Early Party Development Assessment

Nonviolent Social Movement to Party Assessment Tool

NDI

NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE

Guidelines for Conducting Secondary Data Collection

The purpose of secondary data collection is to better understand the established rules and procedures within emerging parties. It involves a review of any existing governing documents such as a written constitution, rules, or codes of conduct, and any available documentation on internal practices and the status of women in the political party, including the number of women members and women leaders. This establishes current facts about the levels of women's involvement of the party, and confirms existing policies or mechanisms that support or exclude them.

The practitioner conducting the initial desk review should also look for statistics that indicate the status of women's empowerment and gender equality in the country on a wider level. Civil society groups, especially those focused on women's rights, may have important information about the socio-cultural barriers and norms in a country that influence women's ambitions and abilities to enter and participate in politics and political parties. These organizations (or even individual activists) may already have records, anecdotal evidence, or other relevant information that can be useful to the practitioner administering the assessment. For example, statistics on the levels of violence against women in the country and the levels of women's participation within different parties may not always be publicly available; but civil society organizations often collect unofficial data that can be used instead. Additional reports or research documents shared by international organizations or academics on the status of women in the country can also be a source of information.

In some cases, country experts in the academic, diplomatic, development, or other communities may be willing and available to share their perspectives via phone, Skype, or other means. However, in general, conversations with individuals directly involved in politics are best conducted through face-to-face interviews, during which it is easier to establish a rapport, discuss sensitive issues, and read body language.

Ideally, such additional secondary data collection is completed in advance of the focus groups or interviews with party leaders so that it can be used to help guide the researcher to focus on particular topics or listen for specific information within the established set of questions.

Interview Guide

Interviewer Instructions
This tool for the Early Party Development Assessment is intended to be completed within an interview setting. Using the following questions, the interviewer should probe for detailed information and solicit specific examples to provide as complete an answer as possible. The interviewer has a responsibility to adequately cover all prepared questions within the time allotted.

The questions below include both closed- and open-ended questions. Many questions also include specific guidance for the interviewer on the information that is necessary to gather for the assessment; in some cases, a list of options for the interviewer to mark or refer to is included. The text in italics is guidance for the interviewer on the types of information to collect.

Throughout the interview, the interviewer's role is to guide the discussion toward these subjects to get the relevant information. The interviewer has a responsibility to encourage the interviewee to answer the questions and explain their answers, as much as they feel comfortable. Interviewees should never be compelled to answer questions if they feel uncomfortable. Some helpful ways to get more complete responses include:
- "Can you talk about that more?"
- "Help me understand what you mean."
- "Can you give an example?"

It is good interview practice to paraphrase and summarize long, complex, or ambiguous comments. This demonstrates active listening, and ensures that the interviewee's intended answer has been clearly understood. The interviewer must remain neutral throughout the interview, refraining from nodding/raising eyebrows, agreeing/disagreeing, or praising/denigrating any comment made by the interviewee.

Interview Information
Prior to beginning the discussion, please fill in the below information about the interview.
Date and Time of Interview:
Location:
Name of Interviewer:
Gender of Interviewee:
Party Position Held by Interviewee:
Other Notes/Comments:

Interviewer's Welcome and Introductions

"Thank you for agreeing to participate in this discussion group. We recognize that you are busy and we thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts. My name is ___ (your name)_____ and I will be guiding our discussion today.

This interview is part of a study of political parties. The study aims to understand women's experiences within newly formed political parties, particularly after moments of political transition. The findings will be published in a report that aims to help political parties and those who work with political parties ensure greater participation of women. [Party name here] is one of our case studies. We have brought you here because of your valuable expertise, and would be very grateful for your input. The interview should last no longer than 1 hour.

We would like you to be as open, honest, and accurate in your comments as you can. However, you are in no way obligated to speak if you do not feel comfortable or prefer not to answer a certain question. We will make sure that everything you say in this discussion will remain anonymous. Do you have any questions? (Answer any questions that come up.) If it is alright with you, we would kindly ask you to sign this consent form. It summarizes the information I just told you in a bit more detail. Please take a moment to read it, and let me know if anything is unclear." (Answer any questions, wait for signature).

Great, let's begin.

Interview Questions

Pre-Transition

Questions for female leaders of the movement before the transition
1. Could you briefly describe what inspired you to join the movement, and how you rose to your position of leadership within the movement?
2. In your view, what were the movement's key demands and goals for social transformation as a movement before the transition? What type of social change was the movement aiming to create?
3. How would you describe the movement's approach to gender and women's rights before the transition?
   → What were its key goals regarding women's role within society?
   → Were there any areas of disagreement or different strands of thinking within the movement with respect to women's role in society?
   → How did gender equality and women's rights fit into the movement's ideology? Were there any conflicts?
4. How would you describe women's roles in the movement before the transition? What functions did they play and what sorts of activities were they engaged in?
   → Were there any roles within the movement that women were more likely to play than men, or vice versa? If so, why?

5. Were there any formal or informal networks between women in the movement?
    → If so, what was their role or their priorities?
    → Did women involved in the movement have a specific platform or demands regarding gender equality or gender issues more broadly?
    → If yes, did you encounter any resistance from the side of male members?
6. Did the movement have any mechanisms to consult with women members and encourage women's participation? If so, were those mechanisms effective?
    → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may have existed to support women's participation, including women's wings, mentoring systems, dedicated meetings or resources.*
7. Could you briefly describe the structure of the movement's leadership before the transition?
8. Were there any women represented in the movement's leadership? If so, how many, and what roles did they play?
    → What types of women were most likely to play leadership roles within the movement, and how did they reach those positions?
    → Did women leaders have any specific priorities concerning women in the movement?
9. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the movement before the transition, compared to men?
    → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced]*
    → Would you describe the movement's internal culture as welcoming to women? If yes, in what ways? If no, why not?
10. Could you perhaps describe how state repression affected women's roles in the movement?
    → Did women's involvement change as their husbands or family members were imprisoned/persecuted? Did they become more or less involved as a result of state violence?
11. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics. Did you or any women you knew in the movement experience any violence or harassment that men generally did not experience, either from other movement members or from people outside the movement? This could include both verbal and physical violence.
    → *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*
    → *[If yes]* Could you describe how the movement's leaders responded to this type of violence and harassment?
12. What do you think explains the [high or low] level of participation of women post-transition in the party?
13. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in Ennahda that weren't covered here today?

