

Early Party Development Assessment

Armed Group
to Party Assessment Tool



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.*)

Interview Questions

Pre-Transition

Questions for women members of the armed group

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the armed group: when did you join the group, and what were your main reasons for joining?
2. What roles did you play within the armed group?
 - ➔ In your experience, how did women's and men's roles within the group differ, and why was this the case?
 - ➔ If applicable: How did you and other women feel about this division of roles?
3. What was the process by which members would get promoted to higher-level positions (e.g., commander, political commissar)?
4. What barriers did women face in attaining senior leadership positions within the armed group?
 - ➔ Do you know of any women who managed to attain leadership positions? What factors allowed them to do so?
5. In your view, how effective were the armed group's mechanisms to consult with women members and to ensure their perspectives and needs were taken into account?
 - ➔ Were there any areas where you felt women's needs or experiences were not taken into account? Did this change over time?

6. Did women within the armed group have a separate formal or informal structure to organize themselves and what was the purpose of this?
 - [make demands on the leadership?]
 - Follow up: Was this style of organizing effective? Why?
7. What was the vision of gender relations/gender equality promoted by the armed group in its political education and programme?
8. How would you describe gender relations within the armed group in practice? Did you feel that they evolved over time, and if so, why?
 - If necessary: in your experience, were there any spoken or unspoken rules about how women in the armed group should behave? About how men should behave?
9. Did you or any women you knew in the armed group experience any harassment by fellow members that men generally did not experience?
 - *[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 armed group leaders responded to this type of violence and harassment?
10. How do you think the participation of women in the armed group shaped the party overall, particularly in terms of its views on gender equality?
 - If necessary: how much political influence do you think women in the armed group wielded? How would you describe this influence?
11. In your view, how many women who fought in the armed group stayed involved in the party after the transition?
 - Why did you decide to stay involved/why did you decide not to remain involved?
 - Did other women you knew have a similar experience?
12. How do you think the legacy of armed struggle and the identity of the armed group as a military organization influenced the party's structure and internal culture during and after the transition?
 - Can you give any examples?
 - Do you think the experience of armed struggle has shaped norms around masculinity in the party? If so, in what ways? Has it changed over time?
13. Did the bonds formed between party members in the armed struggle persist in the post-transition period, and if so, in what ways?
14. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the armed group that you would like to add?

Questions for men who served in the armed group (ideally in higher-level position)

1. How do you think the legacy of armed struggle and the identity of the armed group as a military organization influenced the party's structure and internal culture during and after the transition?
 - Can you give any examples?
2. Can you briefly describe where important strategic and political decisions within the armed group were made, and who was involved?
3. What was the process by which members would get promoted to higher-level positions (e.g., commander, political commissar)?
 - What types of skills or characteristics were typically rewarded?

4. What barriers did women face in attaining senior leadership positions within the armed group?
 - Do you know of any women who managed to attain leadership positions? What factors allowed them to do so?
5. What factors explain the level of women's representation on the transition council?
6. More generally, how did women's and men's roles within the armed group differ?
7. What was the vision of gender relations/gender equality promoted by the armed group in its political education and program?
8. How would you describe gender relations within the armed group in practice?
 - Did you feel that they evolved over time, and if so, why?
 - If necessary: in your experience, were there any spoken or unspoken rules about how women in the armed group should behave? About how men should behave?
9. Were you ever made aware of any incidents of gender-based violence or harassment within the armed group, for example in the military camps? Or did you ever witness such incidents?
 - *[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 armed group leaders responded to this type of violence and harassment?
10. How do you think women's participation shaped or changed the armed group as an organization?
 - Do you think it had an impact on the group's strategies or effectiveness?
11. How do you think the participation of women in the armed group shaped the party overall, particularly in terms of its views on gender equality?
 - If necessary: how much political influence do you think women in the armed group wielded? How would you describe this influence?
 - Do you think the experience of armed struggle has shaped norms around masculinity in the party? If so, in what ways? Has it changed over time?
12. In your view, how many women who fought in the armed group stayed involved in the party after the transition?
 - Do you think there were any differences in how men versus women experienced the aftermath of the transition (demobilization)?
13. During the transition negotiations, could you describe the power of the armed group leadership vis-a-vis the transition council and the political branches of the movement?
 - Did the armed group leadership have a separate political agenda or specific political goals?
14. Did the bonds formed between the party and armed group members in the armed struggle persist in the post-transition period, and if so, in what ways?
15. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the armed group that you would like to add?

