

Early Party Development Assessment

Dominant Party Splintering
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 **dominant party**: what inspired you to join the party, and the role(s) you have played in it?
2. Can you describe the **dominant party's** stance on gender equality and women's political participation before the transition?
 - *[Assess how important gender equality issues were among the party's priorities.]*
 - How do you think this platform influenced internal party rules and processes?
3. In your view, how effective were the party's mechanisms to consult with women members and ensure women's participation?
 - *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.*

4. How did women typically get promoted to leadership positions within the party, and what characteristics or skills did they need?
 - 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 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
5. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the party and influencing its decisions?
 - *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced. Assess whether women's concerns and issues were heard by party leadership and whether existing channels were sufficient]*
 - *[If yes] Did the party take any steps to address these barriers?*
6. Did women face any specific barriers in reaching leadership positions?
 - *[Assess for specific characteristics, resources, skills needed to achieve leadership posts; intersecting factors such as class, education]*
7. In your view, were there any spoken or unspoken rules on how a woman in the **dominant party** should behave?
8. Did you or any women you knew in the **dominant party** experience any violence or harassment 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 party leaders responded to this type of violence and harassment?*
 - *[If no] Do you think that violence or the threat of violence could or did occur within the dominant party, even though you have not witnessed it? Why/why not?*
9. Do you think that violence or the threat of violence could or did occur within the **dominant party**, even though you have not witnessed it? Why/why not?
 - *[Be sure that the interviewee at this point discusses what effects violence may have on a party specifically, rather than on individual victims or party members involved.]*
10. Do you think party resources were distributed equally between women and men?
11. Did women in the party face any specific obstacles when running for elections?
 - *[Guide the interviewee to briefly describe these obstacles, such as, for example, lack of financial support, lack of training, placement on candidate lists, etc.]*
12. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the **dominant party** that you would like to add?

Questions for female leaders of the dominant party

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the **dominant party**: what inspired you to join the party, and how did you rise to a position of leadership?
2. In your view, what characteristics or skills make a good politician or a good party leader?
3. What methods did the **dominant party** use to ensure women contribute to decision-making and to ensure the party's policies reflected women's priorities?
 - a. *[Guide the interviewee to describe the specific mechanisms aimed at supporting women, including consultation processes, women's wings, and mentorship programs. Assess the effectiveness of these measures.]*
 - b. Do you think these measures were effective?
4. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the party?
 - a. *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced. Assess whether women's concerns and issues were heard by party leadership and whether existing channels were sufficient]*
 - b. *[If yes]* Did the party take any steps to address these barriers?
5. Did women in leadership positions face any specific barriers?
 - a. *Guide the participants to briefly explain these obstacles.*
6. Were there any roles in the party that men were more likely to fill than women? If yes, why do you think that was the case?
7. In your opinion, what roles are women best suited for within a political party?
8. Did other women party members or leaders ever report to you that they had experienced violence from other members of your political party? Or have you yourself ever witnessed such violence? This could include threats and harassment, not only physical violence.
 - a. *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*
 - b. *[If no]:* Do you think that violence or the threat of violence did or does occur within the dominant party, even though you have not seen it?
9. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the **dominant party** that weren't covered here today?