Questions for men who were part of the movement before the transition (lower-rank)

1. In your view, what were the movement's key demands and goals for social transformation as a movement before and during the transition? What type of social change was the movement aiming to create?
2. How would you describe the movement's approach to gender and women's rights before the transition?
   → What were some of its key goals regarding women's role within society?
   → Were there any areas of disagreement or different strands of thinking within the movement with respect to women's role in society?
   → How did gender equality and women's rights fit into the movement's ideology? Were there any conflicts?
3. How were important decisions regarding tactical and strategic priorities made within the movement at the time?
4. In general, how participatory was decision-making within the party within those years?
   → In your view, how did the movement's leaders define internal democracy? Who was included in their vision of internal democracy?
5. Was there a mechanism by which movement members could get promoted to leadership positions? If so, what characteristics or skills did they need?
6. How would you describe women's roles in the movement before the transition? What functions did they play and what sorts of activities were they engaged in?
   → Were there any roles within the movement that women were more likely to play than men, or vice versa? If so, why?
7. Did the movement have any mechanisms to consult with women members and encourage women's participation? If so, were those mechanisms effective?
   → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may have existed to support women's participation, including women's wings, or dedicated meetings or resources.*
8. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the movement before the transition, compared to men? Or did men face any barriers that women did not face?
   → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced]*
   → *[If yes]* Did the movement try to take any steps to address these barriers?
9. Could you perhaps describe how state repression affected women's roles in the movement?
   → Did women's roles or their involvement change as their husbands were imprisoned/persecuted? Did they become more or less involved as a result of state violence?
10. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics. Did women members or leaders ever report to you or did you ever witness violence or harassment against women within the movement? Or did you ever witness violence against women occurring from outside the movement? This could include both physical and verbal violence.
    → *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*

11. What do you think explains the [high or low] level of participation of women post-transition in the party?
12. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the movement before the transition that weren't covered here today?

Questions for male leaders of the movement before the transition
1. In your view, what were the movement's key demands and goals for social transformation as a movement before and during the transition? What type of social change was the movement aiming to create?
2. How would you describe the movement's approach to gender and women's rights before the transition?
    → What were some of its key goals regarding women's role within society?
    → Were there any areas of disagreement or different strands of thinking within the movement with respect to women's role in society?
    → How did gender equality and women's rights fit into the movement's ideology? Were there any conflicts?
3. Could you describe the structure of the movement's leadership before the transition?
4. Was there a mechanism by which movement members could get promoted to leadership positions? If so, what characteristics or skills did they need?
5. In general, how participatory was decision-making within the party within those years?
    → In your view, how did the movement's leaders define internal democracy?
6. How would you describe women's roles in the movement before the transition? What functions did they play and what sorts of activities were they engaged in?
    → Were there any roles within the movement that women were more likely to play than men, or vice versa? If so, why?
7. Did the movement try to recruit women members?
    → If so, why do you think women's participation was important for the movement, and how did the movement try to get women to join?
    → If not, why not?
8. Were there any women represented in the movement's leadership? If so, how many, and what roles did they play?
    → What types of women were most likely to play leadership roles within the movement, and how did they reach those positions?
    → Did women leaders have any specific priorities concerning women in the movement?
9. Did the movement have any mechanisms to consult with women members and encourage women's participation? If so, were those mechanisms effective?
    → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may have existed to support women's participation, including women's wings, or dedicated meetings or resources.*
10. In general, what advantages do you think women's participation has for a political movement?

11. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the movement before the transition, compared to men? Or did men face any barriers that women did not face?
    → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced]*
    → *[If yes]* Did the movement try to take any steps to address these barriers?
12. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics. Did women members or leaders ever report to you or did you ever witness violence or harassment against women within the movement? Or did you ever witness violence against women occurring from outside the movement? This could include both physical and verbal violence.
    → *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*
    → Whose responsibility do you think it is to fight violence and harassment against women in politics?
13. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the movement before the transition that weren't covered here today?

Transition

Questions for women members of the transition
1. Do you think the transition has opened up new opportunities for women in politics?
    → What have been key accomplishments to date, and what do you think explains this?
2. Could you briefly describe your trajectory in the party: were you involved in the movement before the transition, or did you join during the transition period, and why?
3. What was the process for deciding the party platform and rules—what role did women play in this process?
4. How would you describe the party's key priorities or goals for the transition process?
    → What role did gender issues play in its agenda?
    → Were there any internal discussions to clarify the party's stance on gender-related questions?
5. Did women try to influence party leaders to ensure women's political participation and to incorporate gender equality goals, and if so, how?
    → *If needed:* To what extent did women in the party during this period have an organized network or set of demands? If yes, how did this come into being?
6. Were women from the movement represented in the transition council? Why/why not?
    → In your view, how transparent and democratic was the selection process?
    → *If women from the movement were represented in the transition council:* What were your key demands and priorities, and did you work together from women with other political parties to achieve them?

7. Did male leaders resist women's participation and influence in the transition process, and in what ways? If yes, was their agreement across different sectors/parties on this or were there differences depending on the party, etc.?
   → What about women's community and/or family members?
8. In what ways did international actors influence the inclusion of women in the transition process?
9. Were most of the women who ran for the party in the first elections women who had been involved in the movement before the transition, or were they women who joined during the transition period?
10. How were the party candidates for the elections selected—what criteria or rules did the party use?
    → Why do you think fewer women than men ended up heading the party lists?
    → Did women have the necessary resources and support to be successful?
11. What was the relationship between women in the party and women in civil society in the transition period? Were there any issues on which you worked together?
    → Were there any key areas of division?
12. What were the legislative and policy priorities of women in the party who were elected to the transition council? Would you say that you were united around a common policy agenda?
    → In what areas do you think you were successful in defending your priorities as women from the movement, and why?
    → Were there any shared priorities with non-movement women members of the transition council, and how did you work together across party lines?
    → What were the areas in which you disagreed with secular women's organizations and politicians, and how did this influence the process?
13. How do you see the relationship between the movement's support for women's political participation and its identity as a movement?
    → Are there any areas where you see a conflict between its ideological orientations and gender equality goals?
14. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence. Have you witnessed or experienced this type of violence or harassment?
    → If yes: What do you think is behind this type of violence and harassment?
    → If yes: How did party leaders react to this type of violence or harassment?
    → If no: Do you think this is something that could happen, even if you have not experienced or witnessed it? Why/why not?
15. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's political participation that weren't covered here today?