Transition

Questions for former female armed group fighters who participated in the transition process

1. Could you briefly describe the roles you played within the armed group and then in the transition process?
2. At the time of the transition, what factors made you decide to stay in the group as it became a political party?
 - Why do you think some women decided not to remain involved?
3. In the lead-up to the transition negotiations, did women within the armed group have a separate formal or informal structure to organize themselves and make demands on the leadership?
 - If so, what were their demands?
 - How much political influence did they wield?
4. How did the group select its negotiating teams for the different rounds of negotiations, and how gender inclusive was this process?
5. In your recollection, how many women who had been part of the armed group were involved in the transition negotiations, and in what capacity?
 - How many men?
 - What was the background of these women? Were there any areas in which they lacked skills or experience?
6. Did male political leaders resist women's participation in the transition process, and if so in what ways?
7. Did women who participated in the transition negotiations experience any intimidation or harassment?
8. Would you say women involved in the negotiations were able to express their voice and that of other women?
 - In what ways did the party's history of armed struggle influence attitudes and norms around violence in the transition process?
 - Do you think women who had been part of the armed movement had a different experience of violence in the transition?
 - Do you think the experience of armed struggle has shaped norms around masculinity in the party? If so, in what ways? Has it changed over time?
9. How do you think the party's history as an armed movement influenced its internal structure and culture as a political party?
 - Do you think it had a—positive or negative—effect on the party's commitment to and realization of internal gender equality? If so, in what ways?
10. What other challenges did women face that influenced their participation in the transition process?

Post-Transition

Questions for female party leaders/parliamentarians

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway in the party, and the role you played in the transition process?
2. Did the party at the time of the transition adopt any formal or informal mechanisms or strategies to ensure women's representation in leadership? Why/why not?

3. In your view, what barriers did women face in acceding to leadership posts in the party during this time period?
 - ➔ Were there any differences between the women who had been in the armed group and those who had been part of the non-militant branches of the movement? Do you think there were any differences in their influence or networks?
4. What steps did the party take to recruit female candidates for the first election after the transition, and what was the candidate selection process?
 - ➔ What was the typical background of the women candidates who were selected?
5. How do you think the party's history as an armed movement influenced its internal structure and culture as a political party during this early party development period?
 - ➔ Can you give any examples?
6. Did the bonds formed between party members in the armed struggle persist in the post-transition period, and if so, in what ways?
 - ➔ Do you think the experience of armed struggle has shaped norms around masculinity in the party? If so, in what ways? Has it changed over time?
7. How do you think the legacy of armed conflict and women's participation in the party impacted opportunities for women within the party?
8. Did women in the party have any male allies in the transition or post-transition period, either in the leadership of the armed group or the leadership of the overall movement?
9. How do you think the party's commitment to and agenda on gender equality issues change over time, following the transition period? Why do you think it changed?
10. Did women in the party ever report to you that they had experienced violence, intimidation, or harassment from other party members or affiliated actors, or did you ever witness or experience such incidents?
 - ➔ How did the party leadership respond to these problems? Did the party adopt any rules or mechanisms against violence and harassment within the party, or were the issues discussed during party conferences?
11. Did women in the party face any obstacles to being heard or taken seriously, or to participate fully in party activities?
 - ➔ Did the party take any steps to help women combine their work and family obligations? Is this an issue that came up in internal debates?
12. Did you and your other female colleagues in parliament feel sufficiently supported by the party in your parliamentary work?
 - ➔ Were there any areas where you felt you could have needed more training, resources, or support?
13. Did you face any negative stereotypes about women in politics, and if so, how did they impact your work and activities?
14. How would you assess the degree of cross-party unity and cooperation between women in parliament? What were the key enablers of/obstacles to closer cooperation?