Questions for male members in the dominant party

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the **dominant party**: what inspired you to join the party, and what role(s) you have played in it?
2. Before the transition, how did party members typically get promoted to leadership positions within the party, and what characteristics did they need?
 - ➔ Guide interviewees to describe briefly the reasons or processes by which 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 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/identity
 - vi. Because they pay bribes
3. In your view, what were the key roles that women played in the party before the transition?
4. Were there any roles in the party that men were more likely to fill than women? What do you think explains this?
5. Can you briefly describe the dominant party's platform on gender equality and women's political participation before the transition?
 - a. How do you think this platform influenced internal party rules and processes?
6. What mechanisms did the dominant party use to ensure women contribute to decision-making in the party?
 - a. *[Assessing whether the party had a consultation process that allows women an equal role; how much power the women's wing or comparable organization wielded; whether there was a formal mentoring system for emerging women leaders].*
 - b. Do you think these measures were effective?
7. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the party that men were less likely to face?
 - a. *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced.]*
 - b. Did the party take any measures to address these barriers?
8. Did women party members or leaders ever report to you that they experienced violence or harassment from other members of the dominant party? Or did you ever witness violence occurring against women in the party?
 - a. *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*
 - b. *[If no]* Do you think that violence or the threat of violence could or did occur within your political party, even though you have not seen it?
9. Do you think that violence against women within a political party has any effect on the party itself? If so, what kinds of effects might this violence have on the party?
 - a. *[Be sure that the interviewee at this point discusses what effects violence may have on a party specifically, rather than on individual victims or party members involved.]*
10. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the dominant party that weren't covered here today?

Questions for male leaders of the dominant party

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the dominant party: what inspired you to join the party, and how did you attain your position of leadership?
2. In your view, what characteristics or skills make a good politician or a good party leader?
3. Do you think there are any roles in political parties that men are better equipped to fill than women? Why do you think this is the case?
4. In general, what advantages do you think women's participation has for political parties?
5. Do measures that try to increase women's inclusion and political participation, such as quota laws, have any disadvantages for your party?
6. Do you think that women faced any barriers to participating in the party?
 - a. *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced.]*
 - b. Did the party take any measures to address these barriers?
7. Based on your experience or things you have heard, how prevalent is violence or harassment against women in the party?
8. Whose responsibility do you think it is to fight violence and harassment against women in politics?
9. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation that weren't covered here today?

Transition

Questions for women leaders from civil society

1. Could you briefly describe the role and activities of women's rights groups during the transition process? What was their impact?
2. Did the popular movement have a gender equality agenda? If so, what were its gender equality goals?
 - a. *[Assess for unity in the movement or any potential divisions; assess for strength of commitment to gender equality goals]*
3. Were there any linkages between women who left the dominant party to join the new party and the broader women's movement? If yes, how would you describe them?
4. How did women's organizations try to influence decision-makers during the transition process to ensure women's political participation? What was the outcome?
 - a. *[Assess whether commitment to any gender equality goal by transition leaders was real or symbolic]*
5. Did male political leaders resist women's participation in the transition process, and if so in what ways?
6. In what ways did international actors influence the inclusion of women in the transition process and its aftermath?
7. Did the military's involvement in the transition process affect women's mobilization and participation in any way?

8. To what extent were women represented in the transition council—from civil society and political parties—advocating for a shared agenda around women’s participation?
 - a. In your view, how successful were they at achieving their objectives? Why do you say that?
9. To what extent does the new party’s stance on and practices with respect to gender equality mirror or depart from the dominant party? Do you see any important continuities or changes?
 - a. What explains these continuities and changes?
10. Do you think that the transition opened up new opportunities for women in politics, or any substantive changes in gender equality? If yes, what do you think explains this? If not, why not?
11. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women’s political participation that weren’t covered here today?

Questions for women leaders from civil society who participated in the transition

1. Could you briefly describe the role and activities of women’s organizations during the transition process? What was their impact?
2. Did the popular movement have a gender equality agenda?
 - a. If so, what were its gender equality goals?
 - b. *[Assess for unity in the movement or any potential divisions; assess for strength of commitment to gender equality goals]*
3. Were there any linkages between women who left the dominant party to join the new party and women in civil society?
 - a. If yes, how would you describe these linkages?
 - b. If not, why not?
4. How did women’s organizations try to influence decision-makers during the transition process to ensure women’s political participation? What was the outcome?
 - a. *[Assess whether commitment to any gender equality goal by transition leaders was real or symbolic]*
5. Did male political leaders resist women’s participation in the transition process, and if so in what ways?
6. In what ways did international actors influence the inclusion of women or gender equality in the transition process and its aftermath?
7. How did you get selected to be part of the transition council, and why?
8. To what extent were women represented in the transition council—from civil society and political parties—advocating for a shared agenda around women’s participation and gender equality? In your view, how successful were they?
9. Did you face any barriers that made it more difficult for you (or for other women) to participate in the transition council?
 - a. *[Assess for negative stereotypes about women: harassment, marginalization by men, lack of access to resources and networks]*
10. Did you feel that you had all the tools you needed to influence the process?
 - a. Were there any issues or areas for which you lacked important resources, networks, or knowledge?

