awareness campaign and the joint reflection and mobilization all allowed participants to open to other topics on discrimination and various forms of exclusion. This awareness of the extent of discrimination has enabled a better understanding and assimilation of the concept of the right to be different.

One of the most appreciated aspects is the capacity building of target groups. The different interactions and the joint work made it possible to professionalize partners and to challenge the theoretical ideas on intersectionality, decentralization and inclusion in practice. All those interviewed among partners stressed the importance of cumulative learning throughout the project on the practical application of these concepts.

For Stakeholders engaged in the fight against discrimination

With the rise of populist discourse in Tunisia, it became increasingly difficult for the stakeholders engaged in the fight against discrimination to argue in favour of minority rights. Conducting awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns based on scientific research and assessments of the situation has a considerable impact on the credibility and resonance of these campaigns with decision-makers and the general public.

The interviewed activists expressed the importance of the resources that the observatory developed through the project, including the manual of best practices, the documentation of cases of discrimination, and the policy brief “which serve as a baseline reference to better target their activities and improve their discourses”.

(v) Sustainability

ADD and partners have developed several tools ensuring a certain degree of sustainability.

More than a coalition, a structure for collaboration

The observatory for the right to difference is more than a one-off coalition, it is a formal structure that will evolve into a legal entity, according to the testimonies of partner associations.

Training on project management allowed partners to define roles and responsibilities and develop a charter of values and work procedures. Although most of the work was done collectively and without a rigorous formalization of procedures and systematic interventions, the project enabled the establishment of organizational cohesion and the development of a level of professionalization among partners associations.

Documents to leverage and a platform of resources

Most project activities resulted in documents that can be leveraged and that were shared between partners and UNDEF.

Research and seminars generated quality reports in several languages that were uploaded to the observatory's website and made available for all stakeholders engaged in fighting against discrimination, including the media, researchers, and policy makers or others. It is noteworthy that several stakeholders will continue to use these resources, thus far unavailable on a platform dedicated for the right to difference.

Capacity building of partner organizations to be pillars of sustainability

The most durable change of this project is that relating to the capacity building of youth associations for more empowerment and professionalization. Although ADD has not yet found the best system to expand the reach of trainings to all members of associations, it is certain that direct beneficiaries will succeed in making the work of their organizations evolve and in pushing for more openness and collaboration.

Despite the concern for leverage and documentation shared by all of the observatory's partners throughout the project, and despite the sustainability elements described above, the observatory did not succeed in formalizing the entire process and in documenting all the changes and adaptations necessary to leverage the learning.

The design of the intervention rationale lacked systematization and a sustainability mechanism, especially in terms of advocacy activities, which were "reactive and opportunistic" because of the early elections. Adaptations were discussed and decided informally rather than based on a properly developed strategy.

The interviewed observatory partners expressed their commitment and availability to leverage the lessons learned for the sake of better addressing the second phase on more strategic grounds. As mentioned by the president, the observatory obtained new funds to continue the documentation of the discrimination against minorities. A strategical retreat is planned to look at the evaluation findings and lessons learned and to review the strategical plan for the second phase.

(vi) UNDEF value-added

UNDEF has been an important partner to Tunisia in its democratic transition. This project proves that UNDEF can be open-minded by considering innovative concepts like " **the right to difference**" and can promote more original and innovative responses. Funding this project was a risky and strategic choice to strengthen the collective contribution of diverse community actors to the promotion of minorities rights.

It is questionable if the project has achieved concrete change in this short term, but it is certain that the creation of the observatory is great and timely first step.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

