

WIN WITH WOMEN

**Building Inclusive
21st Century Parties**



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WIN WITH WOMEN:

Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties

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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, and for inclusive and responsive government. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies.

FOREWORD

For the last 35 years, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) has worked with democratic activists around the world in pursuit of equitable, inclusive and resilient democracies, where women's political participation and leadership is significant and meaningful. As pivotal institutions within democracies, political parties have always been key pathways for women's aspirations to political leadership.

Recognizing this, on Human Rights Day in 2003, NDI chairman and former US Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright, along with 36 international women political leaders, launched the Win With Women (WWW) Global Action Plan and Political Party Assessment Tool, to promote strategies for increasing women's political party leadership worldwide. Since then more than 100 political parties have used the WWW framework to promote women's political participation as voters, candidates, party activists and elected officials.

This new tool kit—*Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties*—is NDI's latest addition to its extensive and long-term political party support work. The publication is grounded in NDI's 2017 review of political party assistance,* and includes lessons learned since the launch of the original WWW Global Action Plan in 2003, coupled with a new understanding of how political women's experience of violence remains a key barrier to achieving full gender equality and women's empowerment in politics.

The new WWW Assessment, as reflected in this report, allows NDI to continue to play a critical role in facilitating dialogue within political parties and among their memberships on how to build more inclusive and representative democratic institutions that set them up for success. There has rarely been a more important democratic moment for this to be a priority. At its best, democracy taps into and empowers all, equally—women, men, persons with disabilities, youth, everyone—to maximize a nation's, and the globe's, full potential. We hope this Assessment will be a welcome resource to the efforts of political parties around the world, as they seek to represent, mobilize and be responsive to the aspirations of their citizens.

Derek Mitchell
President
National Democratic Institute

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* *Reflect, Reform, Re-engage: A Blueprint for 21st Century Parties*. National Democratic Institute. June 2017



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Political parties are a cornerstone of democracy, providing critical pathways for the political participation and engagement of citizens. Parties mobilize citizens behind ideologies and policies, select candidates for representative posts, lead electoral campaigns, form legislative blocs in parliaments, and if elected, implement a program of government. Women's full and equal political participation benefits communities and results in real gains for democracy and improved outcomes for countries.

Over the last 20 years, the percentage of women in parliaments globally has nearly doubled, and women are increasingly taking on positions of power within their political parties including as party leaders. Although progress has been made, women's participation in political life remains largely unequal to men's participation and barriers to entering and staying in politics persist.

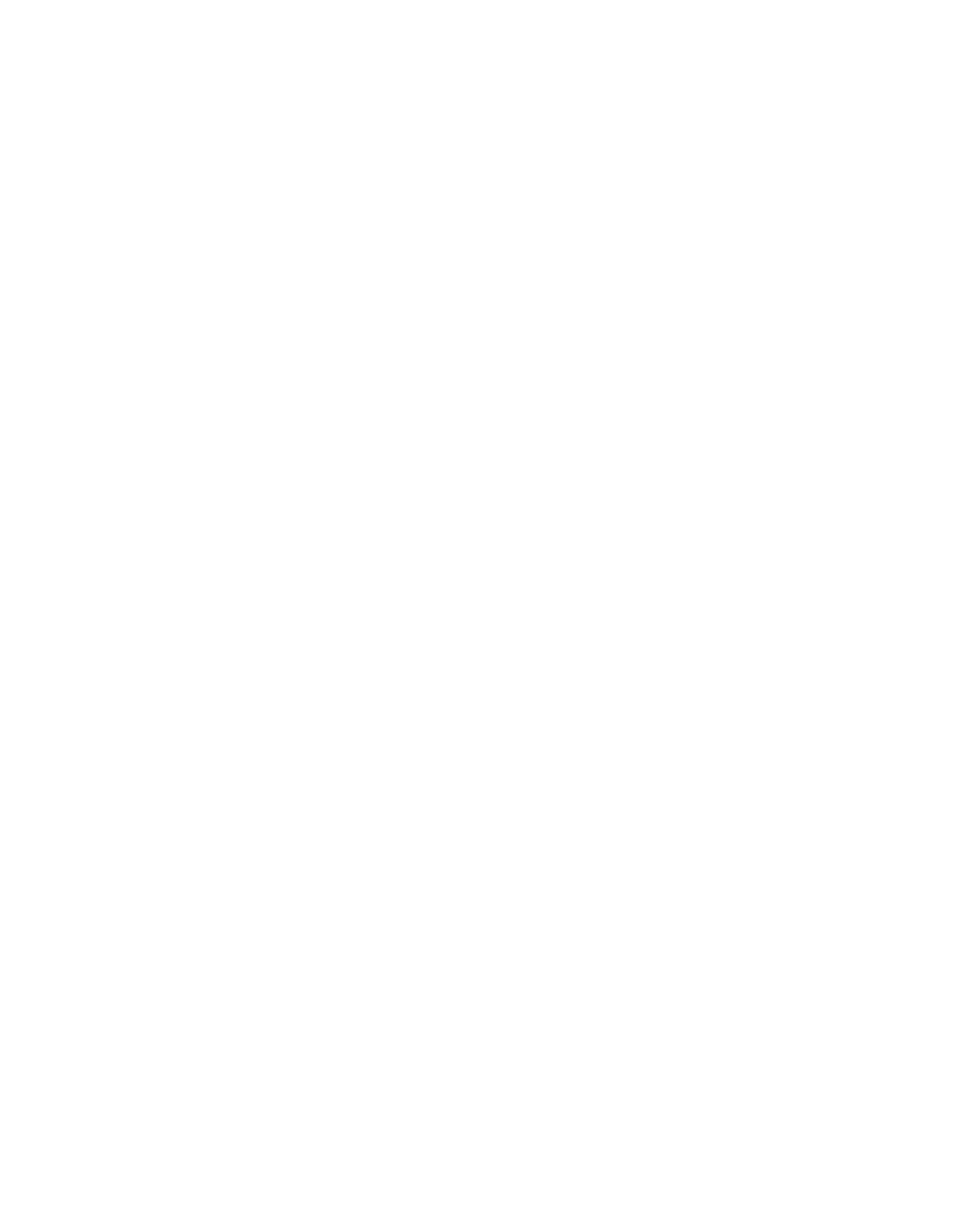
The imbalance of power between men and women in politics is rooted in entrenched gender norms that impact women's access to the skills and resources needed to move up the pipeline to elected office. As evidenced by research and experience, there is a limit to the degree to which individual capacity-building and mandated institutional reforms can change these power dynamics.

Fifteen years have passed since the release of NDI's *Win With Women: Global Action Plan in 2003*, which issued practical recommendations to help political parties broaden their appeal by becoming more inclusive and representative. Since then, the accompanying Win With Women Political Party Assessment (WWW Assessment or Assessment) has been used by more than 100 political parties globally.

The *Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties* publication and updated WWW Assessment encompass lessons learned over the last 15 fifteen years coupled with new foci on issues like the impact of entrenched gender norms and organizational structures on women's political participation. The updated Assessment includes new tools and questions to help researchers gauge men and women's perceptions of women in leadership, the types of social norms held by members of political parties and society, as well as the individual, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers that exist to prevent the full achievement of gender equality. This publication and updated Assessment also reflect the increased understanding of violence against women in politics (VAW-P) as one of the key barriers to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in politics.

The WWW Assessment can be used in different ways; for example: to create awareness around the barriers facing women in politics; help parties become more responsive to the needs of their members and strengthen their ability to represent their constituents; and inform efforts by external actors who can effect change within parties or within a country at large.

It is NDI's hope that this publication can help researchers, political parties, activists and other key stakeholders continue to "reflect, reform and re-engage" on how to build inclusive 21st century parties. More inclusive parties are more resilient and more successful at the ballot box and in government.



INTRODUCTION

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. Women's ability to participate equally in politics as activists, voters, members of civil society, party members or leaders, government officials and elected leaders results in tangible gains for democracy. When women participate, political parties are more responsive to citizens' needs, there is increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines, and more sustainable peace. Women's participation in politics helps advance gender equality and affects both the range of policy issues considered and the types of solutions proposed.¹ There is strong evidence that as more women are elected to office there is a corollary increase in policy making that emphasizes quality of life and reflects the priorities of families, women, and ethnic and racial minorities.

Women's participation benefits parties directly and can lead to improvements in their performance in elections and overall strength. For example, following the implementation of a quota for women candidates at the local level in Spain, all political parties increased the number of women running under their banner. However, the parties that made *larger* increases in the number of women candidates also had a much stronger showing than other parties in the same locations.² 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.³

When political parties dedicate their efforts to supporting women's equal participation, some results are dramatic, some are subtle and some are achieved progressively, but the overall outcomes for political parties is a net gain in every case.⁴

Political Parties Represent Avenues for Entry

Over the last three decades, NDI has worked to strengthen democratic resilience through stronger, more contemporary, 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. This is important because resolving domestic political conflicts and responding to changing geopolitics requires strong democratic institutions that can mediate partisanship, ensure minority rights, and uphold the rule of law.

Parties are the gateway to elected office. It is political parties that provide the “training ground” for young or new politicians, and parties that recruit, select and support candidates for elections.⁵ As such, parties play an important role in supporting or frustrating women's aspirations to enter and participate equally in political life.

Unfortunately, political parties present significant challenges for women, who continue to be underrepresented in party leadership and lack access to established networks of influence, resources and mentors. Often, women do not enjoy the same support as their male colleagues and more

frequently contend with outright resistance to their participation and leadership, often in the form of intimidation and harassment.⁶ This resistance is rooted in patriarchal norms and an often universal understanding of politics as a zero-sum game by male politicians. Where they do 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,"⁷ 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. 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.



"I think that violence can happen in any political party. The principal reason is that a man feels threatened by the competence of a woman. If he feels threatened, then he takes a position of defense and we reach violence."

—Female party member,
Tunisia

The lack of transparency can also make it easier for corruption or outright violence to occur within the party. Most parties lack formal oversight or established complaint mechanisms that provide recourse for members who face violence. Even in contexts where complaint mechanisms are required by party regulations or legislation, party systems can be controlled by a small group of party elites and therefore violence, especially against already disempowered party members, can occur without meaningful consequences for the perpetrators. This confluence of history, tradition and gender norms results in parties that are 'protected'⁸ public spaces, which allow and enable violence against women within their ranks to take place. This violence is not restricted to physical harm, but also includes psychological, economic or sexual violence, as well as threats or coercion. It encompasses a range of acts committed in person or online that are designed to control, limit or prevent women's full and equal political participation. Violence against women in politics remains one of the most serious barriers to women's political participation worldwide and has serious repercussions for inclusive democratic societies.⁹

Too many parties around the world continue to be elite clubs that do not reflect the diversity of their communities, leading grassroots and citizen-based movements to repudiate the traditional relationship between parties and citizens. NDI's 2017 review of political parties revealed citizen concerns that parties do not reflect the voters they want to represent—women and inclusion are important in the public eye. Political parties must elevate gender equality and women's equal and active political participation high on their lists of priorities. If they ignore this, they face the risk of losing public support.

Gender Norms and Behavioral Norm Change

Since the release of the original WWW Assessment fifteen years ago, 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. Among those is the role that masculine gender norms and organizational norms play in empowering or disempowering women.

Over the years it has become evident that true gender equality in politics remains absent, even in contexts where robust political frameworks require political institutions to enable, support, and foster women's meaningful participation. While numerous barriers to women's full political participation exist, gender norms and structural inequalities remain at the root of women's experiences of disempowerment. These norms impact the quality and extent of women's access to political power: they are often deeply embedded in social and political culture, and codified by a country's political, legal and financial institutions. Further, the patterns and dynamics of women's exclusion vary across and within geographic areas, and can be impacted by multiple and simultaneous identities - including class, ethnicity, age, race, sexuality, and disability.

Research and experience have shown that there is a limit to the degree that individual capacity-building and even mandated institutional reforms can disrupt the imbalances in power between men and women that are rooted in shared gender norms in any given society.



“Even if they know you and they know how capable you are, because of that cultural belief that is dominant, voters keep on voting for men.”

—Female party member, focus group in Tanzania

These entrenched norms impact women's access to the skills and resources necessary to engage in political activity at any level, and to move up the pipeline to elected office. Addressing the impact of these norms on politics is critical for increasing gender equality in politics and political systems. A gender focus ensures that women's and men's needs, traditional societal roles, and experiences are represented and examined so that women and men engage, benefit, and access resources equally.