Questions for male members of the transition council

1. Could you briefly describe your trajectory in the party: were you involved in the movement before the transition, or did you join during the transition period, and why?
2. How would you describe the movement's key priorities or goals for the transition process?
   - What role did gender issues play in its agenda?
   - Were there any internal discussions to clarify the party's stance on gender-related questions?
3. What was the process for deciding the party platform and rules?
   - What role did women play in this process?
   - How do you think they influenced internal party rules and platforms, particularly its positions on women's rights?
4. What internal mechanisms did the party implement to ensure women contribute to decision-making in the party?
   - Are these mechanisms effective?
5. How were the candidates for the elections selected—what criteria or rules did the party use?
   - Why do you think fewer women than men ended up heading the party lists?
6. What were the movement's key policy priorities in the transitional government?
7. What do you think were the specific priorities of women in the movement, and how were these incorporated into the agenda?
8. Do you think women faced any barriers to participating in the transition process?
   - *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced.]*
   - If yes, did the movement leadership try to address these barriers, and how?
9. In general, what benefits do you think that women's participation brings to a political party?
   - *[Guide interviewees to describe the types of benefits that women's participation in political parties brings to the party itself.]*
10. How do you see the relationship between the movement's support for women's political participation and its ideological identity?
    - *Are there any areas where you see a conflict between its ideological orientations and gender equality goals?*
11. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence. Have you witnessed or experienced this type of violence or harassment?
    - If yes: What do you think is behind this type of violence and harassment?
    - If yes: How did party leaders react to this type of violence or harassment?
    - If no: Do you think this is something that could happen, even if you have not experienced or witnessed it? Why/why not?
12. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the transition that you would like to add?

Questions for female members of the transition council (non-party)

1. Do you think the transition has opened up new opportunities for gender equality and women's rights in your country?
   → What have been key accomplishments to date, and what do you think explains this?
2. At the time of transition, did women who chose to be involved in politics face any negative stereotypes, either from the media, fellow politicians, or society at large?
3. Do you think women were sufficiently represented in the different transition bodies? Why/why not?
4. Do you think the leaders of the transition process were committed to ensuring women's equal participation? Why/why not?
5. Did male leaders resist women's participation and influence in the transition process, and in what ways?
   → If yes, was there agreement across different sectors/parties on this or were there differences depending on the party, etc.?
6. In what ways did international actors influence the inclusion of women in the transition process?
7. In your view, to what extent were the women represented in the transition council united around common priorities or a shared agenda?
   → Were there any shared priorities with the party women members of the council, and how did you work together across party lines?
   → What were the areas in which you disagreed with women in the party, and how did this influence the process?
8. In what areas do you think you were successful in achieving your objectives, and why? In what areas were you not successful, and why? Did you face any barriers that undermined your influence or effectiveness?
9. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence. Have you witnessed or experienced this type of violence or harassment?
   → If yes: What do you think is behind this type of violence and harassment?
   → If yes: How did party leaders react to this type of violence or harassment?
   → If no: Do you think this is something that could happen, even if you have not experienced or witnessed it? Why/why not?
10. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the transition that you would like to add?

Post-Transition

Questions for male party leaders

1. In your view, what were the party's key demands and goals for social transformation as a movement before and during the transition? What type of social change was the movement aiming to create? What were its key grievances?
2. How would you describe the movement's approach to gender and women's rights before the transition?
3. How are the party's current platform and policy priorities on these questions similar or different from the movement's pre-transition agenda?
4. Are there any areas where you think current laws or policies on gender issues should be revised, or issues should be addressed?
5. What role did women play in establishing the movement as a political party?
   → *If needed:* What were their key demands, and how did they influence the party's internal processes and rules?
   → Did any woman play a key leadership role?
6. What mechanisms does the party use to consult with women members and ensure women's participation in important party decisions?
   → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may exist to support women's ability to contribute to the party, including consultation processes, women's wings, and formal mentoring systems?*
   → Are these mechanisms effective? Why/why not?
7. Could you give an example of how women in the party have influenced the party's position on a specific issue or piece of legislation?
8. Does the party have any internal mechanisms or rules to ensure women's representation in the party leadership and decision-making?
9. Can you explain the party's position on bills regarding gender equality?
   → What role did women in the party play in shaping the party's position?
10. Do you think that women face any barriers to participating in the party different from those that men face?
    → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced and whether they think it is women's fault or recognize socio-cultural and other barriers to women's/gender equality]*
    → Has the party taken any steps to try and address those barriers?
11. Do measures that try to increase women's political participation, such as gender parity laws, have any disadvantages for your party?
    → Do you face any challenges in implementing the parity requirements, and if so, why?
    → Why do you think women are often less likely to head party lists than men?
12. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence.
    → How do you think this has impacted women's ability to participate both in the transition, constituent assembly, and current parliament and parties?
    → Do you think such violence is a backlash against recent gains since the transition?
    → Do you think it is being addressed properly?

13. In your view, what would full gender equality look like in your country's context?
14. Do you see any tensions between conceptions of gender roles and the demands of women's rights activists for full gender equality?
15. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the party that you would like to add?