(i) *Conclusions*

1. At a crucial moment of the democratic transition, the project was a relevant and innovative response promoting the new concept of *the right to difference* as a distinctive answer to the main issue of promoting minority rights in Tunisia.
2. The choice of target groups, namely activist associations operating for the various rights of minorities, was very relevant. The geographic coverage and areas of intervention selected by the project were also very consistent with the target groups' priorities and needs.
3. Activities lacked overall linkage and project design was not articulate enough to grant greater effectiveness. In the other hand, when examined separately, activities seemed to have been successful. Participants and trainers reported that most implemented activities have been well-organized and professionally managed.
4. Risks and assumptions about the political context were not clearly identified in the project document, and the case-by-case approach to mitigate these risks reduced the effectiveness of some activities. Mainly, the early elections, the absence of the concept of right to be different in the Tunisian legal framework, and the inter-group cohesion challenges, were not properly identified.
5. From a pure financial management perspective, the project was efficient. Nonetheless the project's objectives were overambitious and diverse. So as a result, resource allocation was insufficient for outputs to generate tangible progress towards objectives.
6. A considerable part of the budget was designated for contractual services of legal consultants and trainers, additionally, most important experts were part of the observatory's partners or of its supporters. Those funds should have been deployed under a different budget component to grant more efficiency.
7. The project management team was understaffed for the workload. Yet, much of the work was done informally, and depended largely on the goodwill and personal engagement of partners.
8. The mid-term and the final report didn't illustrate how ADD adapted the project in accordance with major context changes, early elections, and the change of political dynamics, nor did it explain why decisions were made in that direction. It was difficult to validate the project's advocacy strategy against the initial approach.
9. Even though the project activities were not all interlinked around a theory of change that can be demonstrated, they did contribute to tangible impact.
10. The project's main impact was the creation of a strong partnerships between heterogeneous and young association activists for minority rights, and the institutionalization and sustainability of a collaboration mechanism (the observatory) among the group.
11. Conducting research-based awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns that are also informed by assessments of the situation had a considerable impact on the credibility and resonance of these campaigns among decision-makers and the general public.
12. The grantee and the partners have developed several tools, ensuring a certain degree of sustainability. They continue fundraising and advocacy to progress toward the observatory's objectives.

(ii) *Recommendations*

- The Tunisian observatory for the right to difference constitutes a great potential coalition with a wide variety of skilled individuals, bringing together activists, lawyers, academics, researchers, and senior consultants in international organizations etc. The project made a great step towards organizational cohesion and long-term partnerships, but additional efforts are needed to explore its potential through partner assessments and skills mapping. (Based on conclusions 1, 7 and 10);
- The Tunisian observatory for the right to be different should develop an internal strategic plan that describes the rationale of its contribution to change towards the promotion of minority rights in Tunisia. (Based on conclusions 4 and 5);
- The Tunisian observatory needs to think more strategically about interventions and be more careful to present a tactical theory of change including smart indicators to measure outcomes. (Based on conclusions 3 and 5);
- Evidence-based advocacy is a proven approach; however, it should be systematic and well described in an advocacy campaign plan. The advocacy plan should be revised systematically, and all adaptations should be documented to provide demonstration of change and lessons learned (Based on conclusion 8);
- Communication and/or public awareness is a key component of the advocacy plan and should be conceptualized and implemented accordantly to the advocacy objectives. (Based on conclusions 7 and 8); and
- The Tunisian observatory for the right to difference should provide essential in-house monitoring and evaluation to improve continuous monitoring of activities, of context change, and of adaptations. This is to provide knowledgeable and meaningful reporting that enhances learning. (Based on conclusion 13).
- ADD and partners, including many activists, are often knowledgeable about the struggle dynamics and have many impressive ideas and initiatives, but they lack project cycle management understanding, and the mastery of technical social/political change theories and tools. To translate fascinating ideas into tangible impact, grantees need to develop staff skills in project design and management. Considering the limited period for project development, occasional support from the UNDEF team when needed could help address such skill gaps.
- UNDEF and other funders should continue to support the **Observatory for the Defence of the Right to Difference** which has potential to become a strategic partner in the long run.

VI. LESSONS LEARNED

The lessons learned presented in this section highlight the functional practices identified from project experience, which could be taken into consideration in the design of other projects in the same context or under the same theme.