11. In your view, to what extent do the positions and practices of the new party with respect to gender equality and women's political participation reflect those of the dominant party? Do you see any important continuities or changes?
 - a. What explains these continuities or changes?
12. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's political participation during the transition that weren't covered here today?

Questions for women from the new party involved in the transition process

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the new party and why you decided to leave the dominant party?
 - a. Do you think other women decided to leave the dominant party for similar reasons?
2. In your view, was gender equality a reason why women left the dominant party and decided to join the new party?
 - a. *If yes:* Did this have any impact on the new party's internal processes?
 - b. *If no:* Why do you think this was not an important issue?
3. Would you say that the women who joined the new party had a unified vision or agenda regarding gender equality, or were there any significant internal divisions?
4. Were there any linkages between women who left the dominant party to join the new party and women in civil society?
 - a. If yes, how would you describe these linkages?
 - b. If not, why not?
5. Could you briefly describe the process for deciding the new party platform and rules? How participatory and open to women was this process?
6. Did women in the party try to influence party leaders to ensure women's political participation and to incorporate gender equality goals? What was the outcome?
7. Did women who participated in the party formation experience any pressure aimed at excluding them from the process?
8. Did they face any other barriers that undermined their influence?
 - a. *Follow-up, if necessary:* Were there any areas for which women lacked important resources, networks, or skills?
9. Did the new party take any steps to ensure the recruitment and selection of women in the 2015 election?
 - a. If yes, how effective were these? If not, why not?
10. To what extent does the new party's stance on and practices with respect to gender equality today mirror or depart from the dominant party? Do you see any important continuities or changes?
 - a. What explains these continuities or changes?
11. Do the ties formed between party members before the transition—for example, when they were still in the dominant party—shape relationships within the party, for example, among party leaders or among party officials? In what ways?
12. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation during the transition and in the new party that weren't covered here today?

Questions for male dominant party members who left and joined the new party

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the new party and why you decided to leave the dominant party?
 - a. Do you think others left the dominant party for similar reasons?
2. In your view, what role did women play in the transition and the creation of the new party?
 - a. How do you think they influenced internal party rules and processes?
3. Could you briefly describe the process for deciding on the new party leadership and platform? How participatory and open was this process?
4. In general, what benefits do you think that women's participation brings to a political party?
 - a. *[Guide interviewees to describe the types of benefits or disadvantages that women's participation in political parties brings to the party itself.]*
5. Do measures that try to increase women's political participation, such as gender quota laws, have any disadvantages for your party?
6. Do the ties formed between new party members before the transition still shape relationships within the party, for example, among party leaders or among members?
 - a. *Follow up, if necessary:* Do you think these ties or networks play a role in who gets recruited or selected as candidates?
7. What types of characteristics or skills earn men power and influence in the party, and why?
 - a. What about women?
8. Do you think there are some roles in a political party that men are better equipped to fill than women, and why?
9. To what extent does the new party's stance on and practices with respect to gender equality today mirror or depart from the dominant party? Do you see any important continuities or changes?
 - a. What explains these continuities or changes?
10. Do you think women face any barriers to participating in the party?
 - a. *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced.]*
11. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation that you would like to add?