Research is beginning to show the impact that behavioral norm change can have on gender equality and women's empowerment, and this is evident in politics as it is in no other sphere. Much of NDI's work over the past 15 years has examined the ways in which norm change can be used to open the door to much-needed institutional change, such as the adoption of new policies or the creation of new institutions.¹⁰ At their core, social norms rely on those who believe in them resisting change. In terms of gender equality and women's empowerment in politics, change requires moving the current widely held perception of gender equality in politics as a zero-sum game for men in politics, to an understanding of the political, social and development benefits of gender-equitable politics.

Political Party Assessments as Interventions

Political party assessments are strategic and powerful tools that examine the operational capacities, effectiveness, and needs of a political party. Information gathered in this way can be used by parties to facilitate a dialogue within the party and between its members on the best way to improve and strengthen its democratic integrity, structure, and practice.

Gender assessments of political parties can provide qualitative and quantitative information on current and/or potential barriers to women's participation and gender equality; detailed insights into the needs of women members in the party, including needs that may not be recognized by male leaders; and perspectives and feedback on the functioning of the party from each level of the organization. This information reveals differences in men and women's experiences of party membership and activities, and other issues that inform action at the party or national level.¹¹ Gender assessments of parties not only take into consideration female gender roles but also masculine gender norms and how they impact issues of equality. This can unearth strategies for engaging male leaders as *agents of change and equal partners* who understand the positive and transformative effects of moving towards gender parity in political power.

Further, a gender assessment of a political party creates the base of knowledge needed to identify and address barriers to women's equal participation. This understanding helps party leaders and members determine specific and achievable goals that will address the underlying problems that women face in political parties. These goals should, in turn, guide their creation of party-specific action plans, which will shape decisions about concrete actions, strategies and steps that need to be taken for success.

WIN WITH WOMEN: BUILDING INCLUSIVE 21ST CENTURY PARTIES

Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties and the updated Win With Women Assessment build on NDI's extensive experience promoting gender-aware democracy and governance and political party programming in more than 60 countries. It draws on best practices and lessons learned through the implementation of the first WWW Assessment—released 15 years ago and used by more than 100 political parties globally—and through the #NotTheCost initiative to raise awareness and promote actions to end violence against women in politics around the world.

The updated Assessment features new tools for assessing men and women's perceptions of women in leadership, the social norms held by members of political parties and society, and the individual, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers that prevent the full implementation of gender equality. It examines the effects of party rules, processes and culture on women's participation and status within a political party. This includes their ability to access leadership and decision-making positions in the party, run for elected office as a party candidate, or influence the party's policy agenda. It also takes into account learnings about violence against women in politics, masculine social norms, and gender equality.

The updated WWW Assessment recognizes parties as organizational structures that can only increase and/or maintain gender equality through strategic organizational change. As such, it incorporates recommendations and tools for preparing organizations/parties for change and securing leadership buy-in, and identifies the systems and processes paramount to kickstarting norm change.

While the WWW Assessment 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. The Assessment provides the foundation for any future advocacy, however, including through event launches and the development of Action Plan guides, 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.

How to Use the *Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties* Publication

Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties and the accompanying Win With Women Assessment have been designed to help researchers better understand the barriers and opportunities facing women within political parties and gain a clear understanding of how parties can leverage existing opportunities to dismantle barriers and promote women's political participation.

The manual provides researchers with detailed guidance on and resources for conducting an assessment using the updated WWW Assessment Tool. It takes a researcher through each step of the assessment process, and indicates the information needed to make informed decisions about conducting an assessment and any advocacy efforts after its completion.

It consists of three parts: a methodology, the updated WWW Assessment, and updated Global Action Plans. Each section of the manual contains specific "Tool Boxes" that contain resources such as

instructions for conducting surveys, interviews and focus groups, and sample documents, presentations and other handouts. The Tool Boxes in many sections include lists of additional resources such as websites, research, and manuals or references with useful information about the mechanics of assessment facilitation. The manual and tools complement each other and are designed to be used together, but they may also be used separately.

For researchers using an electronic version of this publication, the Tool Boxes will contain links to the resources mentioned. Those using a printed copy can access the resources at ndi.org/win-with-women.



“I had confidence and passion about leadership yet I was voted out simply because I am a woman—not because I did not have confidence or capacity to deliver.”

Female party member, focus group in Tanzania

Theoretical Framework for the Win With Women Assessment

The WWW Assessment 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 the individual, institutional, and socio-cultural levels. Political parties are a necessary and often essential part of the political environment, and must reflect change across the same three domains; the WWW 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. 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; and
- 3. Individual:** women’s individual confidence, capacity and connections—the skills and resources that women often lack to participate effectively in politics and parties.

The Objectives and Core Research Themes of the Win With Women Assessment

The WWW Assessment has two complementary objectives:

1. To build a deeper understanding of the status of women and gender equality in a political party overall, including the challenges and opportunities women face to reaching full and equal political participation; and
2. To encourage reform and direct action to address the barriers to women’s participation and gender equality in political parties, including action to mitigate and prevent violence against politically active women.

To successfully achieve these objectives it is critically important to identify the root causes of inequality in political parties, as well as the barriers to women's political participation. To this end, the WWW Assessment helps researchers answer such questions as:

- ➔ What are the levels of women's **individual** confidence, capacity and connections?
- ➔ What **socio-cultural** attitudes or beliefs about women's participation exist in the party? Among different levels of party membership and leadership?
- ➔ What **institutional** mechanisms exist to remove restrictions, increase the number of women in the party or in leadership roles, or increase their involvement in decision-making?
- ➔ Does violence have an impact on women's **individual** status and participation?
- ➔ What are the primary root causes of discrimination and/or violence against women in the party? What contributing factors exist on the **individual**, **institutional** and **socio-cultural** levels?
- ➔ What are the **institutional** mechanisms, policies, rules or regulations that sanction or reward discrimination or violence within the party?

In order to achieve these objectives and gain a thorough understanding of the status, challenges, and opportunities women in politics face, it is important to study two interrelated issue areas. Together, these two components make up the full Win With Women Assessment:

- 1. Status of Women in Political Parties (SoW):** Provides in-depth information on gender dynamics within a political party, including those related to individual needs and capacity; barriers and opportunities set or influenced by party policies and structures; and the perceptions, beliefs, and accepted norms of women's ability and desire to participate and lead in politics; and
- 2. Violence Against Women in Political Parties (VAW-PP):** Provides detail on the violence that occurs within political parties, including the forms that violence takes, the contexts in which it happens, its victims and perpetrators, and its impact on women and on the party overall. Violence against women in political parties (VAW-PP) is a core barrier to women's equal status in political parties, and it is therefore important to undertake a close examination of how violence—and the acceptance of such violence—impacts women's status and their ability, confidence, and desire to participate in politics.

Together, the two components ensure that political parties undergoing an assessment are able to uncover a multitude of barriers to and opportunities for gender equality and women's empowerment. Both issue areas should be studied in order for the overall assessment to be considered complete. In this context, the WWW Assessment is centered on four primary research themes that focus on potential core problems or challenges to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in political parties. These research themes include:

- 1. Institutional** party mechanisms that foster or inhibit women's participation and gender equality;
- 2. Socio-cultural** attitudes and perceptions regarding women's leadership and participation in the party;
- 3. Individual** confidence, capacity and connections of women members; and
- 4.** How violence against women manifests in the party, including the impact of **institutional** mechanisms, **socio-cultural** and/or **individual** factors influencing men and women's experience of such violence.

Barriers and Opportunities Covered by the Win With Women Assessment

The WWW Assessment is designed to collect a range of information necessary to understand the barriers and opportunities facing women within political parties and help parties understand how they can leverage existing opportunities and dismantle barriers. Barriers and opportunities can run along a wide spectrum, and are present in the individual, institutional, and socio-cultural domains alike. They can vary greatly, even between different parties in the same country. The following table provides an illustrative overview of the barriers and opportunities that the WWW Assessment may uncover within each of the three levels of the theory of change.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES COVERED BY THE WWW ASSESSMENT		
BARRIERS		
Institutional	Socio-cultural	Individual
The national legal framework and party governing documents are gender-neutral, gender-blind or misogynistic	There is a perception that intimidation, harassment or other violence against a woman party member by party leaders or other party members is acceptable behavior or politics as usual	Women lack the resources and support from their parties to have the capacity, skills, knowledge and connections necessary to succeed in political parties
Parties have no targeted rules or practices to identify, attract, recruit, support and promote female members	Party leaders do not see value in increasing women's representation and in promoting women's leadership within the party due to entrenched gender norms in society at large regarding women's participation in public life	Women are afraid to contradict or demand power/positions of their party leadership for fear of reprisal in the form of violence or removal from the party
Nomination, and candidate and party leadership selection processes are non-transparent and/or corrupt	Conservative cultural norms exist and are replicated within party culture that support the unequal status of men and women in society	Women lack the confidence to volunteer or run for positions in the party, or to speak up and share their opinions because they do not believe they have the skills to succeed
OPPORTUNITIES		
Institutional	Socio-cultural	Individual
There are national or party-level electoral quotas for women	Party leaders see value in increasing women's representation and in promoting women's leadership within the party	Women party members' leadership skills, requisite for party work, are strong Women party members are well informed on technical areas related to politics and governance Women party members are connected to other leaders who can provide support
Existing women's wing provides support for women within the party and a pathway for women's representation in party platforms	Party leaders are supportive of making internal party reforms to increase women's leadership in the party	Women are in key high level decision-making positions within the party
Codes of conduct governing behavior of party members exist		

Overview of the Primary Win With Women Assessment Tools

The updated WWW Assessment includes four primary tools for each of the Assessment components: the Status of Women (SoW) component and the Violence Against Women in Political Parties (VAW-PP) component. The primary tools include *secondary data collection*, *surveys for male and female party members*, *interviews with party leaders*, and *focus groups with female members*. Each tool is used to collect information from a specific source, including documents, male and female party members and other key stakeholders. Used together, these tools allow for a more rigorous and in-depth analysis than would be possible through the use of any one tool alone. The below table describes the purpose and sources needed for each of the tools included in the Assessment.

The process for conducting the WWW Assessment is described in greater detail throughout this publication, with each Assessment tool accompanied by instructions on how to use it, as well as supplementary resources for administering the WWW Assessment. Please keep in mind that as a general rule and best practice, the Assessment cannot be considered complete or comprehensive unless it includes all of the components listed in the table. Data collection methods for each approach may vary depending on what is most appropriate for different political or country contexts; in these cases, several options for administration are provided.

The survey tool for VAW-PP has been incorporated into the Status of Women survey tool. The purpose of this integration is so that, in the event that **only** the Status of Women component of the Assessment is being administered, the researcher does not omit the most important questions related to VAW-PP. This will be best used in circumstances where completing both components of the Assessment is not possible. In the event that both the Status of Women Assessment and the VAW-PP Assessment are being administered, researchers should omit the questions referencing VAW-PP in the Status of Women Assessment. This will ensure that there is no duplication of data collection, which could impact the accuracy of the findings.

ASSESSMENT TOOLS: PURPOSE AND RECOMMENDED SOURCES FOR EACH ASSESSMENT TOOL		
Target Group	Tool	Goal
Political institutions and legislators	Secondary data collection	To review existing party constitutions, rules, protocols, guidelines, and any codes of conduct related to gender and women, and the current status and position of women in the party
Women political actors	Survey	To gather initial information about women's experiences within the party, including whether they have identified or experienced any incidents or risk factors for violence.
	Focus groups	To gather information about women's experiences and opinions of their own parties, including their perceptions or experiences of violence
Men political actors	Survey	To gauge and measure male party members' perceptions of women's status or place within the party, and perceptions of violence within the political parties
Political leaders	Interviews	To inform party leaders and raise awareness of women's participation in the party and gather information on leaders' perspectives of women's status within parties

Recommendations For Action Based on the Assessment Findings

The use of the WWW Assessment should result in the identification of actionable changes which political parties can make in order to address the barriers women face, including the eradication of violence against women, within the party framework and membership. The Assessment and its accompanying Global Action Plans should be used with the specific intent to encourage positive change toward gender equality and a violence-free and enabling environment for women's political participation. This commitment to change, in turn, can strengthen the party's overall platform, image, or competitiveness.