- Unity makes strength, and sustainable coalitions are more impactful than isolated CSO efforts;
- Networking to create coalition should be conducted after a clear mapping of a wide range of civil society groups, despite personal affinities and organizations' notorieties;
- Organizational capacity assessment identifications of potential resources are key for any long-term partnership project;
- Evidence-based campaigns are very effective. However, without any advocacy strategy it's impossible to prove that the work was not research for the sake of research, but because it would lead to actions improving the identified development issue;
- The advocacy plan should take into consideration the heterogenous members of a coalition, an internal advocacy effort must be carried out prior to an external campaign;
- Empowering partners and forging strong cohesion through capacity building and smart participatory decision-making processes is key to overcome leadership challenges and sustain partner's engagement

Annex 1: Results Framework

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
OUTCOME 1; The capacity for monitoring and reporting on discrimination increased		
Outcome 1: The capacity for monitoring and reporting on discrimination increased	By the end of the project 70% of discriminations submitted to partner associations are listed in the database	497 cases of discrimination identified in 24 months
	By the end of the project, 60% of experts and actors associations engaged in the project collaborate and produce research on discrimination (other than publications produced in the project lifetime).	70% of experts and actors associations engaged in the project collaborate and produce research on discriminations issues

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
<p>OUTPUTS RELATED</p> <hr/> <p>TO OUTCOME 1</p>		
<p>Output 1.1 497 documented cases of discrimination against minorities</p> <p>Activities</p> <p>1.1.1 Organization of a press conference to launch the ADD project</p> <p>1.1.2 Establishment of a database on discrimination against minorities</p> <p>1.1.3 Census of 150 stakeholders involved in the fight against discrimination</p> <p>1.1.4 Organization of six networking events</p>	<p>200 documented cases of discrimination against minorities</p> <p>1 press conference took place</p> <p>1 Data base is established</p> <p>150 actors are engaged in the struggle against discrimination</p> <p>6 networking events</p>	<p>497 cases of discrimination identified in 24 months</p> <p>The press conference took place on June 22, 2018. 60 people participated including 22 journalists</p> <p>-A data base is created</p> <p>-By the end of the project, the observatory counts 300 actors engaged in the struggle against discrimination.</p> <p>6 networking events took place</p>

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
<p>Output 1.2: 1.2 (04) publications disseminated relating to the restitution workshop and the international conference, respectively</p> <p>Activities</p> <p>1.2.1 TORs released to recruit consultants. 1.2.2 consultants hired for research and contracts signed. 1.2.3 Research carried out and submitted to the scientific council 1.2.4 Workshop for the restitution of research findings 1.2.5 Production of the workshop write-up with a report on the state of play of the right to difference. 1.2.6 Dissemination of the collective work and the state of play relating to the research findings to the concerned stakeholders, including CSOs and government officials 1.2.7 Organization of an international conference 1.2.8 Production of conference proceedings and of a mainstreamed report on the state of play of discrimination against minorities in Tunisia</p>	<p>04 publications disseminated relating to the restitution workshop and the international conference, respectively</p>	<p>-10 consultants were hired -1 restitution workshop took place on October 19, 2018. 72 participants were engaged in the workshop. -1 international conference took place on January 17and 18, 2019. -129 participants attended the conference -2 publications disseminated relating to the restitution workshop and the international conference, respectively</p>
<p>Output 1.3: A guide of best practices published and disseminated</p> <p>Activities: 1.3.1 Production and dissemination of a best practices guide</p>	<p>1 guide of best practices published and disseminated</p>	<p>1 guide of best practices published and disseminated</p>
<p>Output 1.4: An observatory for the defense of the right to difference created with a space open to the public</p> <p>Activities:</p> <p>1.4.1 Rental of premises</p>	<p>An observatory for the defense of the right to difference created with a space open to the public</p>	<p>An observatory for the defense of the right to difference is created and federate 57 associations and 02 collectives working for the defense of human rights and minority rights:</p>

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
<p>1.4.2 ToRs for recruiting staff: project manager, financial officer and administrative officer for creating and populating the database.</p> <p>1.4.3 Recruitment and signing of contracts</p> <p>1.4.4 Creation of the observatory</p> <p>1.4.5 A project steering committee formed by members of the observatory for the implementation of the project + the establishment of a scientific committee</p> <p>1.4.6 Organization of six networking events within the O3DT</p>		<p>Medenine 17 associations;</p> <p>Kairouan : 9 associations</p> <p>Tunis : 12 associations;</p> <p>Gabes: 2</p> <p>Kef: 2</p> <p>Jendouba: 2</p> <p>Bizerte: 2</p> <p>Sousse: 1</p> <p>Sfax: 1</p> <p>Sidi Bouzid: 1</p> <p>COLEG: coalition for freedoms and equality</p> <p>Collective of individual freedoms</p>
<p>Output 1.5: ADD and six project partners trained on project management</p> <p>Activities:</p> <p>1.5.1 Capacity building for project development focused on RBM for ADD and partners</p> <p>1.5.2 Meeting on the work plan</p>	<p>ADD and six project partners trained on project management</p>	<p>ADD and partner were trained on project cycle and result based management. Internal organization procedures were produced. Roles and responsibilities between partners were defined.</p>
<p>OUTCOME 2 The mobilization and level of knowledge (reception, guidance of victims) of public stakeholders and CSOs increased</p>		
<p>Outcome 2: The mobilization and level of knowledge (reception, guidance of victims) of public stakeholders and CSOs</p>	<p>By the end of the project at least 50% of trained actors are able to measure their actions mobilization against discriminations</p>	<p>There is no precise data about this indicator</p>