Questions for key male leaders of the transition process

1. Could you briefly explain your role in the transition process?
2. In your view, what characteristics or skills make a good politician or a good party leader?
3. Do you think there are some roles in politics that men are better equipped to fill than women, and why?
4. In your view, what role did women play in the transition and the transition process that followed?
 - a. How do you think this influenced the transition negotiations and the transition council?
5. In general, what benefits do you think that women's participation brings to a political party?
 - a. *[Guide interviewees to describe the types of benefits that women's participation in political parties brings to the party itself.]*

6. Do measures that try to increase women's political participation, such as gender quota laws, have any disadvantages for political parties?
 - a. *[Guide interviewees to describe the types of disadvantages that women's participation in political parties brings parties].*
7. Did the transition council use any mechanisms to ensure women were included in the decision-making and to ensure that it reflected women's priorities?
8. Was there any pressure on the side of international actors supporting the transition process to include women in the process?
9. Do you think women faced any barriers to participating in the transition council?
 - a. *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced.]*
 - b. If yes: who do you think has the responsibility to address these barriers?
10. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the transition council that you would like to add?

Post-Transition

Questions for male leaders of the new party

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the new party: what inspired you to join the party, and how did you rise to your current leadership role?
2. In your view, what were the key priorities that led to the formation of the new party?
 - a. If necessary: in what ways are the party's internal processes different from those of the dominant party?
3. What role did women play in the political transition and the formation of the new party?
 - a. How did they influence the party's internal processes and rules?
4. In your view, what characteristics or skills make a good politician? What about a good party leader?
5. Do you think there are some roles in a political party that men are better equipped to fill than women, and why?
6. In general, do you think that women's participation can bring benefits to a political party?
 - a. *[Guide interviewees to describe the types of benefits or disadvantages that women's participation in political parties brings to the party itself.]*
7. Do measures that try to increase women's political participation, such as gender quota laws, have any disadvantages for your party?
 - a. Do you face any challenges in fulfilling the law, and if so, why?
8. Do you think that women face any barriers to participating in the party different from those that men face?
 - a. *[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]*
9. Based on your experience or things you have heard, how prevalent is violence or harassment against women in political parties in your country? Was it an issue in the dominant party? Is it an issue in your party?

10. Whose responsibility do you think it is to fight violence and harassment against women in politics?
11. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in political parties that you would like to add?

Questions for female leaders of the new party

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the new party: what inspired you to join the party, and how did you rise to your current position of leadership?
2. In your opinion, what characteristics or skills make a good politician or a good party leader?
3. To what extent does the new party's stance on and practices with respect to gender equality and women's political participation mirror or depart from the dominant party? Do you see any important continuities or changes?
 - a. What explains these continuities or changes?
4. What methods does the new party use to ensure women contribute to decision-making and to ensure the party's policies reflected women's priorities?
5. Do you think that women face any barriers to participating in the party or to having their voices heard?
 - a. *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women face.]*
 - b. Has the party taken any steps to address these barriers?
6. What skills, characteristics, or resources do women need to rise to leadership positions in the party?
 - a. Do women in leadership posts face any specific barriers?
7. Are there roles in the party that are more often filled by men? Why do you think this is the case?
8. Do the ties formed between party members before the transition—for example, when they were still in the dominant party—shape relationships within the party, for example, among party leaders or among party officials?
9. Have women party members or leaders ever reported to you that they have experienced violence from other members of your political party? Or have you ever witnessed violence occurring against women in your party? This could include threats and non-physical violence.
 - a. *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*
 - b. If no: Do you think that violence or the threat of violence could or did occur within your political party, even though you have not seen it?
 - c. If yes: Whose responsibility do you think it is to fight violence and harassment against women in politics?
10. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the new party that weren't covered here today?