Questions for male party leaders/members of parliament (ideally former armed group members)

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway in the party, and the role you played in the transition process?
2. What role did armed group leadership and commanders play in the party formation period? To what extent did they help shape the party's platform and organization?
3. Do you think there were lessons learned during the period of armed struggle about how to structure an organization that shaped the evolution of the party?
4. How do you think the party's history as an armed liberation movement makes it different from other types of political parties? What is unique about its internal culture and organization?
5. Did the bonds formed between party members in the armed struggle persist in the post-transition period, and if so, in what ways?
6. In what ways do you think the experience of serving in the armed group prepared women for a career in politics? In what ways did it not?
 - ➔ How many women made the transition from serving in the armed group to entering electoral politics? How many men?
7. How would you describe the party's platform on gender equality for the first elections and subsequent legislative period?
 - ➔ How has its platform changed over time, and why?
8. Did the party at the time of transition adopt any formal or informal mechanisms or strategies to ensure women's representation in leadership? Why/why not?
9. In your view, what barriers did women face in acceding to leadership posts in the party during this time period?
10. Do you think women faced any negative stereotypes about women in politics, and if so, how did this impact their work and activities?
11. What steps did the party take to recruit female candidates for the first election after the transition, and what was the candidate selection process?
 - ➔ What kind of support did the party provide to female candidates?
12. Did women in the party ever report to you that they had experienced violence, intimidation, or harassment from other party members or affiliated actors, or did you ever witness such incidents?
13. How did the party leadership respond to these problems? Did the party adopt any rules or mechanisms against violence and harassment within the party, or were the issues discussed during party conferences?
 - ➔ If necessary: Whose responsibility do you think it is to address issues of violence and harassment in the party?
14. Did the party take any steps to help women combine their work and family obligations? Is this an issue that came up in internal debates?
15. In your view, what were the biggest gains for gender equality in the post-transition period?

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 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 leaders from civil society

1. Did male political leaders resist women's participation in the transition process, and if so in what ways?
 - a. What were your strategies to overcome or lessen the resistance from male political leaders?
2. In what areas do you think you were most successful in influencing the transition process, and why?
3. In which areas do you feel that you failed to achieve your objectives, and why? What were the consequences?
4. Did you feel that you had all the tools you needed to influence to process, both from the inside and from the outside? Were there any issues or areas for which you lacked important resources, networks, or knowledge?
5. How do you think the party's history as an armed movement as well as a non-violent social movement influenced its internal structure and culture as a political party during the transition and early party development period?
 - a. Were these two elements or backgrounds of the party ever in tension with one another?
6. Could you describe how the history of armed struggle influenced internal norms around masculinity within the party?
 - a. At the time of the transition and in its aftermath, what do you think it meant to "be a man" in the party?
7. Do you think this history of militarization and armed struggle impacted the roles women could play within the party, or the policy positions the party took on gender equality issues? If so, in what ways?
8. Did women in the party ever report to you that they had experienced violence, intimidation, or harassment from other party members or affiliated actors, or did you ever witness or experience such incidents?
9. What other challenges did women face that influenced their participation in the transition process?

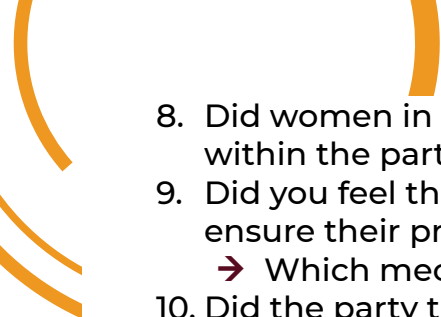
10. How would you assess the realization of gender equality goals within the party as the governing party in the aftermath of the transition?
 - a. Do you think the party's commitment to gender equality has changed or wavered over time? If so, what do you think explains this?

Focus Group 2: Men from armed group who participated in transition process

1. How did the party select its negotiating teams for the different rounds of negotiations, and how gender inclusive was this process?
2. In your view, what factors explain women's underrepresentation in the formal transition negotiations?
3. In the lead-up to the transition negotiations, what demands did women who served in the armed group have for the leadership, and how much political influence did they wield?
 - *[Try to get details on armed group women's representation on party delegations]*
4. Did the bonds formed between the party members in the armed struggle persist in the post-transition period, and if so, in what ways?
5. How would you assess the impact of the women's rights groups on the substance of the transition negotiations? In which areas do you think their advocacy had the greatest impact, and why?
6. Did women in the party ever report to you that they had experienced violence, intimidation, or harassment from other party members or affiliated actors, or did you ever witness or experience such incidents?
7. What other challenges did women face that influenced their participation in the transition process?

Focus Group 3: Female rank and file party officials

1. How do you think the party's history as both an armed movement influenced its internal structure and culture as a political party during this early party development period?
2. Did the bonds formed between party members in the armed struggle persist in the post-transition period, and if so, in what ways?
3. How do you think the legacy of armed conflict and women's participation in the armed group impacted opportunities for women within the party?
4. In your view, what barriers and/or opportunities did women face in ascending to leadership posts in the party in the post-transition period?
5. What challenges do you think women faced in making the transition from being armed group members to being party candidates and elected officials?
 - How has this changed over time?
6. How would you assess the power of the women's league in the aftermath of the transition?
 - In what areas did it wield the most influence, and why?
 - In which areas did it fail to wield influence?
7. How did the relationship between the broader women's movement and the women's league evolve in the aftermath of the transition?
 - If they say it was difficult, we ask "Why did it prove difficult to maintain the unity that existed during the transition period?"

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8. Did women in the party face any obstacles to being heard or taken seriously within the party, or to participate fully in party activities?
 9. Did you feel that the party's mechanisms to consult with women members and ensure their priorities were taken into account were sufficient?
→ Which mechanisms do you think were most effective/least effective?
 10. Did the party take any steps to help women combine their work and family obligations? Is this an issue that came up in internal debates?
 11. Did women in the party ever report to you that they had experienced violence, intimidation, or harassment from other party members or affiliated actors, or did you ever witness or experience such incidents?
 12. How did the party leadership respond to these problems? Did the party adopt any rules or mechanisms against violence and harassment within the party, or were the issues discussed during party conferences?

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

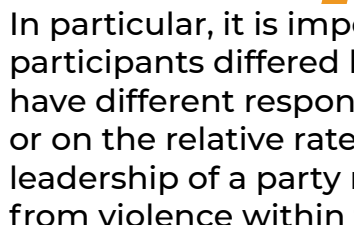
The columns in this frameworks are as follows:

- 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.
- 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.

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



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?		
				How many women leaders were there, and what positions did they hold?	Public record, leaders, women members	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity women members), Interviews (pre-entity leaders)
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
				Were women included in this process in meaningful ways?	Public record, women members	Desk research, Interviews (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	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
		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), Interviews (pre-entity men)
			Were there formal or informal internal procedures for selecting leadership and promoting members?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (pre-entity leaders), 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	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			What barriers did women face in accessing leadership positions?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity 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 women)

	Institutional discrimination	Did the entity have any rules about which positions women could and could not hold?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (pre-entity leaders); Interviews (pre-entity women)	
		Did the entity have rules against VAW? If yes, did these rules get implemented?	Leaders, women members	Interviews (leaders), Interviews (women members)	
		Institutional support mechanisms	<i>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?</i>	Public record, leaders, women members	Desk research, Interviews (pre-entity leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			<i>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?</i>	Leaders, women members	Interviews (leaders), Interviews (pre-entity women members)
			<i>If the pre-party entity was a dominant party: Did the party provide any financial or training/mentoring support to female candidates?</i>	Leaders, women members	Interviews (leaders), Interviews (pre-entity 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	

What are the institutional barriers to gender equality in the nascent political party?			How many women members became candidates, and which women? How many male members, and which men?		
	Ideology and platform		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-cultural 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 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-cultural 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?			

<p>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?</p>	<p>What were the individual-level barriers to gender equality within the pre-party entity?</p>	<p>Did women and men have similar levels of education in the pre-party entity? Did education matter in the pre-party entity?</p>		
		<p>Did women and men have similar amounts of resources?</p>		
		<p>Did women do a disproportionate share of housework/ caregiving, and how did this impact their participation?</p>		
		<p>What barriers did women face in reaching leadership positions?</p>		
	<p>How did the transition process influence pre-existing individual-level barriers?</p>	<p>Which pre-entity members were most likely to make the transition to political party officials and candidates and why? (ethnicity, class, education, location, role?)</p>		
		<p>What challenges did women face in making the transition to candidates? What challenges did men face?</p>		
		<p>What challenges did women face in participating in transition negotiations (if any)? What challenges did men face?</p>		

		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?		