It is important to note that the changes or actions that are undertaken as a result of an assessment do not necessarily have to address all three domains or all four areas of research. In fact, it may not be possible to take action in every domain or context—for example, in some cases financial or other constraints may mean that it is only possible to take action in one or two domains. This may mean that, while the assessment provides information relating to institutional, socio-cultural and individual level barriers and opportunities, the party takes immediate action in only one of these levels. Ultimately, decisions and actions that are undertaken as a result of an assessment should reflect the needs, priorities, and available resources of the party.

Regardless, the WWW Assessment and analysis should follow the framework provided in this manual in order to gather a complete picture of the challenges and opportunities that women face, and to better inform recommendations on the strategies and tools needed to address them.

The actions taken by political parties should be understood within the larger framework for change, so that unachievable results are not anticipated when actions only address one of the domains. For example, if a party chooses to address the individual domain by building women members' capacity, it must recognize that such action will not necessarily change men's perceptions that women are less qualified for leadership positions than their male colleagues (socio-cultural domain). Framing the analysis in the context of the theory of change allows the parties to examine whether this additional change may require targeted actions to shift male attitudes about socio-cultural norms and attitudes regarding women's roles in politics.

PREPARING FOR THE WIN WITH WOMEN ASSESSMENT

There are key steps that must take place in order to conduct the WWW Assessment with political parties. These steps lay the groundwork for party and civil society commitment to the process and to taking action based on the findings of the assessment.

Best Practices and Considerations for the Win With Women Assessment

When undertaking any political party assessment, there are some considerations and best practices that must be taken into account:¹²

- ➔ **The objectivity** of the researcher leading the assessment is necessary throughout the assessment process. The researcher should never project personal opinions either in the process of conducting the assessment or during the analysis. Identifying an experienced researcher who can maintain objectivity is critical.
- ➔ **Participation** is critical to the success of an assessment. The involvement and support of party leadership is particularly important, not only for the assessment but also the implementation of any actions that result.
- ➔ **Clarity** around the purpose and process of the assessment must be established at the outset and reinforced throughout the assessment process to facilitate understanding and buy-in. It should be clear that the assessment is not about criticizing the party, but instead an opportunity for the party to become stronger, improve its functioning and become more democratic.
- ➔ **Confidentiality** of participants is needed both to protect them from potential retribution as well as to avoid “socially desirable” answers that are given out of loyalty or fear. Additionally, from the beginning of the assessment, parties should be reassured of the confidentiality of the results. While general-level results may be shared with permission, concern over whether the raw data or granular analysis will be widely available may inhibit or prevent parties from participating.

Identifying a Researcher to Conduct the Assessment

A researcher skilled in facilitation and data analysis, and experienced in political party, gender equality and women’s political participation work, is vital to the successful execution of an assessment. The researcher should have qualitative and quantitative research experience, including experience with each of the types of tools listed above. When identifying a researcher, practitioners should consider the following:

- ➔ Does the researcher’s past experience with parties mean they have any particular affiliation or close connections to a certain political party? They must be seen as a neutral actor.
- ➔ Does the researcher have experience conducting research on sensitive or private subjects, such as violence? Do they demonstrate an understanding of ‘do no harm’ principles?
- ➔ Is the researcher familiar with the process of triangulating data results from multiple sources? Are they able to articulate logical strategies for data management and analysis?

Additional guidance on choosing a researcher for the full WWW Assessment or the in-depth VAW-PP focused portion of the Assessment can be found in Tool Box 1 below.

Tool Box 1: Identifying a Research Consultant



TOOLS

- ➔ Sample Criteria and Terms of Reference for a Research Consultant—VAW-PP
- ➔ Questions for Interviewing a Potential Research Consultant—VAW-PP
- ➔ Sample Criteria and Terms of Reference for a Research Consultant—SoW
- ➔ Questions for Interviewing a Potential Research Consultant—SoW

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Consultant Terms of Reference—VAW-PP—Côte d'Ivoire (English)
- ➔ Consultant Terms of Reference—VAW-PP—Tanzania (English)
- ➔ Consultant Terms of Reference—VAW-PP—Tunisia (English)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ European Commission: Guidance for the selection of evaluators with gender expertise

How to Conduct Responsible Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Research and Develop Referral Systems

Before any individual or organization can start an activity that may involve recording or asking individuals to disclose information about their GBV experiences, they must develop a protocol for referring cases to services that provide help to victims/survivors. To develop a protocol, researchers or practitioners must map basic services and care available at the national and local level for victims/survivors of GBV. This will require engaging individuals, civil society organizations and government institutions knowledgeable about where and how to access these services. In some countries, comprehensive services may not be available to victims/survivors of GBV, while in others there may be established pathways that can be shared with victims. Either way, this mapping exercise should include information about as many services as possible. Additional guidance for mapping victim services can be found in Tool Box 2, below.

Referral systems are critical for coordinating service delivery and facilitating survivors' timely access to high quality services. It is the responsibility of those collecting data on violent acts targeting women in political parties to connect women to such services. However, once referrals are made, it should be left up to the victims/survivors to make their own decisions about accessing those services.

Tool Box 2: Gender-Based Violence Research & Referral Systems



TOOLS

- ➔ Mapping Services for Victims of Violence

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Victims Services—Violence Against Women in Elections

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ WHO—Ethical and safety recommendations for researching, documenting and monitoring sexual violence in emergencies
- ➔ RCRC Consortium—Gender-based Violence Tools Manual for Assessment & Program Design, Monitoring & Evaluation in Conflict-Affected Settings
- ➔ UN—Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence Against Women
- ➔ WHO & PATH—Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists

Criteria for Selecting Political Parties for Participation

The WWW Assessment is meant to be conducted with multiple political parties in a country. Multiple parties provide researchers with a more expansive base of knowledge about party structures, practices and cultures, and the impact that these have on the nature and levels of women's participation. Importantly, this can allow for the identification of more effective and targeted strategies to improve women's participation, and mitigate and treat VAW-PP. The total number of parties participating in the WWW Assessment will vary based on the context and available resources. However, researchers should aim for at least three participating parties, in order to ensure that the data gathered is sufficiently broad to draw general conclusions about women's participation within parties overall.

Political parties participating in the WWW Assessment will need to fulfill certain criteria—such as representing a wide spectrum of political beliefs, structures and platforms—to ensure that the assessment findings accurately represent the country as a whole rather than one party's perspective. In general, participating parties should have a:

- ➔ Commitment to the development of a vibrant multiparty democracy;
- ➔ Broad base of support in numerous geographic areas of the country;
- ➔ Commitment to include women in most, if not all, aspects of operations; and
- ➔ Demonstrated ability to be competitive at the national level.

Additional guidance on choosing participating parties can be found in Tool Box 3.

Tool Box 3: Criteria for Engaging Political Parties



TOOLS

- ➔ Minimum Criteria for Engaging with Parties—Win With Women (SoW+VAW-PP)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI's Not The Cost Program Guidance
- ➔ NDI's Political Party Programming Guide

Securing Political Party Commitment

Before conducting any assessment, it is essential to secure the full commitment of the political party from the party leadership. By securing buy-in at the start, researchers 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.

It can often 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 violence or other forms of gender 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.

This is why it is important to demonstrate in detail how the WWW Assessment can be used to the party's benefit, starting with outreach to party leaders. 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. It is a critical aspect of raising awareness, not only about the rights of women to participate fully and equally in political processes, but also of the benefits women's participation and leadership can bring to the party itself. Talking points and sample letters to political party leaders are provided in Tool Box 4 to guide researchers in these initial discussions.

CIVIL SOCIETY OUTREACH

Researchers using the WWW 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 the political parties to address those barriers.

This outreach will be particularly important when conducted in relation to the VAW-PP Assessment. Civil society partners such as groups focused on GBV or women's rights can provide important information on the overall status of women in the country or underlying root causes for violence against women.

Once political party leaders understand the benefits of conducting an assessment, they can provide valuable and necessary access to party members and can facilitate the process of using the assessment tools. Party leaders should be interviewed as part of the Assessment, and they should connect the researcher to party members willing to participate in the process.

Although it is critical to secure party leadership commitment in order to access party members, leadership should not select specific participants. Rather, a sample of members should be chosen by the researcher that fits the criteria for participants. These individuals should represent a cross-section of party membership, especially those who participate in the survey; they should come from a variety of locations and should fill a number of different roles within the party, including rank-and-file members or volunteers. This is especially important for the focus group participants.



“There should be no discrimination of any kind within the party. It is necessary to eradicate the ‘rings’ of power or families that exclude many women.”

Female party member, focus group in Honduras

If party leaders do nominate specific members to participate, the researcher must take particular care in the analysis to avoid presenting any information in a way that could be traced back to an individual participant, thus opening up the possibility for retribution. The researcher should also include other participants in addition to those recommended by party leadership, to ensure that the results are not biased toward viewpoints favorable to party leadership.

Tool Box 4: Securing Political Party Commitment



TOOLS

- ➔ Talking Points for Engaging with Political Parties—Win With Women (SoW + VAW-PP)
- ➔ Letter to Political Party Leaders on VAW-PP
- ➔ Letter to Political Party Leaders on SoW

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Letters to parties—VAW-PP—Côte d'Ivoire (English)
- ➔ Letters to parties—VAW-PP—Honduras (Spanish)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI—Will, Space, Capacity Framework for Political Parties



“Women are in all the grassroots activities of the party and behind all of the candidates or the leader but they always ask us to take care of the kitchen, the protocols, the decoration.”

Female party member, focus group in Honduras

LAUNCHING THE WIN WITH WOMEN ASSESSMENT

NDI recommends that every WWW Assessment exercise begin with a launch event to introduce the goals of the assessment to key stakeholders and build a shared understanding of the importance of women's political participation for promoting strong, inclusive and democratic societies. These events bring together political parties, government actors, women's rights advocates and civil society members to secure party commitment and government support not only for the assessment but for taking action afterwards. The gathering can provide a platform to identify existing opportunities for action, including any strategies underway to increase women's party leadership within the country or region. A sample agenda for organizing a WWW/VAW-PP Assessment Launch can be found in Tool Box 5.

The launch event also provides an opportunity for gender equality advocates to speak about the issues they believe impact women's political participation and for political party members to engage in dialogue, laying the foundation for action both inside political parties themselves and from external actors. This communication channel is important in sustaining collaboration between these groups of stakeholders to remove barriers to gender equality in politics once the assessment is completed.

HOW TO HOLD A LAUNCH EVENT

Launch events that include live testimonies about VAW-PP should follow these guidelines:

- ➔ **Never oblige women to deliver testimonies they do not wish to give in public, or in front of a certain audience**
- ➔ **If the event will be recorded, or there will be media present, women should be informed ahead of time, and given the option to present their testimony without being recorded**
- ➔ **If confidentiality or safety is a concern, but women would like to share their experiences, consider supplementing live testimonies in creative ways, for example:**
 - **Presentations of anonymous testimonies by third parties**
 - **Short acted scenarios**
 - **A printed packet including anonymous testimonies**

Tool Box 5: Launching the Win With Women Assessment



TOOLS

- ➔ Sample Agenda: Win With Women (SoW + VAW-PP) Assessment Launch

EXAMPLES

- ➔ #NotTheCost Launch Agenda—Côte d'Ivoire VAW-PP
- ➔ #NotTheCost Launch Agenda—Honduras VAW-PP

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI's Not The Cost Call to Action
- ➔ NDI's Not The Cost Program Guidance



Surveys of men and women party members are a key component of the WWW Assessment. Since the launch event brings together both male and female political party members it can be a critical opportunity space administering the assessment surveys.

The background image shows a conference room with several people seated at tables. In the foreground, a woman wearing a blue and white polka-dot headscarf is visible on the left. In the center, a woman in a yellow headscarf is looking towards the right. On the right side, a woman in a black headscarf is looking down. The room has wood-paneled walls and a patterned carpet. A white table in the foreground holds a smartphone and some papers.

CASE STUDY: Tunisia

A key addition of the updated WWW Assessment is the inclusion of the issue of VAW-PP as an integral aspect of the research, including a set of stand-alone tools to assess its impact on women's full and equal participation in parties. In countries where the VAW-PP Assessment is used alone, it will be important to focus the launch event in a more targeted way on the issue of VAW-P and parties.