Questions for women party leaders
1. Do you think the transition has opened up new opportunities for gender equality and women's rights in your country?
   → What have been key accomplishments to date, and what do you think explains this?
2. In your view, what were the party's key demands and goals for social transformation as a movement before and during the transition? What type of social change was the movement aiming to create? What were its key grievances?
   → How did gender or women's rights fit into this agenda?
3. To what extent has the party's stance on gender equality changed since the transition, and if so, what explains this?
4. What mechanisms does the partyuse to consult with women members and ensure women's participation in important party decisions?
   → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may exist to support women's ability to contribute to the party, including consultation processes, women's wings, and formal mentoring systems?*
   → Are these mechanisms effective? Why/why not?
5. Does the party have any internal mechanisms or rules to ensure women's representation in party leadership and decision-making?
6. What skills, characteristics, or resources do women need to rise to leadership positions in the party?
   → *Guide interviewees to describe briefly the reasons or processes by which women typically rise through the ranks of party leadership. A list of potential reasons is included below.*
      i. *Based on merit*
      ii. *Based on their personal or political connections*
      iii. *Because they offer sexual favors*
      iv. *Because they were able to raise the money they needed*
      v. *Because they are running a good campaign*
      vi. *Because they are women*
      vii. *Because they pay bribes*
      viii. *Women are not promoted or offered leadership roles within my party*
7. In your view, are women within the party generally united on issues related to gender equality, or are there any significant areas of disagreement? If yes, what are they?
   → Are there any mechanisms for women to coordinate or mobilize around joint concerns?
8. What would you say are the main strands of thoughts within the party regarding gender equality issues?
   → How does the party try to reconcile competing internal views with respect to gender equality issues?

9. In general, do you think that women face any barriers to participating in the party or to having their voices heard?
   → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women face.]*
   → Has the party taken any steps to address these barriers?
10. Could you give an example of how women in the party have influenced the party's position on a specific issue or piece of legislation?
11. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence. Have you witnessed or experienced this type of violence or harassment?
    → If yes: What do you think is behind this type of violence and harassment?
    → If yes: How did party leaders react to this type of violence or harassment?
    → If no: Do you think this is something that could happen, even if you have not experienced or witnessed it? Why/why not?
12. Can you explain the party's position on bills regarding gender equality?
    → What role did women in the party play in shaping the party's position?
13. In your view, what would full gender equality look like in your country's context?
14. How do you see the relationship between the party's identity and its support for women's political participation?
    → Do you see any tensions between conceptions of gender roles and the demands of women's rights activists for full equality?
15. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the party that you would like to add?
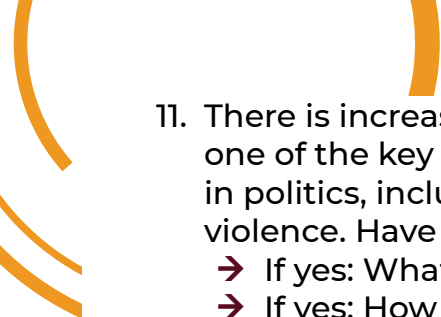
If the woman is a parliamentarian:
1. Do women in the party face any specific obstacle when they run for election?
   → If needed: Do female candidates have access to the same financial resources and mentoring and training from the party as male candidates?
   → If needed: Have the parity provisions changed how women in politics are perceived?
2. As a parliamentarian, do you feel supported by the party leadership in advancing your own legislative priorities?

Questions for male party members
1. In your view, what were the movement's key demands and goals for social transformation as a movement before and during the transition? What type of social change was the movement aiming to create? What were its key grievances?
2. What is the party's current platform and policy priorities with respect to gender issues?
   → Are there any areas where you think current laws or policies should be revised, or issues should be addressed?

3. How do party members typically get promoted to leadership positions within the party, and what characteristics do they need?
   → Guide interviewees to describe briefly the reasons or processes by which party members typically rise through the ranks of party leadership. A list of potential reasons is included below.
      i. Based on merit
      ii. Based on their political or personal connections
      iii. Because they were able to raise the money they needed
      iv. Because they are running a good campaign
      v. Because of their gender/their identity
      vi. Because they pay bribes
4. What role did women play in establishing the movement as a political party?
   → *If needed:* What were their key demands, and how did they influence the party's internal processes and rules?
   → Did any woman play a key leadership role?
5. What mechanisms does the party use to consult with women members and ensure women's participation in important party decisions?
   → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may exist to support women's ability to contribute to the party, including consultation processes, women's wings, and formal mentoring systems.*
   → Are these mechanisms effective? Why/why not?
6. Do you think that women face any barriers to participating in the party different from those that men face?
   → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced and whether they think it is women's fault or recognize socio-cultural and other barriers to women's/gender equality]*
   → Do you think female candidates have access to the same financial resources and mentoring and training from the party as male candidates?
7. How do you think women who participate in politics are perceived by the wider public? Has this changed since the transition?
8. In general, do you think that women's participation can bring benefits to a political party?
   → [Guide interviewees to describe the types of benefits or disadvantages that women's participation in political parties brings to the party itself.]
9. Do measures that try to increase women's political participation, such as gender parity laws, have any disadvantages for your party?
   → Why do you think party lists are often more likely to be headed by men than by women?
10. What would you say are the main strands of thoughts within the party regarding gender equality issues?
    → How does the party try to reconcile competing internal views with respect to gender equality issues?

11. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence. Have you witnessed or experienced this type of violence or harassment?
    → If yes: What do you think is behind this type of violence and harassment?
    → If yes: How did party leaders react to this type of violence or harassment?
    → If no: do you think this is something that could happen, even if you have not experienced or witnessed it? Why/why not?
    → Whose responsibility do you think it is to fight violence and harassment against women in politics?
12. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in Ennahda that you would like to add?

Focus Group Guide

Facilitator Instructions

This tool for the Early Party Development Assessment is intended to be completed within a focus group discussion setting. With these open-ended questions, the researcher—or whoever is acting as focus group moderator—should probe for detailed information and solicit specific examples to provide as complete an answer as possible. The moderator has a responsibility to adequately cover all prepared questions within the time allotted.

Each question below indicates the main guiding question as well as the specific pieces of additional information necessary to gather for the assessment. In general, the text in italics is guidance for the facilitator on the types of additional information to collect.

For each guiding question, the moderator's role is to gently guide the discussion toward these subjects to get the relevant information. The moderator also has a responsibility to ensure equal participation from all participants and encourage them to fully explain their answers, as much as they feel comfortable. Participants should never be compelled to answer questions if they feel uncomfortable. Some helpful ways to get more complete responses include:

- "Can you talk about that more?"
- "Help me understand what you mean?"
- "Can you give an example?"

It is good moderator practice to paraphrase and summarize long, complex, or ambiguous comments after they're made by participants. This demonstrates active listening and clarifies the comment for everyone in the group. Because the moderator holds a position of authority and perceived influence, she must remain neutral, refraining from nodding/raising eyebrows, agreeing/disagreeing, or praising/denigrating any comment made. The focus group moderator should be accompanied by an assistant moderator, who will collect the participant information sheet and consent forms, assist with set-up, and take notes during the discussion.

Room Set-Up and Preparation

The room should have a door for privacy, which is closed during the discussion. The chairs should be arranged in a circle or around a table, so that participants can see and talk to each other easily.

When participants arrive, ask them to fill out a participant information sheet, sign a consent form, and take a table card. The table cards should only include numbers to identify participants, so that the notetaker can refer to participants' comments in the notes by their number rather than by name. Prior to beginning the conversation, fill in the section below with basic information about the focus group.

Focus Group Information and Composition

Prior to beginning the discussion, please fill in the below information about the focus group and its participants.

Date and Time of Focus Group:
Location:
Name of Moderator:
Name of Assistant Moderator:
Political Party Name:
Total Number of Participants:
Other Notes/Comments:

Facilitator's Welcome and Introductions

Please give the following welcome and introduction to the participants. This is important to ensure all participants are aware of the purpose and other important information about the focus group.

"Thank you for agreeing to participate in this discussion group. We recognize that you are busy and we thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts. My name is ___ (your name)____ and I will be guiding our discussion today.

This discussion group is one part of a study of political parties. The study aims to understand women's experiences within newly formed political parties, particularly after moments of political transition. The findings will be published in a report that aims to help political parties and those who work with political parties ensure greater participation of women. [Party name] is one of our case studies. We have brought you here because of your valuable expertise, and we would be very grateful for your input. The focus group should last no longer than 2 hours.

We would like you to be as open, honest, and accurate in your comments as you can. However, you are in no way obligated to speak if you do not feel comfortable or prefer not to answer a certain question. We will make sure that everything you say in this discussion will remain anonymous. By participating today, you also agree to keep this conversation confidential, and to not discuss the comments of the other participants outside this room.

There are a few ground rules for this discussion:
1. **We want you to do the talking.** We would like everyone to participate. When you do have something to say, please do so. There are many of you in the group, and it is important that we hear the views of each of you.
2. **There are no right or wrong answers.** Every person's experiences and opinions are important. Speak up whether you agree or disagree. We want to hear a wide range of opinions.
3. **Only one person speaks at a time.** You may want to interrupt when someone is talking, but please wait until they have finished.
4. **You do not have to speak in any particular order.**
5. **You do not have to agree with the views of other people in the group.**
6. **What is said in this room should not be discussed outside of the focus group.** We want everyone to feel comfortable sharing when sensitive issues come up.

Does anyone have any questions? *(Answer any questions that come up.).*

Focus Group Questions

Focus Group 1: Women members of the movement before the transition

1. In your view, what were the party's key demands and goals for social transformation as a movement before and during the transition? What type of social change was the movement aiming to create? What were its key grievances?

2. How would you describe the movement's approach to gender and women's rights before the transition?
   - → What were some of its key goals regarding women's role within society?
   - → How did gender equality and women's rights fit into the movement's ideology? Were there any conflicts?
   - → Were there any areas of disagreement or different strands of thinking within the movement with respect to women's role in society?

3. In general, what opportunities did participation in the movement offer to women before the transition, and what was the general background of the women who joined?
   - → Were there any criteria to join?
   - → Was the movement engaging women across economic and regional differences?

4. How would you describe women's roles in the movement before the transition? What functions did they hold and what sorts of activities were they engaged in?
   - → Were there any roles within the movement that women were more likely to play than men, or vice versa? If so, why?

5. Were there any formal or informal networks between women in the movement?
   - → If so, what was their role or their priorities?
   - → Did women involved in the movement have a specific platform or demands regarding gender equality or gender issues more broadly?
   - → If yes, did they encounter any resistance from the side of male leaders or members?

6. Were there any women represented in the movement's leadership? If so, how many, and what roles did they play?
   - → What types of women were most likely to play leadership roles within the movement, and how did they reach those positions? What skills or characteristics or networks did they have?

7. Did the movement have any mechanisms to consult with women members and encourage women's participation? If so, were those mechanisms effective?
   - → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may have existed to support women's participation, including women's wings, or dedicated meetings or resources.*

8. In general, how participatory was decision-making within the party within those years?
   - → In your view, how did the movement's leaders define internal democracy? Who was included in their vision of internal democracy?

9. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the movement before the transition, compared to men?
   → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced]*
   → Would you describe the movement's internal culture as welcoming to women? If yes, in what ways? If no, why not?
10. Could you perhaps describe how state repression affected women's roles in the movement?
   → Did women's roles or their involvement change as their husbands, fathers, or sons were imprisoned/persecuted? Did they become more or less involved as a result of state violence?
11. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics. Did you or any women you knew in the movement experience any violence or harassment that men generally did not experience, either from other movement members or from people outside the movement? This could include both verbal and physical violence.
   → [Guide the participants to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]
   → [If yes] Could you describe how the movement's leaders responded to this type of violence and harassment?
12. What was the relationship between women in the movement and the secular women's rights movement before the transition? Were there any areas of cooperation between the two?
   → More broadly, in what ways did the movement form coalitions with external entities? For what purposes?
13. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the movement before the transition that you would like to add?

Focus Group 2: Representatives of women's organizations
1. Can you very briefly describe the landscape of the women's rights movement before the transition, including its major accomplishments or challenges?
2. Do you think the transition has opened up new opportunities for gender equality and women's rights in the country?
   → What have been key accomplishments to date, and what do you think explains this?
   → Do you think it has increased women's access to political leadership specifically? If so, in what ways?
3. What were the demands of women's rights groups in the negotiations leading up to the transition?
   → Were these demands met? Why/why not?
   → What were the main barriers that you faced in trying to influence the process?
4. Would you characterize the women's movement in this period as united in its goals and demands, or were there any significant divisions?
   → What about civil society at large: did civil society organizations more generally understand the need for women's participation?
5. Did advocates for women's representation have any allies in political parties or in the political leadership during the transition process?

→ Who were they, and how did this influence your success?

6. Did male leaders resist women's participation and influence in the transition process, and in what ways?
   → If yes, was there agreement across different sectors/parties on this or were there differences depending on the party, etc.?
7. Do you think women were sufficiently represented in the different transition bodies? Why/why not?
8. How would you describe the relationship between women in the movement and the broader women's movement during the transition period?
9. What were the priorities of the women's movement for the transition council once elected?
   → In which areas were you successful, and which not, and why?
10. To what extent did your organizations work together with the women elected to the transition council, including from the movement?
    → On which issues were you in agreement with the women from the movement? On which issues did you disagree, and why?
11. How do you think societal debates around gender equality have changed since the transition? Are there any areas where you have seen progress or backlash?
    → What do you think the party's high levels of women's representation mean for the broader women's movement in the country?
    → What do you think the party's leadership as a political party means for women's rights going forward?
12. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence.
    → How do you think this has impacted women's ability to participate both in the transition, constituent assembly, and current parliament and parties?
    → Do you think such violence is a backlash against recent gains since the transition?
13. Do you have any other thoughts on this topic of women's political participation during the political transition that you would like to add?

Focus Group 3: Women of the movement elected to the transition council
1. Do you think the transition has opened up new opportunities for gender equality and women's rights in the country?
   → What have been key accomplishments to date, and what do you think explains this?
2. What was the process for deciding the party platform and rules—what role did women play in this process?
3. How would you describe the movement's key priorities or goals for the transition process?
   → What role did gender play in its agenda?
   → Were there any internal discussions to clarify the party's stance on gender-related questions?
4. Did women in the party try to influence party leaders to incorporate certain priorities or gender equality goals, and if so, how?

5. Do you think women in the movement/party were sufficiently represented in the negotiations leading up to the elections? Why/why not?
   → Did you feel that you had all the tools you needed to influence the process?
6. Did male leaders resist women's participation and influence in the transition process, and in what ways? If yes, was their agreement across different sectors/ parties on this or were there differences depending on the party, etc.?
   → What about women's community and/or family members?
7. What were the legislative and policy priorities of women in the movement who were elected to the transition council? Would you say that you were united around a common policy agenda?
   → In what areas do you think you were successful in defending your priorities as women from the movement, and why?
   → Were there any shared priorities with non-movement women members of the transition council, and how did you work together across party lines?
   → What were the areas in which you disagreed with secular women's organizations and politicians, and how did this influence the process?
8. What role did women in the party play in shaping the party's positions?
   → Do you see any conflict between the party's support for women's participation and its stance on other issues?
9. To what extent has the party's stance on and practices with respect to gender equality changed since the transformation into an official political party? Do you see any important continuities or changes, and what explains this?
10. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence. Have you witnessed or experienced this type of violence or harassment?
    → If yes: What do you think is behind this type of violence and harassment?
    → If yes: How do party leaders react to this type of violence or harassment?
    → If no: Do you think this is something that could happen, even if you have not experienced or witnessed it? Why/why not?
11. Do you have any other thoughts on this topic of women's political participation during the political transition that you would like to add?

Focus Group 4: Women party members
1. Do you think the transition has opened up new opportunities for gender equality and women's rights in the country?
   → What have been key accomplishments to date, and what do you think explains this?
2. Do women within the party face any negative stereotypes about their skills and abilities, either from their male colleagues, from the media, or from society at large?
3. What role did women play in establishing the political party?
   → Did any woman play a key leadership role?
4. What were their key demands of the party leaders, and how did they influence the party's internal processes and rules?
   → Were there any areas in which women's demands were met? If so, what were they?
   → Were there other areas in which women's demands were not met, and if so, why?

5. How would you describe the party's current platform and policy priorities with respect to gender issues? Are there any areas where you think current laws or policies should be revised, or issues should be addressed?
6. To what extent does the party's stance on and practices with respect to gender equality mirror or depart from its position before the transition? Do you see any important changes, and what explains this?
7. Do you think there are any disagreements or competing strands of thought within the party questions of gender equality? If so, what are they, and how does the party reconcile those different views?
8. What types of characteristics, skills, or achievements earn men respect and influence in the party, and why? What about women?
9. Are there specific roles in the party that men are more likely to fill than women?
   → *[If yes]:* What do you think explains this?
10. Do the ties formed between party members before the transition still shape relationships within the party, for example among party leaders or among party officials?
    → If yes, could you give an example of how this influences decision-making within the party?
    → Do men in the party benefit from any networks or resources that women do not have access to? If yes, how does this impact women's roles or participation?
11. What mechanisms does the party use to consult with women members and to ensure women's participation in important party decisions?
    → *Guide interviewees to share any specific mechanisms that may exist to support women's ability to contribute to the party, including consultation processes, women's wings, and formal mentoring systems.*
    → Are these mechanisms effective in ensuring women's voices are taken into account? Why/why not?
12. In general, do you think that women face any barriers to participating in the party or to having their voices heard?
    → *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women face.]*

➔ Do you think the party's internal culture is open to women? Why/Why not?

➔ Has the party taken any steps to address these barriers?

13. Why do you think men are still more likely than women to head party lists? What could be done to address this?

➔ Do women who run for elections have access to the same resources and networks as their male colleagues?

14. How would you describe the relationship between women in the party and women in other political parties and women's rights organizations?

➔ Are there any issues on which you have successfully worked together, and what made this cooperation possible?

➔ What are the main areas of disagreement?

15. There is increased recognition that violence against politically active women is one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, including psychological, verbal, and, in some cases, sexual/physical violence.

➔ Have you witnessed or experienced any form of violence or harassment?

➔ How do you think this has impacted women's ability to participate both in the transition, constituent assembly, and current parliament and parties?

➔ Do you think such violence is a backlash against recent gains since the transition?

16. Do you see any tensions between conceptions of gender roles in the party and the demands of women activists for full equality?

17. Are there any other measures that you think the party leadership should take to improve gender equality in the party, or to support female candidates and representatives?

18. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the party that you would like to add?

Analysis Framework

The Early Party Development Research Matrix is organized to highlight the assessment's main themes and research questions, and indicate which method of data collection should provide information about each particular question. This will guide the practitioner in data triangulation and analysis across the different tools.[1]

The columns in this frameworks are as follows:

● Column A: Main Research Question. This question indicates the research questions that form the core of the assessment theme, and are needed to understand the full picture of the party's development.

● Column B: Sub-Categories. Where there are more specific questions or themes that the practitioner must draw out, these are named here.

● Column C: Sub-Questions. These are the specific questions that are asked and answered within each of the main research questions.

---

1 Triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Patton, 1999).

- Column D: Data Sources. This column guides researchers toward the kinds of sources where the data needed to answer the sub-questions will be found.
- Column E: Data Collection Method(s). This column guides data triangulation. It lists which other tools also ask questions that contribute to answering the research sub-question.

Regardless of the system of data coding that the practitioner is comfortable using, all data must be organized according to these questions. Because the specific questions in each tool inform each research question, and each research question informs the major theme of the assessment, the framework provides a seamless way for researchers to focus their analysis and ensure they are capturing the critical information that will inform the reports and any recommendations made.

The questions outlined in the Framework Analysis indicate the major risks, barriers, and opportunities regarding women's empowerment and participation in emerging parties; proper analysis can guide specific actions and strategies to address challenges and support political parties as they form. When certain answers are overlapping, relatively similar or otherwise indicate a clear or emerging trend, they indicate an accurate theme and classification becomes possible. It is essential to always cross-check answers from the separate tools to correctly judge the accuracy of the information. Practitioners should look for consensus areas among the participants and target groups overall, but it is also important to highlight and investigate outliers or particular areas of disagreement.

In particular, it is important to note during the analysis if and how the responses of participants differed by gender or by role. For instance, men and women members may have different responses to questions on women's ability to gain leadership positions, or on the relative rates of violence targeting women as opposed to men. The senior leadership of a party may have a different perspective on whether women are protected from violence within the party than women members. Responses should be evaluated for similarities and dissimilarities, and any findings should be included in the analysis and report. Replies may vary based on a range of characteristics—gender among them—even where a question may not specifically focus on gender. It will be important to highlight different perspectives among genders and among party leaders and members when drawing conclusions and making recommendations. A specific gender analysis serves as a systematic attempt to identify key issues that contribute to gender inequality or violence within parties, as well as possible solutions, so that they can be properly addressed.

Early Party Development Research Matrix

Main Research Question	Sub-Categories	Sub-Questions	Data Sources	Data Collection Method(s)
1. Basic party information		Official political party name-institutional	Party constitution/ Code of Conduct	Desk research
		Date of establishment	Party constitution/ Code of Conduct	Desk research
		If not spelled out in the statutes/ bylaws, could you describe your party's candidate selection process?	Party statutes/Code of Conduct, leaders	Desk research, Interviews (party leaders)
2. General party composition		How many people are members of the party?	Member lists	Desk research
		How many members are women?	Member lists	Desk research
		How many of the party's elected officials are women? (municipal/district, state/provincial, national level	Public records	Desk research
		What is the structure of the party leadership?	Party records, leaders	Desk research, Interviews (party leaders)
		How many women leaders are there, and what positions do they hold?	Party records, leaders	Desk research, Interviews (party leaders)
3. General pre-party entity information		Nature of pre-party entity (armed group, non-armed movement, dominant party)	Public records	Desk research
		Official pre-entity name	Public records	Desk research, Interviews (party leaders)
		Date of establishment	Public records	Desk research

				Did the pre-party entity have official statutes or bylaws? Possible to obtain copy?	Statutes/ Code of Conduct	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity leaders)
4. Pre-party entity composition				How many people were members of the pre-party entity?		Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity leaders)
				How many members were women?		
				What was the structure of the entity's leadership?		Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity women members), Interviews (pre-entity leaders)
				How many women leaders were there, and what positions did they hold?	Public record, leaders, women members	Desk research
5. General characteristics of the transition process	What are the rules/ **institutionalized** processes for the process (i.e., formal peace agreement with interim agreement)	What was the environment in which the process was conducted **socio-culturally**? Religious conservatism, history of violence with militarized masculinities, etc.	What were the **individual women** in the process and outside of the process but advocating on it like? Where did they come from? What experience or capacity did they have? What issues were they stronger or weaker on?	What was the political context in which the transition occurred: democratic, stuck transition, semi-authoritarian, authoritarian, conflict?	Public record	Desk research
				Was there a formal political transition that changed the political settlement, i.e., peace agreement; constitutional assembly?	Public record	Desk research, Interviews (women members)
				Were women included in this process in meaningful ways?	Public record, women members	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)

6. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS: How do institutional barriers to gender equality in the pre-party entity and changes during the transition process influence institutional barriers to gender equality post-transition?	What were the institutional barriers to gender equality in the pre-party entity?	Ideology and platform	What was the role of gender in the pre-party entity's ideology? Did the pre-party entity have gender equality as a goal or as part of its platform?	Public record, leaders, women members	Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members), Interviews (pre-entity men)
		Representation in leadership and decision-making	Who was represented in decisions over policies, operations, and strategy?	Leaders, women members, male members	Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			Were there formal or informal internal procedures for selecting leadership and promoting members?	Leaders, women members	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			Did the pre-party entity have formal or informal rules to ensure women's representation at different organizational levels, including in leadership?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			What barriers did women face in accessing leadership positions?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (women members)
			Was there a separate women's wing or organization? If yes, what was its authority and influence over central leadership?	Women members	Interviews (pre-entity leaders); Interviews (pre-entity women)

		Institutional discrimination	Did the entity have any rules about which positions women could and could not hold?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (leaders), Interviews (women members)
			Did the entity have rules against VAW? If yes, did these rules get implemented?	Leaders, women members	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
		Institutional support mechanisms	*If pre-party entity was a dominant party: Were there mechanisms to guarantee that women candidates were fielded by the party (quotas or other)? Were these implemented?*	Public record, leaders, women members	Interviews (leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			If the pre-party entity was a dominant party: How did the party recruit women to run for office at the national, provincial, and local level?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			If the pre-party entity was a dominant party: Did the party provide any financial or training/mentoring support to female candidates?	Leaders, women members	
	How did the transition process influence pre-existing institutional barriers to gender equality?	Representation in leadership and decision-making	What precipitated the decision to form a political party? Who made the decision?	Party leaders	
			How were the new party leaders selected?	Party leaders, men and women members	

			Who was part of this process? Did it include women, and which ones? If not, why not?	Party leaders, men and women members	
			How were the party platform and rules decided?		
			Who was part of this process? Did it include women, and which ones? If not, why not?		
			Were there mechanisms to continue involving the group's base in decision-making, or did the entity become more centralized?		
			If the pre-party entity had a women's wing, what happened to it during the transition process, and did it exert any influence?		
		Influence in formal transition process	Did the entity participate in a formal transition process (e.g,. peace negotiations, constitutional assembly)?		
			If yes, which entity members participated in this process, and who decided?		

		Women's mobilization	Was there a strong women's movement pushing for women's representation at the time of transition?	Party leaders, women party members	
			If yes, did it influence the nascent political party? Why/why not?		
			Were women within the group unified and mobilized for greater representation, or were there internal divisions?		
			What were their goals?		
			Did women in the entity have allies in the party leadership?		
			Were there linkages between women within the entity and the broader women's movement?		
		International pressure	Were there international actors pushing for women's representation at the time of transition?	Party leaders, women party members	
			If yes, did they influence the nascent political parties? Why/why not?		

		Organizational change/Candidate selection	How did the party recruit candidates for the first election? What factors determined the candidate selection process?	Party leaders, men and women members	
			Did it implement any formal or informal mechanisms or strategies to field and promote female candidates? Why/why not? Did it have any electoral incentives to do so?	Party leaders, women party members	
			How many women members became candidates, and which women? How many male members, and which men?		
	What are the institutional barriers to gender equality in the nascent political party?	Ideology and plat-form	What is the role of gender in the nascent party's official political platform?		
		Candidate selection	Does the party have formal or informal mechanisms or strategies to field and promote women candidates?		
			If yes, are these implemented in practice? What are the barriers to implementation?		
			What is the role of informal networks in candidate selection? How does this impact women's access?		

		Representation in leadership and decision-making	Does the party have formal or informal mechanisms or strategies to ensure women are represented in leadership positions?		
			Are decisions made in formal leadership structures or informal networks?		
			If there is a women's wing, commission or branch, does this group have representation on the party's executive committee?		
			If previously armed or unarmed movement: Does the party have formal and informal mechanisms to involve its core former base in decision-making?		
		Institutional support mechanisms	What kind of support does the party provide for female members? For male members?		
			Does the party have a rule making VAW in the party against the rules/ code of conduct? Does this rule get implemented?		

7. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS: How do socio-cultural barriers to gender equality in the pre-party entity and changes during the transition process influence socio-cultural barriers to gender equality post-transition?	What were the socio-cul-tural barriers to gender equality in the pre-party entity?	Socio-cultural context	What was the prevailing socio-cultural context with respect to gender equality and gender norms in the pre-entity era?		
			Did the pre-party entity challenge prevailing gender norms, and in what way?		
		Gender hierarchies	Did women and men tend to play different roles in the pre-party entity? What explains this?		
			How did leaders view women's role within the entity versus men's role?		
			Were women overrepresented in support positions?		
			If the pre-entity was an armed movement: Were there women in combat positions, and if yes, what percentage? Were these women seen as breaking traditional norms of femininity?		

GENDER WOMEN DEMOCRACY

		Gender norms	What were the rules or norms regarding masculinity and appropriate male behavior vs. femininity and appropriate female behavior? How did this affect women vs. men's participation?		
			Did women in the entity experience violence and harassment? Did social norms encourage violence and harassment?		
			Who were the perpetrators?		
			How did leaders react to violence and harassment against women in the party?		
	What are the lasting socio-cul-tural barriers to gender equality in the nascent political party?	Socio-cultural context	Was there a broader change in the public debate around gender relations and roles during the transition process?		
			For armed and unarmed movements: Was there social and community pressure for women to return to more domestic roles?		
			Did women in the pre-party entity experience violence and harassment during the transition process?		
			Who were the perpetrators?		

			How did this impact their continued participation and mobilization?		
		Gender norms	For armed and unarmed movements: Did entity members encourage or pressure women to return to more domestic roles?		
		Gender hierarchies	Did male leaders and members resist women taking on leadership roles during the transition, and if yes, how?		
			Did male leaders and members resist women participating in formal and/or internal transition negotiations, and if yes, how?		
	What are the lasting socio-cultural barriers to gender equality in the nascent political party?	Socio-cultural context	Are there discriminatory social or cultural attitudes toward women in the electorate?		
			Do politically active women face harassment from family or community members?		
		Gender norms	Do social norms within the party encourage or tacitly allow violence and harassment against women?		
			Do women in the party disproportionately fill certain kinds of roles in the party, and why?		

		Gender hierarchies	If the pre-party entity was an armed movement: are military rank and experience rewarded or valued more highly within the party?		
			Do male members benefit from pre-entity ties or networks that are inaccessible to women/most women? What are those?		
			How do party leaders and view women's role within the party—do they think they should have equal leadership?		
8. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS: How do individual-level barriers to gender equality and changes during the transition process influence individual-level barriers to gender equality in the nascent political party?	What were the individual-level barriers to gender equality within the pre-party entity?		Did women and men have similar levels of education in the pre-party entity? Did education matter in the pre-party entity?		
			Did women and men have similar amounts of resources?		
			Did women do a disproportionate share of housework/caregiving, and how did this impact their participation?		
			What barriers did women face in reaching leadership positions?		

	How did the transition process influence pre-existing individual-level barriers?	Which pre-entity members were most likely to make the transition to political party officials and candidates and why? (ethnicity, class, education, location, role?)		
		What challenges did women face in making the transition to candidates? What challenges did men face?		
		What challenges did women face in participating in transition negotiations (if any)? What challenges did men face?		
		What role did individual resources and connections play in the transition from members to candidates/party officials? Did women and men have access to similar resources and connections, and if not, why not?		
	What are the individual-level barriers to gender equality in the nascent political party?	What barriers do women face in becoming candidates?		
		Do female candidates or aspirants have access to the same financial resources as male candidates? If not, why not?		

		Do female candidates or aspirants have access to the same mentoring and training as male candidates? If not, why not?		
		Do female candidates or aspirants have access to the same publicity and support as male candidates? If not, why not?		
		Do female candidates or party members feel comfortable participating or speaking up in party meetings? If not, why not?		