Supporting Inclusive Early Party Development

Program Guidance

NDI
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Technical Lead
Caroline Hubbard, NDI Senior Gender Advisor

II.   Acknowledgments & About NDI

Acknowledgments

About the National Democratic Institute

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI or the Institute) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that responds to the aspirations of people around the world to live in democratic societies that recognize and promote basic human rights. Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to support and strengthen democratic institutions and practices by strengthening political parties, civic organizations, and parliaments; safeguarding elections; and promoting citizen participation, openness, and accountability in government.

NDI is a leading organization working to advance women's political participation around the world. The Institute empowers women to participate, compete, and lead as equal and active partners in democratic change. Mobilizing its global networks and drawing on three decades of experience in 132 countries, NDI supports women's aspirations for gender equality in order to achieve inclusive, responsive and resilient democratic governance. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that, while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies.

III. Foreword

"Everyone knows that it is women who bring the most people; they are the best at mobilization."

This statement was made by a male parliamentarian of Burkina Faso's dominant Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP) party, during an interview in Ouagadougou, in December 2019. Through initiatives like the Win With Women (WWW) Global Action Plan and Political Party Assessment Tool (2008), WWW: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties (2018), and a new tool to address violence against women within political parties (#NoPartyToViolence, 2018), the National Democratic Institute (NDI) has consistently drawn attention to the critically important role that political parties play in enabling or preventing women's equal and active political participation. This document is the latest in a long line of tools and manuals that NDI has created to help women shatter glass ceilings and move forward when structures and stereotypes hold them back, in order to strengthen political parties by making them more inclusive, more democratic and therefore more resilient.

We have learned from history that transitions can serve as a window of opportunity to transform the broader political, legal, and social barriers to their participation that women and other marginalized groups face, ushering in a more inclusive kind of politics. At the same time, party formation is a constant and recurring aspect of democratic practice and culture. However, there has not previously been the systematic research about how the dynamics of a transition and the origins of a political party **work together** to inform how a party develops, and how inclusive the final entity will be.

In this program guidance, NDI focuses on a point in political party development where for women the glass ceiling is thick and the patriarchal floor is setting like concrete. Nevertheless, NDI's ambition is to help practitioners to deliver gender-informed support in transition contexts to new political parties as they emerge from three different origins:

- Parties that emerge from nonviolent social movements (NVSM);
- Parties that emerge from armed movements; and
- Parties that emerge from dominant parties that splinter.

Having done the research and produced this guidance, we hope it will enable democracy assistance to be provided early, and with an understanding of party development that leads to a greater chance of successfully giving rise to inclusive and transformative political parties.

Birgitta Ohlsson,
Director For Political Parties
National Democratic Institute
Former Swedish Minister and MP.

IV. Executive Summary

Political parties provide critical pathways for political participation and citizens' engagement in democratic processes. Parties mobilize citizens behind ideologies and policies, elect candidates for representative posts, lead electoral campaigns, form legislative blocs in parliaments, and, if elected, implement a program of government. And yet, political parties around the world are facing a crisis in public confidence, as many citizens view them as inaccessible and unresponsive to their concerns and needs. Women, in particular, face informal and formal barriers to their participation in parties, which often have opaque procedures, reflect larger patriarchal norms or violence, and perpetuate hyper-masculine cultures.

In periods of political transition, the formation of new parties can be an opportunity to break these established patterns of gender exclusion. Transitions can be openings to transform the broader political, legal, and social barriers to an inclusive kind of politics. In these moments of flux, the development of new party branches and rules, as well as the renegotiation of broader institutional frameworks, can enable women and other marginalized groups to push for greater political representation within party structures.

Women's full and equal political participation benefits communities, and results in real gains for democracy and improved outcomes for countries. Inclusive parties are more resilient and more successful at the ballot box and at governing. The process of transition and the formation of new parties can provide important openings to effect change and correct the power imbalance between men and women in politics. Assessing the factors that influence the level of gender inclusion in these processes and taking informed action is an essential step to building inclusive democracy and gender equality in transitional societies and beyond. It is NDI's hope that this program guidance can help practitioners, political parties, activists, and other key stakeholders continue to "reflect, reform, and re-engage" on how to support the inclusive growth of nascent political parties.

V. Table of Contents

VI. Introduction

Providing Support for Gender-Sensitive Early Party Development

From its founding, NDI has worked to strengthen democratic resilience through stronger, more inclusive, relatable, responsive, and open political parties—parties that are responsive to citizens' needs and create opportunities for inclusive multi-partisan and multi-ethnic consensus. Resolving domestic political conflicts and responding to changing geopolitics requires strong democratic institutions, including strong, inclusive political parties. These institutions can mediate partisanship, ensure minority rights, and uphold the rule of law. Critically, political parties are gateways to elected office. They provide the training ground for young or new politicians, and recruit, select, and support candidates for elections.[1]

Yet parties around the world have historically been patriarchal and exclusionary organizations. Women, in particular, face both formal and informal barriers to political participation, including opaque processes for nominating candidates and parties with hypermasculine cultures. When they are able to participate, women tend to be relegated to supporting roles or placed at the bottom of candidate or party lists. If a party's internal organization is weak or opaque, "decisions tend to be made by a limited number of elites, usually men,"[2] who draw on the same networks from which women are excluded. In these cases, especially where internal processes are informal or unwritten, it is even more difficult for women to break through or hold the party accountable to any commitments it may have made to equal participation. While some parties have made formal commitments to gender equality, most fall short of living out such commitments or achieving a high degree of inclusion.[3] Women also face high levels of violence as they try to exert their civil and political rights. Whether it takes the form of psychological abuse or physical or sexual assault, this violence is designed to control, limit, or prevent women's full and equal political participation.[4]

The difficulties women face can be exacerbated in cases where parties operate in a political environment that lacks external pressure, such as an active civil society or national legislation, or requirements compelling parties to open their gates to women. The lack of transparency can make it easier for corruption, violence, or other barriers to flourish within a political party. In addition, this lack of transparency, and the perceived absence of accountability for party leaders, has also led to increasing levels of citizen disenchantment with political parties.

Economic crises and growing socio-economic inequality have played significant roles as drivers of public distrust; the digital revolution has also transformed how citizens access information, engage each other, and how they expect to interact with their government. Distrust is also rooted in public perceptions that politicians routinely place their own interests above the interests of the people they are supposed to represent, while mobilizing support based on promises they have no intention of keeping.[5] Against the backdrop of complex global change and social transformation, political parties will need to innovate and move closer to those they are supposed to represent—a process which must include the integration of women as full and equal partners in order to succeed.

Women in Politics Bring Positive Change

The full and equitable participation of women in public life is essential to building and sustaining strong, vibrant democracies. On a basic level, a democracy without the participation of half a country's population is not a democracy. Women and men are entitled to equal civil and political rights, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and other international commitments.[6] Furthermore, a growing body of evidence indicates that women's political participation can lead to tangible democratic gains, including greater policy responsiveness to diverse citizen needs, reduced risk of conflict recurrence, and higher levels of political stability.[7]

Although political parties have a critical impact on the level of gender inclusion in a country's governance, the majority of parties maintain and benefit from unequal power dynamics rather than championing inclusion. The experience of NDI and other democracy assistance providers shows that it is often extremely difficult to eliminate these gendered power imbalances in established parties. Male party members often have little interest in changing the status quo, and women struggle to mobilize on issues separate from partisan goals.

Parties that prioritize women's participation can also benefit electorally by accessing new groups of voters and signaling their commitment to social change.[8] Women's participation benefits parties directly and can lead to improvements in their performance in elections and overall strength. Increasing the number of women candidates and having a stronger stance on issues of interest to women can make parties more competitive and more effective organizations. Women's full and equal participation in parties can also play a key role in efforts to fight corruption and increase political stability, as well as in enhancing the credibility and continuity of political parties. When political parties dedicate their efforts to supporting women's equal participation, their pathways and results may differ in scale and timeframe, but their overall outcome is a net gain in every case.[9]

The earliest periods in a political party's formation play a critical role in defining their organization, culture, strategic behavior, democratic capacity, and participation. As such, technical support to nascent political parties can be a pivotal moment at which democracy interventions can have a robust influence on gender equality. Women are often at the frontlines of political movements and change; they can be found at every level in social movements and organizations that later transition into political parties. Yet the mere fact that women are involved in a transition or nascent party does not guarantee they end up with a seat and voice at the table. In order for practitioners to provide effective support for the development of inclusive political parties—which are central to achieving peaceful, inclusive, and resilient democracies— they must understand the factors that facilitate or impede gender-equal party formation for each emerging party.

Transitions Are a Key Entry Point for Change

Political change, whether it is minute or cataclysmic, is rarely predictable. These changes do not happen overnight; they are rarely linear. Their scale and pace are influenced by a wide array of factors, and without strong incentives or defined benefits for doing so, change alone rarely leads to more inclusive, responsive, and accountable political parties.[10]

That said, the formation of new parties during periods of political transition represents a potential opportunity to break old patterns of exclusion and non-response. Transitions can be openings to transform the broader political, legal, and social barriers to more inclusive politics. In these moments of flux, the development of new party branches and rules, as well as the renegotiation of broader institutional frameworks, can enable women and other marginalized groups to push for greater political representation within party structures. Such openings offer unique opportunities to transform the political, legal, and social barriers women face in politics and society.[11] For example, peace negotiations or constitutional reform processes can enable women to press for institutional commitments to electoral parity and rights protections.[12] Party transitions can also happen in less historic scenarios: for example, a new organization may branch off of an existing party, creating potential opportunities for women who join in breaking away.

But political transitions, on their own, do not automatically facilitate greater gender equality in politics. They can also lead to women's renewed marginalization.[13] Understanding why and how nascent parties integrate or exclude women at such times is crucial for preventing patriarchal norms, institutions, and processes from returning. This knowledge, in turn, is a necessary step to understanding and implementing the type of intervention needed to support gender-inclusive early party development.

A Blueprint for 21st Century Parties: Reflect, Reform, Re-engage

Political parties in the 21st century face a number of existential challenges, from disenfranchised citizens who no longer see party activism as a way to voice their concerns, to changing domestic or geopolitical environments, to the rise of populist movements. In many countries, the disconnect between parties and citizens has serious implications for the survival of democracy itself. Research has shown that as economic and security conditions deteriorate in conflict-prone countries, the trust deficit in democratic institutions in general, and political parties in particular, grows. Engaging citizens in a meaningful way not only strengthens political parties as organizations, it strengthens the entire democratic process.[14]

Increasing democratic resilience requires working with political parties to become more responsive to citizens' needs. This holds especially true for new and emerging parties: there are critical opportunities during their formation period to establish party standards and norms that will meet these needs. Citizens care about policy (how does the party inspire and unite them with a common sense of beliefs and values?), inclusion (is each citizen able to express their voice and influence decisions affecting their life?), and money (do citizens believe that the political party is corrupt?). Gender cuts across all three of these, making it imperative that practitioners engage early in the party development process to ensure that it is properly addressed and the new party reflects the constituencies it claims to represent and the voters it wishes to attract.

PART ONE:
RESEARCH, METHODOLOGY, AND PARTY TYPOLOGIES

I.   About This Toolkit

This toolkit was developed to provide guidance for practitioners supporting early party development, with a particular focus on practitioners working with nascent political parties following a transition from conflict, authoritarian rule, or other type of political disruption. It has been designed to share knowledge and tools for supporting gender-inclusive early party formation processes, and should be used as a companion to existing guidance and best practices for programs focused on political parties, gender inclusive parties, and political transitions. Rather than attempting to provide blanket recommendations for working with parties, it is focused on the specific recommendations needed to support nascent parties through their formation, providing guidance on ensuring inclusion takes place. It emphasizes the importance of identifying and leveraging the opportunities that arise in times of political disruption to transform pre-existing power dynamics, while ensuring that previous gains for women's rights are not unintentionally undermined.

Underlying Research and Methodology

This guidance is based on research conducted by NDI and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) over the course of a year in three different countries,[15] plus significant input from NDI staff around the world. The development of the framework for that research and this program guidance was informed at every step by NDI and CEIP's expertise in political parties, inclusive political frameworks, and gender, as well as their experience supporting political settlements and transitional periods. It was developed to complement the advances NDI has already made in the field of political parties by providing important guidance for understanding and working with parties in the early stages of their development. All of the case studies in this guide are taken from the NDI and CEIP research report, **Breaking the Cycle of Gender Exclusion in Political Party Development**.

This guide provides information and resources for advocates, practitioners, and policymakers who seek to support and strengthen nascent political parties, especially during times of political transition. The guidance provided here has been designed to help these actors ensure women's inclusion, providing support for their full and equal partnership in early party development.

About the Research
The research—and this guide—focuses on party formation in transitional contexts, namely:

- **Parties that emerge from nonviolent social movements (NVSM);**
- **Parties that emerge from armed movements; and**
- **Parties that emerge from dominant parties that splinter.**

In multiparty systems, parties can form under many different conditions. Some parties originate in periods of authoritarianism, survive political liberalization, and then adapt to multiparty competition. Others form during political transitions or once multiparty competition has already been established.

Each political party has a unique origin; no two, even if they develop side-by-side, will develop in exactly the same way. In addition to the three typologies above, parties may emerge from a wide spectrum of causes and contexts: from a popular movement against an incumbent candidate or political establishment, for example (or conversely, a group focused on advancing the political interests of a single individual), or out of an ethnic or religious group's protest against an oppressive regime.