In April 2017, NDI convened a #NotTheCost launch event in Tunis, Tunisia. The launch event focused on bringing greater attention to the prevalence of violence against women in politics and how it manifests itself in political parties. The launch was attended by an array of political actors including members of parliament, party representatives, civil society activists and journalists. It also featured the participation of former NDI president, Kenneth Wollack, who delivered keynote remarks about #NotTheCost and VAW-PP. Mr. Wollack was joined by Tunisian legal experts, who spoke about the existing legal frameworks in Tunisia related to violence against women in politics, and the changes that needed to be made moving forward.

NDI Tunisia staff, Khaled Mnassri and Angela Short, spoke about NDI's #NotTheCost initiative and how it has expanded across the globe. Many attendees made comments underscoring the importance of addressing this issue and collaborating with all segments of society to do so. Political party members in attendance acknowledged they knew violence against women was a problem in Tunisian politics, and expressed excitement in taking part in the assessment and taking action to prevent violence moving forward.

The media covered the launch event extensively, with NDI Tunisia director Marie-Eve Bilodeau participating in several radio and television shows about the launch. Through this event, NDI was able to bring the issue of VAW-PP to a wider audience, and touch those who might otherwise be disinterested in this work.



CONDUCTING THE WIN WITH WOMEN ASSESSMENT

When conducting the Win With Women Assessment, researchers should frequently refer back to this *Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties* publication to ensure that they are accurately following the research and analysis methods. The four primary Assessment tools, described in greater detail throughout this chapter, work together to give political parties a full picture of the status of women within their organizations. They include: 1) Secondary Data Collection; 2) Survey Administration; 3) Interviews; and 4) Focus Groups.

Collecting Secondary Data and Conducting Desk Research

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

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

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



“What happens in the political party is a repetition of what happens in society.”

—Female party member, focus group in Tanzania

The background of the page features a photograph of several women in traditional Tanzanian clothing, including colorful patterned dresses and headwraps. They are standing in front of a building with a corrugated metal roof. The image is partially obscured by a large red rectangular box containing text.

CASE STUDY: Tanzania

Secondary data collection is vital to a complete and thorough assessment, as it illuminates the rules and procedures established in party constitutions prior to beginning the in-person investigative portions of the assessment. Additionally, discussions with external stakeholders, such as women's rights groups, can expose critical issues impacting women's political participation that are not addressed by party rules. This information can focus the in-person research with political parties on the key issues and barriers.

NDI conducted a Violence Against Women in Political Parties (VAW-PP) Assessment in Tanzania in June 2017. Prior to beginning the in-person investigative pieces of the assessment, the NDI office (NDI Tanzania) worked with local women's organizations and political parties to identify factors impacting the existing status of women across political parties, and unearth the key rules and processes impacting gender equality. As part of this process, researchers reached out to the five political parties participating in the assessment to get copies of governing documents for each party, including written constitutions or codes of conduct. The researcher reviewed each document to identify the established rules, procedures and internal practices that impacted the status of women in each party. The WWW VAW-PP Assessment provided guidance on the type of information that would be most important to collect such as the number of women members and women leaders, the inclusion of a gender quota in party rules, recruitment processes and many other key governing issues.

In addition to reaching out to the political parties themselves, NDI Tanzania engaged local women's organizations to get a nuanced view of the status of women in Tanzanian society and the impact of societal factors on women's access to politics, in particular issues around gender-based violence. Problems of sextortion and Violence Against Women in Elections (VAW-E) surfaced repeatedly through both discussions with women's rights organizations and in written reports by domestic and international organizations on the status of women in political parties. This information enabled the NDI Tanzania team to address this issue during the survey administration, interviews with party leaders, and focus groups with women party members.¹³

Administering the Surveys

The surveys included in the WWW Assessment are meant to be administered to men and women party members, in order to glean relevant and nuanced data on their separate perspectives or experiences, in a format that provides anonymity and allows for a range of specific questions for analysis.

Surveys should be implemented following the secondary data collection and initial conversations with party leaders to secure their participation, but *before* the focus groups and interviews take place. This is because the information collected through the surveys should be used to inform the direction of the rest of the assessment. For example, trends in survey results may inform the themes that will be explored with particular emphasis in the focus groups and interviews with party leaders.

The surveys are designed to be administered individually as questionnaires. This can be done in a number of ways, depending on the context in country, capacity of the researcher and resources available. The survey's purpose and instructions for completing it should be clearly explained to all participants before they fill it out. This can take the form of a short, detailed verbal or written briefing, depending on how the survey is distributed. This will reinforce to all participants that their answers will remain anonymous and confidential.

The surveys are included in this assessment as online tools as well as in paper form. Ideally, a survey is administered to all participants who can be gathered at the same time in the same location with adequate time to complete it, provided a researcher familiar with the survey can be in the room to explain questions when needed. This could be a part of a larger training program so there is an additional reason for participants to attend. It is often necessary to give political actors an incentive to give up large amounts of their time, and capacity-building programs can often serve that purpose.

If it is not possible to administer the survey to a large group of respondents at one time, then survey participants should be asked to complete the survey on their own. There are several options for how to do this. One option is to leave a survey at their offices, party headquarters or other location, and ask them to fill it out within an agreed timeframe, and then go back to retrieve it. In this case, other stakeholders such as party leadership or members of their family, could influence individuals' responses. Alternatively, participants may be brought together for the specific purpose of responding to the survey; the surveys may be given out at a different event to take advantage of the participants there as a "captive audience"; or the survey may be administered individually as an "interview" by the researcher, rather than given as a written questionnaire.

In each situation, researchers should utilize the method that would be most efficient and ensure the highest response rate from a variety of levels within each party given the context. Considerations should include:

- ➔ What is the best survey platform for ensuring a high response rate?
- ➔ How will the survey be administered in a way to ensure appropriate regional representation (i.e. administered outside of the capital or major urban areas)?
- ➔ Are there barriers to reaching rural versus urban party members (i.e. distance, resources, literacy rates, etc.)?
- ➔ How will the survey be administered to reach a representational cross-section of members and leaders of different levels and varying length of membership?

Survey Sample Size

Researchers should strive for as robust a sample size as possible. With more participants, the survey becomes a more accurate tool and provides a great deal more information for analysis. Wherever possible, practitioners should base the sample size off of the party's actual size, as determined by resources such as a list of members.¹⁴ However, in many cases it may be impossible to accurately judge the size of the party in total, which makes estimating an accurate sample size equally impossible. Further, it can require significant resources to collect large amounts of survey data, which is not always possible.

In cases where it is not possible to get a statistically significant sample from each political party, there are key guiding principles that should be followed:

- ➔ A minimum of 20 surveys from each participating party should be gathered
- ➔ A minimum of 10 women and 10 men within each party should complete a survey
- ➔ Equal numbers of surveys must be gathered and analyzed from each party that is participating in the Assessment

The key is to balance the number of surveys from each participating party, as receiving more surveys from one party will skew the analysis of the findings. Because the information collected will be compared across parties, relatively equal sample sizes ensure that this comparison is an accurate representation of reality, rather than unintentionally weighted toward a particular party. For the same reason, ensuring that there is a balance between completed surveys for male party members and female party members is also critical.

Tool Box 6: Secondary Data Collection & Surveys



TOOLS

- ➔ Secondary Data Collection: Win With Women (SoW + VAW-PP)
- ➔ Survey: Status of Women in Political Parties (Women)
- ➔ Survey: Status of Women in Political Parties (Men)
- ➔ Survey: Violence Against Women in Political Parties (Women)
- ➔ Survey: Violence Against Women in Political Parties (Men)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ Sample Size: A Rough Guide

A group of women are seated in an audience, looking towards the left side of the frame. They are dressed in casual to semi-formal attire. The background is slightly blurred, focusing attention on the women in the foreground.

CASE STUDY: Honduras

Internal party surveys can capture in-depth information about the perception and experiences of women as leaders, candidates, and members of political parties. While surveys can provide useful and nuanced data on men and women's separate perspectives, the process of administering and collecting surveys from political parties can often prove challenging. Even after political parties have agreed to participate in the full assessment, coordinating the distribution of surveys, choosing an appropriate method of administration (phone, in person, online, paper) and collecting completed surveys requires continuous coordination and follow-up with political parties.

In March 2017, NDI began its Violence Against Women in Political Parties (VAW-PP) assessment in Honduras. As part of the assessment process NDI, with the assistance of a research expert, administered and collected surveys from both male and female members of the five participating political parties. Although it is recommended that surveys are administered during an event, such as a #NotTheCost launch, this could not occur in Honduras, as the electoral calendar made it difficult to engage parties in any activities unrelated to campaigning.

In order to get surveys to party members, NDI asked each participating political party to provide the contact information for men and women so members could receive online surveys. After the political parties provided email and phone contacts for the participating male and female members, NDI emailed out online versions of the survey. The online version used a very simple Google form with multiple choice and open-ended questions. However, after following up by email multiple times, very few members had completed the survey. Given the dismal number of returned surveys, NDI decided to send physical surveys to respondents. Again political parties helped facilitate the delivery of the surveys. However, even after mailing physical surveys to party members, very few were returned. In an effort to increase the response rate, NDI decided to call political party members and administer the survey over the phone. This process was time intensive, but resulted in an increased response rate. Calling individual party members also allowed NDI to focus on getting the same number of surveys from each participating party and to ensure equal numbers of women and men respondents.

Conducting Interviews with Party Leaders

Interviews conducted with leaders of a party reveal their perspectives on or perceptions of violence and other barriers to women's participation in politics, and gauge their overall support for gender equality in the party.



“On paper, all political parties represented have the guidelines. However the way implementation is done, make them practically non existent.”

—Female party member, focus group in Tanzania

The Win With Women Assessment Interview Tool is intended to be used with party leaders in a private setting by an experienced researcher, who can probe for detailed information and specific examples. Interviews can be conducted one-on-one or with a small group of leaders from the same party, using a questionnaire with closed- and open-ended questions. The interviewer will need to be familiar with the questions and the kind of information the interview is designed to gather in order to guide the conversation appropriately and gather the information required. The enclosed Interview Tool provides guidance on the information gathered during this stage and on developing the interview questionnaire.

Party leaders provide a critical perspective. It is only by discussing the Assessment themes and pressing for leaders' opinions, thoughts and knowledge that it is possible to explore whether a disconnect exists between leaders' and members' perceptions of women's status in the party. Further, they can illuminate the effects that leaders may have on the culture and practices of the party. More than one interview should be conducted for each party when possible. It is essential that members of the senior party leadership (e.g. the president, secretary general, caucus leaders, party leader and/or campaign manager) participate in the interviews. Where relevant, interviews can also be conducted with other party leaders,

such as branch leaders or the senior leadership of a party's youth or women's wings. Interviews should *not* be limited exclusively to female party leaders,¹⁵ or leaders who specifically work on gender or women's participation within the party (i.e. the leader of the women's wing). While these types of leaders can be included, they should not be the primary leaders interviewed.

NDI recommends interviewing the following party leaders:

- ➔ Party presidents or founders
- ➔ Members of a formal leadership council or board
- ➔ Party leaders holding formal positions on behalf of the party in parliament or government
- ➔ Leaders of different party wings or departments
- ➔ Caucus or coalition leaders

In some cases, leaders may avoid or refuse to answer specific questions. Throughout the interview, the researcher's role is to guide the discussion and encourage the interviewee to answer the questions asked and explain their answers as far as they feel comfortable. However, interviewees should never be forced to answer questions if they feel uncomfortable or do not wish to do so. The information collected in the interviews will be cross-referenced with data collected through each of the other tools in the process of analysis. This process will allow researchers to examine particular areas where party leaders did not answer questions, avoided giving information or simply were not aware of details—all useful for the analysis. Thus, the absence of information, or the presence of false information, once identified, can sometimes lead to interesting and useful revelations and recommendations.

Tool Box 7: Interviews with Party Leaders



TOOLS

- ➔ Interview Guide: Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Interview Guide: Violence Against Women in Political Parties

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups
- ➔ Learning the craft of interviewing

Holding Focus Groups with Female Party Members

Focus groups provide a safe space for women members of a party to present more detailed and nuanced testimonies of their experiences that would not otherwise emerge if raised in public forums.

Focus groups can be one of the most effective ways to gather qualitative information on a particular issue. Usually small in size (7-12 people), focus groups are a moderator-lead discussion about the participants' experiences, feelings and preferences about a topic.¹⁶ The focus group guides included in this assessment are intended for use with women members of political parties *only*—both because of the sensitive nature of the conversations, and 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.¹⁷

During the focus group, the researcher uses a questionnaire with open-ended questions to guide a discussion around key themes. It is the researcher's responsibility to probe for additional detail, ask follow up questions and solicit specific examples from focus group participants. As with the interviews, researchers should encourage full participation and ask participants to explain their answers to the extent they feel comfortable. Participants should never be compelled to answer questions they do not feel comfortable answering.

Assistant Moderator

The researcher should be accompanied by an assistant moderator who can help set up and take detailed notes throughout the discussion. Having an assistant moderator take notes allows the researcher to focus more closely on the discussion and allows for a more thorough capture of the

information that is discussed. In addition to taking notes during the session, the assistant moderator should ideally—with the consent of the participants—record the focus groups so that the discussions can be transcribed word for word. This can allow for a more accurate analysis of the discussion.



CONSIDERATIONS FOR RESEARCH ON GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Guides for conducting the WWW Assessment focus groups and the VAW-PP focus groups include gender based violence as a feature of the discussion. Thus, researchers must follow established best practices for research on violence against women and gender-based violence. These include, but are not limited to:¹⁸

- **Ensuring the safety of participants and moderators**
- **Protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of the data collected and processed**
- **Minimizing and responding to any emotional distress of the participants during the focus group discussion**
- **Providing information on sources of support, such as victims' services or other mechanisms that participants may wish to seek out**
- **Balancing the risk to participants against the benefit of the research**

Considerations for Protecting the Confidentiality of Participants

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, the assistant moderator should refer to participants' comments 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, the researcher and assistant moderator should be women. This creates a more comfortable and safe environment in which women participating in the discussion are more likely to share their candid thoughts and experiences regarding gender-based violence. There is significant evidence that women speak much less in group settings when men are present.¹⁹

Single-Party vs. Cross-Party Focus Groups

Best practice for conducting focus groups for a WWW Assessment is to hold single-party focus groups with female members of each of the participating parties. Single-party focus groups provide the best basis for analyzing how each participating party works and the manifestations of violence within that party. Focus groups conducted with homogenous groups—such as a single party—have been shown to increase the willingness of participants to share sensitive viewpoints. Where the levels of polarization are low, women from the same political party may be more likely to share experiences that they feel could reflect negatively on their party when they are among fellow party members.

At times, very junior women may not wish to speak candidly in front of those who may have significant power over them and more senior women may dominate the discussion or overpower other participants, whether intentionally or accidentally. Past guidance on focus group methodology has established that the more similar a focus group is, the more willing participants will be to express sensitive or unpopular viewpoints. The conversation may also feel more comfortable for participants if they are sharing personal stories among women with whom they feel an existing sense of camaraderie.

When conducting single-party focus groups, researchers must consider the following:

- ➔ How will the researcher ensure that conditions for each focus group are as similar as possible?
- ➔ How large will each focus group be? Will all of them be a similar size? (Researchers should aim to have similar sizes for focus groups in each party)
- ➔ What effect will it have on the timing of the research?
- ➔ What are the impacts on the budget and resources?

In some contexts, conducting focus groups with participants from multiple parties may be a necessary and successful method for collecting information on the status of women in political parties. Focus groups with participants from multiple parties can encourage women to share different experiences and explore different topics within the discussion parameters. It may also encourage participants who would be hesitant to share their opinions or experiences in front of their fellow party members (for example, in situations where party in-fighting and/or competition is a known complicating factor).

Researchers who conduct multi-party focus groups must keep a few important points in mind, namely:

- ➔ Some questions will need to be adapted or omitted entirely (as marked in the focus group guides) to avoid putting any women on the spot or feeling pressure to make their party “look bad”
- ➔ All questions should be phrased in a way to encourage participants to share their own personal experiences within their party and to minimize the likelihood that conversations will devolve along partisan lines
- ➔ All questions should be phrased in a way to encourage candid answers without asking participants to accuse or point fingers at any particular party to avoid forcing participants to answer along party lines

Focus Group Dynamics

Regardless of whether focus groups are single- or multi-party, the researcher must pay close attention to the dynamics in the room. For single-party focus groups, the moderator should ensure that power dynamics (for example, the influence of existing hierarchies in the party) do not interfere, guiding the



“Women are capable, but we either do not give them a chance, or those who are members of the executive board must always prove something.”

—Female party member, focus group in Tunisia

conversation where necessary. In multi-party focus groups, the moderator must take steps, if necessary, throughout the discussion to ensure that it does not become partisan in any way.

Researchers should also be mindful of the following:

- ➔ The discussion should focus on participant concerns and perceptions generally, rather than each party individually
- ➔ Researchers should carefully consider the format and setting for this type of activity
- ➔ Will parties be comfortable with their members participating? No party wants to be pointedly criticized in a multi-party discussion. Take invitees, the agenda, the format and moderator into careful consideration
- ➔ In multi-party settings, participants may seek to overstate their respective party’s strengths and minimize their weaknesses. The facilitator must ensure that no party is allowed to “soap box” a specific issue or policy, and that their contributions are directly related to the topic at hand

Tool Box 8: Focus Groups



TOOLS

- ➔ Focus Group Guide: Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Guide: Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Consent Form—Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Consent Form—Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Participant Information Sheet (SoW + VAW-PP)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI: From Proposal to Presentation: the Focus Group Process at NDI
- ➔ International IDEA: Political Party Dialogue: A Facilitator’s Guide
- ➔ WHO & PATH: Researching Violence Against Women

CLOSING OUT THE ASSESSMENT

The final output of the Win With Women Assessment is a detailed report that presents findings on the barriers and opportunities facing women at the individual, institutional and socio-cultural levels, and outlines recommendations for action. Once the research is complete, it is critical that it is analyzed using the Win With Women Assessment Framework (WWW Framework) and that findings are consolidated into both country and party-specific final reports.

Analyzing the Assessment Data: How to Use the Win With Women Analysis Framework

The WWW Framework provides a methodological and consistent way for researchers to analyze the data, ensuring consistency in the analysis of findings from different parties within one country, as well as across countries, while reducing the risk for error. Researchers should use this Framework as a guide to synthesizing data collected for each party in order to conduct a rigorous and consistent analysis of the key themes and research questions.

The Framework is organized by component as well as by tool for each of the two components of the WWW Assessment—the Status of Women in Political Parties Assessment and the Violence Against Women in Political Parties (VAW-PP) Assessment.. When both components of the Assessment are conducted, researchers will utilize both of the Analysis Frameworks, which together make up the Win With Women Analysis Framework. In the event that only one of the components is completed, researchers should use the affiliated Analysis Framework.

The major themes for analysis that underpin the **STATUS OF WOMEN ASSESSMENT** are:

- ⇒ **Institutional roots of the barriers and opportunities for women**
 - Institutional mechanisms restricting women's participation
- ⇒ **Socio-cultural roots of party attitudes about women in the party**
- ⇒ **Women's individual confidence, capacity and connections**
 - Number of women elected officials at all levels of the party
 - Women's meaningful representation in leadership positions and overall numbers

The major themes for analysis that underpin the **VAW-PP ASSESSMENT** are:

- ⇒ **Root causes of VAW-PP**
 - Institutional root causes
 - Individual root causes
 - Socio-cultural root causes
- ⇒ **Institutional mechanisms, opportunities and barriers that sanction or reward VAW-PP**
- ⇒ **Impact of VAW-PP on individual women party members**
- ⇒ **Manifestations of VAW-PP:**
 - Perpetrators
 - Victims
 - Category of violence including:
 - Economic, physical, sexual and/or psychological

Together, these themes indicate the major risks, barriers and opportunities regarding women's participation. The proper analysis can guide specific actions and strategies to support women's participation in political parties. While each tool individually may not provide information on every theme, when taken collectively, they provide a comprehensive base for analysis of each theme. Thus, it is critical that all of the tools be completed before the analysis is undertaken. The Analysis Frameworks, along with guidance on how to use the Frameworks, can be found in Toolbox 9.

Tool Box 9: Win With Women Analysis Frameworks



TOOLS

- ➔ Analysis Framework—Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Analysis Framework—Status of Women
- ➔ How to Use the Analysis Frameworks

Identifying Recommended Actions Based on Analysis Framework Findings

In addition to reporting the specific barriers and opportunities facing women within each and across all parties, the final report should also include clear and actionable changes political parties, civil society and other institutions can make to accelerate progress on gender equality.

In presenting their recommendations, researchers and organizations supporting the assessment should consider:

- ➔ How can parties (or other actors, in country-level reports) take action to mitigate and eliminate the types of violence identified in the research? What kind of actions is each type of stakeholder best-placed to pursue?
- ➔ What are the recommendations for short- and long-term action? What steps must be taken immediately in order for long-term strategies (such as improving internal policies and ending impunity) to succeed?
 - How can short-term and long-term strategies be targeted and divided into steps? How should the recommendations be structured to guide stakeholders toward realistic goals?
- ➔ *Who* must act? What recommendations can be targeted toward specific institutions or entities, encouraging them to take specific preventative or mitigating action?
- ➔ At what levels must change occur? Does change at the level of party mechanisms require national-level or legislative changes in order to be sustainable?
- ➔ How will proposed changes to address barriers to women's participation and violence against women in parties be implemented and enforced?

Writing the Win With Women Assessment Report

The full report should be prepared, delivered and shared by the researcher with the political party or organization that commissioned the research. When finalizing the assessment and delivering the final reports, researchers should make sure that political parties have a point of contact on the research team, responsible for addressing questions or clarifying the assessment findings. This person can be the researcher, or, in the event that an outside CSO or other organization commissioned the Assessment, someone from that organization.

The full report delivered by the researcher will have two sections:

➔ **A country-level analysis, summarizing information and analysis from all parties that participated in the assessment. This country-wide, cross-party section should:**

- present findings in aggregate, rather than at the granular party level
- detail general barriers or opportunities for women's political engagement in political parties in the country
- give clear recommendations for cross-party/country-wide changes that can be made by each individual party and/or through national legislation and policy change
- aggregate the party-specific findings

➔ **Party-specific sections detailing specific findings and recommendations for action for each individual participating political party. These sections should:**

- be simple and accessible to party leaders and members
- clearly present information gathered on the Status of Women and VAW-PP in each individual party
- Provide targeted recommendations and guidance for action for each individual party

Both sections of the report are important for encouraging action on the basis of the Win With Women Assessment findings. The *party-specific* analysis is a valuable tool for each party to use in guided reflection and as the foundation for developing specific internal action plans to support women's participation and address VAW-PP through changes to party mechanisms and culture. The *country-level* cross-party analysis on the other hand, frames widely applicable recommendations to support and increase women's participation in political parties, and can be used not only by parties but by other political institutions and civil society organizations to strategize and push for positive change. For example, the recommendations might include a combination of party specific mechanism changes, such as the adoption of executive leadership quotas, as well as national legislation or policy changes addressing campaign finance or women's status within a country's political party.

Final reports should offer information and recommendations in a constructive way, presenting data on what the parties may already be doing well and offering clear suggestions and recommendations for improvement based on the opportunities identified during the assessment. Framing the data and recommendations will be important: researchers must consider their audience (e.g. party leaders) and present suggested changes in a way that is explicitly data-driven, and clearly articulates that the recommendations are positive changes that will help the party overall.

A template for the Win With Women Assessment Report, as well as guidance on creating the Assessment Report, can be found in Tool Box 10 below.

When presenting information and findings from the VAW-PP Assessment, researchers must diligently protect the identities of participants and not disclose any information that would intentionally or unintentionally reveal the participant's identity. Any breach of confidentiality is a concern, no matter the subject area, but a lack of privacy relating to GBV presents additional and serious risks of harm. Victims or survivors of gender-based violence often experience additional violence or repercussions for having reported the attacks they experienced; they may also face other reprisals for “complaining” or for “smearing” the party's name. Researchers, therefore, must ensure they do no harm to victims or survivors who shared their personal experiences of violence during the assessment.

REPORTING ON GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

In all sections of the report, whether in party-specific sections or the cross-party analysis, researchers must follow best practices for presenting findings on violence. Reports are an important form of documenting VAW-PP, but the best interests of victims/survivors must come first, before any other objective. Some important guidelines include:²⁰

- ➔ **Avoid using language that is judgemental reinforces the belief that violence is either “normal” or that the victim/survivor is lying**
- ➔ **Seek consultation or expertise from GBV experts as needed to clarify questions or concerns about presenting the findings, or for important contextual information**
- ➔ **Consider whether the “dignity, privacy, confidentiality, safety, security and protection from harm or retribution” of victims/survivors will be negatively affected by the published information²¹**

Tool Box 10: Win With Women Assessment Report



TOOLS

- ➔ Guidelines for Writing the Win With Women Assessment Report—(SoW + VAW-PP)
- ➔ Reporting Template—Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Reporting Template—Violence Against Women in Political Parties

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Country Report—VAW-PP—Côte d'Ivoire
- ➔ Country Report—VAW-PP—Honduras

Respecting Confidentiality

Just as with any other part of the assessment process, the confidentiality of individual participants is a priority. Researchers must not compromise the confidentiality or anonymity of participants in their report and under no circumstances should raw data ever be shared, including survey responses, interview notes, focus group notes and participant lists. Researchers should evaluate internal and external risks to the data, and develop a plan to protect it.

In taking precautions to protect the identities of participants when sharing reports and information publicly, researchers should evaluate:

- ➔ Who will have access to the research findings? When?
- ➔ What information and in what form, will be provided to the parties? To other external stakeholders?
- ➔ Who controls the ownership of the data collected?

Party confidentiality should also be respected. This should be discussed and determined with each party, but in general, each party-level analysis should be shared *only* with members and leaders of that political party and as part of the comprehensive report given by the researcher. This allows parties to undergo an internal process of review and strategizing, and allows them to choose how public they would like the assessment findings and the actions they take in response to be.

On the other hand, the country-level analysis should not contain information that is specifically and explicitly tied to one political party, and should not highlight one or another party as “better” or “worse” than others. Presenting the data in aggregate ensures that the report can be used and shared publicly, without targeting any particular party. This encourages parties to engage with a broader country-wide discussion on women’s political participation.



Politically-active women in Afghanistan discuss political participation



GLOBAL ACTION PLANS FOR BUILDING INCLUSIVE 21ST CENTURY POLITICAL PARTIES

The updated Win With Women Assessment is intended to culminate in party-specific and country-wide action plans to increase women's free and equal political participation and stop violence against women in politics. The updated Global Action Plans (GAP), found in the Appendix of this publication, serve as guidance documents of best practices for practical recommendations to help political parties become more inclusive and representative, and can be used as examples when creating party-specific and country-wide action plans.

The action items identified in the updated Win With Women Global Action Plans are drawn from NDI's assessments of 25 political parties in four countries: Côte d'Ivoire (six parties), Honduras (five parties), Tanzania (five parties) and Tunisia (nine parties). NDI conducted the assessments as part of its *Win with Women: Global Action Plan* and *No Party to Violence: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties* global initiatives.

Global Action Plans for VAW-PP and the complete Win With Women Assessment can be found in Tool Box 11 and attached as appendices to this publication. Further guidance on creating individual political party action plans and country-wide action plans can be found in Tool Box 11.

Developing Party-Specific Action Plans

Once the assessment and initial recommendations are complete, the researcher should present the findings of the Win With Women Assessment to participating political parties in individual action plan workshops. The researcher should also present suggested/recommended opportunities for action based on the #NTC Program Guidance (section on Crafting an Action Plan) and #NTC A Call to Action (section on Political Parties). Party members can use this information to identify/agree on specific actions they want to take to (1) increase gender equality and women's free and equal political participation; and (2) prevent and punish acts of violence against women in their political parties and within politics more broadly. During these engagements, the researcher should engage parties as direct stakeholders in creating action plans to build inclusive, sustainable and resilient parties—addressing the issue of violence as required—so that parties own the strategies and changes that are proposed, and the implementation that follows.

Action plan workshops are a critical entry point for creating the necessary changes within formal and informal party rules and processes. Changes in these rules, constitutions, mechanisms or codes are essential to create meaningful space for women; strategies that guide parties to do so are a critical entry point for positive change.

Developing a Country-Wide Action Plan

Once each of these party specific action plans are complete, the researcher should also convene a briefing and consensus-building meeting of leaders and representatives of all of the participating political parties and civil society representatives who were part of the #NotTheCost and/or Win With Women event at the beginning of the pilot program. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss and agree on a cross-party action agenda and perhaps a country level agenda to (1) increase gender equality and women's free and equal political participation; and (2) prevent and punish acts of violence against

women in their political parties and within politics more broadly. During this meeting, each political party can share a number of actions they have chosen to implement in their own action plans, avoiding any specific details. The researcher should then guide all stakeholders in building a consensus on the strategies that they believe would be most effective in removing gender inequality and violence as a barrier to women's membership of political parties in the country. This collaborative process engages the participants as co-creators, and allows for the development of and commitment to a country-level action plan that fits the context, challenges and opportunities in the country and for different sectors. At this larger level, there is a great deal of potential to create space for women—which can also affect the space that is open for women to participate and lead in parties.

Engaging Civil Society

Finally, the researcher should conduct a workshop with civil society members and activists who participated in the formation of the action plan. Other external stakeholders, such as representatives of government institutions, elected officials, and academics can also be included in such workshops as they can take critical action to create national policy changes based on the findings. A country-level analysis is a way to engage and draw in a diverse group of political actors whose buy-in, participation and strategic thinking is needed to increase and support women's political participation and mitigate violence against politically active women within the country as a whole.

Such a workshop serves as a space for stakeholders to discuss in greater detail the advocacy steps that they will take to support the development of inclusive party organizations, address violence within these institutions, and hold parties and other actors accountable for implementing the action plans. The goal of these discussions is to develop advocacy strategies and “action plans” of their own in order to sustain necessary external pressure on parties or other institutions to implement their commitments to build inclusive parties and stop violence against politically active women.

If desired, political parties can be invited to take part in all or part of the workshop in order to share some of the strategies they have chosen to implement in their own action plans. However, the overall focus should be on building consensus among stakeholders across the political spectrum and external to political parties on the strategies needed to hold parties accountable to their commitments to reach gender equality and address violence against politically active women.

Party-Specific and Country-Level Action Plans: What Can They Do?

The recommendations for action included in the report are critical for building more inclusive parties and addressing any violence against women that may be occurring within them. Besides providing useful insight into where current barriers for women are, they can be used directly by political parties or others to establish action plans that set out a clear vision for change and the necessary steps to achieve it within the individual parties and through national-level policy changes.

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.

Researchers may facilitate the creation of party action plans in a number of ways. Often, one of the best ways to do this is to bring party stakeholders together from different segments of society and different parts of a country to agree on a concise number of key priorities. The researcher may facilitate one or a series of large consensus-building meetings of leaders and representatives of various levels or wings of the party; this collaborative process should engage participants as co-creators, and ensure that the action plan helps to create a “common voice” for positive change within the party. Steps or considerations that leadership should keep in mind include:

- ➔ How will the available and recommended menu of actions and best practices for building gender inclusive political parties be presented to the party members in order for them to identify those that best fit their particular context and challenges?
- ➔ How will the party members who participate in the action plan development be identified?
 - Ideally, this will involve the participation of members of leadership, women party leaders and other key members
- ➔ What type of technical assistance will be needed to craft and/or implement the necessary mechanisms or changes to rules, processes or institutional culture? Who will provide this support?
- ➔ How will the action plan and changes be communicated to the broader party?
 - If leaders are not able to or do not participate, how will the action plan and changes be communicated to party leadership?
- ➔ How will the action plan’s implementation be monitored and managed?
- ➔ How will progress be evaluated? Will any feedback mechanisms be put in place between party leadership and party members advocating for change?

Action plans represent an important opportunity for political parties to establish and commit to concrete steps that improve the status of women in politics, advance gender equality and carry forward the work from the WWW Assessment. While this is only a broad overview of what action plans may contain or require, more detailed information can be found Tool Box 11.

Tool Box 11: Creating Action Plans



TOOLS

- ➔ Global Action Plan for Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties
- ➔ Global Action Plan for Combating Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Guide for Creating Win With Women Action Plans (SoW and VAW-PP)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI—Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties



CASE STUDY: Côte d'Ivoire

At the conclusion of any political party assessment, it is critical that the findings are shared with each participating party during individual action plan meetings. The action plan meetings provide an opportunity to discuss the key findings of the assessment and share recommendations. The outcomes of this discussion inform the creation of concrete action plans to address barriers to women's inclusion and violence against women by targeting the root causes and manifestations of violence that may be prevalent in each party.

In September 2017, NDI convened action plan meetings with the six Côte d'Ivoire political parties that participated in the VAW-PP assessment. The action plan meetings provided political parties with space to discuss the assessment findings regarding the impact that gender inequality and violence against women is having in their parties, and to identify specific actions they could take to promote greater inclusion and prevent and punish acts of violence against women. During these engagements, researchers provided men and women party members with a menu of recommended actions to address key barriers to gender equality and violence in political parties. They worked together to review the findings, identify opportunities for action, and create action plans with both short- and long-term goals for creating positive change. For example, some parties decided they needed to change the standing orders for meeting times to traditional working hours, when travel is safer, so that more women are able to attend.

Following the individual party action plan meetings, NDI convened a cross-party #NoPartyToViolence report briefing and consensus-building meeting for leaders and representatives of all of the participating political parties, and civil society members. At the event, party members worked together to discuss and agree on a cross-party action agenda and country level agenda to mitigate violence against politically active women. Each political party shared key points of their action plans and developed recommendations that political institutions, such as political parties and parliament, could carry out to address issues of inequality and violence. Based on the discussions, parties finalized both their individual action plans and a full joint action plan to address violence against women in political parties in Côte d'Ivoire. The cross-party meeting not only raised awareness of the issue of violence, it also allowed political parties to publicly commit to addressing this issue.

NDI hosted an additional event following the cross-party report briefing, to build consensus among external stakeholders on the strategies that they believed would be most effective in holding parties accountable to eliminating violence as a barrier to women's membership. This action plan meeting with non-party stakeholders was led by the Coordinating Committee for Women's Political Participation (2C2PF)—a multi-sectoral coalition of representatives from parties, civil society, the women's legislative caucus and the women's ministry. The 2C2F identified concrete measures to fight violence against women and monitor the implementation of parties' action plans. The political parties' action plans were published with the permission of each political party in NDI's full *Violence Against Women Political Party Assessment Report from Côte d'Ivoire*.

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. Political parties often reflect this imbalance of power in their leadership dynamics.

A political party assessment can be a powerful tool to illuminate how power is distributed and maintained within a political party through its formal and informal operating systems. A significant barrier to change lies in a lack of recognition by parties of the barriers and opportunities for more inclusive and gender equal party structures, as well as their benefits. The WWW Assessment provides a framework for 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. Importantly, the base of knowledge established through the process of conducting an assessment will help 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.



“Before this study, we did not have the same understanding of violence against women. By participating in this assessment and discussing these issues with the women in our parties, we now understand a lot of the barriers that they face. This study reflects the situation of violence against women in our country. Women must be able to access politics and become empowered without this violence.”

—Male party leaders, Cote d'Ivoire



WIN WITH WOMEN ASSESSMENT MASTER TOOL BOX

Tool Box 1: Identifying a Research Consultant



TOOLS

- ➔ Sample Criteria and Terms of Reference for a Research Consultant—VAW-PP
- ➔ Questions for Interviewing a Potential Research Consultant—VAW-PP
- ➔ Sample Criteria and Terms of Reference for a Research Consultant—SoW
- ➔ Questions for Interviewing a Potential Research Consultant—SoW

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Consultant Terms of Reference—VAW-PP—Côte d'Ivoire (English)
- ➔ Consultant Terms of Reference—VAW-PP—Tanzania (English)
- ➔ Consultant Terms of Reference—VAW-PP—Tunisia (English)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ European Commission: Guidance for the selection of evaluators with gender expertise

Tool Box 2: Gender-Based Violence Research & Referral Systems



TOOLS

- ➔ Mapping Services for Victims of Violence

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Victims Services—Violence Against Women in Elections

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ WHO—Ethical and safety recommendations for researching, documenting and monitoring sexual violence in emergencies
- ➔ RCRC Consortium—Gender-based Violence Tools Manual for Assessment & Program Design, Monitoring & Evaluation in Conflict-Affected Settings
- ➔ UN—Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence Against Women
- ➔ WHO & PATH—Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists

Tool Box 3: Criteria for Engaging Political Parties



TOOLS

- ➔ Minimum Criteria for Engaging with Parties—Win With Women (SoW+VAW-PP)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI's Not The Cost Program Guidance
- ➔ NDI's Political Party Programming Guide

Tool Box 4: Securing Political Party Commitment



TOOLS

- ➔ Talking Points for Engaging with Political Parties—Win With Women (SoW + VAW-PP)
- ➔ Letter to Political Party Leaders on VAW-PP
- ➔ Letter to Political Party Leaders on SoW

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Letters to parties—VAW-PP—Côte d'Ivoire (English)
- ➔ Letters to parties—VAW-PP—Honduras (Spanish)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI—Will, Space, Capacity Framework for Political Parties

Tool Box 5: Launching the Win With Women Assessment



TOOLS

- ➔ Sample Agenda: Win With Women (SoW + VAW-PP) Assessment Launch

EXAMPLES

- ➔ #NotTheCost Launch Agenda—Côte d'Ivoire VAW-PP
- ➔ #NotTheCost Launch Agenda—Honduras VAW-PP

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI's Not The Cost Call to Action
- ➔ NDI's Not The Cost Program Guidance

Tool Box 6: Secondary Data Collection & Surveys



TOOLS

- ➔ Secondary Data Collection: Win With Women (SoW + VAW-PP)
- ➔ Survey: Status of Women in Political Parties (Women)
- ➔ Survey: Status of Women in Political Parties (Men)
- ➔ Survey: Violence Against Women in Political Parties (Women)
- ➔ Survey: Violence Against Women in Political Parties (Men)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ Sample Size: A Rough Guide

Tool Box 7: Interviews with Party Leaders



TOOLS

- ➔ Interview Guide: Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Interview Guide: Violence Against Women in Political Parties

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups
- ➔ Learning the craft of interviewing

Tool Box 8: Focus Groups



TOOLS

- ➔ Focus Group Guide: Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Guide: Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Consent Form—Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Consent Form—Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Focus Group Participant Information Sheet (SoW + VAW-PP)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI: From Proposal to Presentation: the Focus Group Process at NDI
- ➔ International IDEA: Political Party Dialogue: A Facilitator's Guide
- ➔ WHO & PATH: Researching Violence Against Women

Tool Box 9: Win With Women Analysis Frameworks



TOOLS

- ➔ Analysis Framework—Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Analysis Framework—Status of Women
- ➔ How to Use the Analysis Frameworks

Tool Box 10: Win With Women Assessment Report



TOOLS

- ➔ Guidelines for Writing the Win With Women Assessment Report—(SoW + VAW-PP)
- ➔ Reporting Template—Status of Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Reporting Template—Violence Against Women in Political Parties

EXAMPLES

- ➔ Country Report—VAW-PP—Côte d'Ivoire
- ➔ Country Report—VAW-PP—Honduras

Tool Box 11: Creating Action Plans



TOOLS

- ➔ Global Action Plan for Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties
- ➔ Global Action Plan for Combating Violence Against Women in Political Parties
- ➔ Guide for Creating Win With Women Action Plans (SoW and VAW-PP)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ NDI—Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties

Win With Women Global Action Plan: Status of Women in Political Parties

As pivotal institutions within democracies, political parties have always been key pathways for women's aspirations to political leadership. Recognizing this, on Human Rights Day in 2003, NDI chairman and former US Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright, along with 36 international women political leaders, launched the Win With Women WWW Global Action Plan (WWW GAP) to promote strategies for increasing women's political party leadership worldwide. This updated Global Action Plan (GAP) is grounded in lessons learned since the launch of the original WWW GAP 15 years ago, coupled with a new understanding of the behavioral and organizational changes necessary for full gender equality and women's empowerment in politics.

The norm change necessary for increasing inclusiveness is often slow within political parties. Those that hold the reigns of power are reluctant to make way for new entrants into the political process and to relinquish the set of norms that has helped them maintain control. Changing the behaviors and attitudes considered acceptable, appropriate, or desirable in political parties requires unearthing previously held norms in order to affirm and retain those that work and change or expand those that do not. In order to address the norms that are exclusionary and brace the space open for women, as well as other marginalized groups, action must be taken at the individual, institutional and societal levels. This document provides recommended steps for operationalizing change at these three levels.

Empowerment at the Individual Level

- ➔ Men and women are both included in identifying key party members that can build an internal grassroots coalition to advance gender equality measures within the party and expand the pool of allies, including men and party leaders, who support these measures.
- ➔ Conduct awareness raising and training programs for all party members to learn and understand the various facets of gender equality within the party, including:
 - the current state of individual women's empowerment, and the root causes that explain this state
 - why women's political participation is beneficial for the party
 - that women's rights to political participation are enshrined in various international/national covenants
 - the barriers women face to fair participation within the party
 - how men can support women proactively and how women can support each other,
 - Understanding and reducing violence against women in political parties (VAW-PP) and all mechanisms to address and punish VAW-PP
- ➔ Use soft diplomacy and closed door conversations with those in power to promote women's advancement within the party and address any honest concerns party members and leaders may have (potential loss of power, logistics, awareness of other changes that may occur). These closed door conversations can also affirm what will stay the same and power structures that will remain in place—a key aspect to those who do worry about the impact of dramatic shifts and changes. Open and honest dialogue that affirms and addresses legitimate concerns is the foundation from which to push for broader support and secure tangible and sustainable changes.

- ➔ Encourage yourself and other women to run for office at national, state and local levels. Support women candidates running within your party.
- ➔ Provide women with training in how to prevent and respond to acts of violence against them and/or their family members. Develop networks to assist with rapid responses to such incidents.

Effecting Norm Change at the Institutional Level

- ➔ Conduct an assessment of the political party to identify any institutional barriers and supports, both in official procedures and in common practice, for women's full participation in the political process. Create an explicit gender action plan that maintains the support structures that work and recommends changes where needed, and promote it within the party and with voters.
- ➔ Enshrine principles of human rights and gender equality in all foundational documents, guidelines, and regulations that direct how the party is run and operated, providing the framework for sustaining internal actions for progress towards equality and inclusion. Make these documents easily accessible for all party members and ensure there is a gender-neutral language throughout.
- ➔ Adopt democratic, inclusive and transparent rules in party constitutions and bylaws, and ensure their implementation. Promote transparency in the candidate selection process to establish clear and understandable selection criteria.
- ➔ Ensure that women are represented in a meaningful manner in internal party decision-making bodies and party leadership positions. Engage men and women in discussing what meaningful participation looks like for the party and to reach out to women. Internal party quotas at all levels can be helpful to systemize efforts to increase the political voice of women party members. Earnestly implement gender equality and quota measures to promote women's participation based on merit (discuss the merits that men and women must both possess to be considered), promote women to leadership positions, mentor women leaders, diversify the portfolios which women work on in political parties, and offer more substantive tasks to women within political parties.
- ➔ Create a plan to recruit women into the party, including an explicit effort to include a diverse swath of women. Identify—specifically—what you (men and women) are going to do as an organization to bring women in, to make them feel welcome and help equip them with the knowledge needed to thrive in the political arena. Acknowledge that women face a different set of barriers than men, and that the men in the party will be there to support them as new and unpredicted needs arise will help retain women who want to participate.
- ➔ Set targets for women's participation in party conventions. Include topics related to the party's work for equality, non-discrimination and the eradication of political violence in the issues discussed at party conventions. These topics should be integrated into the general meetings and conducted as separate more focused sessions.
- ➔ Mainstream a gender equality perspective into policy development. Create formal mechanisms to regularly assess policies, values and priorities that explicitly prioritize gender equality.
- ➔ Provide training and financial support to women's party branches, wings or commissions, which should serve as forums for women to contribute substantively to party policy and procedure,

party leadership and candidate selection. These party branches/wings/commissions should have a presence and voting power in the executive committee and during decision making processes, a regular budget, and be operated by the women in the party without interference from male party members. They should also offer opportunities to discuss issues of concern, mentor, network, and build critical policymaking and advocacy skills for women rather than act as token women's representation in the party.

- ➔ Establish a policy of zero tolerance for all forms of political violence, especially violence and harassment against women voters, candidates and party activists and enforce mechanisms for reporting, investigating and punishing acts of VAW-PP. Train party members about what VAW-PP looks like including sexual harassment, bullying, and verbal abuse, and how to be part of reducing violence. Develop and institute strong regulations and disciplinary policies which proscribe clear and strong punishment to perpetrators who commit violent acts against women within political parties to prevent such acts from being repeated and to encourage reporting behavior among victims and witnesses.
- ➔ Establish an equal opportunity committee (a monitoring and implementation body) responsible for verifying that party bylaws that address equality between men and women are observed, ensuring improvements take place, and updating the bylaws to reflect new norms as they are established. Men and women should serve on the committee in roughly equal percentages. Create an objective and confidential committee tasked with protecting women from violence, punishing perpetrators, observing if other trainings and norm shifts would reduce instances of violence, and coordinating trainings as deemed necessary.
- ➔ Consider appropriate mechanisms to elevate women candidates and elected officials, including placing women high on party lists and running candidates in winnable districts. Quotas, designed as alternating "zipper systems," can play an important role, particularly where women are virtually shut out of the political system.
- ➔ Commit meaningful financial support to women candidates. Female and male candidates who are similarly situated regarding their potential for election should be furnished with equal access to party resources. Consider temporary special members to provide additional seed money or subsidies for the advancement of women candidates.
- ➔ Ensure women are participating in all aspects of party electoral activities, including setting the party platform, running and working political campaigns, running for office, or working as party poll agents.
- ➔ Establish a code of conduct for all party members, particularly during electoral periods when violence can spike, that denounces all forms of VAW-PP and encourages safety measures be put in place. This should be a central part of the party's electoral strategy and can be an intra- or inter-party effort.
- ➔ Implement an obligatory ethics charter to be signed by all elected party officials. This can reflect norms and ethics that are already in place as well as the new elements that focus on gender, safety and inclusion of non-dominant and previously marginalized groups.
- ➔ Maintain a secure database of women qualified for elected and appointed political positions. Consider including women who have respected roles in the community, churches, connections

to multiple interest groups, or have worked in depth in key policy implementation fields (such as education, health care, family care or infrastructure).

- Build strong relations with civil society organizations, government institutions and international organizations to promote women's representation.
- Create policies to provide for child care, elder care, family care and other policies that support women and men participating in party activities.
- Maintain membership databases and collect reliable gender-disaggregated data on party membership, leadership, influence on decision making, candidates, etc.
- Formalize social media action plans to recruit women party members and promote women candidates, in addition to grassroots efforts. Establish a code of conduct for all online and social media activity that includes zero tolerance for online VAW-PP.
- Adopt 21st century workplace best practice, make the political party a place that is safe and accessible for all members of society, including women.

Effecting Norm Change at the Societal Level

- Political Parties should embrace a message of gender equality in their public persona, campaigns and platforms, including support for legal mechanisms to promote gender equality, end all forms of VAW, and temporary special measures to increase women's political participation and representation.
- Recognize windows of opportunity for increasing women's representation in such areas as political transitions, peace processes, electoral reform processes, etc. Women leaders should take advantage of these opportunities to promote reform, encourage other women to do so, and encourage men to talk about the reform processes and the societal benefits.
- Address gender issues in party platforms and manifestos. Work with party leaders—both men and women—to discuss issues that connect to the concerns and priorities of women voters.
- Consider messaging that places gender equality within a framework of fairness and equality for all. Reinforce that gender equality does not strip men of human rights but rather increases women's access and ability to support society.
- Consider messaging that underlines the economic benefit for society when women are able to participate in the workforce, politics and societal improvements.
- Consider messaging that elevates the work women do or traditionally female roles as equally important to the roles that men have traditionally held. Reinforce that women matter as an integral part of society.
- Secure a mandatory allocation of at least 10% of the total voters' support to the women's league of the party if such exists.

Win With Women Global Action Plan: Violence Against Women in Political Parties

Violence against women in political parties (VAW-PP) continues to impede women's ability to be equal and active participants in the political realm. It takes away from all of us the benefits of the sustainable and responsive democratic governance that an inclusive political space can create.

As NDI's #NotTheCost campaign reports, this type of violence is not limited to physical threats or assaults. It encompasses a range of actions, policies and communications that are designed to prevent, limit, or control women's full and active political participation. Violence against women in politics is deeply rooted in cultural norms and women's unequal status relative to men within virtually all societies.

The below action items are drawn from NDI's assessments of 25 political parties in four countries: Côte d'Ivoire (six parties), Honduras (five parties), Tanzania (five parties) and Tunisia (nine parties). NDI conducted the assessments as part of its *Win with Women: Global Action Plan* and *No Party to Violence: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties* global initiatives.

The action items include steps that can be taken by different actors at the global, national, and local levels to combat this problem. The goal of this work is to foster political environments that encourage women's participation in *all* aspects of democratic politics—as civic leaders, voters, political party members, candidates, elected representatives and appointed officials—without fear of violence or the threat of reprisals, and to the benefit of us all.

Government

The government has an important role to play as an arbiter and enforcer of regulations and penalties designed to steer political party behavior in a direction that is fair and inclusive of all citizens. To eradicate violence against women in politics NDI recommends governments:

1. Criminalize all forms of violence against women—including acts of political violence— and enforce appropriate penalties for those found guilty of breaking the law.
 - a. Bolivia's Electoral System Law (Law No. 26, 2010) recognizes political harassment as an electoral crime (Article 238) and defines it as: "The person harassing a female or male candidate during or after an electoral process, in order to force them to resign their candidacy or office against his or her will, shall be punished with a prison sentence of two (2) to five (5) years."
 - b. In Costa Rica, a 2009 law established "parity training opportunities" for women and men, "aiming to improve capacities and foster knowledge on Human Rights, Ideology, Gender equality, promoting leadership, political participation, empowerment, nomination [and] practice in decision making posts."
 - c. The Bolivian Law Against Harassment and Political Violence Against Women (Law No. 243, 2012) has as its objective (Article 2): "To establish mechanisms for the prevention, treatment, and punishment of individual and collective acts of harassment and/or political violence towards women, in order to guarantee the full exercise of their political rights."

2. Enact temporary special measures within political party laws and regulations designed to support the advancement of women within the party. Such measures include party quotas to increase women's representation in leadership at all levels, and financial support to women party members and women candidates in order to level the playing field with men. Quotas are most effective when designed as a "zipper system" that allows for alternating men and women. Creating a separate list or pool of women should be avoided. Quotas must include adequate sanctions for non-application.
3. Create an anonymous channel where women can confidentially report acts of violence against them within their parties. This could be administered by an independent body or by the election commission, which would then investigate the claims and take appropriate action, such as fining the party or bringing criminal charges against the perpetrator.
4. Fund and promote civic education campaigns that would decrease the social stigma for women participating at all levels of political party activity.
5. Promote anti-corruption campaigns targeting political parties that include a strong gender perspective, encourage transparency, and promote parties as democratic institutions. Zero tolerance for VAW-PP should be a clear part of those campaigns.
6. Collect and publish reliable gender disaggregated data on party membership, party leadership, and acts of VAW-PP.
7. Pass and implement a Gender Equality Act, similar to the 1986 Gender Equality Act in Finland, which made significant improvements in addressing discrimination, harassment and lack of equal representation internally within the party.
8. Integrate laws prohibiting VAW-PP into existing laws, as per the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women recommends in her thematic reports. This could include training law enforcement officials on VAW-PP to ensure their ability to apply laws consistent with international human rights standards when investigating cases.

Political Parties

Culture change is most effective when it is generated from within the party itself and is accompanied by true political will to affect behavioral and organizational change. To address the issue of VAW-PP, NDI recommends political parties:

1. Provide a framework to guide progress toward equality and inclusion by enshrining principles of human rights and gender equality, and ensuring gender-neutral language in all foundational documents, guidelines, and regulations that direct how the party is run and operated. Approve a party-wide resolution specifically defining and condemning all acts of VAW-PP. Make these documents easily accessible to all party members.
2. Include topics related to the party's work for equality, non-discrimination and the eradication of political violence in the issues discussed at party conventions. Integrate these topics into the general meetings, and conduct separate sessions specifically on VAW-PP.
3. Earnestly implement gender equality and quota measures to promote women's participation based on merit and promote women to leadership positions by mentoring promising women leaders, diversifying the portfolios which women work on in political parties, and offering more substantive tasks to women within political parties.

4. Develop and institute strong regulations and disciplinary policies which punish perpetrators who commit violent acts against women within political parties, in order to prevent such acts from being repeated and to encourage reporting behavior among victims. Create an objective and confidential committee tasked with protecting women from violence and punishing perpetrators.
5. Establish a code of conduct for all party members, particularly during electoral periods when violence can spike, that denounces all forms of VAW-PP. Make this a central part of the party's electoral strategy and an intra- or inter-party effort.
6. Introduce an obligatory ethical charter that all party members and elected party officials have to sign.
7. Conduct an internal awareness raising campaign using social media, posters, flyers, and workshops to explain what VAW-PP is and why it is harmful to the party. Provide mandatory training to all party members, both men and women, on violent behavior within the party. This training should include a definition and description of what constitutes VAW-PP, mechanisms for reporting incidents, and penalties levied against perpetrators found guilty. Separate trainings for women on how to prevent and mitigate acts of VAW-PP against them and their peers can be held as well. Separate sessions for men on their perceptions and behaviors related to VAW-PP can be conducted to introduce and secure new behavior patterns.
8. Introduce regular gender audits to assess and evaluate progress towards gender equality.
9. Proceed with internal party democratization through regulated and defined procedures, rather than a system of "influence" or "loyalty" to those in power. This principle extends to the selection of candidates and their placement on electoral lists.
10. Create a safe space for women within the party, such as a women's wing. It is appropriate to review and adapt the profile of these bodies into the party statutes, so that they are substantive organs for the promotion of party policies for equality, women's rights and non-violence in politics. Elevate their presence by granting voting power in the executive committee and during decision making processes, allocating a regular budget to carry out the aforementioned duties, and enable them to be led by women and operate freely without interference from male party members.
11. The disclosure, announcement or contact methods used by parties (such as WhatsApp, Messenger, Google groups, etc.), should comply with national legislation on the protection of personal data. If this legislation does not exist or is insufficient, it is the responsibility of the parties to protect the personal information of their female members so as not to put them at risk of sexual harassment or other manifestations of violence.

Individual Party Members

In conjunction with party-level reforms, individual party members can empower themselves steps to change the culture of VAW-PP. Specifically, individual party members can:

1. Document and report all incidents of VAW-PP experienced or witnessed within the party. Note when and where the incident occurred and if there are any witnesses that can corroborate the accusation.
2. Learn the party rules and regulations in order to identify coercion and how to report a party member who is behaving inappropriately.

3. Discuss these incidents with fellow women party members. It is likely that other women have experienced or witnessed VAW-PP, but may be too scared to speak up. This silence allows perpetrators to continue preying on women within the party.
4. Advocate for other women within the party. Believe women who come forward with accusations of VAW-PP.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

As independent actors CSOs can be an important outside lever to support government, party, and individual efforts to end VAW-PP. CSOs can:

1. Promote gender equality in society at large and within political parties, including the message that women belong in politics, and in all realms of society.
2. Implement sustained and systematic gender-awareness training and capacity development programs that explicitly include VAW-PP and targets both men and women at all levels and structures of the political parties.
3. Advocate for laws and regulations to protect women from VAW-PP, including laws outlawing all forms of VAW, changes to the political party law to include VAW-PP, quotas and other temporary special measures.
4. Compile and publish gender disaggregated data on party membership, participation, representation and influence on party decision making and programs.

International Organizations

International organizations can play a critical role in supporting and encouraging increased inclusivity and gender equality within political parties and the political process. NDI recommends international organizations:

1. Create opportunities, standalone and incorporated into larger events, to bring VAW-PP to the forefront of party reform discussions. Provide international examples of how other parties have combated cultures of VAW-PP within their ranks. Party members can be introduced to VAW-PP, discuss their challenges, and learn from others' experiences.
2. Assist parties to develop rules against VAW-PP, mechanisms for reporting and punishing infractions, and training programs to inform party members.
3. Work with government agencies and CSOs on awareness and civic education campaigns to promote gender equality and women's participation in political parties.
4. Collect data and conduct gender-disaggregated research on party membership, party leadership, and influence on party decision making.
5. Promote inter-party cooperation to enshrine advancements into law, share best practices and change the political culture across parties.

Political Party Internationals

Political Party Internationals play an important role as they can encourage and facilitate change in political party behavior. Specifically, they can:

1. Introduce and adopt a public declaration/resolution committing their party members to the prevention and elimination of all forms of violence against women in politics including its causes and consequences.
2. Facilitate an exchange of best-practices and capacity-building training on ending violence against women in politics among their political party membership during official statutory events.
3. Create a coalition of the willing among their members to monitor internal compliance with agreed VAW-PP action plans.

Endnotes

- 1 Volden, Craig, Alan E. Wiseman and Dana E. Wittmer (2010) "The Legislative Effectiveness of Women in Congress," <http://polisci.osu.edu/faculty/cvolden/VWWWomenLEP.pdf>.
- 2 Werber, Cassie. "Forcing Spanish political parties to nominate more women is helping them win votes." Quartz. (April 7, 2015). <https://qz.com/378064/forcing-spanish-political-parties-to-nominate-more-women-is-helping-them-win-votes/>
- 3 Chandan Kumar Jha, Sudipta Sarangi. "Women and corruption: What positions must they hold to make a difference?" Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, Volume 151, 2018, Pages 219-233, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2018.03.021>.
- 4 NDI, UNDP. (2012). *Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties*.
- 5 NDI. *Win With Women Global Action Plan: Strengthen Political Parties*.
- 6 NDI, UNDP. (2012). *Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties*.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Protected Public Spaces are political institutions—such as political parties and associations, and parliaments—that in a democratic society should be transparent and accountable to the public. However, because of their traditionally elite male power structure and women's lower status within them (which can in some cases be compounded by the fact that they are deemed to be private associations or have certain privileges attached to them which exempt them from laws and scrutiny faced by other public institutions in the same national jurisdictions), such spaces often allow and enable violence against women within their memberships to take place. Perpetrators and victims of such violence are often members of the same institution. For example, female members of political parties will be victims of violence perpetrated against them by leaders or members of their own party.
- 9 NDI. (2018). *No Party to Violence: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties: Preliminary Findings from Pilots in Côte d'Ivoire, Honduras, Tanzania, and Tunisia*.
- 10 Peters, B. Guy, Jon Pierre, and Desmond S. King. 2005. "The Politics of Path Dependence: Political Conflict in Historical Institutionalism." The Journal of Politics 67 (4): 1275-300
- 11 NDI (2017). *Reflect, Reform, Reengage: A Blueprint for 21st Century Parties*.
- 12 The following points have been adapted from a [discussion guide](#) on parties previously developed for NDI programming in the Middle East & North Africa region. While the guide is specific to a region, it holds important general information that can be adapted for each particular context. Practitioners can also refer to the [Will, Space, Capacity toolkit](#) developed by NDI.
- 13 The issue of Sextortion first emerged in the context of NDI's work in 2015, during a violence against women in elections (VAW-E) pilot NDI implemented as part of its election observation programming. For the initial research see: Hubbard, Caroline and DeSoi, Claire (2016). *Votes Without Violence: A Citizen Observer's Guide to Addressing Violence Against Women in Elections*.
- 14 If the researcher is able to judge or estimate the size of the party accurately, they may use a sample size calculator such as [this one](#) to determine an appropriate sample size. The calculator should be set to -90% confidence level and a -10% margin of error.
- 15 The rare exception being, of course, a party in which **all** of the party leaders are women.
- 16 USAID Center for Development Information and Evaluation (1996) Performance Monitoring and Evaluation Tips: Conducting Focus Group Interviews.
- 17 If a researcher has the time and resources to do additional focus group discussions with men, this can be very useful and add to the analysis. In particular, the benefits of conducting focus groups with male party members can shed further light on men's perceptions of women's experience and roles within the party, giving researchers a better sense of potential underlying root causes of VAW-PP, the reasons men have for committing it or even just a clearer idea of men's level of awareness of VAW-PP and what violence might be occurring. However, the materials in this guide do not include guidance for men-only focus groups. To conduct this sort of focus group, the practitioner would need to craft a targeted focus group guide with external resources.
- 18 Adapted from [Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence against Women - Statistical Surveys; Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists](#).
- 19 Stewart, D. W., Shamdasani, P. N, and Rook, D. W. (2002) Focus Groups: Theory and Practice. Sage Publications: Thousand Oak, CA, pp 42-43.
- 20 Adapted for use from <http://gbvaor.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/GBV-Media-Guidelines-Final-Provisional-25July2013.pdf>
- 21 <http://gbvaor.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/GBV-Media-Guidelines-Final-Provisional-25July2013.pdf>



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