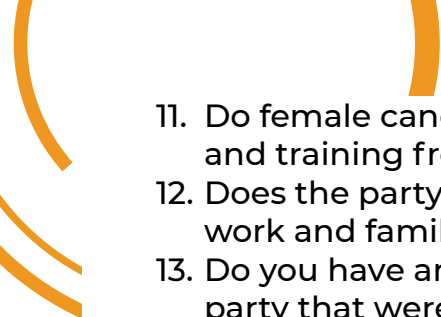
Questions for female leaders of the new party

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the dominant party: what inspired you to join the party, and what role(s) have you played in it?
2. 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 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
3. What types of characteristics, skills, or achievements earn men respect and influence in the party, and why?
 - What about women?
4. Do you think there are some party positions that are more appropriate for men than for women? Why?
5. Do you think that women face any barriers to participating in the party?
 - *[If yes, guide interviewees to describe what barriers they believe women faced.]*
 - Has the party taken any steps to address these barriers?
6. Do measures that try to increase women's political participation, such as gender quota laws, have any disadvantages for your party?
 - a. Do you face any challenges in fulfilling the law, and if so, why?
7. Do the ties formed between new party members before the transition still shape relationships within the party, for example, among party leaders or among members?
 - Follow up, if necessary: Do you think these ties or networks play a role in who gets recruited or selected as candidates?
8. Have women party members or leaders ever reported to you that they have experienced violence from other members of your political party? Or have you ever witnessed violence occurring against women in your party?
 - *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*
 - If no: Do you think that violence or the threat of violence could or did occur within your political party, even though you have not seen it?
 - If yes: Whose responsibility do you think it is to fight this type of violence or harassment?
9. Do you think that violence against women within a political party has any effect on the party itself? If so, what kinds of effects might this violence have on the party?
 - *[Be sure that the interviewee at this point discusses what effects violence may have on a party specifically, rather than on individual victims or party members involved.]*
10. In your view, do female candidates have access to the same financial resources, mentoring, and training from the party as male candidates?

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

Questions for women in the new party (lower-ranking)

1. Could you briefly describe your pathway into the new party: what inspired you to join the party, and the role(s) you have played in it?
2. Do you feel that women's concerns and opinions are heard and taken seriously by the party leadership?
3. 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?
4. What types of characteristics, skills, or achievements earn men respect and influence in the party, and why?
 - What about women?
5. Does the party have any mechanisms to increase the representation of women in the leadership?
 - If yes, do you think these are effective?
6. How do women 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 women typically rise through the ranks of party leadership. A list of potential reasons is included below.*
 - *Based on merit*
 - *Based on their connections*
 - *Because they offer sexual favors*
 - *Because they were able to raise the money they needed*
 - *Because they are running a good campaign*
 - *Because they are women*
 - *Because they pay bribes*
 - *Women are not promoted or offered leadership roles within my party*
7. Do the ties formed between party members before the transition—for example, when they were still in the dominant party—shape relationships within the party, for example, among party leaders or among party officials?
 - How do you think these ties influence candidate recruitment and selection?
8. To what extent does the new party's stance on and practices with respect to gender equality mirror or depart from the dominant party? Do you see any important continuities or changes?
 - What explains these continuities or changes?
9. Have you ever witnessed or experienced violence or harassment from other members of your political party, or heard other women in the party describe such experiences?
 - *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]*
 - If no: Do you think that violence or the threat of violence could or did occur within your political party, even though you have not seen it?
 - *[If yes]:* Can you describe how party leaders have responded to this type of violence or harassment?
10. Do women face any specific obstacle when they run for election?

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11. Do female candidates have access to the same financial resources and mentoring and training from the party as male candidates?
 12. Does the party have any mechanisms to help women and men balance their work and family obligations?
 13. Do you have any other thoughts on the topic of women's participation in the new party that weren't covered here today?