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
	By the end of the project 80% of trainee have improved their knowledge and ability to support the victims of discrimination including 40% of women	45 association have increased their capacities in listening and support to the victims of discrimination. 85% of participant are qualified in listening ang guidance. 60% are women.
OUTPUTS RELATED TO OUTCOME 2		
Output 2.1: Capacities of 30 local associations strengthened in the reception and guidance of minorities who were victims of discrimination Activities: 2.1.1 Training on minority rights 2.1.2 Training on communication and advocacy techniques	30 associations participate in the training	59 participants from 45 associations trained on minorities rights. 62 participants from 45 association trained on communication and advocacy techniques
Output 2.2: 2.2 Production of 4 video advertisements as awareness tools Activities: 2.2.1 Workshops with the associations of the regions and members of the O3DT to reflect on key messages to be disseminated 2.2.2 Design and production of video advertisements and scenarios 2.2.3 Broadcasting the videos through the network of associations in the region to support the awareness campaign	1 reflection workshop took place 4 videos are produced as awareness tools	15 association participated in the reflection workshop 6 videos were produced
Output 2.3: Raising awareness of 300 decision-makers from CSOs, authorities and media to fight against discrimination Activities: 2.3.1 A strategy of joint actions for the mobilization of CSOs, authorities, media	300 decision-makers from CSOs, authorities and the media sensitized to fight against discrimination	480 stakeholders participated in the awareness campaign

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
2.3.2 Joint mobilization campaign with CSOs and authorities (ministries) 2.3.3 Awareness campaign among decision-makers		
Output 2.4: Raising awareness of 35000 people on the fight against discrimination in the regions Activities: 2.4.1 Awareness campaign in six regions of Tunisia	35000 sensitized to fight against discrimination	20 events are organized in 10 regions and more than 40000 citizens are aware about fight against discrimination
OUTCOME 3 Support for a modification of the legal framework in favor of the protection of minorities in Tunisia increased		
Outcome 3: Support for a modification of the legal framework in favor of the protection of minorities in Tunisia increased	By the end of the project 30% of deputies have increased their knowledge on discrimination and 10 deputies, including 5 women, are directly involved in work to improve protection of minorities rights in Tunisia	No price data about percentage of deputies who increased their knowledge on discrimination issue. 10 deputies, including 6 Women support the legal initiative of ADD and partners.
	At the end of the project, 50% of senior officials having participated in the project have adopted an approach of advocacy support for adoption of legal texts in favor of mobilization	60% of senior officials having participated in the project have adopted an approach of advocacy support for adoption of legal texts in favor of mobilization