Practitioners may find themselves working in any of these transition contexts, or one not described here at all; to cover every possible permutation of party origins and contexts would require more reams of paper than would be useful for this guide. However, the three contexts and the guidance in this toolkit provide the necessary foundation for any practitioner working to support gender-inclusive early party development. Many of the key factors for gender inclusion will be reflected in each context; a detailed assessment at the beginning of a program will help identify other factors. For example, this table covers broad contextual definitions and factors influencing women's political participation in the three transitions covered here:

Nonviolent Social Movement	Armed Movement	Party Splintering
While nonviolent social movements typically do not participate in formal politics, they sometimes institutionalize as political parties in periods of political rupture. Examples of this include: - Pro-democracy movements that were restricted seize the opportunity to enter electoral politics - Movements transform into parties because they see it as the best strategy to advance their goals	Since the end of the Cold War, many civil wars have ended in negotiated settlements rather than outright military victories. Such settlements often allow armed actors to transform into political parties. Examples of this include: - Armed groups which, after winning the conflict, restructure into ruling parties - Insurgent movements that transform into political parties as part of negotiated settlements	Where dominant parties retain power over several successive election cycles and defeat appears unlikely, new political parties may splinter off from the dominant one. Examples of this include: - Internal factional conflict because of a succession conflict leads a group to break off from the dominant party - A faction splits off from an existing party and mounts an electoral challenge after an internal ideological split

Key Factors Influencing the Level of Gender Inclusion in Emerging Parties:

- The skills, networks, and legitimacy women have gained from their participation in the NVSM. These can be leveraged to propel them into formal political roles.
- The ways women have been marginalized during the transition thus far (i.e., whether leadership or decision-making roles were dominated by men)
- The existence of an ideological basis in the movement for women's inclusion.
- Levels of support for gender inclusion from senior leadership.
- Whether women have been internally or externally mobilized during the transition.
- The existence of formal or informal organizing structures for women.
- Whether women within the movement have the capacity for autonomous mobilization.
- Whether external civil society can or has been used to help women gain traction within the party.

- Whether women's participation in armed groups has challenged traditional gender norms and/or politicized women members.
- The particular pathways that are open to women combatants to transition into politics.
- Whether women have been able to gain leadership or political experience within the armed group or allied movement.
- Whether the group's ideology makes its leaders more or less open to supporting gender-sensitive measures advanced by women.
- Whether the armed group's leadership structures have been historically hierarchical or male-dominated.
- The existence or types of political incentives to decentralize party decision-making and strengthen women's mobilization.
- Whether women have faced disproportionate or different forms of violence during or after the conflict.

- The cause(s) for the party splintering.
- The major characteristics of the original party—for example, the types of institutionalized behavior or norms that the splinter party is likely to replicate.
- Whether the new party has been met with repression.
- Whether there is a high risk of violence, and whether this risk might discourage women from joining.
- If the splintering process results in political liberalization, the potential disadvantages women face in the ensuing competition for new political posts.

In all three cases, the newly formed parties build on established organizations, whether they are originally social movements, armed movements, or dominant parties. These original organizations influence the culture and membership of nascent parties, their organizational structures and rules, and their ideological orientations—factors that, in turn, are likely to shape the opportunities for and barriers to gender inclusion in the early development phases of a new party. The broader transition contexts also have a profound influence on early party development. The political contexts in which transitions unfold can also incentivize party leaders to embrace gender equality measures, in order to, for instance, bolster their international legitimacy or co-opt their political rivals.

Transitional and party development processes can offer significant opportunities for positive influence on women's participation in political parties. When these opportunities are seized and acted upon, they can produce lasting positive change on gender equality. However, nascent parties often do not offer supportive environments for acting on these opportunities, and political transition processes can further entrench women's exclusion from political power.

To seize the opportunities presented during a new party's formation, women's mobilization in civil society and participation in transitional negotiations, as well as international pressure in favor of women's participation, are crucial.

Programs focused on gender inclusion in early party formation should begin with the following central questions:

1. What are the origins of the nascent party?
2. How have the origins of the party influenced the degree of gender inclusion in its early development?
3. How does the transition context affect or interact with these internal characteristics to shape the level of gender inclusion in the nascent party?

> *Note:* A transition might have all three types of emerging parties described above, or others not mentioned explicitly in this guide. An emerging party might even have a mix of characteristics or overlapping issues; some barriers and recommendations may apply across all contexts. As with any good program, this context must be a key consideration throughout program design, development, and implementation..

II. Key Considerations at the Beginning of a Democracy Assistance Program

Before starting any program on early party development, practitioners must take a number of important considerations into account. These will provide the necessary groundwork and understanding that will inform all subsequent decisions about the program's shape and direction. Much of the information needed to answer these questions will either be a part of a program's baseline understanding, or can be answered through a gendered political economy analysis or an Early Party Development Assessment—two critical tools that can be found in Section II of this guide. These questions include:

- **Within what context is the party's development unfolding?**
  Is there a formal or informal transition process taking place? What is the anticipated length of the transition process? Longer, more comprehensive transition processes aimed at transforming foundational laws and revising constitutions are helpful for advancing women's political participation, as these transitions provided multiple entry points for advocates to push for commitments to and measures for gender parity.[16] In contrast, rushed, shallow transition processes, aimed at holding elections as quickly as possible, are considerably less conducive to greater gender inclusion. While programs may have no control over these types of external factors, understanding the potential impacts and adjusting goals can make the difference for a successful program.
- **What are the party origins?**
  Parties' origins shape their leaders' political goals and their overall receptivity to gender inclusion. They also influence whether the parties have a pool of women activists and supporters who can step forward as candidates, as well as female leaders who have the networks and political influence necessary to take on leadership roles in the new parties.
- **Does the party have autonomous bodies for women?**
  In many cases, women are underrepresented in senior leadership positions before, during, and after political transitions. Given this imbalance, a key internal factor shaping women's influence within nascent parties is their degree of autonomous mobilization in and through pre-party organizations. If autonomous bodies exist, they should be considered and approached as important partners in the program. This should not be viewed as a separate "women's activity," but as integral to the work with party leadership.

Autonomous Party Organizations

An autonomous body for women within a party needs strong, coherent organizational structures capable of making demands on the party leadership. In many cases, parties will have organized women's bureaus or unions at different governance levels, but practitioners will need to evaluate the extent to which these bodies have autonomy to exert pressure or lead from within. For example: are women's representatives primarily tasked with ensuring women turn out for party assemblies, electoral rallies, or on voting day? Do women leaders of these bodies have budgets or strategic plans to provide systematic support for women in the party? Practitioners should also look at whether the emerging party's internal women's bodies have linkages to women's civil society organizations—strong ties between internal and external organizations can help push for a more explicit feminist agenda for the party.

- **Is there a history of women's broad-based mobilization in civil society?**
  The existence of organized, autonomous, and broad-based women's movements is key for pushing political parties to make gender equality commitments. Coalition-building between women in civil society and women in political parties can be particularly impactful, but requires the ability to set aside ideological differences and focus on shared priorities. Having women with strong links to feminist groups and organizations at the table in formal transition and constitutional negotiations can help ensure that gender equality commitments and parity measures remain on parties' political agendas. Such inclusion can also play a part in fostering related constitutional commitments, new electoral codes, and party bylaws.

- **What external pressures may affect outcomes?**
  The degree of gender inclusion within nascent parties can be influenced not only by these entities' internal characteristics but also by features of the transitions that gave rise to them. One example of this is whether a democratic transition process results in legislated quotas mandating women's representation across political parties, independently from parties' internal mechanisms; or a constitution-drafting process that also pushes political parties to make formal commitments to gender equality. Practitioners should look particularly for these characteristics and pressures during the initial assessment, which will help identify opportunities and potential barriers.

- **What structures for advocacy exist within the party?**
  Shifting the organizational culture of even the most nascent parties can be extremely difficult. Whether parties originate as armed groups, social movements, or factions of dominant parties, patriarchal norms influence how women are viewed and treated both formally and informally. Those that hold power in political organizations are almost always male, and are generally reluctant to share power. As a result, even as parties adopt internal quotas or comply with legislated quotas that require them to recruit more women candidates, women still struggle to land in the most electable and influential positions.

- **Is party leadership supportive?**
  Party origins can shape how receptive male party leaders are to demands for inclusion; previous ideological commitments to equality and social justice make it easier for women within such parties or in civil society to push for quotas or other mechanisms to ensure their representation. Across different contexts, party leaders often argue that women are not sufficiently qualified or that they lack attributes that would make them more electable in the eyes of voters. On the other hand, female politicians emphasize that male leaders actively block their advancement and do not do enough to build a pipeline of female candidates and leaders. Discriminatory gender norms also are manifested in the attitudes and behaviors of male party colleagues and leaders: challenges range from sexist comments to sexual harassment, psychological threats and intimidation, and even violence. Without buy-in from party leadership, these challenges continue unchecked. Practitioners must secure buy-in from leadership at the outset of any party program.
- **What structural barriers exist?**
  While transitions can bring about important institutional reforms, structural barriers to women's political engagement—such as an unequal distribution of household responsibilities and financial resources—rarely change overnight. Even when women secure a party commitment to quotas or other mechanisms that ensure their descriptive representation, they often still face barriers, such as sexual harassment or lack of childcare support, that keeps them from fully engaging. Often, male party leaders do not view these challenges as their responsibility to address. Continued external pressure on parties after their transitions is, therefore, critical to sustaining institutional gains and preventing backsliding.

Additional Considerations for Specific Party Origin Typologies

Beyond the questions described above, there are a number of items more specific to the transition context or party origin that programs should consider at the outset. As mentioned in the previous section, this guide does not pretend to provide an exhaustive list of all possible party origin typologies, but many of the examples provided below will prove useful in other contexts as well. Considering and answering these sorts of context-specific questions, in addition to the broader questions named above, before a program begins will provide essential information that should then inform all subsequent decisions about the program.

Nonviolent social movements to political parties:

- **Are there women in the nascent party with prior political experience?**
  Participation in nonviolent social movements can provide women with skills, networks, and legitimacy that help propel them into formal political roles following political transitions. As established players in the pre-party organization(s), they often enjoy greater influence and legitimacy within the movement, and may be ready to take on more political roles when the opportunity arises.

- **What forms of mobilization exist, either inside or outside of the party?**
  Movement goals can create an ideological basis for women's inclusion, yet concrete measures often depend on women's internal and external mobilization as well as senior leadership support. If women within a given movement do not have the capacity for autonomous mobilization, external mobilization of civil society for quotas and other institutional reforms is essential.
- **Are there semi-autonomous party structures that should be included in program work or outreach?**
  In many cases, nonviolent social movements have long-standing semi-autonomous structures for women's organization. These can create the basis for women to forge broader coalitions and make gender-specific demands of their party.
- **Are there non-standard leadership structures that should be taken into account?**
  Often, even established social movements will have a fluid leadership structure, or a structure that looks nothing like that of an established political party. As organizations emerge from a movement as a political party, program staff should work to understand the nascent leadership structures and ensure they are gender-inclusive and transformational. Practitioners should also keep in mind that a lack of formal rules may—whether unintentionally or not—effectively block women's participation if most leadership decisions are made informally or behind closed doors.

Armed groups to political parties:

- **Does the group have a history of challenging traditional societal norms?**
  Often, women's participation in armed movements challenges traditional gender norms and politicizes women members. This context will affect women's interest in and ability to take on leadership positions in the emerging political party, and may also affect the perceptions of women leaders by party members. If women have historically trained alongside men, they may have already begun to mobilize for gender equality as a distinct goal. Program staff should also assess whether women played a trauma-support role for male combatants or prisoners; programs will benefit from partnering with public health organizations that bring an informed perspective and resources on violence and trauma.
- **Have post-conflict fates differed for commanders and combatants?**
  In some contexts, female leaders active in their respective armed movements have made the transition into politics. That being said, most rank-and-file combatants, whether female or male, do not. For these ex-combatants, gender-sensitive Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) measures are essential. Programs should make sure they understand the pathways that are open for women ex-combatants, and what challenges they face that are different from their male counterparts.
- **What prior leadership roles have women filled?**
  Women who played leadership or political roles in their respective armed groups or in allied movements are often better positioned to take leadership roles during the party formation period. Programs should identify where this is the case and support women leaders in capitalizing on the opportunity to build a gender-inclusive party structure. This could also be achieved through forming women's networks and supporting women in gaining political skills.

- **Does the nascent party have a history of egalitarian ideals?**
  In some contexts, nascent political parties emerge from armed groups that have historically held egalitarian ideologies, making male leaders more open to supporting certain gender-sensitive measures promoted by feminist activists, such as gender quotas. Program staff should work with these leaders to build further support for gender-inclusive party structures, and ensure that women are represented throughout the party organization, including in top leadership posts.
- **What vestiges of male-dominant hierarchies persist?**
  Armed groups' hierarchical, male-dominated leadership structures can pose significant challenges for women's full inclusion. Whether or not these structures persist in the nascent parties that follow depends on the leaders' political incentives to decentralize decision-making, as well as the strength of women's mobilization. Program staff should work during the party formation period to support these aims, and to build understanding within the party that women can and should compete on the same political field as men. This should also include working with women as individuals to build their confidence and capacity to do so.

Party splintering:

- **What was the cause of the party division?**
  As dominant parties splinter, the cause of the falling out is important to understand, as it determines whether new parties will be reform-oriented or primarily concerned with seeking political power. This can then affect and shape the challenges and barriers women face to full and equal political participation.
- **What is the nature of the parent party? What internal structures is the splinter party replicating?**
  The characteristics of the original parties that new factions branch off from also matter, as splinter parties are likely to replicate institutionalized structures and behavior. Programs that work with splinter parties should prioritize working with leadership to identify and reshape structures and norms that exclude or deprioritize women.
- **What current or potential costs of cooptation and repression threaten the new party?**
  In cases where the original dominant parties are strong enough to effectively co-opt women, women may be less likely to take the risk of defecting to a new faction. Similarly, if new parties are met with repression, women may be less likely to join their ranks given the high risk of violence. In these cases, programs may need to take a targeted approach to cultural party norms, and to building the capacity of male allies to create a more inclusive and welcoming atmosphere for women.
- **What risks of marginalization do women face?**
  Political liberalization as the result of a splintering process can also disadvantage women, as they may be sidelined in subsequent fights for new political posts. While the emergence of a new party can create new opportunities for women, these opportunities must be actively pursued so that old structures and exclusionary systems are not simply replicated.

III. Using this Guide

The primary recommendation coming out of the research is that any program or intervention must begin with a clear understanding of the origins of the party, as well as the external transition factors that are shaping it. Without that foundational understanding, practitioners cannot responsibly identify which interventions are needed to support gender-inclusive early party development.

As such, this guide starts with a gendered political economy audit and a party assessment. By starting from a place of understanding, programs are better positioned to help emerging parties develop into effective and inclusive organizations, and to support them as they carry out the formal and informal commitments they made to gender inclusion and women's political participation during their initial party formation. However, the research also indicates that an audit and assessment should be merely the first part of a larger strategy: once these are complete, their findings should then be used to guide the bulk of the program.

About the Tools

Throughout this guide, readers will find tools to help researchers, practitioners, party leaders and members, and activists conduct activities and better understand the barriers and opportunities facing women in emerging political parties. Each section will contain specific "Tool Boxes" with these resources, including specific instructions, sample documents or presentations, and other handouts. In many sections, these Tool Boxes also include lists of additional resources such as websites, research, and manuals or references with useful information about the mechanics of assessment facilitation. The guide and tools complement each other and are designed to be used together, but they may also be used separately. For practitioners using an electronic version of this publication, the Tool Boxes will contain links to the resources mentioned.

TOOL BOX 1: ABOUT THIS GUIDE

Tools:
- ✓ **Report: Breaking the Cycle of Gender Exclusion in Political Party Development**
- ✓ **Summary of Early Party Development Research**

Working in a Short Transition Period

In an ideal scenario, programs focused on gender-inclusive early party development will have a comfortably long timeframe to work in, from the party's emergence and formation through transition and the first and second elections. However, sometimes that timeline can be compressed, either because the transition process is short and fast, or because of other limiting factors.

If the transition process is occurring quickly, and initial elections are set on a tight deadline, emerging parties can become fully focused on securing power, setting all "non-essential" issues—too often including the issues of gender equality and inclusion—on the back burner. In these instances, programs may need to compress the scope of their programs to adapt to the short time between the opening of political space and the election. While, in a best case, all of the recommended actions in this guide are essential and should be taken up in a program, in a shortened transition period, certain actions must be prioritized, while others are postponed. We have illustrated in the graph below which activities should be considered top-line priorities for programs to implement (*highlighted fields should be considered top priorities*):

Program Assessment Period	Party Formation Phase	First Election & Campaign Period	After the First Election: Continuing Support
Gendered Political Economy Analysis	Offer pre-transition support to women's groups	Provide support for the enforcement of party mechanisms for gender inclusion	Continue coalition-building activities with civil society
Early Party Development Assessment	Build support within emerging party leadership	Work with parties to ensure women have access to an equal playing field	Provide support for enforcement bodies
	Identify male allies and build their capacity	Provide women candidates with resources	
	Ensure gender-transformative transition support	Think through the media and socio-cultural landscapes	
	Provide targeted support for gender equality within early party development	Continue working with civil society to build coalitions and empower women candidates	
	Provide targeted support for women members		

PART TWO:
TAKING ACTION WITH EMERGING PARTIES

There are many key steps that policymakers, practitioners, and assistance providers should take to support gender inclusion in early party development. Whether or not a nascent party forms during a broader political transition, the particular support needed will depend on a variety of factors, including the origins of the party and its political context. The strategies included in this section should be viewed as a starting point; they must be guided by an initial analysis of the political environment as well as an assessment of the internal party structures and culture. This analysis may uncover specific barriers and opportunities for women's participation in the party that are not fully covered here, but are nonetheless pertinent and worthy of pursuing.

This section will detail the steps practitioners should take to determine which activities will best fit the context in which they are working to support gender-inclusive early party development, and provide tools to implement those strategies. The first chapter covers the Program Assessment Period, which details the steps necessary to determine and inform all subsequent program interventions. The activities in this phase are critical, and should precede any other activity in the program. The following chapters examine the three critical stages that emerging political parties will go through at their start, and present steps, and considerations that cut across many transitional contexts. These three phases are:

- **Parties that emerge from nonviolent social movements (NVSM);**
- **Parties that emerge from armed movements; and**
- **Parties that emerge from dominant parties that splinter.**

I.   Program Assessment Period

Understanding transition contexts and their gender-related characteristics is critical for identifying the entry points for gender-sensitive party support. Such analyses should investigate the political and economic landscapes present, as well as the sociocultural contexts. Where applicable, they should also examine the causes, depth, and length of recent or ongoing political transitions.

This process of understanding and identifying the challenges and opportunities present is not only essential for program staff to understand. It is also a critical part of equipping and supporting partners to push for change while preparing them adequately to understand the obstacles they may face in pushing for reform. It can take a long time to reach "best practice," and programs risk setting their partners up for failure if they are not sufficiently prepared for a slow pace of change, and are not equipped with the tools to sustain their momentum.

This guide lays out two forms of assessment: **a gendered political economy analysis** as well as **an early party development assessment**. These are not two options to choose between. Rather, practitioners should view these two assessments as equal halves of a full, holistic approach to understanding how best a program can contribute and support inclusive early party development. For a rough differentiation between the two halves, it may be helpful to think of a gendered political economy analysis as a way to evaluate the overall political and socio-cultural environment in a country, whereas the early party development assessment pulls out specific data and experiences within a particular emerging party.

The following table lays out—with a bit more nuance—how these assessments differ, where they can overlap, and how they complement each other.

Gendered Political Economy Analysis	Early Party Development Assessment
Timing: Before any program component begins; can be conducted as part of the process of initial program development.	Timing: Before any other program activities begin; can overlap with initial conversations and relationship-building with the emerging party and party leaders.
Objective: To examine the explicit ways gender shapes access to power and resources within the country; to examine the institutional, socio-cultural, and individual barriers women face in politics.	Objective: To examine current or potential barriers to inclusion and gender equality within an emerging party; provide insights into the needs of women members; provide perspectives and feedback from each level of the organization.

Components:
 • Collect secondary data and perform initial desk research
    o *Establish baseline facts about women's past and current involvement in politics*
 • Conduct interviews with key informants (for example, women's rights groups and civil society leaders)
    o *Gather a broad spectrum of views on women's participation in society and politics*
 • Conduct focus groups with activists, voters, officials, and/or civil society leaders
    o *Gather further perceptions and clarifications on previous data; also used to differentiate men's and women's political experience and engagement*
	Components:
	 • Collect secondary data and perform initial desk research
	    o *Provide an understanding of any established rules and procedures within the emerging party*
	 • Conduct interviews with party leaders
	    o *Reveal leaders' perspectives on the barriers to women's participation in politics, and gauge their overall support for gender equality in the party*
	 • Conduct focus groups with women and men party members
	    o *Gather detailed and nuanced testimonies of women's (and men's) experiences within the emerging party that would not otherwise surface*

Conducting a Gendered Political Economy Analysis

The objective of a gendered political economy analysis (GPEA) is to examine the institutional, socio-cultural, and individual barriers women face. It should explicitly examine how gender shapes access to power and resources, and should be informed by the perspectives of a diverse set of women.

Undertaken before programs even begin, a GPEA can help practitioners:[17]
- Understand how power and resources are distributed in the society, and evaluate the impact that may have on a program's activities and goals
- Understand the ways gender affects access to power and resources in the society, as well as the pathways and agents of change, and ensure women's voices are reflected in the identification of those actors and forces.

ETHIOPIA: GENDER POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS IN ACTION

Since 1991, Ethiopia has been ruled by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of four ethnically defined parties—the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM). After a protracted civil war against the "Derg" military dictatorship, the EPRDF established itself as the government until 2018; during those years, it formed a strong authoritarian regime that restricted political space while fostering rapid poverty reduction and economic growth through its "developmental state" policies.

From 2016 to 2018, political unrest and anti-government protests sprang up around the country, particularly in the states of Oromo and Amhara, upsetting the balance of the EPRDF coalition and structure. In February 2018, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, a representative of the TPLF, abruptly resigned. Coming to power in April 2018, reform-minded Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed pledged to open the political space and restore democracy, and committed to holding competitive, multiparty elections in 2020.

Against that backdrop, the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) began a three-year program to strengthen democratic institutions and processes that will advance reform and safeguard democratic principles in Ethiopia. At the program's outset, using an inclusive gender assessment framework, the program partners designed and coordinated a gender assessment to look at three primary focus areas: gender and elections, civil society, and political parties.

Using tested, rigorous data collection tools and politically-informed analysis, the assessment evaluated the status of women's participation in the electoral process as voters, candidates, and election administrators. Based on that data and analysis, the partners were then able to develop evidence-based recommendations for strengthening the gender-responsive, inclusive nature of the election cycle and beyond. The methodology prioritized inclusive stakeholder participation in data collection and analysis, as well as robust data triangulation and external validation practices. This information and detailed recommendations would then inform future program strategies to promote the full and active participation of diverse groups of women in the 2020 election cycle and beyond.

About Gendered Political Economy Analysis:
General political economy analysis (PEA), without a gendered lens, overlooks women as agents of change, and does not accurately reflect the gendered dimensions of power—which, in turn, can lead practitioners to unintentionally reinforce the same power dynamics that have systematically excluded and harmed women. To avoid doing so, practitioners should use the resources provided here, or consult with inclusive political parties or gender experts, to ensure they are carrying out a gendered PEA (GPEA) that includes perspectives from a diverse group of women.

Notes on Advocacy and Civil Society:

While the gendered political economy analysis (and assessment, below,) covered in this guide can be used to identify concrete actions, strategies, and steps that need to be taken to increase women's empowerment and gender equality within political parties, it is not intended to be a blueprint for advocacy. However, this toolkit does provide a foundation for any future advocacy, including through the development of party action plans, which can be used by political parties to push for internal and external change. Information alone does not create incentives for change, and advocacy conducted by political parties and civil society will be critical in turning abstract goals and ideas into firm steps toward implementation.

In transition contexts, relationships between civil society organizations (CSO) and emerging political parties—which in some cases, may have been CSOs themselves until recently—become particularly important. Continued external pressure on the party after the transition is critical to sustain institutional gains and prevent backsliding; women's organizations, partnerships, and coalitions across new party lines are essential for this to be successful. While this guide is focused on work with emerging parties, programs that aim to support these nascent parties should also include a focus on civil society groups, particularly women's groups, and their relationship with the party.

Civil society groups can also be particularly valuable resources for information when carrying out this GPEA; practitioners should identify the groups, such as women's rights organizations, that may be especially helpful partners for this activity.

The methodology utilized for a GPEA will depend on the country context and the amount of publicly available and current data. Based on that, programs should consider using desk or literature reviews and interviews with key informants, as well as focus groups and small group discussions. All in-country and in-person engagements should be conducted in line with ethical principles, including informed consent and Do No Harm principles, and with a focus on conflict sensitivity. Participatory and women- or girl- led methods are also recommended.

In many cases, deductive research in-country can be used to test or validate a theory or problem statement developed from the desk review. However, in some cases where data for external research or a literature review may be limited, inductive research on the ground would be necessary. Data will be primarily qualitative and may integrate quantitative or other methods as appropriate.

Collecting Secondary Data and Conducting Desk Research

A GPEA, especially one conducted before the start of a program, may include desk research, which will also play an important role in the assessment covered in the next section. This review produces a narrative analysis document without direct contributions from in-country exchanges or stakeholders; its purpose is to establish baseline facts about the levels of women's past and current involvement in politics, and whether existing social norms or institutional structures support or exclude their participation.

The desk review can inform proposal design, or be undertaken in advance of an in-country assessment or program. It comprises research on the country context, including an overview of the country's (or state's) socio-economic and political landscape, status of women, women and the upcoming elections, and conclusions/next steps. Depending on the needs and requirements of the program, this document could eventually be developed into the final gender audit report with information gathered from key informant interviews and focus groups undertaken in the country in focus.

Notes for Working in Political Transitions:

In a transitional context, it may be difficult to identify statistics indicating the status of women's empowerment and gender equality in the country. However civil society groups, especially those focused on women's rights, may have records, undocumented but critical evidence, or other information on socio-cultural barriers and norms in the country that influence women's ambitions and ability to enter or participate in politics. International organizations or academics may also have additional reports or research documents on the status of women in the country, which can also be a valuable source of information.

Ideally, such additional secondary data collection should be completed in advance of any other assessment activities, so that it can complement the GPEA and be used to help guide the assessment to focus on particular topics or listen for specific information within the established set of questions.

Key Informant Interviews with Relevant Stakeholders
Interviews with key stakeholders (for example, women's rights activists or civil society leaders,) are used to gather a broad spectrum of views on women's participation in society, politics, and (if relevant) the upcoming elections. In-depth interviews can be conducted one-on-one, or with a small group of key stakeholders to ask closed- and open-ended questions. The information collected in the interviews should then be cross-referenced with data collected through each of the other tools in the process of analysis.

Focus Groups and Small Group Discussions
Focus groups with both men and women—whether they are activists, voters, officials, or civil society leaders—are used to gather further perceptions and clarifications of data collected through desk review and interviews. This will also be used to differentiate men's and women's political experience and engagement in the electoral process. Focus groups with women are particularly important to understanding women's status within their homes and communities, including their perspectives on key issues such as empowerment, equality and security, and their perceptions or experiences of disempowerment and violence.

TOOL BOX 2: GENDERED POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS

Tools:
✓ **Gendered Political Economy Analysis Framework**
✓ **Gendered Political Economy Analysis Guidance Note**

Additional Resources:
✓ **Putting gender in political economy analysis: Why it matters and how to do it**

Conducting an Early Party Development Assessment

The objective of an Early Party Development (EPD) Assessment is to gather and analyze qualitative and quantitative information on current or potential barriers to women's participation and gender equality within a nascent political party. It provides detailed insights into the needs of women members in the party, including needs that may not be recognized by male leaders, as well as perspectives and feedback on the functioning of the party from each level of the organization. This information reveals differences in men's and women's experiences of party membership and activities, and other issues that inform action at the party or national level.

Parties emerge from a wide variety of origins. As a result, cookie-cutter approaches and interventions to support inclusive parties that adhere to key principles of democracy and human rights will not work. Each party will have its own degree of openness, knowledge, and opposition to such principles depending on its roots and the path it charts through the wider political context.

How gender is understood and treated by the party from its origin through its formation period will always be a critical aspect of how it conducts and perceives itself, and, ultimately, of its political success.[18] Assistance providers should fund and conduct a gender and inclusion assessment to identify how formal and informal characteristics of the pre-party entity, whether a small group of leaders or a full-blown social movement will impact the decisions made as the party formalizes into a political structure. These assessments should then inform the design of party-specific interventions; this may include supporting parties to develop a constitution, determining nomination procedures ahead of the first election, or defining a party's codes of conduct.

About the Early Party Development Assessment
Since releasing its first Win With Women Assessment in 2005 (followed by the updated assessment in 2018), NDI and the international democracy and governance community have made significant strides in understanding new issues that affect gender equality and women's empowerment in politics and parties, including the role that gender norms and organizational norms play in empowering or sidelining women.

This guide builds on that experience to focus specifically on gender inclusion during early party development, which requires different tools and questions to gauge a nascent party's capacities, effectiveness, and needs. For emerging political parties, gender assessments also provide strategies for harnessing the transformative effects of moving toward gender parity as they move toward political power. Further, a gender assessment creates an important foundation for determining specific, achievable goals that will address the underlying problems facing women in political parties at the individual, institutional, and socio-cultural level. These goals should, in turn, guide the creation of party-specific action plans, which will shape decisions about concrete actions, strategies, and steps that need to be taken for success.

Identifying a Researcher:

Sometimes, especially where there is time for a robust research process, it may be appropriate for a program to contract a researcher to carry out the EPD Assessment. In other cases, the assessment will need to be done by a practitioner already in place who does not necessarily have a research background. While this guide encourages hiring a researcher who is skilled in facilitation and data analysis, and has experience working with political parties and gender equality, when time and resources allow, in either case programs should ensure that whoever carries out the research:

- has an understanding of qualitative and quantitative research,
- has no past close connections or particular affiliation to a political party, so as to be seen as a neutral actor,
- has experience working with sensitive or private subjects,
- demonstrates an understanding of "Do No Harm" principles,
- is able to manage triangulating data from multiple sources, and
- is able to implement logical strategies for data management and analysis

TOOL BOX 3: PREPARING FOR THE EPD ASSESSMENT

Tools:
- ✓ **Desk Research**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Research Matrix**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment - A Summary of the Theoretical Framework**
- ✓ **Sample Criteria and Terms of Reference for a Research Consultant**
- ✓ **Questions for Interviewing a Potential Research Consultant**

Additional Resources:
- ✓ **Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties**
- ✓ **Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties - Assessment Tools: Status of Women & Violence Against Women in Political Parties (VAW-PP)**

Securing Leadership Buy-In

The leadership of participating parties should be fully committed to conducting the EPD Assessment. By securing buy-in at the start of the process, practitioners can ensure that the goals and purpose of the assessment are fully understood—and that there is a commitment to taking action after the assessment is complete. While emerging parties may be focused on short-term goals such as adding women onto its list of members or campaign ticket, these "quick-fixes" do nothing to address real organizational change or deeply rooted toxic behavior.

It can be difficult to encourage party leaders to take interest in an assessment; in particular, leaders and members may be resistant or hostile to the idea that forms of discrimination may be occurring within the party ranks. An assessment, even when its goals are benign, can be seen as threatening or accusatory to party stalwarts.

Compounding this resistance, new party leadership trying to find their way in a difficult or transitional political context may be narrowly focused on immediate, short-term goals; there is a temptation to shelve gender inclusion for "later," when the political climate might be less chaotic. This makes it all the more important to demonstrate in detail, at the beginning of the process, how the EPD Assessment—and the recommendations it provides—can be used to the party's benefit.

Successful Early Party Development Requires a Gender-Informed Approach

It is critical that parties understand how gender inclusion forms an integral aspect of their development as a democratic and successful party. This is not a separate or optional piece of early party support; it is a key component of how such support is provided.

Intentional outreach to explain the fundamental concepts and goals of the assessment can generate support, and can go far toward ensuring the cooperation of party leaders and members. This should take place alongside all initial conversations with new parties, not as a secondary activity or step. Even before the beginning of any particular program, when practitioners approach a party (or parties) initially, those conversations must also include the importance of gender inclusion as a key democratic and human rights principle. These early discussions are a critical moment to raise awareness not only about the rights of women to participate fully and equally in political processes, but also the benefits that women's participation and leadership can bring to the party itself. If they are to follow key principles of, and contribute to, strong, stable democratic systems, any political party has a fundamental responsibility to be fully inclusive.

To guide researchers and practitioners in these initial discussions, talking points and sample letters to political party leaders are provided in the Tool Box.

TOOL BOX 4: SECURING PARTY PARTICIPATION

Tools:
✓ **Criteria for Engaging with Political Parties**
✓ **Letter of Invitation to Parties/Participants**

Examples:
✓ **Burkina Faso Outreach Memo (French)**
✓ **South Africa Outreach Memo**
✓ **Win With Women Party Outreach Letter to Party Leaders**

Collecting Secondary Data and Conducting Desk Research

As with the GPEA detailed above, an EPD Assessment should also include desk research and secondary data collection. Unlike with the GPEA, however, this data collection should focus on the particular party being assessed, though it may also include information on the social, economic, and political status of women in the country, when relevant. Its purpose is to provide a better understanding of any established rules and procedures within a party; if there are existing governing documents, these should be included in the review. Ultimately, practitioners are looking to build their understanding about the levels of women's involvement in the emerging party, and confirm existing policies or mechanisms that support or exclude them.

Especially with newly-formed or nascent political parties, there may be no governing documents or records. In these cases, anecdotal evidence or other relevant information may prove useful to the practitioner administering the assessment. Ideally, the secondary data collection should be completed in advance of any focus groups or interviews, so that it can be used to help guide the practitioner to focus on particular topics, or listen for specific information within the established set of questions.

Civil Society Outreach

Researchers using the EPD Assessment should engage civil society organizations whenever possible. Building a relationship with civil society groups or activists can raise awareness of the barriers and opportunities for women's equal political participation more widely, and help position interested organizations to advocate for and monitor commitments from emerging political parties to address those barriers. This outreach is also particularly important when larger transition processes are at work; for example, drafting a new constitution or other negotiations that create or shift the country's formal power structures. Civil society partners, such as groups focused on women's rights, are often involved in the push to include mechanisms ensuring women's representation in these processes, and will remain key players in holding political parties accountable to their promises on gender equality in the long-term.

Key Informant Interviews with Party Leaders

Interviews conducted with leaders of an emerging party will reveal their perspectives on the barriers to women's participation in politics, and gauge their overall support for gender equality in the party. These interviews may lead naturally from, or be informed by, initial conversations by a practitioner with the party. In some early party structures, they may occur before any formal leadership has been identified; in these cases, the practitioner will need to identify who is making the key decisions for the party at this stage, whether that is an individual or a small group.

The groundwork that was laid earlier (in the GPEA, for example,) to understand the specific origins of the party and its leadership will be critical as practitioners identify the party's power-holders and decision-makers, even if there has been no formal nomination or election within the party yet.

These interviews can be completed separately with a wide variety of leaders within the emerging party; in part, a range of interviewees will help practitioners understand whether the top level of party leadership may resist changes or view agents of change as a threat to their power. To supplement key information, and depending on the time and resources available, practitioners could get broader perspectives from branch level officials, members of parliament, youth wing leaders, or others who might form part of the "middle management" in a party. While these positions are still at a leadership level within an emerging party, they form a slightly different group than national party leaders, and can be helpful in getting a sense of the different views within the party—as well as identifying potential allies or agents of change who can be engaged during follow-on assistance.

Additional tools and examples to guide practitioners conducting these interviews can be found in the Tool Box below.

SOUTH AFRICA: THE IMPORTANCE OF LEADERSHIP BUY-IN

The ANC has governed South Africa since the country's democratic transition in 1994. Founded in 1912, it began as a nonviolent movement fighting for the liberation of the country's majority population of black South Africans. Harsh repression by the apartheid regime pushed the ANC into exile, making it difficult to engage in peaceful mass action. In the late 1980s, worsening economic conditions, increasing internal dissent, and a changing international landscape brought the South African apartheid government to the negotiating table; in 1990, the government lifted the ban on the ANC and released senior movement leaders from prison while others returned from exile.

During South Africa's subsequent democratic transition, the ANC's senior leadership remained mostly male. By the period of party formation, however, women's liberation in South Africa had become a prominent issue for debate in the movement—and male leaders provided important rhetorical support for women's struggles. In 1990, the ANC's National Executive Committee officially recognized women's emancipation as a standalone movement goal, thanks to the lobbying of senior women in the party. The ANC's approach to structural transformation meant that it also committed itself to gender equality, enabling activists to press for specific gender equality commitments in the party formation period. Moreover, even though the ANC's male leaders were not necessarily feminists, several understood the relevance of gender equality to the movement's goals. The country's first president, Nelson Mandela, in particular, was open to women activists' concerns and offered support at critical junctures.

Focus Groups and Small Group Discussions

Focus groups provide a safe space for women members of the emerging party to present more detailed and nuanced testimonies of their experiences that would not otherwise come out if raised in a more public forum. Focus groups can be one of the most effective ways to gather qualitative information on a particular issue. Usually small in size (7-10 people), focus groups are a moderator-led discussion about the participants' experiences, feelings, and preferences about a topic. The focus group guides included in this assessment are intended for use with women members of individual political parties only—in part because it is critical for the assessment objectives to provide a space for gathering detailed data on women's experiences that men may not even be aware of.

Additional tools and examples to guide practitioners conducting these focus groups can be found in the Tool Box below.

Protecting Participant Confidentiality

To maintain the confidentiality of participants and protect them from any possible retribution for their involvement or the information shared, at no point should any participant be referred to by name or other personally identifiable information in the notes, analysis, report, or any other materials related to the Assessment. In all notes, participants' comments should be referred to by a number (provided at the beginning of the focus group, as detailed in the focus group guide), rather than by name. The personally identifiable information collected from participants should be kept separately, as a reference only. It should never be used in connection with the results or analysis of the focus group. Because the focus group participants will be asked to share information and opinions that are often sensitive and personal—and because there is significant evidence that women speak much less in group settings when men are present—the entire group, including moderator(s), should be women.

TOOL BOX 5: EARLY PARTY DEVELOPMENT ASSESSMENT

Tools:
- ✓ **Participant Information Form**
- ✓ **Interview Informed Consent Form**
- ✓ **Focus Group Informed Consent Form**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment: Nonviolent Social Movement to Party Assessment Tool**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment: Armed Group to Party Assessment Tool**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment: Dominant Party Splintering Assessment Tool**

Examples:
- ✓ **Participant Information Form - French**
- ✓ **Burkina Faso Interview Informed Consent Form - French**
- ✓ **Burkina Faso Focus Group Informed Consent Form - French**

Other Points to Keep in Mind:

- The origin story of a party may be different than what is widely assumed by others, or may be misinterpreted or misrepresented by outsiders. A critical part of this assessment should include developing a fuller understanding of the origin story of the party (or movement). This will include interviews with leadership and activists, which will inform the practitioner and the shape of subsequent program actions.

- Conducting a power mapping exercise as part of this assessment, especially with women party members, can be an effective tool to build their confidence and understanding of existing structures and opportunities. This technique, which has its roots in advocacy, allows participants to identify where and how they might exert their influence on an institution or individual on an issue.

Online Data Collection Considerations

With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, many programs are now facing unanticipated challenges, including the prospect of conducting all or part of their activities remotely. In doing so, they will need to keep in mind that COVID-19 is not only a health emergency; it is also a profound shock that has societal, economic, and political impacts. It carries a Catch-22 for women in that, just when they are needed most to build resilience and represent their communities, they are also facing new threats and a shrinking of the existing political space. Shocks tend to lead to a return to regressive rights and the withdrawing or withholding of rights that have been gained. This undermines women's autonomy and their engagement in public decision-making.[19] Women also shoulder a disproportionate burden of family health care and economic loss during a crisis; in addition, initial reports have identified increases in household violence against women, children, and elders during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Best practices for conducting an EPD Assessment would require focus groups and interviews to happen in person. However, stay-at-home orders and government-mandated movement restrictions have created situations where that is not possible. Where practitioners must conduct activities online, they should account for the following key considerations:

- **Maintaining confidentiality.** Before beginning, participants and facilitators must agree to not record conversations, share other's experiences, take photos or videos of the participants, disclose who participated in the program, or act in any other way that could put a participant at risk.
- **Back-up plans.** Within the program design should be a plan of action if someone drops the call or stops responding. This should include working with the people in the program to decide who will call back, how much time they should wait before doing so, whether they should initiate contact.
- **Evaluate access.** Programs should assess participants' technology access and the options available to them. This should include looking at overall access, the stability and strength of internet services, and the availability and strength of mobile networks.
- **Data security.** There should be minimal collection of the participants' identifying factors. Any paper documents that identify the participants' information should not be kept at the facilitator's home; facilitators should also avoid keeping paper notes on conversations with participants. To avoid this, program staff or facilitators should use numbers or code names to identify people in paperwork instead of their actual names.

- **Digital security.** All types of communication software have vulnerabilities that must be acknowledged and understood so that they can be avoided. Platforms that offer safety features like end-to-end encryption, "zero knowledge" encryption, and/or two-factor authentication should be used to further protect security and confidentiality. Additionally, programs should use platforms that do not require the participants to create an account or profile if possible.
- **Next steps.** When movement restrictions ease and participants are allowed to meet in person again, programs should follow recommended health precautions to safeguard the health of participants and staff. Explaining why these rules have been implemented and acknowledging the physical, mental, and emotional impact of COVID-19 will also be important.

Analyzing Assessment Data and Formulating Recommendations

Researchers should use the EPD Analysis Framework as a guide to synthesizing the data collected about the emerging party in order to conduct a rigorous and consistent analysis, and indicate the major risks, barriers, and opportunities regarding gender inclusion in the emerging party. Once the data have been analyzed, the full report should cover both general barriers and opportunities for women's political engagement in the country based on the dynamics of the changing political or transition context, in addition to the party-specific findings and recommendations for the assessed political party. For example, if the data indicate that adding an equality clause in the constitution during its drafting process would ensure that parties are more inclusive, this should be included in the final report. Programs should take these targeted recommendations and guidance for action into a continuing discussion with party leaders about next steps as they provide technical assistance to early party development processes.

The final report should ultimately offer information and recommendations in a constructive manner, presenting data on what the nascent or consolidating party may already be doing well as it forms, and offering clear suggestions and recommendations based on the opportunities identified during the assessment. As much of the assessment is focused on the origins of the party and how those origins have shaped it, much of the discussion may focus on how the leadership and social or other informal norms of the pre-party entity are interacting and impacting the choices the new party faces now. Framing the data and recommendations will be important; practitioners should continue to refer back to the report findings and recommendations as needed.

TOOL BOX 6: ANALYZING DATA AND WRITING THE REPORT

Tools:
- ✓ **Early Party Development Research Matrix**
- ✓ **Early Party Development: Using the Research Matrix for Analysis**
- ✓ **Early Party Development: Instructions for Writing the Report**
- ✓ **Template for Writing the Early Party Development Assessment Report**

Identifying and Sharing Recommendations:

With the report in hand, practitioners now have a number of clear and actionable changes that can be undertaken to support women's full and equal participation in the emerging political party. The rest of the program should follow on from these recommendations. As the practitioner continues their work with the nascent party and makes decisions about which recommendations the program can address, they will need to consider a number of factors. Interrogating the goals and limits of the program, in light of the findings from the assessment and GPEA, can be a useful way to identify or clarify next steps. Questions that help practitioners in this process may include:

- What is the most effective way for the party to take action to mitigate, address, and eliminate the challenges identified in the research? What kind of actions are you best placed to pursue to support that work? What opportunities exist that should be leveraged to increase gender inclusion in the party's formation?
- How do the recommendations for short- and long-term actions match your program timeline? How do they match any external time constraints and political processes (such as constitution-drafting, peace process, or electoral cycle)?
  - o What steps must be taken immediately in order for long-term strategies—such as improving or creating inclusive internal policies and ending impunity—to succeed?
  - o How can short-term and long-term strategies be targeted and divided into program interventions? How should the recommendations be structured to guide party leaders toward realistic goals? How will progress toward these goals be monitored and managed?
- What recommendations can be targeted toward leadership, and which toward party members, encouraging them to take specific preventative or mitigating action?
- At what levels must change occur? Does change at the level of developing party mechanisms require national-level or legislative changes in order to be sustainable?
- How will proposed changes to address barriers to women's participation in the political party be implemented and enforced?
- How prepared are women to step into more leadership positions? How will the party support their advancement, beyond prescriptive or superficial inclusion?
  - o Are women in coalition internally or externally? Are there existing connections or capacities they might be able to leverage?

Once the assessment and initial recommendations are complete, the practitioner should present the findings of the EPD Assessment to the participating political party. This can be done in different ways depending on the political context and other factors. One format that is often used is an Action Plan Workshop. These workshops are an opportunity for party leaders and members, guided by experts in gender and political parties, to identify and agree on specific actions they want to take to increase gender equality as an integral aspect of their party's structure and culture.

Action plans are a "blueprint for action" that should be modified based on identified needs or gaps and set forth concrete steps for accomplishing the desired change. Following the assessment, party leadership can use the Assessment report to create a map of specific steps to address the needs of women party members or leaders and the party overall. These internal party action plans could include internal party mechanism and party cultural changes, focusing on rules, mechanisms, and policies that regulate the internal workings of the party. Engaging parties as direct stakeholders in creating action plans to build an inclusive, sustainable, and resilient party helps ensure that the party, led by a group of leaders or other agents of change, owns the strategies and changes that are proposed, and the implementation that follows.

This discussion and agreement process takes on increased significance for emerging parties. Whereas an established party will already have entrenched formal rules and norms, a new party will still be in the process of defining its governing documents and expectations for its members and leaders. The workshop presenting the EPD Assessment, therefore, is a unique opportunity for parties as they create their internal rules for the first time, and can be an important moment in party formation. By ensuring the political party's rules included in its constitution and other governing documents are fully inclusive, the nascent party will take an important step in creating meaningful space for women's participation. Informal party norms and processes—which may already be forming, as members or leaders replicate informal structures from the pre-party entity—should also be addressed. Practitioners should look at these action plan workshops as a critical entry point for positive change at multiple levels.

TOOL BOX 7: IDENTIFYING AND SHARING RECOMMENDATIONS

Tools:
✓ **Party-Specific Action Plans**

Examples:
✓ **Global Action Plan for Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties**
✓ **Global Action Plan for Combating VAW-PP**
✓ **#NotTheCost Call to Action**

II.   Party Formation Phase

Even in situations where practitioners have the necessary time and resources to conduct a full GPEA and EPD assessment far ahead of the first elections (whether that is a first election in a post-transition country, or simply the first election the new party will be participating in), the program assessment phase detailed above will inevitably overlap significantly with the party's own formation phase. Nevertheless, practitioners should strive to complete the assessment phase before other activities begin; this will ensure a well-designed and thoughtful approach that addresses the true challenges and opportunities faced by the nascent party as it coalesces. This is a critical period, and taking the time to assess and identify recommendations first will put practitioners in the best place to provide support and guidance to parties as they form their formal and informal processes.

Each of the cross-cutting recommendations covered in this section should be looked at and adapted based on the initial assessment that program staff have carried out. They are meant to offer a starting point for thinking through what the program needs in order to be successful. Throughout any program focused on early party development, practitioners should structure their assistance to provide support on three levels: institutional, individual, and socio-cultural.

This framework is grounded in NDI's theory of change for women's political empowerment, which states that fostering an enabling environment for women's equal and active participation in politics requires change at all three levels. Political parties are a necessary and often essential part of the political environment, and must reflect change across the same three domains. The EPD Assessment examines all three of the following domains:

1. **Institutional:** the institutional barriers or discriminatory frameworks that limit women's opportunities to participate in politics, such as party policies, procedures, and other structural barriers;
2. **Individual:** women's individual confidence, capacity and connections—the skills and resources that women often lack to participate effectively in politics and parties; and
3. **Socio-cultural:** the discriminatory gender-based social norms that underpin women's inequality, such as the perception or belief that women are not as well-suited to be leaders as men, that politics and political parties are a man's domain, and other accepted norms.

What these specific activities look like will depend on the findings from the EPD Assessment and/or GPEA report. They should account for each of the following levels, but the interventions need not happen at the same time.

- **Institutional support:** Leveraging assessment data and working alongside an emerging political party's rule-creation work to ensure formal processes, such as nomination, selection, and recruitment processes for candidates, as well as rules defining leadership criteria and selection, are democratic and gender-inclusive.

- **Individual support:** Building upon women's existing capacity and networks to expand their confidence as well as their access to resources. This will come into play at different phases or levels, and may include working with the emerging party to provide training, or building coalitions and connections with women inside or outside the party.
- **Socio-cultural support:** Securing the commitment of men within the party to identify and dismantle patriarchal norms that inhibit women's full and equal participation in party processes or decisions. Or, working with civil society and media organizations to push back against harmful stereotypes and the anti-democratic behaviors they give rise to, such as psychological or physical violence directed at women who are active in politics or who seek elected office.

Institutional Level Support:

Without institutional support, even highly qualified women will find it hard, if not impossible, to succeed. The fundamental structures and governing documents of an emerging party, which are crafted during this formative period, must be inclusive and gender-sensitive in order to ensure an equal playing field for women and men.

Build support within emerging party leadership

Building support for women's rights, access to justice, and accountability in response to gender-based violence and women's political participation is critical, especially at the early stages of a transition. Research has shown that, often, women's rights are seen as a less-important issue during political crisis or transition,[20] and new institutions will not automatically be more inclusive than their old counterparts unless a concerted effort is made to make them so. If an emerging party's internal transition processes are not fully gender-inclusive, and/or do not involve women directly, the resulting new political structures or policies put women at a disadvantage from the start.

Key Points:
- In some contexts, especially where a nonviolent social movement is evolving into a political party, the leadership structure may be fluid. Working with the parties to identify leaders could involve a range of possible leader-participants, but it is important nonetheless to involve them. Building male allies and champions at all levels of the party is essential for achieving both short- and long-term goals for gender-inclusion.
- Building support within emerging party leadership can face additional challenges when working with a party that has splintered off from a dominant party, yet retains the hierarchies of its parent party. Broader socio-cultural norms that discourage women from pursuing political careers or even becoming involved in politics at all can also present further complexities that will need to be taken into account when working with party leadership.

Provide targeted support for gender equality within formal early party governing documents

It is critical that parties establish principles of gender equality in all foundational documents that direct how they operate, including those guiding leadership nomination and selection procedures. Such commitments can provide anchors for sustained internal advocacy for inclusion. Party assistance should also support party leaders in developing formal recruitment plans to engage a diverse swathe of female candidates. This is particularly important in a time of transition ahead of a countries' first post-transition elections. It is also important, however, to address the impact of patriarchal gender norms on internal decision-making processes and party structures. Targeted efforts aimed at securing or deepening male party leaders' and members' commitment to gender equality may be needed.

Key Points:
The transition from a movement, armed group, or existing dominant party to a new party will fundamentally affect how the party itself is being developed. Work with these new or transitioning political actors should include addressing any existing social and party norms that were identified in the EPD Assessment, whether those were formal or informal. Especially if these norms are informal, practitioners can work with party leadership to define formal norms, policies, codes of conduct, and mechanisms for inclusion.

BURKINA FASO: NEW SPLINTERS CAN REPLICATE OLD SYSTEMS

The People's Movement for Progress (MPP) was formed in January 2014 by defectors from Burkina Faso's ruling party, the Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP). Led by then-president Blaise Compaoré, the CDP consolidated power throughout the 1990s and 2000s, but after several years of rising discontent with Compaoré's centralization of power, his attempt to remove presidential term limits from the constitution was the pivotal turning point. A number of high-ranking party members broke off to form the MPP and contest his continued rule. Popular protests escalated, ultimately leading to Compaoré's resignation in October 2014. Following a one-year transition process, which was briefly disrupted by an attempted military coup, the country held elections in November 2015. MPP leader Roch Marc Christian Kaboré was elected president, and the new party gained a plurality in parliament.

Despite women's important role in the popular uprising that ousted Compaoré, the percentage of women in parliament actually decreased, dropping from 18.9 percent before the uprising to 13.4 percent following the MPP's election. The legislature's existing 30 percent gender quota remained in place, but the MPP leadership did not advocate its expansion during the transition process and failed to ensure that women were placed in electable positions on its candidate lists. Even though the party adopted a 30 percent gender quota for internal party structures, its leadership remained predominantly male.

The MPP was heavily influenced by the structures and culture of the CDP, which led to the low degree of gender inclusion in its early party development. Structural barriers and informal discriminatory norms weakened the CDP's formal mechanisms for women's representation, and although the MPP's founders understood the need to attract female supporters and emphasized women's inclusion rhetorically, they did not articulate a clear gender reform agenda to address these patterns of marginalization. Instead, they adopted many of the same structures that the CDP had. These measures enabled women's internal representation in the party, but did not remove the barriers that women faced when competing for nominations.

The existing institutional mechanisms aimed at increasing gender equality in the MPP did not force the male elites who held power to relinquish any control. Despite an electoral quota, women were placed in disadvantageous positions on candidate lists. Entrenched beliefs that men have an intrinsic right to wield political power and hold leadership positions are also at the root of women's unequal status in the MPP. Mandated institutional reforms alone, such as the gender quota, so far have been unable to change these gender norms. In addition, male leaders do not have any clear incentives to change the rules so as to increase women's participation. Instead, many of them view the increased participation of women as a zero-sum game: any gain in position, power, and influence for women must mean a commensurate loss for men.

Ensure gender-transformative transition support

Transitions from conflict or authoritarian regimes provide an opportunity to transform formal governing documents in order to create a legal basis for gender equality. All technical assistance provided to transition processes, such as support for drafting constitutions and electoral and political party rules, should include guidance on gender-sensitive institution building. During transitions, as part of this work, international actors should support the active engagement of feminist leaders in the transitional bodies negotiating new governing structures. Supporting coalition building and coordinated actions of civil society organizations and women's movements will enable groups to exert pressure from the outside so that key governing documents are drafted to include critical gender mechanisms.

Key Points:
- Ensuring women are actively engaged in peace or other transition processes long before the first election post-transition is critical. While the desire for stability and security often trumps all else, including gender inclusion, it is necessary to have women involved early on as equal actors so they are not relegated to support roles, and so that the barriers and challenges for women are not dismissed in favor of "bigger concerns."
- Understanding socio-cultural norms will be essential for this work. If women have been portrayed as victims during the pre-transition period (or as harmless side-players in the pre-transition context or conflict), that perception will contribute to the idea that women are not viable political actors.

- Opportunities for civil society engagement at this stage can also inform, encourage, and shape what women's participation in parties looks like further down the line. Outreach to CSOs, and involving or building the capacity of women leaders in civil society, is another important component to consider.

TOOL BOX 8: INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

Tools:
✓ **Building Gender-Inclusive Parties: Talking Points**

Examples:
✓ **NDI/UNDP: Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties**
✓ **NDI: No Party to Violence: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties**

Individual Level Support:

For individual women, especially those who are young or new to the political sphere, not knowing where to begin can derail or stifle their desire to become politically involved. They will need support to build their **confidence** (for example, improving their public speaking ability, or their knowledge of the political system), increase their **capacity** (to develop a message, run a campaign or an internal party body, and so on), and expand their **connections** (including their ability to network with party leaders and members, as well as with groups outside of the party).

Programs should offer support both to women's groups and to women members of the emerging party to ameliorate these stumbling blocks.

Offer pre-transition support to women's groups

Supporting cross-sectoral collaboration and movement-building efforts among women's groups and activists is important for ensuring coordination and readiness when political openings occur. Fostering exchanges and solidarity between women's movements in similar contexts and providing technical guidance on institutional reforms such as gender quotas can help women's groups and individual activists clarify their political demands before formal negotiations begin. Intentionally supporting autonomous women's organizations both financially and substantively may also help make civil society organizations more gender-inclusive overall. Such support should always be rooted in and sensitive to local needs and demands.

Key Points:
- Involving civil society groups (especially those focused on women's rights) in the EPD Assessment can be a useful way to begin a relationship for this intervention. Involving groups that have looked at violence against women will also be important, especially in post-conflict transitions. This can be a sensitive issue in a volatile environment, and therefore programming should be trauma-informed. Partnering with a local or international public health organization to provide referrals or psychosocial support as part of programming will be an essential part of this work.

- This work should also focus on identifying existing strengths in civil society groups, as well as extant or emerging coalitions or connections between different groups and with the emerging party.
- The relationship between parties and civil society organizations often shifts in transition contexts. The EPD Assessment should help practitioners understand how civil society has operated historically in the country, including how they identify leadership, how they have behaved during the transition, and how that has impacted levels of women's political participation and leadership.
- Parties and civil society may have an existing social contract or engagement, or they may be at a point where their relationship can be redefined. Practitioners can engage in this process to assist the emerging political party in achieving a more inclusive engagement strategy and a stronger relationship with civil society.

BOLIVIA: THE POWER OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZING

The Movement for Socialism (MAS) emerged in Bolivia in the early 1990s with the aim of defending the interests of indigenous peasant unions. Its transition into electoral politics occurred gradually: it first ran candidates in municipal elections, and its support base grew as social unrest swept the country in the early 2000s. The new party's ascent significantly increased the participation of rural, indigenous women in Bolivian politics. MAS spearheaded the adoption of a new gender-progressive constitution and a gender parity system for party lists; in 2010, movement leader and Bolivian president Evo Morales inaugurated the first parity cabinet. By 2014, women's representation at the national level exceeded 40 percent.

The case of MAS highlights the importance of internal and external pressure within the movement in driving gender inclusion. MAS emerged as a left-wing political movement that sought to empower indigenous communities. The movement initially lacked clear gender equality goals; its leaders suggested that gender inequities would erode once colonial oppression was overcome. The party's commitment to indigenous empowerment nevertheless meant that its leadership was open to indigenous women's demands for change.

Mobilization by indigenous women's organizations was central in pushing the party toward greater inclusion. After MAS rose to power, indigenous women's organizations leveraged their positions as key allies of the new government and their significant organizational base to make more explicitly gendered demands. They drew on indigenous traditions of complementarity to advocate gender parity in political institutions, pressuring Morales to appoint more women to cabinet positions. They also exerted significant influence in the Pacto de Unidad, an alliance that coordinated indigenous organizations' positions during the constitutional negotiations. As a result, these broad alliances demonstrated a strong commitment to representing not only indigenous demands in general but also the specific demands of indigenous women.

Another important factor in the success of women's groups at that time was their mobilization across ideological, ethnic, and class lines to advance women's political inclusion. Although Bolivian women had traditionally been divided between the urban, mostly mestiza, camp of feminist activists and the indigenous movement, after Morales's election, feminist groups recognized the need to overcome this divide. They organized workshops throughout the country and jointly campaigned with indigenous counterparts for laws on parity and violence against women in politics. This collaboration pushed indigenous women to articulate more explicitly feminist demands while simultaneously expanding the range of socioeconomic issues feminist groups had traditionally worked on. Coalition-building between feminists in civil society and feminist parliamentarians also ensured the passage of a new electoral law that operationalized gender parity principles despite significant resistance, including within MAS.

Provide targeted support for women members

Specific activities that build the capacity, confidence, and connections of women members during party formation will also build a launching pad for those women seeking a path to party leadership or nominations. Along with work to inform male allies, programs should include a component to build women's capacity as individuals.

Key Points:
- Review the information gathered as part of the EPD Assessment to evaluate whether women feel welcome in the party overall. In some cases, women who are active in civil society organizations and interested in increasing their political participation may not feel it is even worth moving into a political party; they may believe that remaining in civil society will allow them more equal footing to create change. To mitigate this challenge, it will be important to identify the barriers women see preventing them from entering the emerging party—and then to work with the party to dismantle these barriers.
- If a list of women party members does not already exist, work with women party leaders (formally or informally designated) to identify members and draw up this list; it should identify women members, their location, and any particular strengths, assets, or positions they have held. Beyond providing the party with important data about its women members and the gender makeup of the party overall, lists that identify women members and their strengths will help the party find women candidates for the first (and subsequent) elections.
- Workshops or trainings for women party members must include women from all levels of the party. This may involve adjusting the content of the trainings if women party members are at different levels of knowledge or capacity. Working with women at the center of the party, or from more elite backgrounds, will be different from working with women at the peripheries, who may also feel excluded or that the political system is not worthwhile to participate in.

- Look at existing linkages with women's movements and women in parties, and provide guidance to help women party members identify opportunities to connect with those women's movements or other women leaders. Programs can foster relationships and coalitions between women in political parties and civil society, encouraging them to work together and share resources between themselves.

Additional Resources for Individual Support

- ✓ **Advocacy, Research, Coalition-Building, & Negotiation**
- ✓ **Leadership 101**
- ✓ **Politics 101**
- ✓ **Women and Elections**
- ✓ **Women and Government**
- ✓ **Women and Political Parties**
- ✓ **Think10 Assessment Tool**

Socio-Cultural Level Support:

Political parties are never formed in a vacuum. They represent and reflect the views of their constituents. In turn, they replicate socio-cultural attitudes toward gender equality and women's participation in politics. Leaders and members alike may unconsciously replicate systems that are inherently exclusionary, or they themselves may hold attitudes that put women at a disadvantage. But to be ultimately successful, parties will need to reflect *all* of its constituents, including women. Addressing socio-cultural barriers to women's participation, therefore, will be an important step for practitioners to assist with.

Address patriarchal norms and attitudes

In established parties, women often report finding the internal organization and culture of political parties to be unwelcoming, discriminatory, and unsafe. Women who are ambitious and seek leadership positions are often mocked for being too "manly" and unfeminine. Commonly accepted but corrupt behavior within parties, such as the exchange of material goods for positions of power, takes different or more severe forms for women. They may face demands for sexual favors, rather than money, in order to advance, which becomes a form of violence that impacts and can prevent their ability to participate equally. Indeed, women face many forms of gender-based violence because of their participation in political parties and processes, including—perhaps most noticeably—elections.

Preventing nascent parties from replicating these same inequitable practices requires working with both men and women to address the patriarchal gender norms that privilege men over women (and also some men over other men), and prevent those norms from becoming entrenched as the status quo of the new parties' internal culture. It is important to do this work throughout any program working with emerging political parties, as men in nascent political party settings may often deprioritize women's political participation during political transitions. At worst, this may happen due to sheer sexism, ignorance of the problem, or a desire to maintain one's own privilege— but just as often, there may be a feeling that nascent parties have more pressing needs. Men might also be reluctant to speak out on gender equality for fear of reprisal from fellow male party members, or because they may not feel that they can do anything to address the issue. Ultimately these informal norms are codified by the formal rules and processes of the party. If not addressed at the start and alongside all other political party support, they significantly undermine any formal gender equality commitments made.

Key Points:

- Working with emerging parties to address patriarchal gender norms requires internal training processes to sensitize party members and leaders, especially men, about gender equality. Such training should include provisions to personalize patriarchal gender norms, deepen understanding of the broader contexts and dynamics of such norms, and undertake a commitment and strategy to change them (see box below). The goals of such training are to prevent patriarchal gender norms from carrying over into nascent political parties' organizational culture and to engage male members, particularly those in party leadership, as essential partners for implementing transformational change.
- Trainings must also promote and establish a culture of accountability toward the ideals of gender equality in general and women's participation in political parties specifically. This accountability should be considered on multiple levels:
    - On an individual level, it calls for men to **be aware of their own power and privilege**, and recognize actions and behaviors that further entrench patriarchal gender norms.
    - A culture of accountability calls for men to **hold each other accountable** for their own actions, most especially male leaders and decision-makers.
    - It compels men to be accountable to t**he experiences of women in their political parties.** Training on accountability should ideally be complemented by external mechanisms that allow civil society actors such as women's organizations to monitor and hold to account nascent political parties' work on equitable participation.

Masculinities Approach

NDI has developed an approach and tools to expose the impacts of patriarchal norms on political processes, and to build men's commitment and capacity to challenge them in alliance with women's own struggles for equal voice, visibility and power in politics. The approach comprises three linked understandings of how gender norms can be changed:

Personalize: Men in general are rarely engaged in discussions regarding gender equality and often lack awareness of patriarchal gender norms; they often associate the term "gender work" as work done by, with, and for women. This can be especially true for men in politics due to the disproportionate share of power they hold in society. Therefore, men must first be given an opportunity to reflect on patriarchal gender norms and connect emotionally and personally with issues of gender. This entails understanding how gender norms serve to privilege men over women, as well as some men over other men.

Through interactive discussions and activities, male party leaders and members can raise their consciousness around the impact of patriarchal gender norms on the lives of women and girls who are close to them, but also to deepen men's awareness of the impact of these norms on their own lives. This approach also takes into account diversities of masculinities, as well as how dominant forms of male identity, rooted in race, class, or other factors, may serve to marginalize men along other aspects of their identity.

Politicize: It is equally important to build on this personal connection by strengthening men's understanding of the broader contexts and dynamics of gender norms, as they affect the organizations they work in, the communities they live in, and the societies to which they belong. For political party members, this perspective is needed in order to manifest change to broader social norms, and not merely individual attitudes and behaviors. In particular, this is especially important in engaging men to work on change within the political institutions and processes within which they operate, as well as the gender inequitable norms present within internal political party cultures. This also entails identifying the specific issues of political will, space and capacity to make such change.

Strategize: In both personalizing and politicizing issues of gender norms, particularly as they affect political institutions and processes, party members must then engage in efforts to collectively strategize on how to change them. This will include strategies for personal, organizational, and social change. Programs addressing masculinities must thus provide an opportunity to think through specific strategies and commit to specific actions for change by participants. It must also include mechanisms for ensuring strategies remain accountable to women (especially those within their own parties) and broader gender equality efforts in general.

TOOL BOX 9: SOCIO-CULTURAL SUPPORT

Tools:
- ✓ **Engaging Men to Promote Socio-Cultural Norm Change in Politics**
- ✓ **Sample Full-Day Workshop Agenda: Masculinities, Power and Politics**
- ✓ **Sample Consultant Terms of Reference: Masculinities, Power and Politics**

Examples:
- ✓ **MenEngage Accountability Toolkit**
- ✓ **Promundo: So, You Want To Be A Male Ally For Gender Equality? (And You Should): Results from a National Survey, and a Few Things You Should Know**

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO: ENGAGING MALE POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS

In July 2019, NDI began a pilot program in the Democratic Republic of the Congo engaging male political party leaders across five political parties. The goal of the pilot was to engage male political party leaders in understanding patriarchal norms that enforce gender inequality within their parties, recognizing the types of patriarchal norms they themselves may be reinforcing in their own actions, and provide them with the ability to be better allies to women in their political parties in promoting women's political participation.

This was done via a series of workshops using an organized diffusion model. Party members first went through a workshop which sought to increase their awareness and understanding of the impacts of patriarchal gender norms within their parties and personal lives. A self-selecting working group was then trained on active listening skills before undertaking a listening session with members of their respective party's Women's Wing on their experiences confronting patriarchal gender norms within party structures. Lastly, a final workshop allowed all members to listen to female party members' experiences, as well as to bring participants together to strategize ways to become more effective allies. Overall, the pilot program was successful in engaging male political party leaders in understanding patriarchal norms. However, limitations remained in transferring more equitable personal attitudes to the political realm, where men were still resistant to change within political parties and were largely not accountable to their female counterparts.

III. First Election & Campaign Period

The EPD Assessment may reveal specific ways a political party needs to shift in order to support women and ensure it has ample candidates for its first election. These findings will provide important guidance for a critical phase in any political transition period, or following a party splintering. Depending on the timeline of changes happening within a country, it may be that preparations for the first election overlap—perhaps significantly—with the party formation period, or even the program assessment phase; practitioners will need to adjust their own program timelines to provide adequate support for these overlapping processes to ensure they are inclusive and gender sensitive.

Even when these processes do not overlap because of timeline constraints, they are still fundamentally interconnected. During the party formation period, practitioners will support party leaders and members to create agreement on norms, policies, and codes of conduct that promote women's full and equal access to party decision making processes. It is particularly important that targeted efforts are made, well before the election period gets underway, to ensure women can run in the first election. These mechanisms, once established, must then be implemented, with party leaders held accountable for their promises. Supporting the development of a strong women's network within the emerging party from the beginning of its formation, coupled with external pressure from civil society groups, is an important way of ensuring accountability.

During the campaign period in particular, party assistance should also support party leaders in developing plans to recruit a diverse swathe of female candidates, with a focus on the first post-party formation elections. Program staff should understand any informal selection practices that occur, often far ahead of the formal nomination and campaign process. They should also understand who has final decision-making power for candidate selection within the party: is it the head of the central bureau? Local leaders? This will vary by context and party; here again the EPD Assessment will be a valuable tool to identify potential entry points and barriers for women.

Institutional Level Support:

At the point of a first campaign, emerging parties may have already formed their fundamental governing systems and documents. Programs should then focus on supporting the party to adopt any additional formal rules surrounding nominations, campaigns, and elections, including adopting quotas or implementing formal candidate recruitment, training, and resource distribution systems. Especially during a broader political transition, there may also be external systems that practitioners should include in their program, for example, if there is ongoing work to outline the national electoral rules.

Work with parties to ensure rules are in place and adhered to so women have access to an equal playing field

If national electoral laws or party nomination policies require candidates to have some amount of economic resources or political connections, women are put at a distinct disadvantage. Emerging political parties must ensure that women candidates are not passed over simply because they cannot bring the same amount of resources as a similarly-qualified male candidate. Once the internal nomination, recruitment, and selection processes for candidates have been established, programs should continue to provide support for the party mechanisms for gender inclusion.

Key Points:
- Civil society and internal party networks can again bring pressure on parties to fulfill the spirit, not just the letter, of the law. If there is a quota for women candidates, for example, they can bring pressure so that parties do not relegate women candidates to lower or unelectable positions on the ballot.
- If parties have not yet worked out structures to support down-ballot candidates, the first election provides an opportunity to begin filling out those structures.
- Practitioners can also reframe the question for emerging parties that are more resistant to including women as candidates, or afraid that including women in prominent positions will hurt them at the polls. Provide resources and training that shows the value for the party in including women and broadening their campaign strategy.

TUNISIA: FORMAL RULES MATTER

Ennahda first emerged in Tunisia in the 1960s as a religious social movement that sought to revive Islam in Tunisian society. Confronted with other socio-political currents of the 1970s, the movement gradually embraced a more political agenda, a development that provoked harsh repression by the secular, authoritarian Tunisian regime. Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, Ennahda was forced to operate underground, as most of its leaders were either imprisoned or in exile.

Following Tunisia's 2011 revolution, Ennahda's exiled leaders returned to the country, and the movement registered as a political party for the first time. It began rebuilding its structures, relying on its existing support networks. In the 2011 elections for the National Constituent Assembly (NCA), the party received 37 percent of the vote and entered into a coalition government. Women's rights became a highly contentious issue in the lead-up to the elections and during the subsequent constitution-drafting process. Even prior to the revolution, Tunisia was known in the region for its progressive personal status code (which ensured gender equality in different areas of family law), high rates of female labor participation, and an array of gender equality reforms. Many secular Tunisians feared that Ennahda's rise would threaten these gains.

A closer analysis of Ennahda's track record with respect to gender inclusion revealed a more positive picture. Faced with strong civil society mobilization, party leaders supported a vertical gender parity measure, which mandated that parties alternate female and male candidates on their electoral lists. They also backed a vertical and horizontal parity law for municipal elections (which mandates that each list must alternate between male and female candidates and that parties must have the same number of male- and female-headed lists across all constituencies in which they are running).

Although Ennahda embodied a conservative view of gender relations, its leaders entered the transition period willing to make concessions on women's rights and other doctrinal issues to demonstrate their democratic credentials. The leadership's moderation proved critical during the transition.

Several features of Tunisia's transition pushed the party to promote women's political participation. President Ben Ali's departure in 2011 produced a significant political opening, allowing gender equality advocates to push for institutional reforms; women's rights organizations effectively mobilized for women's political inclusion, coordinating quickly and drawing on strong coalitions with labor unions and other parts of civil society. In addition, feminist lawyers secured representation in the transitional organs charged with designing the country's new electoral framework. Ennahda had political incentives to support their quota proposal so as to signal the party's commitment to democracy and moderation.

Most notable, though, was the adoption of a formal quota that requires all parties to alternate female and male candidates on their electoral lists, as well as a constitutional commitment to gender parity in all elected assemblies. The electoral parity rule ensured women's representation in the NCA, where many of them collaborated on institutionalizing gender equality commitments, despite challenging ideological divisions in the early transition period.

Institutional Level Support:

Women face many individual barriers to running for office, from time constraints because of care work to the connections needed to build campaign funding. Programs should work with the emerging party to ensure women candidates have the resources they need to succeed. This work should also include civil society groups that can provide additional training and support.

Provide women candidates with resources

Even where women have historically had leadership roles or positions of power before or during the transition period, they may not have experience with running a campaign. Indeed, depending on what kind of transition the party is emerging from, the entire campaign process may have changed. Along with the important work of encouraging parties to include women equally in campaign and nomination processes, programs should also ramp up capacity-building activities for women candidates.

Key Points:
- Provide women-only workshops, whether single- or multi-party, that provide a safe space for women to build their capacity and understanding of campaign structures, rules, and best practices. These workshops can also be important spaces for building connections and sharing information between women, especially those of different parties.
- Workshops for women candidates can also be a way to share information on building their financial resources for a campaign, via fundraising, for example. In other contexts, it may be important to ensure women are aware of their full political rights, strengthen their leadership capacities and self-esteem, or build their understanding of the quotas or other electoral structures.
- Provide opportunities for women to compete alongside male counterparts in controlled environments—for example, a practice debate—where they can practice the skills they will need during the campaign.

Continue working with civil society to build coalitions and empower women candidates

Any work begun with civil society organizations in the party formation period should continue through the campaign and nomination process. This may take different forms depending on the presence/strength of connections between parties and civil society, or the needs and strengths of women candidates. Whether there is a national political transition, or a dominant party has splintered, civil society provides key pressure and leverage to ensure women are able to run as candidates and win office in the first election.

Key Points:
- Women's groups are often the primary drivers of gender inclusion in a country; during election and campaign periods, they can provide critical pressure on formal institutions and political parties to ensure women's participation, and mobilize women at the grassroots level.
- Civil society groups can form monitoring collectives to channel expertise to women candidates, while also relaying information about the campaign and political decisions back to members of civil society.
- Especially if emerging parties don't follow internal or external enforcement mechanisms, building coalitions with women party members and civil society can help bring pressure on those enforcers to take action. Their activism can make it politically costly for parties to push gender equality off the agenda.
- Activities could also include, for example, identifying and training women from lawyers' organizations to support women candidates navigating electoral complaints and dispute processes.

Additional Resources for Individual Support

✓ **Votes Without Violence: A Citizen Observer's Guide to Addressing Violence Against Women in Elections**
✓ **Campaign Skills 101**
✓ **Communications**
✓ **Fundraising**
✓ **Leadership 101**
✓ **Leadership 201**
✓ **Management Toolbox**
✓ **Women and Elections**
✓ **Advocacy, Research, Coalition Building, & Negotiation**
✓ **Think10 Assessment Tool**

Socio-Cultural Level Support:

Think through the media and socio-cultural landscapes

Where the electoral system is not "winner-take-all," party leaders may be more willing to "take risks" with women candidates. In post-transition contexts, there may also be a focus on stability and power-sharing, rather than long-term democratic structures, which will influence how emerging parties and party leaders view women candidates and women's political participation. The transition and socio-cultural context will also affect how citizens view women as candidates or leaders. Media coverage can also have a profound effect on whether citizens view women candidates as serious or worthy of their vote. Practitioners should target activities to train parties and media alike to dismantle some of these barriers for women, and to avoid harmful stereotypes that can hurt women candidates.

Key Points:
- On a national level, work to ensure that the ballot qualification is well-understood, defined, and not too onerous. Where there are fees for those seeking nomination, work with election management bodies to waive or reduce those fees for women, who may not have the same access to resources as their male counterparts.
- Identify and work with key media figures to assess the media landscape for the election.
    - o This may involve a workshop for journalists or civil society actors on identifying and avoiding common negative stereotypes, or unintentional propagation of psychological violence against women.
    - o Or, it could mean working with media leaders to balance candidate access to airtime, to ensure women and men have equal access to that important resource as well.

- Work with parties to ensure they are actively taking women's experiences and perspectives into account, in order to avoid unintentionally excluding women from participating in campaign- or election-related activities. Party campaign meetings, for example, should not be held late at night, or at places inaccessible to women. Doing so prevents women from participating, whether that prevention is direct (e.g., if it is held in a place that women are not allowed to access,) or indirect (e.g., if women fear violence or gossip about their participation in such events or their presence at particular venues, such as bars). Likewise, parties should avoid last-minute notice for campaign or other party events; doing so often excludes women who cannot find childcare or are occupied with other professional or private duties.

Additional Resources for Individual Support

✓ **Promoting Legal Frameworks for Democratic Elections**
✓ **#NotTheCost Program Guidance**
✓ **Tweets That Chill: Analyzing Online Violence Against Women in Politics**

IV. After the First Election: Prioritize Sustained Party Support

Following the emerging political party's first experience with campaigning and elections, programs should continue to provide ongoing support for gender inclusion. While prior work during the party formation and first election phases will have established the necessary foundations for a democratic and inclusive party, patriarchal norms and attitudes often persist. Even when women are able to transition from informal roles in pre-party organizations to formal political posts in relatively large numbers, they will continue to face formal and informal barriers, discrimination, and violence for their ongoing political involvement. This will require ongoing work by the party to implement and enforce the rules it has put in place to address and mitigate those challenges. Providing ongoing support focused on creating an enabling environment for civil society is also important for ensuring that local groups can hold nascent political parties accountable to gender-progressive commitments made during transitions.

Institutional Level Support:

Structural barriers to women's full and equal political participation will persist past the initial formation of a political party and its first election period. Entrenched hurdles to women's political engagement, such as an unequal distribution of domestic responsibilities and financial resources, do not change overnight. While women in political parties and in civil society have made progress in advocating for quotas and gender equality commitments, they have been less successful in pushing for party support to address these structural inequities. Programs can play a useful role in continuing to support and work with parties to create truly inclusive structures.

Continue support for gender-inclusive parties

If quotas have already been adopted, subsequent priorities may include the creation or strengthening of parliamentary women's caucuses and coalitions, autonomous bodies for women in political parties, and party mechanisms that support greater internal inclusion, such as sexual harassment policies or childcare support for candidates. This should include continued work with those who are promoting and pushing for women's full and equal participation.

Key Points:

- Research has shown that in some cases, once women achieve initial political success, the pressure to maintain those gains falters.[21] This may be due to ongoing patriarchal aspects of nascent parties' internal culture which allow sexism to continue, as well as a lack of accountability mechanisms that promote positive change. Parties should be working consistently to sustain the commitments they made to women's full and equal participation and address any resistance or difficulties they may face in doing so. The process of engagement and reflection on patriarchal gender norms within the party should be ongoing, so as to increase buy-in at all levels of the party structure. This may entail establishing task forces or working groups on gender equality that can hold parties accountable.
- This work could spread to other party programs, such as focused support for youth wings of the party. Often, youth wings or other youth organizations are made up of young male party members. Work with these wings should also include support for young women, who face different barriers and challenges from their male counterparts.

SOUTH AFRICA: THE IMPORTANCE OF SUSTAINING WOMEN'S AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Women in the ANC emerged from the transition having secured both party-level and constitutional commitments to nonsexism and in favor of gender equality, as well as a voluntary party quota. A group of feminist parliamentarians successfully built on these gains to push for further legislation on gender-related issues. In the years that followed, however, several challenges to gender inclusion in the ANC emerged.

First, most of the women's organizations that had been part of the mass movements of the 1980s decided to merge with the ANC, and a significant number of civil society activists from the Women's National Coalition (WNC) moved into parliament. For many, this decision made sense; they had fought for national liberation and considered the ANC their political home. However, the result was the demobilization of large parts of civil society, including the women's movement. The WNC became a civil society watchdog with much weaker leadership and ties to women politicians, and subsequently it had very little impact on policy and legislative processes. In hindsight, many politicians and party members questioned this decision, noting that it weakened the grassroots base that could hold the ANC accountable to its progressive commitments.

In addition, the ANC's Women's League became less engaged on gender equality issues over time. Instead, it increasingly shifted back to its traditional role as an auxiliary branch of the party, and its leaders became less willing and able to challenge the party leadership. This was partly the result of a generational shift: the women who entered the party after the transition often lacked their predecessors' roots in the liberation struggle and had less diverse ideological, class, and regional backgrounds. Some scholars also argue that the ANC's increasing centralization of power meant that women were often promoted based on their party loyalty rather than their track record of activism. The choice of a closed-list, proportional system of representation may have contributed to this problem, as this decision allowed party leaders to marginalize so-called troublesome women and made female representatives accountable to the party rather than to local constituencies.

The consequences were significant. For example, the Women's League controlled the Office on the Status of Women responsible for ensuring attention to gender across government policies, yet a lack of resources and willingness to challenge the ANC leadership undermined the office's effectiveness. Ironically, the party's willingness to expand its gender quota to 50 percent in 2006 may have been sparked by the weakening of feminist activism in the party, a trend that may have made women's advances less threatening to male power-holders.

Provide support for enforcement bodies

During and following the first few elections, the rules, norms, and policies for election management bodies and other enforcement mechanisms may also shift. Supporting these bodies to ensure they also reflect best practices for gender inclusion is an important way to balance the playing field for women's political participation.

Key Points:
- Concurrent or complementary programs to support strong external enforcement mechanisms (for example, election management bodies or other regulatory organizations) will also ensure that emerging political parties adhere to gender inclusion norms or laws, and help hold them accountable to any promises they have made toward gender equality.
- The composition of a regulatory body is often important; if it is beholden to a particular ruling party, for example, they may be reluctant to strictly enforce these rules. If this is the case, women in parties and civil society can work in coalition to hold the bodies or their own parties accountable.
- Support for processes such as election monitoring can be particularly useful in between elections, when the monitoring bodies and organizations have time to evaluate the challenges of the previous election, and prepare to meet the challenges of the next.
- There may also be internal party enforcement bodies that could benefit from continued support, to ensure that the party continues to meet any internal or external laws, and to identify and address any new issues around inclusion that may arise.

Socio-Cultural Level Support:

Socio-cultural change within any organization is a slow process. Practitioners will need to continue targeted support for civil society watchdogs and women members of the party to push for women's continued inclusion; programs may also find it useful to continue working with male party leaders and members on these issues to build their understanding and acceptance.

Continue coalition-building activities with civil society

Again, any initial work done with civil society to build their capacity to push for women's full and equal participation, and to strengthen connections or coalitions between civil society groups and women party members can be continued in this phase of early party development. Gender norms change slowly, and institutional and legislative changes do not necessarily spur shifts in organizational culture or gender norms within nascent parties.

Even as parties adopt internal gender equality mechanisms or comply with legislated quotas, women still struggle against discriminatory attitudes and behavior, as well as threats and intimidation, aimed at preserving male-dominated power structures. It is for this reason that sustained, broad-based and autonomous women's activism is key. Influential women's organizations can be strong advocates for women's continued inclusion in political processes, and provide effective arguments that a political party's legitimacy depends on its commitment to women's rights. They can also mobilize to support activists within a party who are pushing for parity within formal or informal party structures.

A few resources on providing training and support for civil society groups interested in conducting advocacy or monitoring political parties' adherence to their promises for gender inclusion have been included in the tool box below.

Key Points:
- After the first and second election periods, these relationships and work with civil society may stabilize or take different forms. Different needs, opportunities, or tension points will arise as the political context shifts. Ensuring that there are strong existing relationships will help maintain the connections between parties and civil society groups.
- If an emerging party has gained national power in the election, women's organizations allied with the party can leverage their position to make more explicitly gendered demands. For example, if they can organize their base and draw on their ties with the party, they can make effective advocates for gender parity not only within the party, but also in national political institutions, such as a governmental cabinet.

- Women's organizations can also work directly with women delegates and other party or elected officials. Once they have identified these political allies within parties, they can bolster their standing in the party by offering legal advice, giving feedback on written drafts, or convening gatherings to raise awareness on gender issues. This kind of activism and collaboration can ensure that gender equality remains on the party's agenda, and help foster greater engagement on gender issues even among party members without a strong feminist agenda.

Additional Resources for Individual Support

✓ **Votes Without Violence: A Citizen Observer's Guide to Addressing Violence Against Women in Elections**
✓ **Political Process Monitoring Guide**
✓ **Advocacy, Research, Coalition Building, & Negotiation**
✓ **Management Toolbox**
✓ **Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)**
✓ **Training and Facilitation**

TUNISIA: LONG-TERM ACTIVISM

Throughout the transition process, Tunisian women's groups were the primary drivers of gender inclusion, pressing for a formal rule to ensure women's participation in all transition organs and advocating for gender equality clauses in the new constitution. Their activism made it significantly more costly for parties like Ennahda to push gender equality off the agenda.

Tunisian women's organizations benefited from a long history of mobilization, as well as strong coalitions with other trade unions and human rights groups. After the revolution, influential women's organizations, such as the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women, quickly formed a coalition to advocate women's participation in the transition process; they effectively argued that political parties' revolutionary legitimacy depended on their commitment to women's rights. Together with newly formed women's groups, they mobilized for gender parity on parties' electoral lists ahead of the NCA elections. This mobilization helped support the feminist activists pushing for electoral parity within formal transitional bodies.

Women's groups continued pushing for gender equality commitments during the constitution-drafting process, motivated in part by fears of Islamist pushback against gender equality gains. After the NCA released the first draft of the new constitution, which included a controversial clause referencing women's and men's "complementary" rather than equal roles in the family, they organized large-scale protests and successfully pressured Ennahda to change the language in the draft. Importantly, women's groups had the backing of other parts of civil society, including influential trade unions, and of key government figures.

Women's organizations also worked directly with NCA delegates. They strategically identified political allies within parties, including in Ennahda, and tried to bolster their standing in party debates by offering legal advice, giving feedback on written drafts, and convening gatherings to raise awareness on gender issues. Women's activism in this period ensured that gender equality remained on the agenda of the NCA and helped foster greater engagement on gender issues even among NCA delegates who lacked a strong feminist agenda.

Conclusion

Political parties play a crucial role in democratic politics. However, parties often reflect and are made for the political environment in which they operate, which in much of the world is one where men and women have unequal power. Processes of party formation represent a potential opportunity to break these patterns. The development of party structures, constitutions, and rules can enable women and other marginalized groups to push for greater representation. Moreover, party formation often occurs in periods of mobilization and political flux, creating openings to unsettle existing power structures and bring new issues onto the political agenda.

Conducting an assessment with emerging political parties can be a powerful tool to illuminate how power is distributed and maintained throughout the formation of a political party, and to identify future actions for party leaders, members, civil society activists, and practitioners. The EPD Assessment and program guidance provides a framework for practitioners and emerging political parties to identify the specific, strategic places where women's participation and empowerment are being hampered, as well as how it can be bolstered throughout the party formation and during the first few elections. Importantly, the base of knowledge established through this process will help emerging parties and their leaders to gain a deeper appreciation for the benefits of women's full and equal political participation and fostering a more inclusive, sustainable democratic culture and practice.

Master Toolbox

TOOL BOX 1: ABOUT THIS GUIDE

Tools:
- ✓ **Report: Breaking the Cycle of Gender Exclusion in Political Party Development**
- ✓ **Summary of Early Party Development Research**

TOOL BOX 2: GENDERED POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS

Tools:
- ✓ **Gendered Political Economy Analysis Framework**
- ✓ **Gendered Political Economy Analysis Guidance Note**

Additional Resources:
- ✓ **Putting gender in political economy analysis: Why it matters and how to do it**

TOOL BOX 3: PREPARING FOR THE EPD ASSESSMENT

Tools:
- ✓ **Desk Research**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Research Matrix**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment - A Summary of the Theoretical Framework**
- ✓ **Sample Criteria and Terms of Reference for a Research Consultant**
- ✓ **Questions for Interviewing a Potential Research Consultant**

Additional Resources:
- ✓ **Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties**
- ✓ **Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties - Assessment Tools: Status of Women & Violence Against Women in Political Parties (VAW-PP)**

TOOL BOX 4: SECURING PARTY PARTICIPATION

Tools:
- ✓ **Criteria for Engaging with Political Parties**
- ✓ **Letter of Invitation to Parties/Participants**

Examples:
- ✓ **Burkina Faso Outreach Memo (French)**
- ✓ **South Africa Outreach Memo**
- ✓ **Win With Women Party Outreach Letter to Party Leaders**

TOOL BOX 5: EARLY PARTY DEVELOPMENT ASSESSMENT

Tools:
- ✓ **Participant Information Form**
- ✓ **Interview Informed Consent Form**
- ✓ **Focus Group Informed Consent Form**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment: Nonviolent Social Movement to Party Assessment Tool**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment: Armed Group to Party Assessment Tool**
- ✓ **Early Party Development Assessment: Dominant Party Splintering Assessment Tool**

Examples:
- ✓ **Participant Information Form - French**
- ✓ **Burkina Faso Interview Informed Consent Form - French**
- ✓ **Burkina Faso Focus Group Informed Consent Form - French**

TOOL BOX 6: ANALYZING DATA AND WRITING THE REPORT

Tools:
- ✓ **Early Party Development Research Matrix**
- ✓ **Early Party Development: Using the Research Matrix for Analysis**
- ✓ **Early Party Development: Instructions for Writing the Report**
- ✓ **Template for Writing the Early Party Development Assessment Report**

TOOL BOX 7: IDENTIFYING AND SHARING RECOMMENDATIONS

Tools:
- ✓ **Party-Specific Action Plans**

Examples:
- ✓ **Global Action Plan for Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties**
- ✓ **Global Action Plan for Combating VAW-PP**
- ✓ **#NotTheCost Call to Action**

TOOL BOX 8: INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

Tools:
- ✓ **Building Gender-Inclusive Parties: Talking Points**

Examples:
- ✓ **NDI/UNDP: Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties**
- ✓ **NDI: No Party to Violence: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties**

TOOL BOX 9: SOCIO-CULTURAL SUPPORT

Tools:
- ✓ **Engaging Men to Promote Socio-Cultural Norm Change in Politics**
- ✓ **Sample Full-Day Workshop Agenda: Masculinities, Power and Politics**
- ✓ **Sample Consultant Terms of Reference: Masculinities, Power and Politics**

Examples:
- ✓ **MenEngage Accountability Toolkit**
- ✓ **Promundo: So, You Want To Be A Male Ally For Gender Equality? (And You Should): Results from a National Survey, and a Few Things You Should Know**

Endnotes

1   NDI, "Win With Women."

2   Ibid.

3   Teresa Sacchet, "Political Parties: When Do They Work for Women?" iKNOW Politics, December 2005, https://www.iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/political_parties_when_do_they_work_for_women.pdf.

4   NDI. #NotTheCost: Stopping Violence Against Women in Politics.

5   Pew Research Center. (2019, April 26). More dissatisfaction with democracy among those who say elected officials do not care what ordinary people think. https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/04/29/many-across-the-globe-are-dissatisfied-with-how-democracy-is-working/pg_2019-04-29_global-views-of-democracy_0-04/

6   United Nations (UN), "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," UN, http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

7   Amanda Clayton and Par Zetterberg, "Quota Shocks: Electoral Gender Quotas and Government Spending Priorities Worldwide," The Journal of Politics 80, no. 3 (2018): 916–32; Lena Wangnerud, "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation," Annual Review of Political Science 12, no. 1 (2009): 51–69; Li-Ju Chen, "Female Policymaker and Educational Expenditure: Cross-Country Evidence," IDEAS, 2008, https://ideas.repec.org/p/hhs/sunrpe/2008_0001.html; Chandan Kumar Jha, Sudipta Sarangi, "Women and Corruption: What Positions Must They Hold to Make a Difference?" Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization 151 (2018): 219–33; Erik Melander, "Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict," International Studies Quarterly 49, no. 4 (2005): 695–714; Jacqueline H.R. Demeritt, Angela D. Nichols, and Eliza G. Kelly, "Female Participation and Civil War Relapse," Civil Wars 16, no. 3 (2014): 346–68; and Valerie Hudson et al., Sex and World Peace (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

8   Pablo Casas-Arce and Albert Saiz, "Women and Power: Unpopular, Unwilling, or Held Back?" Journal of Political Economy 123, no. 3 (2015): 641–69; and NDI, "Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties," NDI, 2018, https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/WWWMethodology%20%281%29.pdf.

9   NDI, "Win With Women."

10   National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). (2014). Political Party Programming Guide. Washington, D.C. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Political_Party_Programming_Guide.pdf

11   Aili Marie Tripp, Women and Power in Postconflict Africa (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

12   Nanako Tamaru and Marie O'Reilly, "How Women Influence Constitution Making After Conflict and Unrest," Center for Inclusive Security, January 2018, https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/How-Women-Influence-Constitution-Making.pdf.

13   Nanako Tamaru and Marie O'Reilly, "How Women Influence Constitution Making After Conflict and Unrest," Center for Inclusive Security, January 2018, https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/How-Women-Influence-Constitution-Making.pdf.

14   National Democratic Institute. Reflect, Reform, Reengage: A Blueprint for 21st Century Parties. 2017.

15   This research focused on parties that emerged from armed movements, social movements, and dominant parties that splinter, including the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Ennahda in Tunisia, and the Mouvement pour le Peuple et le Progrès (MPP) in Burkina Faso.

16   "Breaking the Cycle of Exclusion in Political Party Development," The National Democratic Institute and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 2020. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Breaking%20the%20Cycle%20of%20Gender%20Exclusion%20in%20Political%20Party%20Development%20%281%29.pdf

17   Gender & Development Network, Putting gender in political economy analysis: why it matters and how to do it.

18   Hudson, Valerie, Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen. The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide. March 2020.

19   "Women, Business and the Law 2018," World Bank, 2018. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/926401524803880673/pdf/125804-PUB-REPLACEMENT-PUBLIC.pdf

20   "Breaking the Cycle of Exclusion in Political Party Development," The National Democratic Institute and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 2020. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Breaking%20the%20Cycle%20of%20Gender%20Exclusion%20in%20Political%20Party%20Development%20%281%29.pdf

21   Ibid.