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 involved in the dominant party before the transition

1. Do you think the transition has opened up any opportunities for women in politics or led to any substantive changes in gender equality? If so, what do you think explains this?
2. Are there any negative stereotypes surrounding women in politics or female politicians? If yes, what are they?
3. Do you feel that women faced any barriers to participating in the dominant party that men did not face?
4. What skills, resources, and characteristics did women need to have in order to move up the ranks within the party?
5. Do you feel the women's voices were sufficiently represented in important party decisions?
6. In your experience, were there any spoken or unspoken rules about how women in the dominant party should behave?
7. Did men in the party benefit from any networks or resources that women did not have access to?
 - a. *[If necessary:]* Did these relationships influence candidate recruitment and selection?
8. Did women in the party experience any violence or harassment because they are women?
 - a. *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of. A list below is included for the note-taker's reference.]*
 - i. Disqualify party candidate for elected position or leadership position based on their physical attributes and clothing
 - ii. Sabotage campaign materials
 - iii. Defame or disseminate false information about an opponent in the media
 - iv. Spread altered images of a political rival
 - v. Threaten a fellow member of your political party in order to persuade or coerce them to change a policy position or vote
 - vi. Withhold resources from other party members
 - vii. Turn off the microphone or leave the room when a member of the party is talking
 - viii. Use social media to anonymously spread false information about a member of your party seeking a party leadership or nomination

- ix. Harass another member of the party to vote a certain way
 - x. Make a party member's nomination or promotion conditional on sexual favors
 - xi. Request or coerce sexual acts from other members of the party
9. What do you think are the main drivers of this type of violence and harassment in the party?
 10. Do you think there was any change in political parties' views on women's political role in the transition period? Why/why not?

Focus Group 2: Representatives of women's organizations

1. Do you think the transition has opened up any opportunities for women in politics or led to any substantive changes in gender equality? If so, what do you think explains this?
2. What were the main demands of women's rights groups in the lead-up to and during the transition process?
3. What were the main barriers that women's organizations faced in trying to influence the transition process?
4. Were there any areas where you think women's organizations were successful, and why?
5. In which areas do you feel you were not successful?
6. Did male leaders resist women's participation and influence in the transition process, and in what ways?
 - a. What about community and/or family members?
7. Did advocates for women's representation have any allies in political parties or in the political leadership during the transition process?
8. How would you describe the relationship between women who were part of forming the new party and the broader women's movement during the transition period?
9. Do you think there was any change in political parties' views on women's political role in the transition period? Why/why not?
 - a. What about views in society more broadly?
10. To what extent does the new party's stance on and practices with respect to gender equality mirror or depart from the dominant party? Do you see any important continuities or changes, and what explains this?
11. To what extent do you think violence or harassment of women in politics is a problem in politics in your country?
12. 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: Female rank and file party officials

1. Do you think the transition has opened up any opportunities for women in politics or led to any substantive changes in gender equality? If so, what do you think explains this?
2. Do you think women within the party face any negative stereotypes about their skills and abilities, either from their male colleagues or from society at large?
3. What types of characteristics, skills, or achievements do you think earn men respect and influence in the party, and why?
4. What about women?
5. Are there specific roles in the party that men are more likely to fill than women?
6. [If yes]: What do you think explains this?
7. Do men in the party benefit from any networks or resources that women do not have access to?
8. [If necessary]: Do these relationships influence candidate recruitment and selection?
9. Do you think structures or relationships formed before the transition, for example, among those who left the dominant party to join the new party, have influenced how the new party is organized and functions?
10. If yes, how does this affect gender equality in the party?
11. Do women in the party experience any violence or harassment that men typically do not experience?
12. [Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they have witnessed or heard of.]
13. [Guide the participants to share the most common perpetrators of this type of violence and harassment, whether particular women were more vulnerable than others, and how it affected women's participation in the party].
14. How have leaders in the party responded to this type of violence or harassment?
15. 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?

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

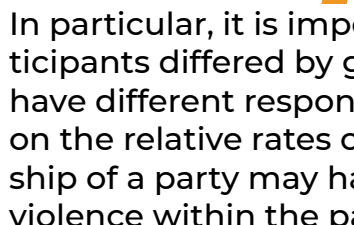
The columns in this frameworks are as follows:

- 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)

<p>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?</p>	<p>What were the institutional barriers to gender equality in the pre-party entity?</p>	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	

			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 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?		

		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?		