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
OUTPUTS RELATED TO OUTCOME 3		
<p>Output 3.1: 3.1. A draft bill against all forms of discrimination is prepared</p> <p>Activities:</p> <p>3.1.1 TORs released to hire a team of legal experts</p> <p>3.1.2 consultants hired for research and contracts signed</p> <p>3.1.3 Two focus groups for reading, discussion and validation of draft zero of the bill</p>	<p>1 draft bill against all forms of discrimination is prepared</p>	<p>An analysis of the situation during the workshop demonstrates the difficulty in the short and medium-term to act on all fronts and favours a pragmatic strategy which aims to identify draft laws already filed with parliament in order to act on it.</p> <p>Texts validated by partner NGOs on July 27, 2019</p>
<p>Output 3.2: 50 decision-makers (ministries, deputies, and political leaders) reached by an advocacy campaign in favor of the bill</p> <p>Activities:</p> <p>3.2.1 Policy brief development</p> <p>3.2.2 Press conference to present the bill</p> <p>3.2.3 advocacy with decision-makers</p> <p>3.2.4 Debates on radio and TV</p>	<p>-1 policy brief in favor of draft bill against all forms of discrimination</p> <p>-50 decision-makers (ministries, deputies, and political leaders) reached by an advocacy campaign in favor of the bill</p> <p>-Debates on radio and TV about the draft bill</p>	<p>-1 policy brief produced on favour of individual freedoms</p> <p>-1 sociological reading of electoral programs related to law and freedoms as well as the choices of voters.</p> <p>-18 decisions makers were reached by the advocacy campaign</p> <p>- ADD developed questions that were submitted to media professionals in order to pose them to candidate during the electoral debate in order to establish the positioning of the candidates on issues of individuals freedom.</p>

Outcomes/ Outputs/ Activities	Target indicators	Achievement
<p>Output 3.3: A bill against all forms of discrimination appears on the website of the ARP</p> <p>Activities:</p> <p>3.3.1 Bill submitted to the ARP</p>	<p>1 bill against all forms of discrimination appears on the website of the ARP</p>	<p>A report on the bill relating to freedoms individual distributed to deputies and the committee of freedoms to the ARP</p>
<p>Output 3.4: Leveraging project experience</p> <p>Activities:</p> <p>3.4.1 Press conference and project closing meal</p>	<p>1 press conference is organized</p>	<p>1 press conference is organized</p>

Annex 2: Evaluation questions

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context? ▪ Should another project strategy have been preferred rather than the one implemented to better reflect those needs, priorities, and context? Why? ▪ Were risks appropriately identified by the projects? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse?
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent have the project's objectives been reached? ▪ To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not? ▪ Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives? ▪ What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this?
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs? ▪ Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? ▪ Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives?
Impact	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/have the realization of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address? ▪ Have the targeted beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative? ▪ To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization? ▪ Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples?

Sustainability	To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact? ▪ Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)?
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 able to accomplish, through the project, that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc). ▪ Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF's comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues?

Annex 3: Documents Reviewed:

Silvia Quattrini, 2018, Identity and Citizenship in Tunisia: The Situation of Minorities after the 2011
<https://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/MRG-Tunisia-briefing-Final-ENG-Nov-2018.pdf>

The civil collective for individual rights, 2018, Mask off State of Individual Liberties, Tunisia
<https://tn.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2019/04/1. rapport etat des li 2019 version integrale.pdf>

Human Rights Committee, 2020, Review of the 6th Periodic Report of TUNISIA, Geneva
<https://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/CCPR128 Tunisia MRG.pdf>

<https://colibe.org/report/?lang=en>

United Nations Development Programme, 2010, Marginalized minorities in developing programming
<file:///C:/Users/hp/Downloads/Marginalised%2520Minorities%2520in%2520Development.pdf>

Review of the following project documentation:

- Mid-term progress and final narrative and financial reports;
- Milestone verification reports; and
- UNDEF Program Officer mission notes
- Newsletters
- All attendance lists
- Annexes: all documents produced through project activities
- Policy brief
- Manual for good practice
- Awareness campaign videos
- Vision of the observatory
- Partnership contract
- Evaluation report

Annex 4: Persons Interviewed

23 June 2020	
ADD team/ Salwa Ghrissa	ADD
24 June 2020	
Omar Fassatoui	Trainer
26 June 2020	
Wahid Ferchichi	Partner and consultant
01 July	
Mohamed Mansour	Partner
Imad Zaouri	Advocacy consultant
02 July	
Pascal Allard	Expert on communication
03 July	
Malak Lakhel	Journalist
Dorah	Member of Chouf organization for sexual right
04- July	
Maha Jouini	Activist for minorities rights
07 July	
Salwa Ghrissa	ADD's president
Imad Zaouri	Advocacy consultant
30 July	
Debrief ADD team/ Salwa Ghrissa	ADD's president

Annex 5: Acronyms

ADD	Association pour le droit à la différence
NGO	Non-governmental organization
CSO	Civil society organisations
OECD	Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease 2019
TOR	Term of reference
ARP	Assembly of the Representatives of the People (ARP)
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund