



# WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK

Phase 3 Revised Version

Prepared under Contract No. GS-10F-0033M/ Order No. 7200AA18M00016, Tasking N083

# DRG LEARNING, EVALUATION, AND RESEARCH ACTIVITY

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Phase 3 Revised Version

January 2023

Prepared under Contract No. GS-10F-0033M Order No. 7200AAI8M00016, Tasking N083

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The authors' views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The Women's Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework was developed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) with the assistance of the Learning, Evaluation, and Research (LER) mechanism implemented by NORC at the University of Chicago. The final document was authored by Mona Lena Krook, revised from earlier pilot versions of the framework and tools authored by Protik Ali, Luis Camacho, Zoe Grotophorst, Alexandre Monnard, Sarah Long, Ron Wendt, and Hannah LaPalombara at NORC. The authors would also like to recognize the contribution of the research teams who helped pilot the earlier versions of the assessment framework: Annica Holmberg, Charlyn Worzie, Varney Yengbeh, and Prince Williams (Liberia); Ana Silvia Monzón, Celeste Aldana, and Vilma Tíu (Guatemala); Elizabeth Cote (Guinea); and Rajju Malla Dhakal, Srijana

Chettri, and Binny Subba (Nepal).

Many colleagues and partners provided invaluable support in providing suggestions and contributions to the framework. Julie Denham at the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG) Center at USAID reviewed and gave technical input on each draft, including the pilots. Brandy Witthoft at the USAID DRG Center at USAID reviewed and provided comments on the earlier drafts of the assessment framework. Caroline Hubbard, Levi Adelman, Mousumi Sarkar, and Chris Grady at the USAID DRG Center reviewed and made extensive suggestions on the final assessment framework and updated tools.

The team would also like to thank Saskia Brechenmacher (Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Julie Ballington (Policy Advisor for Political Participation at UN Women), and Gabriella Borovsky (Knowledge Management and Capacity Development Specialist at UN Women) for their thoughtful peer reviews of the draft report.

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## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Enhancing gender equality and women’s empowerment is a core pillar of USAID’s approach to advancing democracy around the globe. The National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality, introduced by the Biden-Harris administration in 2021, identifies women’s political participation and leadership (WPPL) as one of ten strategic priorities. It states that “full participation of people of all genders is critical both to the functioning of democracies and to the success of democratic movements across the globe,” because “countries that provide a safe and enabling environment for women to participate equitably in politics and public life produce more inclusive and effective policy outcomes, are more peaceful, have higher economic growth, and are more stable as societies.”

Despite the intrinsic importance and benefits of WPPL, women do not enjoy full and equal access to political life around the world, nor does their mere entry guarantee that they will be able to exercise political agency and influence. Since 2011, USAID has taken concrete steps to more robustly integrate gender analysis into its work.<sup>1</sup> The Agency understands gender to be socially constructed, rather than biologically determined, and an important means for structuring relationships of power. From this perspective, gendered norms and practices are not fixed, but instead, can be transformed in more egalitarian directions.

To encourage gender-inclusive programming in the Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) sector, USAID developed a toolkit for DRG staff to integrate gender into programming and advance gender equality in civil society and government institutions.<sup>2</sup> To advance WPPL specifically, USAID carried out the Women in Power project. It analyzed barriers to women’s political empowerment, explored how USAID and its partners can most effectively increase the supply of and demand for women leaders, and developed a new measure of women’s political leadership in the public sector.<sup>3</sup>

To further assist with the diagnostic side of these efforts, the USAID DRG Center commissioned the development of a WPPL Assessment Framework, with an accompanying set of assessment tools. The Assessment Framework consists of six parts, which together seek to guide research teams in (1) mapping the current situation with regard to WPPL, (2) identifying barriers and opportunities to WPPL, and (3) formulating country-specific recommendations to advance WPPL.

### DEFINING AND MEASURING WPPL

Global indicators of WPPL largely focus on the numbers of women in elected and appointed political positions. This Assessment Framework expands the definition of WPPL in two key ways. First, it divides this concept in two interrelated, yet distinct, components: **political participation**, referring to activities women can engage in as citizens, and **political leadership**, referring to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives. Second, it recognizes that simply being granted political rights is not the same as exercising those rights to the fullest extent. A complete

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, USAID (2012), *Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy*, and USAID (2015), *Gender at USAID*, Presentation from the Office of Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment.

<sup>2</sup> USAID (2016). *Gender Integration in Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG)*. Washington, DC: USAID. <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/Gender%20Toolkit.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Melanie M. Hughes, Darcy Ashman, and Milad Pournik (2016). *Women in Power Project Summary Report*. Washington, DC. Prepared by Management Systems International under contract to USAID. [https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/USAID-WiP%20summary%20report\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/USAID-WiP%20summary%20report_FINAL.pdf)

assessment of WPPL must therefore look at both **access**, women’s ability to take part in political process, and **power**, women’s voice and agency as political actors. The Table below illustrates these dimensions using sample questions from the Assessment.

	Access	Power
<b>Participation</b>	<p>Are women politically engaged as citizens, in any of a wide range of possible political roles?</p> <p><u>Sample Questions:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Are women registered to vote at the same rates as men?</li> <li>-Are women a visible contingent during protests?</li> </ul>	<p>Do women exercise political agency and influence as citizens?</p> <p><u>Sample Questions:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Are women able to exercise their right to vote, without interference from family members or other actors?</li> <li>-Are there opportunities for women in civil society to inform government policy?</li> </ul>
<b>Leadership</b>	<p>Do women serve as political leaders, whether in elected or non-elected roles?</p> <p><u>Sample Questions:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-What is the share of women among political candidates?</li> <li>-Do women serve as leaders of civil society organizations?</li> </ul>	<p>Do women exercise political agency and influence as political leaders?</p> <p><u>Sample Questions:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Which portfolios do women cabinet ministers hold? Are these portfolios considered prestigious and/or important?</li> <li>-Have women leaders in civil society had an impact on politics and/or public policy?</li> </ul>

## EXPLORING THE ECOSYSTEM OF WPPL

Three interacting sets of factors shape opportunities for women to participate substantively in every aspect of political life. **Socio-cultural factors** involve assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. They include gender stereotypes, prevailing views on gender roles, and cultural ideas about gender equality. **Institutional factors** structure the political environment, establishing the formal and informal rules and systems in which political actors operate. They include the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context. **Individual factors**, finally, refer to considerations shaping individual women’s decisions and abilities to participate in politics. These include levels of political ambition, as well as resources and support for their political engagement.

Understanding these factors as an “ecosystem” emphasizes how they work together and inform one another to create environments supporting or undermining WPPL. Focusing only on one set of factors to the exclusion of the others is likely to lead to misinterpretations of the current situation – and, in turn, to the adoption of only partially effective solutions to expand WPPL. In contrast, an ecosystem approach suggests the need to consider more holistic strategies, combining a focus on norm change, institutional reforms, and individual shifts in thinking.

## CONDUCTING A WPPL ASSESSMENT

To carry out a WPPL assessment, the donor/partner supporting the research should recruit an assessment team led by an expert in gender and politics with relevant country experience, assisted by one or two other experts in gender and/or politics in the country, a logistician, and possibly a member



of donor/partner staff. The WPPL Assessment should start with a thorough desk review of existing data and research on the country in question, both to inform the Assessment and to make the best use of resources while in the field (see Annex D for further details).

The Assessment should then employ a suite of methodological tools, both quantitative and qualitative, to gain insights into the barriers and opportunities for advancing WPPL in a given context. The main quantitative tool is a Politician Survey, administered to a sample of men and women politicians using slightly different batteries of questions, mapping their views and experiences related to WPPL (see Annex E). The qualitative tools include Key Informant Interviews (see Annex F) and Focus Group Discussions (see Annex G). These tools seek to engage with knowledgeable insiders to gain valuable insights about the barriers and opportunities for enhancing WPPL, especially in terms of its power dimensions. Questions and topics should be tailored to these different stakeholders.

### **ASSESSMENT PART I: MAPPING THE CURRENT STATE OF WPPL**

Part I of the Assessment involves mapping the current state of WPPL in the country. Using the tools outlined in the previous section, the research team should distill trends related to the four components of the WPPL Matrix: Access to Participation, Power in Participation, Access to Leadership, and Power in Leadership. To aid the team in this analysis, Annex H provides a Mapping WPPL Worksheet for recording numerical indicators as well as evaluating women's exercise of political agency and influence.

### **ASSESSMENT PART II: ANALYZING THE DATA**

Part II of the Assessment involves connecting the country patterns uncovered in Part I to barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL. In the first step of the analysis, the research team should identify the socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors shaping women's exclusion (and inclusion) as political actors in the country. Annex I provides Data Analysis Guidance to assist the research team in interpreting the data gathered using different research methods. Annex J provides an Analyzing WPPL Worksheet for breaking down barriers and opportunities to WPPL in the country.

The second step of the analysis is to connect the factors identified in the first step to specific advocates and opponents of efforts to advance WPPL in the country. These stakeholders might include actors in state institutions, political parties, civil society, and the international community. Annex K provides a Stakeholder Analysis Worksheet. Organized by sector, it asks the research team to summarize barriers and opportunities, and in each case, to note which specific actors are primarily responsible, whether for keeping the barrier in place or for (potentially) creating opportunities for action.

### **ASSESSMENT PART III: WRITING THE REPORT**

Part III of the Assessment is to write the Final Report, pulling together and organizing the materials collected and analyzed in Parts I and II. Annex L provides a Report Template, outlining which sections should be included in the Final Report and what each section should contain.

## II. INTRODUCTION

Enhancing gender equality and women’s empowerment is a core pillar of USAID’s approach to advancing democracy around the globe. The National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality, introduced by the Biden-Harris administration in 2021, identifies women’s political participation and leadership (WPPL) as one of ten strategic priorities. It states that “full participation of people of all genders is critical both to the functioning of democracies and to the success of democratic movements across the globe,” because “countries that provide a safe and enabling environment for women to participate equitably in politics and public life produce more inclusive and effective policy outcomes, are more peaceful, have higher economic growth, and are more stable as societies.”

Democracy opens up important opportunities for WPPL, by allowing women to exercise their rights to vote, form associations, and run for and be appointed to political office. These legal rights are now nearly universal, with 85% of constitutions around the world guaranteeing equal rights or prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex and/or gender. Equal rights for women appear in every constitution written since 2000.<sup>4</sup> In many places around the world, however, these rights are not translated fully into practice. Women continue to face barriers in registering and turning out to vote. They are targeted for political violence when seeking to participate in peaceful demonstrations. They constitute only a small share of elected and appointed representatives in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. And even when they enter political spaces in greater numbers, they are often restricted in their ability to influence political debates, due to discrimination and exclusion.

Advancing WPPL not only benefits women, but also democracy itself. Adopting measures to support women’s voter participation enhances the integrity of elections. Supporting women’s organizations in civil society to create channels for communicating with government actors empowers women to mobilize for policy changes to improve society. And measures like quotas for women candidates help elect qualified and diligent legislators, bringing important skills and insights to the policy process. In all these roles, women bring new perspectives to the political arena, raising topics that might not otherwise be addressed, highlighting gaps in existing policies and programs, and proposing new solutions to enduring problems. Promoting democracy thus requires furthering women’s access to political spaces, as well as elevating their agency and influence in political life.

Since 2011, USAID has taken concrete steps to integrate gender analysis into its work. The Agency understands gender to be socially constructed, rather than biologically determined, and an important means for structuring relationships of power. From this perspective, gendered norms and practices are not fixed, but instead, can be transformed in more egalitarian directions.

To encourage gender-inclusive programming in the Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) sector, USAID developed a toolkit for Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG) staff to integrate gender into programming and advance gender equality in civil society and government institutions. Adapting the DRG Strategic Assessment Framework from 2014, which identifies key sectors for DRG work, the toolkit focuses on how to bring a gender lens to programming on human rights, civil society, the rule of law, legislative strengthening, local governance and devolution, political party development, electoral processes, transitional justice, and media and other communication technologies, among other sectors. To support work on WPPL more specifically, USAID carried out the Women in

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<sup>4</sup> Sprague, A., J. Heymann, and A. Raub. 2022. “The Equal Rights Amendment in Global Context: Gender Equality in Constitutions Worldwide and the Potential of More Comprehensive Approaches.” *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law*, 38-57.

Power project, which analyzed barriers to women’s political empowerment, explored how USAID and its partners can most effectively increase the supply of and demand for women leaders, and developed and piloted a new measure of women’s political leadership in the public sector.

This WPPL Assessment Framework builds on these prior efforts. It consists of six parts, which together seek to guide research teams with research background and sample questions for (1) mapping the current situation with regard to WPPL, (2) identifying barriers and opportunities to WPPL, and (3) formulating country-specific recommendations to advance WPPL. The Annexes provide tools as well as practical guidance for carrying out the research. They include four assessment tools: a Desk Review, a Politician Survey, Key Informant Interviews, and Focus Group Discussions. The Desk Review guidance includes a list of helpful sources, as well as advice for finding more country-specific forms of data. For the other three tools, the Annexes list sample questions, with priority questions in bold should time be a factor. They also include insights on tool design and approaching stakeholders, to be adapted as necessary to the country context. In addition to these tools, the Annexes contain practical guidance for recruiting the research team, accessing stakeholders, conducting fieldwork, collecting and analyzing the data, and writing the final report.

### III. DEFINING AND MEASURING WPPL

As a concept, WPPL consists of two interrelated, yet distinct, components: **political participation**, referring to activities women can engage in as citizens, and **political leadership**, referring to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives, to influence political decision-making and hold government officials and institutions accountable.

Simply being granted political rights, however, is not the same as exercising those rights to the fullest extent. A complete assessment of WPPL must therefore take two dimensions into account:

1. **Access:** women's ability to take part in political processes, and
2. **Power:** women's voice and agency as political actors.

Gender gaps in political participation and leadership are observed to varying degrees around the world. They are not explained by innate biological differences between women and men, but rather, by social constructions of masculinity and femininity framing politics as a “man's world.”<sup>5</sup> Applying a gender lens, however, does not mean that women and men should be understood as homogeneous groups. Rather, gender may interact with a host of other socially relevant identities, like age, class or caste, sexuality, gender expression, nation, ability, ethnicity, tribal identity, and race, among other possibilities. Gender analysis should therefore also be intersectional.

#### WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation refers to a wide array of activities citizens can engage in to influence political decision-making or solve collective problems.<sup>6</sup> These can encompass both conventional and unconventional forms of participation, as well as actions taken individually or collectively in civil society. Common forms of political participation include voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending a political rally or campaign event, signing petitions, protesting, and joining political parties. Given women's long-standing exclusion from and underrepresentation in more formal political roles, civil society – where citizens can have a voice on political issues despite not holding political office – has long been an important space for women's political engagement. Such activities may include membership in more formal civil society organizations, operating at the grassroots to national levels, as well as less structured participation in more informally constituted social movements.<sup>7</sup>

#### WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Political leadership refers to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives. This can entail running for and occupying elective and appointed offices at various levels in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. It can also include serving in leadership positions in political parties, as well as civil society organizations and social movements. In many parts of the world, women were largely absent from political leadership until recently. Since 1995, however,

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<sup>5</sup> Elstain, Jean Bethke (1981). *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Paxton, Pamela, Sheri Kunovich, and Melanie M. Hughes (2007). "Gender in Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 263-284.

<sup>6</sup> Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L. and Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

<sup>7</sup> This definition excludes other forms of civic participation that women might be engaged in as journalists and trade union activists, for example. Although these forms of engagement also have an impact on the level of gender inclusivity in democratic societies, they are further away from political decision-making than these other activities.

major shifts have occurred in all regions of the world and nearly all countries have seen improvements in the share of women running for and holding political office.<sup>8</sup> Although there is little systematic data, women are also increasingly visible as party and civil society leaders. A key catalyst for these changes was the goal of gender-balanced decision-making included in the Beijing Platform for Action signed by all governments at the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women that year. In 2021, the UN Commission on the Status of Women explicitly committed to the goal of 50-50 gender parity.<sup>9</sup>

## **ACCESS VS. POWER WPPL**

Global indicators of WPPL largely focus on the numbers of women in elected and appointed political positions. The political empowerment pillar of the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index, for example, measures the percentage of women in parliament, the percentage of women in ministerial positions, and the number of years with a woman head of state.<sup>10</sup> While the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals define WPPL more broadly to include participation and leadership "at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life," their indicators are similarly numerical: the proportion of seats held by women in national and local governments and the proportion of women in managerial positions.<sup>11</sup> This approach reflects a numerical approach to measuring WPPL, focusing on the degree to which women have been able to access high-level political positions.

A deeper understanding of WPPL, in contrast, seeks to go beyond numbers to understand the extent to which women exercise political agency and influence. This approach recognizes that increased access is not enough; women must also have voice and power inside political spaces. In the case of participation, access would include formal rights to vote and associate, while power would entail being able to exercise those rights freely in ways that have an impact on political outcomes. In terms of leadership, access might be measured in terms of the numbers of women elected, while power would capture the degree to which women are able to inform and steer political debates, among other possibilities.

Measuring access might include mapping women's formal rights, as well as collecting statistics on women's equal use of these rights. Power might be measured quantitatively, for example by mapping the leadership (versus rank-and-file) positions occupied by women in various branches of government as well as in civil society. However, more nuanced insights are likely to be qualitative, requiring deeper analysis of women's agency in political spaces informed by insider information from both supporters and opponents of WPPL. An example is violence against women in politics, which remains largely hidden as a barrier to WPPL despite growing evidence of violence, intimidation, and harassment of politically active women around the world. Both quantitative and qualitative insights are needed, therefore, to gain a fuller appreciation of barriers and opportunities to WPPL in particular contexts.

## **THE WPPL MATRIX**

Put together, these four concepts form the WPPL Matrix, illustrated in Table I. A comprehensive assessment of WPPL requires attending to questions about women's access to, as well as their power in, both political participation and political leadership. The research questions in the assessment tools seek to capture and measure these dimensions, and when doing the analysis and writing the final report, the

<sup>8</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (2015), *Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review*. Geneva: IPU.

<sup>9</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council (2021), *65th Commission on the Status of Women Agreed Conclusions*. New York: UN.

<sup>10</sup> World Economic Forum (2022), *Global Gender Gap Report 2022*. Geneva: WEF.

<sup>11</sup> United Nations (2015), *Global Indicator Framework for the Sustainable Development Goals and Targets of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. New York: UN.

research team should aim to provide succinct answers to these four questions. In their analysis, they should also consider how access and power, and participation and leadership, are potentially linked. In most cases, for example, access does not guarantee power, but power is unlikely without access.

**Table 1: WPPL Matrix**

	<b>Access</b>	<b>Power</b>
<b>Participation</b>	Are women politically engaged as citizens?	Do women exercise political agency and influence as citizens?
<b>Leadership</b>	Do women serve as political leaders, whether in elected or non-elected roles?	Do women exercise political agency and influence as political leaders?

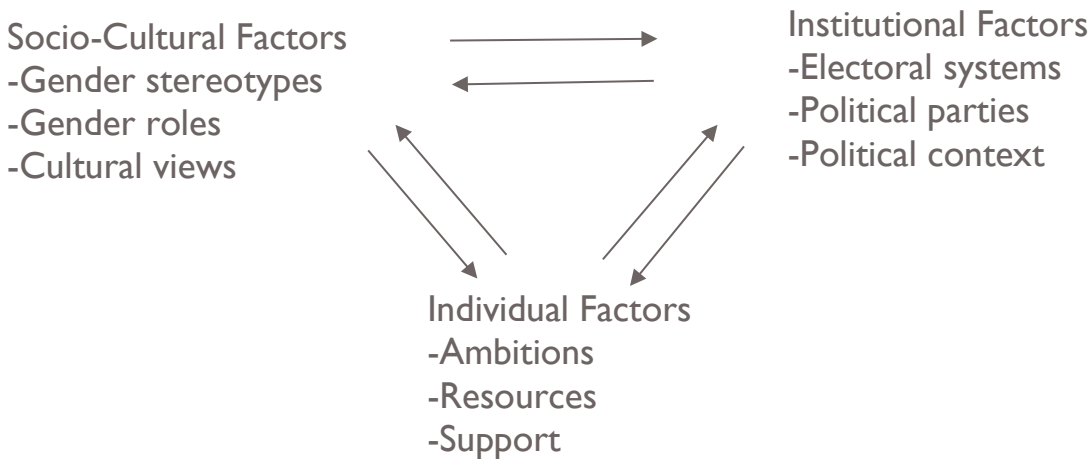
## IV. EXPLORING THE ECOSYSTEM OF WPPL

Research on WPPL highlights three interacting sets of factors shaping opportunities for women to participate substantively in every aspect of political life, whether this entails advocating on matters of policy, running for office, getting elected, or governing effectively.

**Socio-cultural factors** involve assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. They include gender stereotypes, prevailing views on gender roles, and cultural ideas about gender equality. **Institutional factors** structure the political environment, establishing the formal and informal rules and systems in which political actors operate. They include the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context. **Individual factors**, finally, refer to the calculations of individual women to participate (or not) in politics. These include levels of political ambition, as well as resources and support for their political engagement.

Understanding these factors as an “ecosystem” emphasizes how they work together and inform one another to create environments supporting or undermining WPPL (see Figure 1). Focusing only on one set of factors to the exclusion of the others is likely to lead to misinterpretations of the current situation – and, in turn, to the adoption of only partially effective solutions to expand WPPL. In contrast, an ecosystem approach suggests the need to consider more holistic strategies, combining a focus on norm change, institutional reforms, and individual shifts in thinking.

**Figure 1: The WPPL Ecosystem**



## SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Socio-cultural factors embody assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. In the case of WPPL, these factors reinforce an association between political power and men and masculinity, making it difficult for women to be seen and accepted as legitimate political actors.

Socio-cultural norms are rooted in what gender scholars call the ‘public/private divide.’ Across many different contexts, men tend to be associated with the public sphere of politics and the economy, while women tend to be assigned to the private sphere of the home and the family. This divide gives rise to ideas about how women and men are and should be. According to social role theory, men are framed as ‘agentic,’ as assertive, controlling, and confident. In contrast, women are portrayed as ‘communal,’ as primarily concerned with the welfare of others and thus as gentle, nurturing, and kind.<sup>12</sup>

Because leadership is seen to require agentic qualities, women leaders often face a perceived conflict between the qualities connected to being a ‘good woman’ (=communal) and those connected to being a ‘good leader’ (=agentic). In comparison, no such conflict exists for men, as gender stereotypes and qualities associated with leadership coincide.<sup>13</sup> These stereotypes also have practical implications: if women are expected to play a greater role in caregiving, they are far more likely than men to face challenges of work-life balance, which may lead them to opt out of political work entirely. The exception is when organizations – like political parties and elected bodies – adopt gender-sensitive measures like providing child care and scheduling meetings at family-friendly times.<sup>14</sup>

In governing expectations about what spaces women are or are not expected to enter, socio-cultural norms also shape ideas about acceptable behavior towards women in the public sphere, including hostility towards and punishment of women who are seen as violating widely held socio-cultural norms. These dynamics help explain why the widespread problem of violence against women in politics has remained largely invisible until recently – and, indeed, why this problem continues to be minimized as simply the ‘cost of doing politics’ for women.<sup>15</sup> Designing effective interventions thus requires working not only with women, but also with men, to undercut the gender stereotypes and highly normalized forms of gender-based violence detrimental to WPPL.

Scholars have used a variety of measures to capture socio-cultural norms. Early research on Western Europe highlighted the importance of women’s educational opportunities, uncovering strong correlations between levels of women’s parliamentary representation and the share of women university graduates.<sup>16</sup> Later studies found, however, that women’s overall levels of education play little or no role in explaining WPPL in developing countries.<sup>17</sup> It is worth noting, however, that while average levels of women’s education may not be statistically important in global studies, work on the impact of affirmative measures finds that elected women often have far higher levels of education than their male

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<sup>12</sup> Eagly, A. H., & Kite, M. E. (1987). Are stereotypes of nationalities applied to both women and men?. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 53(3), 451-462.

<sup>13</sup> Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological review*, 109(3), 573.

<sup>14</sup> Teele, D. L., Kalla, J., & Rosenbluth, F. (2018). The ties that double bind: social roles and women's underrepresentation in politics. *American Political Science Review*, 112(3), 525-541.

<sup>15</sup> Krook, M. L. (2020). *Violence against Women in Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>16</sup> Rule, W. (1987). Electoral systems, contextual factors, and women's opportunity for election to parliament in twenty-three democracies. *Western Political Quarterly*, 40(3), 477-498.

<sup>17</sup> Matland, R. E. (1998). Women's representation in national legislatures: Developed and developing countries. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 109-125; Yoon, M. Y. (2004). Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 29(3), 447-468.



counterparts.<sup>18</sup> This suggests that women's opportunities to pursue higher education may still be important for women to reach the highest political positions – and, in turn, to exercise power and influence in these roles.

Other researchers focus on economic variables like national development and rates of women's labor force participation. Scholars theorize that levels of development are important because modernization can lead to changes in societal values, including greater acceptance of gender equality.<sup>19</sup> However, as research on WPPL became more global in nature – and thus included more developing country cases – this hypothesized relationship was increasingly challenged by other researchers.<sup>20</sup> A driving factor has been the widespread adoption of gender quotas around the world, overwhelmingly in countries across the global South, suggesting that institutional changes can instigate, rather than simply reflect, prevailing socio-cultural norms.<sup>21</sup> As a result of these reforms, many of the top-performing countries in terms of the share of women in parliament are located not in Western Europe or in North America, but in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East.<sup>22</sup>

Early work on women's labor force participation argued, along similar lines, that growing levels of women's employment would have political consequences as women gained the skills and confidence to participate more actively in politics.<sup>23</sup> Other studies proposed, however, that aggregate levels of participation may be less important than the specific professions that women entered, as politicians around the world tend to come from a limited range of professions, primarily law, education, business, and activism.<sup>24</sup> Yet other scholars attribute advances in WPPL to growth in public sector jobs, which disproportionately employ women and thus may change the political interests of working women – in turn, spurring parties to nominate more women candidates as a way to attract greater electoral support from women.<sup>25</sup>

A third approach involves developing cultural indicators of openness to WPPL. Some scholars measure this with reference to the dominant religion of a given country. Early research in this vein, focused primarily on the West, found that Protestant states tended to have more women in legislative and executive leadership positions than countries with other dominant religions.<sup>26</sup> Later debates on Islam and women's representation suggested, but ultimately refuted, the notion that Muslim states were less likely than other countries to elect and promote women to political positions. This is largely due, again, to the widespread introduction of gender quotas, which have contributed to increases in WPPL in Muslim- and non-Muslim majority countries alike.<sup>27</sup> However, Islamist parties in these countries also

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<sup>18</sup> Franceschet, S., & Piscopo, J. M. (2012). Gender and political backgrounds in Argentina. In *The impact of gender quotas*, ed. Franceschet, S., Krook, M. L., & Piscopo, J. M. New York: Oxford University Press, 43-56. Sater, J. N. (2007). Changing politics from below? Women parliamentarians in Morocco. *Democratization*, 14(4), 723-742.

<sup>19</sup> Inglehart, R. & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>20</sup> Matland, R. E. (1998). Women's representation in national legislatures: Developed and developing countries. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 109-125; Yoon, M. Y. (2004). Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 29(3), 447-468.

<sup>21</sup> Bush, S. S. (2011). International politics and the spread of quotas for women in legislatures. *International Organization*, 65(1), 103-137.

<sup>22</sup> The IPU's monthly ranking of women in national parliaments can be found here: <https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=7&year=2022>.

<sup>23</sup> Togeby, L. (1994). Political implications of increasing numbers of women in the labor force. *Comparative Political Studies*, 27(2), 211-240.

<sup>24</sup> Lawless, J. L., & Fox, R. L. (2005). *It takes a candidate: Why women don't run for office*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Kenworthy, L., & Malami, M. (1999). Gender inequality in political representation: A worldwide comparative analysis. *Social Forces*, 78(1), 235-268.

<sup>25</sup> Rosenbluth, F., Salmond, R., & Thies, M. F. (2006). Welfare works: Explaining female legislative representation. *Politics & Gender*, 2(2), 165-192.

<sup>26</sup> Reynolds, A. (1999). Women in the legislatures and executives of the world: Knocking at the highest glass ceiling. *World Politics*, 51(4), 547-572.

<sup>27</sup> Kang, A. (2009). Studying oil, Islam, and women as if political institutions mattered. *Politics & Gender*, 5(4), 560-568.

often had higher levels of women’s representation than non-Islamist parties prior to quota adoption, due to their strong links to social welfare movements where women often have a strong presence.<sup>28</sup>

A second way to measure ‘culture’ is in terms of cultural attitudes towards gender equality, with higher levels of WPPL expected in countries where citizens are more open to women in leadership positions.<sup>29</sup> One study draws on the World Values Survey to aggregate individual level responses in 46 countries regarding women’s place in politics, education, and the labor force to devise a measure of ‘climate’ towards women’s political engagement. In contrast to work using religion as a proxy for culture, the authors uncover a strong relation between this more precise measure of cultural attitudes towards gender equality and WPPL.<sup>30</sup>

Table 2 summarizes the barriers posed by socio-cultural factors to WPPL. To consider how knowledge of these factors might translate into entry points for programming, the Table also identifies how these barriers might be transformed into opportunities to advance WPPL.

**Table 2: Socio-Cultural Barriers and Opportunities**

Factors	Barriers	Opportunities
<b>Gender stereotypes</b>	Views that women are communal, men are agentic	Demonstrate that communal traits are a strength in politics
<b>Gender roles</b>	Views that politics is a “man’s world,” woman’s place is at home	Emphasize the benefits of having more women in public life
<b>Cultural views</b>	Cultural attitudes against gender equality, in society, religion, etc.	Foster cultural attitudes more accepting of gender equality

## INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Institutional factors structure the political environment, establishing the rules and systems in which political actors operate and the formal and informal dynamics of political life. These factors interact with socio-cultural norms and individual-level characteristics and decisions to shape opportunities for women and men to become politically engaged and exercise political influence. Institutional factors shaping WPPL include features of the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context. Elite behaviors in the face of these opportunities and constraints can also be considered institutional factors, with elites serving as gatekeepers to women’s entry to, and exclusion from, political institutions and, in turn, political voice.

Electoral systems fall into three main categories: majoritarian, proportional, or mixed. Each system creates different structural opportunities for higher and lower levels of WPPL. Majoritarian, or plurality, systems are organized around single-member districts, where candidates run against each other and only one candidate can win. Given the high stakes of these contests, parties tend to adopt a conservative approach regarding the types of candidates they select, believing that men will be the most ‘safe’ or

<sup>28</sup> Clark, J. A., & Schwedler, J. (2003). Who Opened the Window? Women’s Activism in Islamist Parties. *Comparative Politics*, 35(3), 293-312.

<sup>29</sup> Inglehart, R. & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>30</sup> Paxton, P., & Kunovich, S. (2003). Women’s political representation: The importance of ideology. *Social forces*, 82(1), 87-113.

‘attractive’ candidates – and, due to broader patterns of gender inequality, will have greater access to the resources needed to win elections.

In proportional systems, organized around party lists, selection dynamics are generally quite different. Parties compete for a number of seats in each district and have incentives to put forward more diverse lists of candidates to appeal to different segments of the voting population.<sup>31</sup> In closed list systems, parties retain complete control over the ordering of the list of candidates; in open list systems, voters cast their ballots for individual candidates, wherever they appear on the list. When parties prioritize the selection of women candidates to top list positions, closed lists can be more beneficial to WPPL; when voters are less biased than party officials, open lists can be better for WPPL.<sup>32</sup> Mixed systems offer various combinations of majoritarian and proportional elements, but generally, the share of women elected tends to be higher in the proportional component.<sup>33</sup>

The rapid diffusion of electoral gender quotas around the world in recent decades has widened some of these electoral system differences. These affirmative measures take three main forms: reserved seats, which set aside seats for women in political assemblies; party quotas, which involve voluntary pledges by individual parties to include a share of women among their candidates; and legislative quotas, which require all parties to nominate a certain percentage of women.<sup>34</sup> In some countries, quotas do not only apply to elected but also to appointed positions, requiring that a certain share of women be nominated as cabinet ministers or as members of high courts.<sup>35</sup>

Electoral quotas tend to be easier to apply in proportional systems, where the existence of multiple seats makes it possible to decree that a certain share of list positions be allocated to women. They can be particularly effective in closed list systems, if the law also mandates list placement requirements (e.g., that every third list position be occupied by a person of the opposite sex) and stipulates the rejection of lists that do not comply. The impact of quotas in open list systems is less predictable, as an increase in the share of women on the lists may or may not be matched by the number of votes cast for women candidates.<sup>36</sup> Quotas may also work in majoritarian systems, however, especially if they take the form of reserved seats where only women are allowed to run for election in certain districts.<sup>37</sup> Party and legislative quotas can also be effective if there are strong rules (or political will) ensuring that women are nominated in winnable districts.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to electoral regulations, political party systems play a role in shaping women’s opportunities for political engagement. The number of parties can be important in several ways. In one-party regimes, governing parties often take public steps to demonstrate their inclusiveness in response to domestic and international pressures, leading to the introduction of quotas for women and other groups.<sup>39</sup> In multi-

<sup>31</sup> Tremblay, M. (Ed.). (2012). *Women and legislative representation: Electoral systems, political parties, and sex quotas*. New York: Palgrave.

<sup>32</sup> Schmidt, G. D. (2009). The election of women in list PR systems: Testing the conventional wisdom. *Electoral studies*, 28(2), 190-203.

<sup>33</sup> Vengroff, R., Creevey, L., & Krisch, H. (2000). Electoral system effects on gender representation: The case of mixed systems. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 1(2), 197-227.

<sup>34</sup> Krook, M. L. (2009). *Quotas for Women in Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>35</sup> Piscopo, J. M. (2015). States as gender equality activists: The evolution of quota laws in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 57(3), 27-49.

<sup>36</sup> Jankowski, M., & Marcinkiewicz, K. (2019). Ineffective and counterproductive? The impact of gender quotas in open-list proportional representation systems. *Politics & Gender*, 15(1), 1-33; Miguel, L. F. (2008). Political representation and gender in Brazil: quotas for women and their impact. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 27(2), 197-214.

<sup>37</sup> Bhavnani, R. R. (2009). Do electoral quotas work after they are withdrawn? Evidence from a natural experiment in India. *American Political Science Review*, 103(1), 23-35; Yoon, M. Y. (2013). Special seats for women in parliament and democratization: The case of Tanzania. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41, 143-149.

<sup>38</sup> Krook, M. L. (2009). *Quotas for Women in Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>39</sup> Bush, S. S., & Zetterberg, P. (2021). Gender quotas and international reputation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2), 326-341.

party contexts, innovations by one party related to WPPL may spur imitation by other parties.<sup>40</sup> Where very large numbers of parties exist, however, party proliferation may be counterproductive to women's electoral opportunities, as fewer seats become available for each party to fill with their candidates and men dominate as the heads of electoral lists.<sup>41</sup> The ideologies of dominant and/or major parties can also have an impact, as left-wing parties tend to be more open to the inclusion of diverse candidates – although more conservative parties may also nominate women as a means to attract women voters. Leftist parties, further, are more likely to adopt party quotas – and implement legislative quotas mandated by the state – due to their greater willingness to employ affirmative action strategies.<sup>42</sup>

At the individual party level, a host of formal and informal rules shape women's opportunities to access and have a voice in political debates. In addition to gender quotas for party candidates, some parties have women's sections, which create a specific channel for women to join political parties and influence party policies. Party constitutions might provide another point of support for WPPL, formalizing procedures, for example, for including women on party national executive committees. Party statutes and electoral platforms can also serve as an entry point to formalizing party commitments to gender equality, whether as part of the party structure or among its priorities in public policy-making. In respect to all these factors, the overall level of party institutionalization is important: parties that are strong organizations with well-established rules and structures are more likely to support advances in WPPL, compared to weak organizations created as a vehicle for individual politicians.<sup>43</sup>

In most countries, party leaders play a central role in selecting candidates – and thus, in determining whether women are likely or unlikely to win elections. This is true even in cases where party primaries determine which candidates are nominated: while such rules empower ordinary party members to have a say in candidate selection, leaders may exert strong influence on the outcomes. Most academic studies on this topic conclude that elite bias against women plays a vital role in reducing women's chances of being nominated. While elites often stress that their decisions are based on merit, research shows they often employ information shortcuts relying on background characteristics as a proxy measure for candidate quality.<sup>44</sup> These evaluations not only rely on gender stereotypes, but also the personal preferences and opinions of political gatekeepers who, more often than not, embrace patriarchal values sustaining men's domination and women's subordination. A study in the U.S. found, for example, that men party chairs expressed a consistent preference for traits associated stereotypically with men, traits that they also recognized in themselves.<sup>45</sup>

Men-dominated political networks also play a role, creating connections and relationships of trust among older and younger men that contribute to the continued over-representation of men in political life, especially in contexts where patronage and clientelism are an integral aspect of political recruitment.<sup>46</sup> Although 'informal' in many cases, these networks are an integral aspect of the established systems shaping women and men's participation. The converse is also true to some extent: the percentage of

<sup>40</sup> Caul, M. (2001). Political parties and the adoption of candidate gender quotas: A cross-national analysis. *The Journal of Politics*, 63(4), 1214-1229.

<sup>41</sup> Belschner, J. (2022). Electoral Engineering in New Democracies: Strong Quotas and Weak Parties in Tunisia. *Government and Opposition*, 57(1), 108-125.

<sup>42</sup> Krook, M. L., Lovenduski, J., & Squires, J. (2009). Gender quotas and models of political citizenship. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(4), 781-803.

<sup>43</sup> Bjarnegård, E., & Zetterberg, P. (2011). Removing quotas, maintaining representation: Overcoming gender inequalities in political party recruitment. *Representation*, 47(2), 187-199.

<sup>44</sup> Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1995). *Political recruitment: Gender, race and class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>45</sup> Niven, D. (1998). Party elites and women candidates: The shape of bias. *Women & Politics*, 19(2), 57-80.

<sup>46</sup> Bjarnegård, E. (2013). *Gender, informal institutions and political recruitment: Explaining male dominance in parliamentary representation*. New York: Palgrave.

women in party delegations to parliaments across Western Europe is higher in parties where there are more women in the party's leadership.<sup>47</sup> Political networks of women, similarly, offer mentorship and camaraderie and can be a strong source of support in forming alliances to advance women's careers and political agendas.<sup>48</sup> However, these groups are often less established and powerful than more long standing men-dominated political networks, which remain largely inaccessible for women due to when (late at night) and where (bars, golf courses, gym locker rooms) members typically connect.

The broader political context, finally, is important in setting the stage for WPPL. These contextual factors are 'institutional' to the extent that they structure the formal and informal dynamics of political life. Conflict, genocide, apartheid, foreign domination, military involvement in politics, and political instability, for instance, can have a profound influence on contemporary politics. Political instability and political transitions may foreclose chances for women to participate and have a voice in politics, both in civil society as well as government. However, these factors may also create unexpected opportunities for increasing WPPL, especially in countries emerging from periods of conflict where the focus is on writing new constitutions and electoral laws.<sup>49</sup> The introduction of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 has been vital in this respect by highlighting the need to include women and a gender perspective in post-conflict reconstruction. Similarly, experiences with apartheid and genocide, while devastating society, may raise greater awareness of the need to overcome systemic inequalities. This may inspire efforts to highlight cross-cutting identities like gender over ethnic divisions.<sup>50</sup>

In contrast, a political system dominated by the military may foreclose channels for women to participate.<sup>51</sup> Additionally, where former authoritarian regimes employed gender quotas, such measures may be discredited as a tool for empowering women in politics.<sup>52</sup> In conflict-affected settings, citizens may feel physically unsafe participating in political activities, with women voters and candidates being particularly vulnerable.<sup>53</sup> Conflict can heighten social divisions based on class or caste, ethnicity, tribal identity, race, religion, or ideology, which can divide women and render a focus on gender and politics less salient.<sup>54</sup> The rise of religious fundamentalism and anti-gender movements may also block (or reverse) progress on women's rights and WPPL in favor of more conservative gender roles.

For women in civil society, as well as women in opposition parties, closing and closed civic and political space can restrict WPPL. Authoritarian and backsliding regimes reduce the exercise of civic and political rights like freedom of expression by imposing restrictions on organizing, demonstrating, and protesting, as well as by clamping down on reporting from independent media outlets.<sup>55</sup> Shrinking civic and political freedoms can also be accompanied by a backlash against women's rights and contribute to growing

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<sup>47</sup> Kittilson, M. C. (2006). *Challenging parties, changing parliaments: Women and elected office in contemporary Western Europe*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

<sup>48</sup> Childs, S. (2013). Negotiating gendered institutions: Women's parliamentary friendships. *Politics & Gender*, 9(2), 127-151; Di Meco, L. (2017), *Women's Political Networks: Defining Leadership, Breaking Barriers, and Fostering Change*. Washington, DC: Wilson Center.

<sup>49</sup> Tripp, A. M. (2015). *Women and power in post-conflict Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>50</sup> Bauer, G. (2008). Fifty/fifty by 2020: Electoral gender quotas for parliament in east and southern Africa. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 10(3), 348-368.

<sup>51</sup> Bauer, G. (2018). "Did You See What Happened to the Market Women?": Legacies of Military Rule for Women's Political Leadership in Ghana? *Contemporary Journal of African Studies*, 5(1).

<sup>52</sup> Matland, R. E., & Montgomery, K. A. (Eds.). (2003). *Women's access to political power in post-communist Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press; Tadros, M. (2014). The politics of mobilising for gender justice in Egypt from Mubarak to Morsi and beyond. *IDS Working Papers*, 2014(442), 1-35.

<sup>53</sup> Krook, M. L. (2020). *Violence against women in politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>54</sup> Krook, M. L., & O'Brien, D. Z. (2010). The politics of group representation: Quotas for women and minorities worldwide. *Comparative Politics*, 42(3), 253-272.

<sup>55</sup> Roggeband, C., & Krizsán, A. (2020). *Democratic backsliding and the backlash against women's rights: Understanding the current challenges for feminist politics*. New York: UN Women.

violence against women human rights defenders in particular.<sup>56</sup> These contexts of repression rarely eliminate women’s activism, however, instead driving it to assume less visible forms.

Table 3 provides examples of some of the barriers posed by institutional factors to WPPL. To consider how knowledge of these factors might translate into entry points for programming, the Table also identifies how these particular barriers might be transformed into opportunities to advance WPPL.

**Table 3: Institutional Barriers and Opportunities**

Factors	Barriers	Opportunities
<b>Electoral systems</b>	Rules that create incentives for inequality, favoring men	Create rules that incentivize practices of gender equality
<b>Political parties</b>	Recruitment practices that privilege men over women Party rules and structures that exclude women members	Institute practices that foster equal opportunities for women and men Create party rules and structures to include and amplify women’s voices
<b>Political context</b>	Contexts of political instability, leading to women’s exclusion Practices undermining the safety of politically active women	Leverage moments of change to open political opportunities Develop mechanisms of support against violence

### INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

The third component of the political ecosystem focuses on decisions made at the individual level by women, which block or support women’s access and voice as a group in political spaces. Informed by socio-cultural norms and political institutions, these individual decisions fundamentally shape who participates and has a voice in politics, and thus overall levels of WPPL.

Research on political recruitment proposes a four-stage pathway to elected office, proceeding from the wide pool of citizens who are eligible to run for office to the smaller group of aspirants who come forward as potential candidates to those actually selected as candidates to those who ultimately gain elected office. This model thus identifies three key transition points: the move from eligible to aspirant (=the supply of potential candidates), the move from aspirant to candidate (=the demand for candidates with certain profiles), and the move from candidate to elected (=the election process itself).<sup>57</sup>

Gender scholars have been particularly interested in identifying which of these transition points is most responsible for women’s under-representation – asking whether it stems from a small supply of women willing to stand as candidates (=the political ambition argument), lack of demand for women candidates on the part of candidate selection committees (=the elite bias argument), or an aversion to voting for women candidates on the part of voters (=the voter bias argument).

<sup>56</sup> Amnesty International (2019). *Challenging Power, Fighting Discrimination: A Call to Action to Recognise and Protect Women Human Rights Defenders*. London: Amnesty International. There is also rising violence against women journalists but this are not the focus of this assessment framework.

<sup>57</sup> Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1995). *Political recruitment: Gender, race and class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Most studies of women’s political representation point to elite bias as the main explanation, highlighting deeply-entrenched patriarchal beliefs among political gatekeepers as the key factor preventing women’s access and power in political life. Nonetheless, most scholars also recognize that, contrary to the linear nature of the political recruitment model (and in line with the economic model of supply and demand), these three stages also interact with one another. Elite bias, for example, can affect the supply of women willing to come forward: if women do not see women nominated as candidates, they may dismiss the possibility of a political career and opt out of politics altogether. Elite bias can also shape perceptions of voter bias: by not nominating women, or by placing women candidates largely in losing districts or unfavorable list positions, elites may point to the lack of votes received by women to disguise their role in engineering women’s electoral losses.

Individual level factors shape the supply of potential candidates to political office – and, more broadly, the share of women willing to be active in other political roles like voting and activism. Research on political ambition highlights its strongly gendered nature. The Citizen Ambition Study surveyed nearly 3,800 eligible candidates in the United States, divided equally among women and men in the four professions that most often precede a career in American politics: law, business, education, and political activism. Despite similar levels of political activism and interest, eligible women candidates were much less likely than men of comparable socio-economic and professional backgrounds to consider running for office and to launch an actual candidacy. The likely reason is that, although they were similarly qualified to run for office, the women were more than twice as likely as the men to assert they were ‘not at all qualified’ to run for office and only half as likely to think that they would actually win.<sup>58</sup>

The supply of potential candidates is not limited to ambition, however. Resources like time, money, and political experience also shape the calculations of aspirants, determining their views on whether or not they feel they are equipped to run for office.<sup>59</sup> Without resources, women cannot realize their political ambitions. Indeed, some evidence suggests that women may need even greater resources than men to sustain a successful political campaign. Women face an uphill battle due to gender stereotypes, which may lead voters to draw inaccurate inferences regarding their personality traits, ideological stances, and policy priorities.<sup>60</sup> Citizens holding more traditional views are also more likely to say that women’s place is in the home and that women are too ‘soft’ to be successful at governing.<sup>61</sup> Perceptions that women are weaker candidates may explain why incumbent women office-holders are more likely than male incumbents to face opponents at both the primary and election stages,<sup>62</sup> even though they often outperform their male counterparts while in office.<sup>63</sup>

Offering support to women candidates can be crucial to bridging gaps between ambitions and resources. When party leaders encourage individuals to put themselves forward, they tend to focus their efforts on recruiting men rather than women.<sup>64</sup> This matters for representation because women are more reliant

<sup>58</sup> Lawless, J. L., & Fox, R. L. (2005). *It takes a candidate: Why women don't run for office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>59</sup> Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1995). *Political recruitment: Gender, race and class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>60</sup> McDermott, M. L. (1997). Voting cues in low-information elections: Candidate gender as a social information variable in contemporary United States elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 270-283.

<sup>61</sup> Dolan, K., & Sanbonmatsu, K. (2009). Gender stereotypes and attitudes toward gender balance in government. *American Politics Research*, 37(3), 409-428.

<sup>62</sup> Lawless, J. L., & Pearson, K. (2008). The primary reason for women's underrepresentation? Reevaluating the conventional wisdom. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(1), 67-82.

<sup>63</sup> Anzia, S. F., & Berry, C. R. (2011). The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson effect: why do congresswomen outperform congressmen? *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(3), 478-493; Lazarus, J., & Steigerwalt, A. (2018). *Gendered vulnerability: How women work harder to stay in office*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

<sup>64</sup> Lawless, J. L., & Fox, R. L. (2005). *It takes a candidate: Why women don't run for office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

than men on the existence of organizational and party support for their candidacies.<sup>65</sup> In addition to encouragement, fundraising support can increase the resources available to women to launch and win political campaigns. Training programs can enhance women’s self-confidence and improve their campaign skills, enabling them to showcase their qualifications more effectively. Addressing violence against women in politics, both in-person and online, can further help protect women seeking to exercise their political rights, reducing the perceived costs of pursuing a political career – and political activity more broadly.<sup>66</sup>

Finally, it is important to note that, while voters do hold gendered stereotypes about the competence and characteristics of candidates, these views rarely translate into voting behavior. Rather, party affiliation often plays a much greater role in voter choice, with citizens casting their votes for their preferred parties regardless of the candidate’s gender.<sup>67</sup> To the degree that gender does matter, the evidence suggests it operates largely in favor of women. In Ireland, for example, which uses a single non-transferable vote electoral system,<sup>68</sup> voters do not discriminate against women even when they have the opportunity to choose between men and women candidates of the same party.<sup>69</sup> Similar findings emerge in hypothetical experiments as well as in real-world electoral contests.<sup>70</sup>

Table 4 summarizes the barriers posed by individual factors to WPPL. To consider how knowledge of these factors might translate into entry points for programming, the Table also identifies how these barriers might be transformed into opportunities to advance WPPL.

**Table 4: Individual Barriers and Opportunities**

Factors	Barriers	Opportunities
<b>Ambition</b>	Views that women are not ‘qualified’ to hold office	Demonstrate that women are qualified and cultivate women’s ambitions
<b>Resources</b>	Lack of financial and other resources to sustain participation	Increase women’s skills, including in the areas of fundraising and political networking
<b>Support</b>	Lack of encouragement for women to participate and lead in politics	Encourage women to participate and lead, build their self-confidence

<sup>65</sup> Carroll, S. J., & Sanbonmatsu, K. (2013). *More women can run: Gender and pathways to the state legislatures*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>66</sup> Krook, M. L. (2020). *Violence against women in politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>67</sup> Dolan, K. (2014). Gender stereotypes, candidate evaluations, and voting for women candidates: what really matters?. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(1), 96-107; Matland, R. E., & Tezcür, G. M. (2011). Women as candidates: An experimental study in Turkey. *Politics & Gender*, 7(3), 365-390.

<sup>68</sup> Each voter casts one vote for one candidate in a multi-candidate race for multiple offices.

<sup>69</sup> McElroy, G., & Marsh, M. (2010). Candidate gender and voter choice: Analysis from a multimember preferential voting system. *Political Research Quarterly*, 63(4), 822-833.

<sup>70</sup> Aguilar, R., Cunow, S., & Desposato, S. (2015). Choice sets, gender, and candidate choice in Brazil. *Electoral Studies*, 39, 230-242; Murray, R., Krook, M. L., & Opello, K. A. (2012). Why are gender quotas adopted? Party pragmatism and parity in France. *Political Research Quarterly*, 65(3), 529-543.



## V. CONDUCTING A WPPL ASSESSMENT

A WPPL Assessment seeks to answer the four questions in the WPPL Matrix (see Table I):

- Are women politically engaged as citizens, in any of a wide range of possible political roles?
- Do women exercise political agency and influence as citizens?
- Do women serve as political leaders, whether in elected or non-elected roles?
- Do women exercise political agency and influence as political leaders?

An ecosystem approach suggests that these questions must be answered holistically, exploring the combined roles of socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors in creating barriers and opportunities that shape patterns of WPPL. Capturing these dynamics accurately requires a multidimensional research strategy, using different research methods to gain insights from a wide variety of stakeholders.

This section explains the structure of the Assessment, provides practical information for conducting the research, and introduces the quantitative and qualitative tools developed to support the Assessment.

### ASSESSMENT STRUCTURE

The purpose of the Assessment is to better understand the current state of WPPL and pinpoint challenges and opportunities for advancing WPPL in a particular country. The Final Report will be used by the donor/partner supporting the research to identify priority areas where its investments are likely to have the greatest impact.

The Assessment has three parts.

Part I involves mapping the current state of WPPL in a given country. To guide the research, the Assessment Framework lists questions that the research team should seek to answer to ensure a thorough exploration of women's access and power in relation to both political participation and political leadership. To assist the team in collecting the data, and ensure they have not missed anything, Annex H includes a Mapping WPPL Worksheet. Organized according to topics and questions, the Worksheet indicates likely source(s) and provides a space for the team to provide summary answers.

Part II entails analyzing barriers and opportunities to WPPL in a given country. The first step of the analysis focuses on the three components of the WPPL ecosystem, asking the research team to provide answers to questions on the socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors shaping women's exclusion (and inclusion) as political actors. Annex I provides Data Analysis Guidance to assist the research team in interpreting the data gathered using different research methods. To ensure the analysis is thorough and comprehensive, Annex J includes an Analyzing WPPL Worksheet. Organized by topic and factor, it lists likely source(s) and provides space to provide summary answers regarding barriers and opportunities, respectively.

The second step of the analysis focuses on stakeholders, asking the research team to connect the factors identified in the first stage to specific advocates and opponents of efforts to advance WPPL in the country. These stakeholders might include actors in state institutions, political parties, civil society, and the international community. Annex K provides a Stakeholder Analysis Worksheet for guidance. Organized by sector, it asks the research team to summarize barriers and opportunities, and in each

case, to note which specific actors are primarily responsible, whether for keeping the barrier in place or for (potentially) creating opportunities for action.

Part III involves transitioning from the research to the writing of the Final Report. The Report should include four sections: country background, the current state of WPPL, barriers and opportunities for advancing WPPL, and recommendations for action. Annex L includes a Report Template, indicating which parts of the research should go into the first three sections of the Report. While Part III includes an overview of sample interventions, the exact content of the fourth section should be developed in close consultation with the donor/partner supporting the research, who is best placed to guide both programmatic and diplomatic efforts in conjunction with bilateral, multilateral, and local partners.

## **ASSESSMENT TOOLS**

The Assessment employs four tools: a Desk Review, a Politician Survey, Key Informant Interviews, and Focus Group Discussions. These tools provide quantitative and qualitative sources of evidence to better understand the current situation as well as barriers and opportunities for advancing WPPL, engaging a wide range of stakeholders and diverse groups of women. Using a mix of methods has several important advantages. Quantitative methods focus on collecting and analyzing statistics from larger pools of respondents. These tools offer insights into broad trends across the population, for example in relation to public opinion on certain subjects. Qualitative methods focus on smaller numbers of cases. They aim for more in-depth analysis and can provide insights into meanings and interpretations, for instance what democracy means to people or why certain patterns exist.

Combining quantitative and qualitative tools increases the accuracy of research findings by triangulating data, using multiple techniques to shed light on the same research question. In this Assessment, the Desk Review should use existing quantitative and qualitative data to generate a relatively detailed background picture of WPPL dynamics in a given country. The other three tools developed in association with this Assessment Framework seek to create new data. The Politician Survey is quantitative in nature, using responses to two batteries of questions administered to men and women politicians to compare their perceptions and experiences related to WPPL. The Interviews and Focus Groups are qualitative in their design, using questions to gain individual- and group-level insights into dynamics of WPPL. They differ in that Interviews aim to gather the views of single respondents, in this case key informants with specialized knowledge on WPPL in the country. The Focus Groups, in contrast, use small group discussions with various types of stakeholders to reveal diverse views and potential disagreements on key questions.

Each of the tools is discussed in greater details below, with sample topics and questions outlined in Annex D: Desk Review Guidance, Annex E: Politician Survey, Annex F: Key Informant Interviews, and Annex G: Focus Group Discussions. Annexes E, F, and G also include sample templates for adapting the questions depending on the intended stakeholders, leveraging their particular areas of expertise. Prior to using these tools, the research team should consider whether the tools need to be revised in any way to take into account the local context. In turn, Annexes H, J, and K provide guidance for translating the insights gained from these tools into answers to the questions posed in the WPPL Assessment Framework.

## DESK REVIEW

The Desk Review should be the starting point of the Assessment, with considerable investment of time and resources to ensure that it is as complete and accurate as possible. A thorough desk review will help inform the assessment in valuable ways, by helping the team to ask relevant questions, understand the data, and avoid collecting data that already widely exists. Annex D lists specific resources for locating data on the current state of WPPL, socio-cultural factors, and institutional factors. Questions that cannot be answered in the Desk Review should be prioritized in data collection using the other tools.

To ensure that the Desk Review is informed by the past work of the donor/partner supporting the research, the team should request background materials from the donor/partner, as well as from other donors and partners operating in the country. If USAID is supporting the research, for example, the team should begin by requesting all USAID materials related to WPPL, including DRG Assessments, Political Economy Analyses, and Conflict Assessments and Electoral Assessments. The team should also review the USAID Country Development and Cooperation Strategy and program portfolio in the country to understand past, current, and future WPPL-related programming. They should search in particular for any evaluation materials that might provide insight into achievements and challenges identified by USAID and its partners.

In addition, the team should also consult a wide array of primary and secondary sources from both international and local sources. These sources might include academic studies, gray literature, gender equality databases, election and government data, public opinion surveys, civil society reports, and assessments authored by other international donors and implementing partners on gender equality, democracy, elections, political parties, political transitions, and human rights. The focus should be on gathering basic information about the country, including demographics, as well as key information regarding relevant political institutions and history, democratic trajectory, domestic legislation and constitutional guarantees related to WPPL, party statutes and codes of conduct related to WPPL, and the international and regional conventions on gender equality signed (or not signed) by the country.

## POLITICIAN SURVEY

The Politician Survey seeks to explore gender differences in the experiences and perceptions of political elites on questions related to WPPL. Sample topics include women's status in politics, elite awareness and perceptions of violence against women in politics, and the power and impact of women leaders. Including questions that tap into socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors, the Survey comes in two versions, one for men politicians and one for women politicians. The questions are the same, apart from an additional section in the women's survey asking about personal experiences with violence against women in politics. The team should analyze the responses together to determine to what degree men and women have similar or different experiences and perceptions, shaping how they view the problem and solutions needed to advance WPPL. The team should also conduct a separate analysis of women's experiences with violence, establishing how prevalent it is and how it might vary across different subgroups of women.

Depending on the resources available, the Survey might be implemented in several ways. One choice the team will have to make is whether to use open- or close-ended questions. Open-ended questions allow respondents to answer questions using their own words, while close-ended questions permit

stakeholders to choose from a set list of options established by the researchers. The team should consult with the donor/partner supporting the research on the best option for the country in focus and, in the case of close-ended questions, should ensure that answer options align with features of the political system and the country context. A second issue is whether respondents should fill in the surveys themselves, or if the team should employ enumerators to ask and record survey responses on behalf of the respondents. These concerns, as well as the proposed survey questions, are detailed at greater length in Annex E. In addition, to maximize the number of responses, the research team should consider approaching political parties and parliamentary groups for help in distributing and implementing the surveys.

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The Key Informant Interviews seek to engage with knowledgeable insiders to gain insights into the barriers and opportunities for enhancing WPPL. Annex F contains seven interview guides, with questions tailored to the expertise and insights of different stakeholders. The anticipated length of the interviews ranges between 30 and 60 minutes, with longer interviews proposed for women politicians and WPPL experts, including women in civil society. However, in the event of delays or time restrictions imposed by the interviewees, the interview templates also include sample priority questions, indicated in bold, should the research team need to limit the number of questions posed. The research team should consult closely with donor/partner staff to develop their lists of interviewees, and the donor/partner should facilitate research contacts wherever possible, including making introductions and providing contact details.

In terms of specific questions, the Woman Politician Guide is for interviews with women who have run for political office (both successfully and unsuccessfully) and/or have served as political leaders. To make the best use of time, the team should start with women politicians who have been especially active in promoting WPPL, as they are likely to have the most expertise and insight into the questions being asked. The Man Politician Guide is for interviews with men who have run for political office and/or are party members, whether elected or unelected. To make the best use of time, the team should start with men party members from the main political parties, such as those represented in or with party caucuses in parliament and leading opposition parties (if not in parliament). The sample should ideally include any men who have been especially active in promoting or opposing WPPL.

The Party Leader Guide is for interviews with men and women party leaders. The team should focus on approaching stakeholders from all the major political parties, focusing on top leaders as well as members of party national executive committees. The Electoral Official Guide is for interviews with members of election management bodies (EMB), as well as ordinary citizens serving as poll workers; it can also serve as the basis for interviews with election observers. The team should focus on accessing stakeholders involved in implementing election policy, as well as those tasked with focusing specifically on gender and elections, including through election observation.

The WPPL Expert Guide is for interviews with experts on women's political participation and leadership in the country. These experts might include academics, government officials, journalists or other media experts, and representatives of women's groups and other civil society organizations. The Donor and Implementing Partners Guide is for interviews with donors and partners who have funded or implemented programs to advance WPPL in the country. The USAID Staff Guide is for interviews with current (and possibly, past) Mission and Embassy staff.

## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The Focus Group Discussions seek to learn more about barriers and opportunities for enhancing WPPL through facilitated conversations among small groups of stakeholders. Distinct from the Politician Surveys and Key Informant Interviews, the aim of the Focus Groups is to engage rank-and-file members of civil society, political parties, and related sectors. Annex G includes five templates for Focus Group Discussions, with questions tailed to the expertise and insights of different stakeholders. The anticipated length of the focus group discussion is 60 minutes. The research team should consider organizing multiple focus groups for women in civil society and women in political parties. Fewer focus groups may be possible – and approaching stakeholders may be slightly more difficult – for locally elected women, women media workers, and men in civil society. To the extent possible, the team should try to organize several focus groups with young women and young men to capture potential generational differences with older women and men.

For each sector, the research team should recruit six to eight participants per Focus Group. A smaller number of participants might make group discussions less productive, while larger numbers might not afford sufficient opportunities for all group members to speak. In both instances, the research team should take care to avoid one or two people dominating the conversation, actively finding ways of drawing more quiet members into the group conversation. To encourage discussion, the moderator should share a set of ground rules prior to posing the first question. The research team should split participants into all-men and all-women groups, but aim to diversify the participants in terms of age, seniority, and demographic backgrounds. Organizers should also divide groups by party affiliation, with women from the same party taking part in the same focus group. These focus groups might be recorded, for the purposes of accurate note-taking, but the moderator should gain the consent of all participants before starting. Either way, the assistant should take written notes capturing the main themes.

## PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### RECRUITING A RESEARCH TEAM

Putting together a capable research team is vital to the success of the WPPL Assessment. Although the exact balance of skills across the team members might vary, the donor/partner supporting the research should aim to recruit a research team that combines topical expertise and local knowledge. Expertise on gender and politics, as well as familiarity with the country's political dynamics, are essential for ensuring that the data collection and analysis are well-informed and draw accurate conclusions. In most instances, recruiting the optimal team will require advertising the positions internationally and locally to attract the largest pool of applicants, although this may not always be practical due to time constraints.

The research team should include a leader, one or two additional members, and a logistician. The team leader should have deep expertise in gender and politics, be familiar with using quantitative and qualitative methods, and have strong writing skills. Team members should bring expertise in gender and/or politics in the particular country in focus and have prior experience in using quantitative and/or qualitative research methods. At least one team member should have experience conducting focus groups. In most cases, they should be recruited nationally and fluent in one or more local languages. The logistician should have a deep understanding of what is required to arrange and carry out research in the

country, including scheduling appointments and arranging transportation. For these reasons, he or she should be recruited nationally and fluent in one or more local languages.

Annex A includes more detailed Research Team Recruitment Guidance, including sample Terms of Reference for each category of team member. It also discusses the role of the donor/partner supporting the research, which should work closely with the research team to access key stakeholders; offer advice and feedback on the data collection and analysis, when appropriate; and lead efforts to liaise with international and local partners on potential recommendations. For these purposes, the donor/partner supporting the research should consider including a member of their own staff on the research team.

## ORGANIZING THE FIELD WORK

After the research team has been hired, its most urgent task is to organize a series of meetings to plan the research strategy. In addition to becoming acquainted with one another, members should arrange a call or in-person meeting with donor/partner staff to begin developing a list of field work contacts. They should decide who will be primarily responsible for which tasks – for example, collecting sources for the Desk Review, distributing the Politician Survey, conducting the Interviews, and running the Focus Groups. They should discuss whether the tools need any revising or updating in terms of their scope or content. They should also make a plan for storing and accessing the research materials.

As part of these conversations, the research team should discuss the best ways of sequencing the data collection and analysis. They should start with the Desk Review, which will place the country in context, facilitate data collection, and aid in identifying potential research contacts. While the Desk Review is underway, the logistician should start reaching out to potential stakeholders, adding names, times, and locations to a master schedule available to all members of the research team. At this early stage, the research team might consider prioritizing interviews with WPPL experts, as well as donors and implementing partners, who will be well-placed to brief the team on country dynamics, as well as to suggest names and contact details for other potential interviewees.

The team should then begin distributing the Politician Survey, as well as arranging the Interviews and Focus Groups. To ensure ample participation, the donor/partner supporting the research should assist the team with outreach to key stakeholders. The team should consider the best ordering of these tools. Doing the Survey first may establish patterns that the Interviews and Focus Groups can help explain; doing the Interviews and Focus Groups first can help illuminate trends that are later quantified through the Survey. In all cases, the team should analyze each set of data both on its own and then triangulate these findings with the insights provided by the other sources.

For the sake of efficiency, the research team should decide on the best division of labor, with different team members leading each of the tools and other members assisting, when necessary, in their implementation. Throughout the data collection stage, the research team should meet on a regular basis, whether virtually or in-person, with one another to discuss how the work is progressing. In addition to meeting with the donor/partner at the outset of the research, the team should aim to reconvene with donor/partner staff midway through the research, as well as at the end of the research when the Final Report is in the process of being drafted. Once written, the Report should be circulated to team members as well as the donor/partner for feedback before it is finalized.

For more specific guidance, including storage of the data and materials, see Annex B.

## ACCESSING KEY WPPL STAKEHOLDERS

The WPPL Assessment Tools require the research team to approach a variety of research informants. To make the best use of resources, the team should focus on actors who are knowledgeable about some dimension of WPPL, stemming from their work as politicians, activists, party members, election officials, and academics, among other possibilities. To ensure that research with human subjects is conducted ethically, Annex C on Accessing Key WPPL Stakeholders provides procedures and sample text for gaining informed consent from potential participants.

Annex C also offers guidance on the types of WPPL stakeholders who should be approached for the Assessment, with different research populations targeted for the Politician Survey, the Key Informant Interviews, and the Focus Group Discussions. In each case, the research team should leverage donor/partner contacts, make use of their own personal networks, and apply snowball techniques whereby stakeholders who have agreed suggest others who may be willing to participate. Among each group of stakeholders, the team should include both women and men and aim for diversity across respondents in terms of demographic characteristics and party affiliations. Table 5 summarizes the categories of stakeholders who should be approached for each research tool.

**Table 5: Summary of Tools and Stakeholders**

Research Tool	Stakeholder Categories
<b>Politician Survey</b>	Men Politicians Women Politicians
<b>Key Informant Interviews</b>	Women Politicians Men Politicians Party Leaders Electoral Officials WPPL Experts (Academics, current and former Government Officials, Journalists, and Representatives of Women’s and Youth Civil Society Groups and Election Observer groups) Donors and Implementing Partners USAID and Embassy Staff
<b>Focus Group Discussions</b>	Women in Civil Society (including separately with youth) Women in Political Parties (including separately with youth) Locally Elected Women Women Media Workers Men in Civil Society (including separately with youth)

## SUMMARY TIMELINE

The WPPL Assessment will require approximately three to four months to complete.<sup>71</sup> The first month should be dedicated to conducting the Desk Review, including an overview of existing survey data on WPPL, and planning the field work. The next month should focus on soliciting and carrying out Interviews and Focus Group Discussions, as well as on launching the Politician Survey. The following

<sup>71</sup> This is for the Assessment itself starting from the kick-off meeting to the submission of the first draft of the Report. It can take a week or two for the contractor to onboard the assessment team members.

month should be dedicated to the analysis and write-up of the Final Report. The final month should be set aside for one round of donor/partner review and revision by the research team.



## VI. ASSESSMENT PART I: MAPPING THE STATE OF WPPL

Part I of the Assessment is to map the current state of WPPL in the country. Using the tools outlined in the previous section, the research team should seek to answer the questions below, focusing on trends in women’s political participation and political leadership, respectively, as well as both access and power dimensions of WPPL. Addressing broad lines of inquiry, these questions do not appear across all the tools, nor are questions in the tools necessarily phrased in the exact same way.

To aid the team in this analysis, Annex H provides a Mapping WPPL Worksheet for recording numerical indicators as well as evaluating women’s exercise of political agency and influence. The Annex also notes which tool(s) might best provide the answers.

### WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation refers to a wide array of activities citizens can engage in to influence political decision-making or solve collective problems.

Table 6 lists questions related to women’s political participation, illustrating how the access and power questions connect to one another.

#### ACCESS WPPL

Access questions seek to assess women’s access to political participation, focusing on numerical indicators related to women as voters, activists, party members, and election officials.

#### POWER WPPL

Power questions seek to assess women’s voice and agency in political participation, focusing on the political empowerment of women as voters, activists, party members, and election officials.

**Table 6: Mapping Women’s Participation**

Access	Power
Are women registered to vote at the same rate as men? Are there any differences across sub-groups of women?	Are women able to exercise their right to vote, without interference from family members or other actors? Are certain groups of women more targeted than others?
What is the voter turnout of men versus women? Are there parts of the country, or certain communities, where women’s voter turnout is particularly high or low? Do turnout rates vary across different groups of women?	
Are there autonomous women’s groups in civil society? How representative are they of the diversity of women in the population?	If there are autonomous women’s organizations in civil society, how strong are they? Are they active and effective in getting women’s voices heard?

Access	Power
Do women participate in other political activities, like signing petitions or attending demonstrations, at the same rates as men? Are there any differences across sub-groups of women?	Are women able to participate in political activities, without interference from family members or other actors? Does this vary across different subgroups of women?
Are women a visible contingent during protests and/or social movements? Are there any protests/movements that are particularly dominated by women? What is the nature of these protests/movements?	Are there opportunities for women in civil society to inform government decision-making? If there is a state bureaucracy for women, for example a ministry of gender equality, are there specific channels for communicating with and influencing the work of the agency?
Are women active in civil society organizations that are not specifically focused on gender issues? Which kinds of organizations?	
Are there official women’s organizations connected to the government or ruling party in one-party regimes?	If there are official women’s organizations, how strong are they? Do they simply toe the party line? Are they active and effective in getting women’s voices heard?
In conflict-affected contexts: Are women citizens involved in any way in the peace process? To what extent are women represented in transition processes and institutions?	In conflict-affected contexts: Do women citizens have any voice or influence in the peace process or political transition?
What is the share of women among party members? Are women more present in some parties compared to others?	How and to what extent do women party members contribute to the development of party procedures and policies?
Is gender addressed in party statutes, regulations, and/or platforms?	How central is gender equality to the party’s policy and political goals? Do parties promote fair, equitable, positive images of women politicians when developing messages to the media and selecting party spokespeople?
Do political parties have women’s wings? If so, which political parties?	To what extent do women’s wings help determine or give input on candidate selection? How and to what extent do women’s wings contribute to the development of party procedures and policies?
Do women serve in the electoral management body (EMB) in equal numbers? What percentage of poll workers are women?	What roles do women in the EMB play? Do they have a voice in EMB policies and decisions? Do they serve as presidents/supervisors of polling stations/voting centers/tabulations centers?

Access	Power
Does the EMB have a policy on gender inclusion?	If so, what does this policy consist of, and is it effective in achieving its goals?
Does the EMB have a gender unit/directorate?	If so, does this department have an adequate budget and staff allocated to it? What formal and informal powers does it wield?
What are the percentages of women election observers and party agents? To what extent are diverse groups of women represented as domestic election observers?	Are women serving as election observers able to observe all aspects of the electoral process? Do observation methodologies include an explicit focus on barriers to women’s participation and leadership during all phases of the electoral process? Is analysis of the threat/occurrence of violence against women in politics and public life - in its online and offline forms - a key component of overall assessments of electoral integrity?

**WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

Political leadership refers to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives.

Table 7 lists questions related to women’s political leadership, illustrating how the access and power questions connect to one another.

**ACCESS WPPL**

Access questions seek to assess women’s access to political leadership, focusing on numerical indicators related to women as candidates, elected/appointed officials, and party and civil society leaders.

**POWER WPPL**

Power questions seek to assess women’s voice and agency in political leadership, focusing on political empowerment of women as candidates, elected/appointed officials, and party and civil society leaders.

**Table 7: Mapping Women’s Leadership**

Access	Power
<p>What is the share of women among political candidates at the national level? Are women candidates placed in electable positions or winnable seats to the same degree as men? Are there differences across parties in terms of the nomination of women candidates? How diverse are women candidates in terms of their demographic backgrounds?</p> <p>If data is available: what is the share of women among candidates at the subnational level?</p>	<p>Are women able to assume the positions to which they have been elected or appointed? Is this the same for all groups of women?</p>
<p>What is the share of women in the national parliament? Are women equally represented across the different political parties? How diverse are women representatives in terms of their demographic backgrounds?</p> <p>If data is available: what is the share of women in subnational government?</p>	<p>What committee assignments do women receive in parliament? Are women over-represented in some committees and under-represented in others – and, if so, which ones? Do these assignments mirror traditional ideas about gender roles, with women mainly assigned to “feminine” issue areas? Are women and men equally assigned to committees considered prestigious and/or important?</p>
	<p>Does the share of women in parliamentary leadership and/or committee assignments and committee leadership mirror their percentage in parliament? Where are the largest gaps?</p>
	<p>Do elected women remain in office, or are they quick to lose their positions or resign from office? Is this the same for all groups of women?</p>
<p>Is there a women’s caucus in parliament?</p>	<p>If so, is it formal or informal? What resources does it enjoy, if any? Is the women’s caucus seen as a key or marginal player within parliament? Are women from different parties equally engaged in its work?</p>
<p>What is the share of women in the national cabinet? How diverse are women ministers in terms of their demographic backgrounds?</p>	<p>Which portfolios do women cabinet ministers hold? Are these portfolios considered prestigious and/or important? Are women in the cabinet largely responsible for “feminine” portfolios, like children, culture, or education – or are they evenly distributed across policy domains?</p>

Access	Power
	Do women in government remain in office, or are they quick to lose their positions or resign from office? Is this the same for all groups of women?
How many women hold positions in the judicial branch of government? Are these positions elected or appointed? Do women in leadership reflect the diversity of women in the population?	What leadership positions, if any, do women occupy in the judicial branch? Are these positions considered prestigious or powerful?
In conflict-affected contexts: Are women involved in leadership roles in the peace process or political transition institutions and processes?	Do women in judicial leadership remain in office, or are they quick to lose their positions or resign? Is this the same for all groups of women?
In addition to leading women’s organizations in civil society, do women serve as leaders of civil society organizations that are not specifically focused on gender issues? If so, what types of organizations do they lead?	In conflict-affected contexts: Do women leaders have voice or influence in the peace process or political transition? Are they able to influence the degree to which resulting agreements and institutions are gender sensitive and gender transformative?
Do women serve in leadership positions in election observation groups?	Have women leaders in civil society had an impact on politics and/or public policy? What is the nature of this impact?
Do women serve as leaders within the electoral management body (EMB)?	Are women leaders within observer groups able to influence the scope/focus of post-election advocacy efforts to ensure that priority reforms put forward by citizen observer groups are gender sensitive and transformative?
	Are women serving in the EMB able to influence any aspects of the electoral process? In particular, are they involved in protecting the political rights of women through their work?

## VII. ASSESSMENT PART II: ANALYZING BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Part II of the Assessment involves connecting the country patterns uncovered in Part I to barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL. In the first step of the analysis, the research team should identify the socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors shaping women's exclusion (and inclusion) as political actors in the country. The second step of the analysis is to connect the factors identified in the first step to specific advocates and opponents of efforts to advance WPPL in the country. These stakeholders might include actors in state institutions, political parties, civil society, and the international community.

Annex I provides Data Analysis Guidance to assist the research team in interpreting the data gathered using different research methods.

Annex J provides an Analyzing WPPL Worksheet for breaking down barriers and opportunities to WPPL in the country. When considering the questions listed below, the team should consider *how* specific socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors shape the patterns discovered in Part I. This Worksheet notes which tool(s) might best provide these answers.

Annex K provides a Stakeholder Analysis Worksheet. Organized by sector, it provides space for the research team to summarize barriers and opportunities, and in each case, to note which actors are primarily responsible for keeping the barrier in place – or might be tapped for (potentially) creating opportunities for action.

As in Part I, the research team should focus on trends in women's political participation and political leadership, as well as both access and power dimensions of WPPL. Addressing broad lines of inquiry, the questions below do not appear across all the tools, nor are questions in the tools necessarily phrased in the exact same way.

### WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Table 8 provides a template for analyzing drivers of women's political participation, focusing on the ecosystem of socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors shaping women's access and power.

#### ACCESS WPPL

Access questions seek to assess barriers and opportunities to women's access to political participation as voters, activists, party members, and election officials.

#### POWER WPPL

Power questions seek to assess barriers and opportunities to women's voice and agency in political participation as voters, activists, party members, and election officials.

**Table 8: Analyzing Drivers of Women’s Participation**

Access	Power
<b>Socio-Cultural Factors</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are public attitudes supportive of women’s political participation as voters, activists, party members, and/or election officials? Do prevailing gender stereotypes shape women’s opportunities to participate in these political roles?</li> <li>• Are there any actors that actively seek to advance women’s civic and political rights? How vocal and effective are they? How do they justify including women as voters, activists, party members, and/or election officials?</li> <li>• Are there any actors that actively seek to repress women’s civic and political rights? How vocal and effective are they? How do they justify excluding women as voters, activists, party members, and/or election officials?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is gendered violence or intimidation used as a way to deter the participation of women as voters, activists, party members, or election officials during elections? Are some subgroups of women more targeted than others for violence?</li> <li>• Is this violence mainly online, offline, or both? Who are the main perpetrators of this violence? How accepted or normalized is this violence by the larger public and other political actors, especially when it targets women?</li> <li>• Are there any civil society organizations/non-state actors that actively seek to amplify women’s political voice and agency? How vocal and effective are they?</li> <li>• Are there any civil society organizations/non-state actors that actively seek to repress women’s political voice and agency? How vocal and effective are they?</li> </ul>
<b>Institutional Factors</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has the country signed international and/or regional conventions with provisions on WPPL, focused on women’s participation as voters, activists, party members, and/or election officials?</li> <li>• Does the constitution or electoral framework provide clear provisions on the rights of women to vote and organize? Does it specifically prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender?</li> <li>• Are there any other potential legal impediments to the exercise of women’s political rights, for example related to the age of marriage, citizenship, land tenure, family status, divorce, or guardianship?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If the country has signed international and regional conventions with provisions on WPPL, are these provisions applied and/or implemented in national legislation?</li> <li>• Is there a law on violence against women in politics, or any other legal instrument (electoral laws, party laws, WPS action plans, among other possibilities), that addresses violence against women as voters, activists, or election officials?</li> <li>• If so, does the state have the capacity and political will to monitor and respond to incidents? Are incidents of violence against women in politics integrated into early warning early response monitoring efforts by local or regional CSOs?</li> <li>•</li> </ul>

Access	Power
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do state policies contribute to gender differences in voter registration, positively or negatively? Do these policies affect any subgroups of women more than others?</li> <li>• Are polling places safe to get to and accessible to women? Do state policies seek to encourage the voter turnout of women in any way, for example by creating women-only polling stations or hiring women election personnel? How do these factors vary for different groups of women?</li> <li>• Do state policies contribute to gender differences in political participation outside of voting – for example, in signing petitions, joining political parties, or attending demonstrations? Do these policies affect any subgroups of women more than others?</li> <li>• Are party meetings held in locations that are both safe and formally and informally accessible for all members? Are meetings scheduled for times that generally do not interfere with family obligations such as caretaking, and meal preparation? Is childcare provided?</li> <li>• Are there any features of the political context that undermine or promote women’s access to political participation, for example ongoing conflict or closing civil and political space? Is the country in a period of political instability or political transition?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If there are official women’s organizations connected to the government or ruling party, do these organizations receive any state/party support, for example in terms of funding? Are there rules guaranteeing their representation on any state/party bodies? What channels exist, if any, for women to influence government policy?</li> <li>• If political parties have women’s wings, do parties provide any financial support for section activities? Are there rules guaranteeing women’s wing representation on the party’s executive committee? What channels exist, if any, for women to influence party policy?</li> <li>• Do political parties provide any type of training to members or candidates on women’s issues and/or gender sensitivity? What kinds of parties promote negative vs. positive images of women in their media messages?</li> <li>• Are there any party policies or initiatives to combat violence against women in politics? Do parties have the capacity and political will to monitor and respond to incidents of violence against women in their ranks? Do parties adhere to codes of conduct with provisions on gender-based violence in the lead up to elections?</li> <li>• Are there any features of the political context that undermine or promote women’s political voice or agency?</li> </ul>
<b>Individual Factors</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do women express similar levels of political interest as men?</li> <li>• Do women seek to participate in politics, even if this right is denied or blocked?</li> <li>• Do women have the same resources as men to participate in politics as voters, activists, party members, or election officials? What resources do they lack, if any?</li> <li>•</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If there are autonomous women’s organizations in civil society, what affects their ability to get women’s voices heard?</li> <li>• Do any actors offer funding to women-led civil society organizations? Is this equal to the support granted to civil society organizations led by men?</li> </ul>



Access	Power
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do any actors actively promote women’s participation as voters, activists, party members, or election officials? How do they promote women’s participation?</li> <li>• Do any actors seek to suppress the efforts of women to participate as voters, activists, party members, or election officials?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If women face violence as voters, activists, party members, or election officials, who perpetrates this violence? Does this violence affect women’s political behavior in any way?</li> <li>• Do acts of violence against women as voters, activists, party members, and election officials leverage their lack of resources to undermine their political voice and agency?</li> <li>• Do any actors provide gender-sensitive security training, including digital security training, for women as voters, activists, or election officials?</li> </ul>

**WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

Table 9 provides a template for analyzing drivers of women’s political leadership, focusing on the ecosystem of socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors shaping women’s access and power.

**ACCESS WPPL**

Access questions seek to assess barriers and opportunities to women’s access to political leadership as candidates, elected/appointed officials, and civil society leaders.

**POWER WPPL**

Power questions seek to assess barriers and opportunities to women’s voice and agency in political leadership as candidates, elected/appointed officials, and civil society leaders.

**Table 9: Analyzing Drivers of Women’s Leadership**

Access	Power
<b>Socio-Cultural Factors</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are public attitudes, as measured by public opinion surveys, supportive of women in political leadership positions? Do prevailing gender stereotypes have an impact on women’s opportunities to pursue political leadership roles?</li> <li>• Do political elites perceive that the public is not supportive of women in leadership positions, for example due to gender stereotypes? Are these patterns similar among men and women politicians?</li> <li>• Are there any civil society organizations/non-state actors that actively seek to advance women’s political leadership? How vocal and effective are they? How do they justify including women as candidates, elected/appointed officials, and civil society leaders?</li> <li>• Are there any civil society organizations/non-state actors that actively seek to repress women’s political leadership? How vocal and effective are they? How do they justify excluding women as candidates, elected/appointed officials, and civil society leaders?</li> <li>• Is gendered violence or intimidation used as a way to deter women from running for positions of political leadership? Are some subgroups of women more targeted than others for violence?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is violence or intimidation used as a way to prevent women from exercising power or influence as political leaders, whether elected or non-elected? Are certain types of women particularly targeted for political violence?</li> <li>• Is this violence or intimidation mainly online, offline, or both? Who are the main perpetrators of this violence? How accepted or normalized is this violence by the larger public and other political actors, especially when it targets women?</li> <li>• To what extent is there disinformation, hate speech, perpetuation of negative stereotypes, and/or violence against women candidates, elected/appointed officials, and civil society leaders in traditional media and on social media platforms? To what extent do the media cover instances of violence against women in politics? If so, how is it typically covered?</li> <li>• How do the media generally portray women and their role in politics and leadership? How does this vary across different groups of women? Does election coverage typically fairly portray women candidates? To what extent do the media cover instances of violence against women leaders? If so, how is it typically covered?</li> </ul>
<b>Institutional Factors</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has the country signed international and/or regional conventions with provisions on WPPL, focused on women’s political leadership as candidates, elected/appointed officials, and/or civil society leaders? Which conventions, specifically?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If the country has signed international and regional conventions with provisions on WPPL focused on women’s political leadership, are these provisions applied and/or implemented in national legislation?</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What type of electoral system is used: majoritarian, proportional, or mixed? If the system is proportional, are lists open or closed? How does the electoral system shape women's opportunities to run and be elected as candidates?</li> <li>• Does the electoral legal framework provide clear provisions on women's rights to be elected and hold political office? Are there quotas or other affirmative action measures to encourage the selection of women candidates or the election of women to political office? If so, are these policies embedded in national legislation or party constitutions? How effective are these measures? In countries with reserved seats, how many women win quota versus open seat contests?</li> <li>• Are there quotas or other affirmative action measures for women in the judicial or executive branches of government? If so, what are the details of these policies? How effective are these measures in promoting women's access to elected and appointed positions?</li> <li>• Are there any aspects of the election law, political party law, or other election-related legislation and regulations that indirectly or directly disadvantage women and/or create barriers to leadership for them? How, if at all, does this vary across different groups of women?</li> <li>• Are there any policies on free media time in state-run media outlets? How equitably are these policies implemented across men and women candidates?</li> <li>• Are there any other potential legal impediments to women becoming political leaders, for example related to the age of marriage, citizenship, land tenure, family status, divorce, or guardianship?</li> <li>• How many parties compete in elections? What are the ideologies of dominant and/or major parties? How do parties create or block opportunities for women to become leaders?</li> <li>• What formal and informal criteria do party elites apply when selecting candidates and appointees? To what extent are these criteria</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are there any features of the political context that undermine or promote women's voice and agency in political leadership, for example ongoing conflict or closing civil and political space? Is the country in a period of political instability or political transition? Is religious fundamentalism on the rise?</li> <li>• Is there a law on violence against women in politics, or any other legal instrument (electoral laws, party laws, WPS action plans, among other possibilities), that addresses violence against women as political leaders? Does the state have the capacity and political will to monitor and respond to incidents of violence against women in leadership roles?</li> <li>• Is there a sexual harassment policy in place in the executive, legislative, and/or judicial branches of government? Are gender-based considerations integrated into any existing codes of conduct? Are these measures enforced?</li> <li>• Are there any party policies or initiatives to combat violence against women in politics? For example, are there private, secure mechanisms for filing complaints against sexual harassment or other forms of gender-based violence? Do parties have the capacity and political will to monitor and respond to incidents of violence against women in their ranks?</li> <li>• Do any actors provide gender-sensitive security training, including digital safety training, for women as candidates, elected officials, or civil society leaders?</li> <li>• If there is a women's caucus in parliament, does it receive any resources from parliament, for example funding, office space, or staff support?</li> <li>• Are there formal or informal practices or policies in parliament that negatively impact women's ability to serve, for example schedules, allocation of resources, speaking times, or voting rules?</li> <li>• Are there any parliamentary rules in place to enable women to fully exercise their roles, for example proxy voting if a member cannot be physically present, provisions for parental leave and child care, or permission to bring children onto the floor of parliament during a</li> </ul>
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Access	Power
<p>gendered?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do any parties offer targeted support to women candidates, for example training or financial resources? How does this support compare to that provided to men candidates?</li> <li>• Do any parties promote women’s party leadership or have formal rules to ensure gender equality in party leadership? Are there leadership training opportunities for women party members?</li> <li>• Are there any actors that openly encourage (or discourage) women’s political leadership in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government? How vocal and effective are they in supporting (or preventing) women’s access to political leadership?</li> <li>• Are there any features of the political context that undermine or promote women’s access to leadership, for example ongoing conflict or closing civil and political space? Is the country in a period of political instability or political transition? Is religious fundamentalism on the rise?</li> </ul>	<p>debate or vote?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In terms of women’s committee assignments in parliament, on what formal or informal bases are these positions assigned?</li> <li>• What sort of training, if any, do newly elected MPs – men and women – receive? Do MPs receive any training on gender analysis, gender responsive budgeting, or gender equity issues?</li> <li>• If parties feature gender equality or other issues of priority to women on their platforms or legislative agendas, what roles do women candidates and elected officials play in getting women’s issues on the agenda?</li> </ul>
<b>Individual Factors</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do women express similar levels of political interest and ambition as men, as measured by public opinion surveys?</li> <li>• Do women view themselves as less qualified to hold political office?</li> <li>• Do women seek to stand as candidates, political party leaders, and civil society leaders, even if there are attempts by others to deny or block these rights?</li> <li>• Do political parties actively encourage women to run for office? If so, are these formal or informal policies? Are specific groups of women targeted more than others?</li> <li>• Do they encounter any informal strategies to discourage them from running or winning, including discouragement from family, traditional leaders, or party officials?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do women candidates face gendered violence or intimidation on the campaign trail? If women leaders face violence or intimidation, who perpetrates this violence? Are certain groups of women more vulnerable than others?</li> <li>• Are women able to assume the positions to which they have been elected or appointed without fear or threat of violence? Do women in elected and appointed positions become less effective or leave office due to fear or threat of violence?</li> <li>• Do women leaders in civil society reduce their scope of political work, due to fear or threat of violence? Are certain groups of women or organizations more targeted than others?</li> </ul>

Access	Power
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How important are political networks to candidate selection opportunities? What kinds of individuals are in these networks? Are there networks of current and former women elected and appointed officials? If so, how influential are these networks?</li> <li>• Do women candidates have equal access to political funding, either public or private? Are there formal or informal factors that disadvantage women in seeking and acquiring private campaign funding?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What resources are available to elected officials, for example staff, training, or researchers? How are these resources formally allocated? Is the allocation gender equitable?</li> <li>• Do women have adequate information and resources (time, money, transportation, access to legal counsel, etc.) to bring election disputes and complaints to the correct bodies? Do they receive an impartial hearing and any redress through electoral dispute resolution processes?</li> <li>• Do election observer reports/statements include a specific focus on the experience of women candidates, party leaders, and elections officials, including incidences of violence against women in politics?</li> </ul>

**STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS**

After using the Analyzing WPPL Worksheet in Annex J to provide a summary analysis of barriers and opportunities to WPPL in the country, the research team should then turn to Annex K, the Stakeholder Analysis Worksheet, to link these dynamics to specific advocates and opponents of efforts to advance WPPL. The team should fill out four worksheets, corresponding to the four boxes of the WPPL Matrix.

The Worksheet identifies four primary categories of stakeholders: state actors, political parties, civil society, and the international community. Going sector by sector, the team should note which specific actors in each category create barriers and opportunities for WPPL, including keeping the barrier in place or (potentially) creating opportunities for action. Answers to these questions should be drawn from data gathered using the four Assessment tools, as appropriate.

The sections below discuss each set of stakeholders in turn to provide background for the research team in terms of how actors in each sector might be gatekeepers or change agents for WPPL. Patterns of opposition and support may not be the same across countries, and thus the team should keep an open mind when putting together this analysis. In addition to mapping stakeholder positions on WPPL, the team should be attentive to the interests and resources of these actors, to consider both (1) how their interests might be aligned to harness their potential for change, and (2) how opposition by certain actors might be overcome.

**STATE ACTORS**

State actors include actors in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, including the security sector. A substantial literature on gender and politics explores the phenomenon of ‘state feminism,’ where governments and bureaucrats adopt structures and policies to advance women’s

rights.<sup>72</sup> In some contexts, these initiatives emerge from partnerships between women in civil society and women in the state.<sup>73</sup> In others, they stem from growing international pressures for gender mainstreaming, combined with mobilization by local women's groups.<sup>74</sup> In yet other cases, autocratic men leaders push forward gender equality reforms to bolster the reputation of their modernizing regimes.<sup>75</sup>

Parliaments may also take a number of concrete steps to advance WPPL. Work on 'gender-sensitive parliaments' argues for conceptualizing parliament as a workplace and thinking about how to create a more welcoming (and less hostile) work environment for women. Such efforts may entail revising the hours of parliamentary sittings to make them more family-friendly, introducing policies prohibiting sexual harassment, and even building more inclusive facilities for women, for example women's bathrooms close to plenary chambers and meeting rooms.<sup>76</sup> Gender-sensitive changes have been instigated by international organizations sharing best practices, as well as by the entry of growing numbers of women into previously male-dominated political spaces.

Overarching questions: What are the views of various state actors on the question of enhancing WPPL? Are there certain actors or sectors who are particularly supportive? Are there particular actors or sectors who are particularly opposed to promoting WPPL? What are their motivations? What types of arguments do they use?

## POLITICAL PARTIES

In many countries, political parties are the main gatekeepers to gender equality in political life. In terms of women's political participation, they provide direct contact to elections and the political process for ordinary citizens, recruiting them as members who are mobilized as voters for the party. Party women's wings, however, may be a double-edged sword. Although women's sections may provide a platform for women to influence and advance within the party, women's wings may also serve as a way to 'ghettoize' party women, channeling them away from the main locations of power within the party.<sup>77</sup> Parties also, in most countries, select candidates for political office. Party support is therefore often crucial for women to gain office and advance as leaders at all levels of politics.<sup>78</sup>

The size and number of political parties varies across countries, creating different opportunities for advocates to advance WPPL. Studies on women and politics find, however, that parties tend to be most responsive to such demands when they believe that taking action on this issue may bring them electoral benefits. Parties that have recently lost support, or who seek to hold onto power, tend to be the most amenable to demands to increase WPPL. Party ideology can also be a factor: parties on the left side of the political spectrum tend to be more open to demands for equality and affirmative action, while parties on the right tend to hold onto more traditional views of gender roles.<sup>79</sup> Single-party regimes,

<sup>72</sup> Stetson, D. M., & Mazur, A. (1995). *Comparative state feminism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

<sup>73</sup> Holli, A. M. (2008). Feminist triangles: A conceptual analysis. *Representation*, 44(2), 169-185.

<sup>74</sup> True, J., & Mintrom, M. (2001). Transnational networks and policy diffusion: The case of gender mainstreaming. *International studies quarterly*, 45(1), 27-57.

<sup>75</sup> Bjarnegård, E., & Zetterberg, P. (2022). How Autocrats Weaponize Women's Rights. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(2), 60-75; Bush, S. S., & Zetterberg, P. (2021). Gender quotas and international reputation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2), 326-341.

<sup>76</sup> Palmieri, S. (2011). *Gender-sensitive parliaments: a global review of good practice*. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.

<sup>77</sup> Childs, S. L., & Kittilson, M. C. (2016). Feminizing political parties: Women's party member organizations within European parliamentary parties. *Party Politics*, 22(5), 598-608.

<sup>78</sup> Lovenduski, J., & Norris, P. (1993). *Gender and party politics*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

<sup>79</sup> Kittilson, M. C. (2006). *Challenging parties, changing parliaments: Women and elected office in contemporary Western Europe*. Ohio State University Press; Lovenduski, J., & Norris, P. (1993). *Gender and party politics*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

whatever their ideology, may also perceive pressures from both international and domestic audiences to legitimize their rule by showcasing their inclusion of different sectors of society, including women.<sup>80</sup>

Overarching questions: Are any political parties particularly outspoken on the topic of WPPL? Why do they seem to be particularly supportive? Do any parties speak out against efforts to promote WPPL? What are their motivations? What types of arguments do they use?

## CIVIL SOCIETY

The vibrancy of civil society is a key indicator of democracy and a major site of women's political activity. Participation in non-violent social movements, like labor unions, environmental activism, or peacebuilding, for example, can inspire women to create their own organizations, including those on gender issues. These groups can help give women a voice in public life, creating pressures for political reforms and policy change. Activism of all types can also serve as a political training ground for women leaders, cultivating useful political skills like public speaking and making connections that may be important for a successful political career. However, growing authoritarianism around the world also means that civil society engagement may not be a viable channel for participation or voice, due to closing civic and political space.<sup>81</sup> Even in more democratic contexts, not all movements may be gender transformative or aware.

Civil society organizations, and particularly women's rights groups, tend to be at the heart of efforts to enhance WPPL, along both its access and power dimensions. Their motivations for mobilizing on this issue tend to derive from their political principles, focused on promoting equality and women's rights. In most contexts, they are responsible for initiating debates on WPPL, pressuring parties to adopt reforms, and lobbying parliaments, transitional assemblies, and governments to institute gender quotas and create more gender-sensitive political institutions.<sup>82</sup> At the same time, however, other groups in civil society may also cultivate opposition to WPPL, including religious fundamentalist organizations which may employ violence as a strategy to eliminate women from the public sphere.<sup>83</sup> The private sector can play both types of role, supporting or undermining women's advancement as they rally around certain parties or candidates, providing votes and potential financial support.

Overarching questions: To what extent do groups in civil society participate in debates over WPPL? How have they played a role in advancing WPPL? Are there specific groups that seek to roll back WPPL? If so, what are their motivations? What types of arguments do they use? To what extent are non-violent democratic movements gender transformative/aware? What role do women play within larger social movements?

## INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Over the last few decades, international organizations and donor agencies have become increasingly supportive of efforts to promote WPPL, including through commitments to adopting a feminist foreign policy. Through declarations, resolutions, and programming around the world, the international

<sup>80</sup> Bjarnegård, E., & Zetterberg, P. (2022). How Autocrats Weaponize Women's Rights. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(2), 60-75; Donno, D., & Kreft, A. K. (2019). Authoritarian institutions and women's rights. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(5), 720-753.

<sup>81</sup> Chenoweth, E., & Marks, Z. (2022). Revenge of the Patriarchs: Why Autocrats Fear Women. *Foreign Affairs* 101, 103.

<sup>82</sup> Krook, M. L. (2009). *Quotas for women in politics*. New York: Oxford University Press; Lovenduski, J., & Norris, P. (1993). *Gender and party politics*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

<sup>83</sup> Krook, M. L. (2020). *Violence against women in politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

community has established a norm of ‘gender-balanced decision-making’ that has provided crucial support for local efforts to institute quotas and other measures to increase WPPL.<sup>84</sup> In contexts where resources are scarce, funding from international actors has been vital to placing this issue on the agenda and ensuring support for programs on the ground to bolster women in politics.<sup>85</sup>

Overarching questions: What role has the international community played in country-levels debates on advancing WPPL? What forms of support, if any, have they offered to promote WPPL? What are their motivations? What types of arguments do they use?

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<sup>84</sup> Krook, M. L., & True, J. (2012). Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality. *European journal of international relations*, 18(1), 103-127.

<sup>85</sup> Bush, S. S. (2011). International politics and the spread of quotas for women in legislatures. *International Organization*, 65(1), 103-137.



## **VIII. ASSESSMENT PART III: WRITING THE REPORT**

Part III of the Assessment is to write the Final Report, pulling together and organizing the materials collected and analyzed in Parts I and II. Annex L provides a Report Template, outlining which sections should be included in the Final Report and what each section should contain.

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Executive Summary should provide a succinct summary of the research conducted by the Assessment team, with subsections on Country Background, the Current State of WPPL, Barriers and Opportunities to WPPL, and Recommendations for Action. It should be no longer than 1-3 pages.

### **COUNTRY BACKGROUND**

This section should present a brief overview of the country's WPPL ecosystem, focusing on Socio-Cultural Factors, Institutional Factors, and Individual Factors. The Desk Review should be the main source of material, either following the categories outlined in Annex D: Desk Review Guidance or the Background Questions listed in Part II. This section should also be relatively short, as the Barriers and Opportunities section will go into these factors in greater-depth.

### **CURRENT STATE OF WPPL**

This section should report the current state of WPPL in the country, responding to the four questions in the WPPL Matrix related to Access to Participation, Power in Participation, Access to Leadership, and Power in Leadership. Each subsection should provide answers to the questions posed in Part I. The Desk Review is likely to be the primary source of material, but the other Assessment tools will also be needed to ensure a comprehensive overview.

### **BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO WPPL**

This section represents the heart of the WPPL Assessment. Addressing the four questions in the WPPL Matrix – Access to Participation, Power in Participation, Access to Leadership, and Power in Leadership – it should bring together answers from the two steps of Part II. The team should first answer the questions in the barriers and opportunities portion and then move to the stakeholder analysis. The reader should finish this section with a clear understanding of the dynamics at work in the country with regard to WPPL, along with some sense of what might be some potential solutions for improvement.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION**

This section should contain some recommendations for action, stemming from the analyses in the previous sections and taking into account suggestions presented by women themselves in the course of the research. The team should consult donor/partner staff about their preferences regarding the nature of these recommendations, both in terms of content and specificity. These recommendations should address all four questions in the WPPL Matrix and identify both tactics to pursue and the specific actors who might carry them out.

## **ANNEXES**

The final part of the report should include eight Annexes, corresponding to the four Assessment tools: Desk Review Sources, Desk Review Findings, Politician Survey Texts, Politician Survey Findings, Key Informant Interview Texts, Key Informant Interview Findings, Focus Group Discussion Texts, and Focus Group Discussion Findings. While transparency in sources and analyses will enhance confidence in the Final Report, it will also permit future Assessment teams to build on existing research and findings.

Depending on the country context, however, the donor/partner might consider asking for separate internal- and public-facing versions of the Report. This should be determined on a case-by-case basis, guided by “do no harm” considerations when certain stakeholders may face danger for having filled out the Survey or participated in Interviews or Focus Groups.

## ANNEX A: RESEARCH TEAM RECRUITMENT GUIDANCE

Putting together a capable research team is vital to the success of the WPPL Assessment. Although the exact balance of skills across the team members might vary, the donor/partner supporting the research should aim to recruit a research team that combines topical expertise and local knowledge. Expertise on gender and politics, as well as familiarity with the country's political dynamics, are essential for ensuring that the data collection and analysis are well-informed and draw accurate conclusions. The donor/partner/contractor should draw on their existing contacts and databases, and/or public solicitations, as appropriate, to identify a team with the requisite qualifications.

The first step is to identify and hire a well-qualified **team leader**. The team leader should have deep expertise in gender and politics, be familiar with using quantitative and qualitative methods, and have strong writing skills. They should also be able to manage a diverse team and meet deadlines. They need not be experts on the particular country, but should have experience/expertise working or conducting research in similar contexts. Success of the WPPL Assessment largely hinges on the quality of the team leader, so care should be taken to recruit a consultant with excellent qualifications.

The second step is to identify and hire one or two **team members** to ensure a diversity of perspectives and expertise. The number of team members will depend to some degree on the project budget, as well as the specific qualifications of these individuals. As they will be serving in a supporting role, these individuals do not necessarily need to have the same range of qualifications as the team leader, but they should bring expertise in gender and/or politics in the particular country in focus. As they will be helping to carry out the research, the team members should have some prior experience in using quantitative and/or qualitative research methods. At least one team member should have experience conducting focus groups. In most instances, these team members should be recruited nationally and fluent in one or more local languages.

The third step is to identify and hire a **logistician**. The logistician is an important part of the team and essential to its success. The logistician should have a deep understanding of what is required to arrange and carry out research in the country. This might entail knowing, for example, whether emails or phone calls are a better way to reach potential respondents, how to word these requests, how far in advance appointments should be arranged, how many times it may be necessary to follow up with respondents, and how to ensure the safety of team members in terms of research locations and transportation. For these reasons, the logistician should be recruited nationally and fluent in one or more local languages.

To support the research team, **the donor/partner** should work closely with the team leader and logistician to help access key stakeholders. This might involve helping develop a master list of potential contacts for the team; facilitating introductions to politicians, party officials, and civil society organizations; and leveraging relationships to encourage participation in the research. The donor/partner should also offer advice and feedback on the data collection and analysis, when appropriate. In some circumstances, the donor/partner might find it useful to include a staff member on the research team, which can help inform the team's work as well as give the donor/partner a sense of ownership of the Assessment. Their presence may be especially important for securing meetings with senior government and party officials.

These qualifications are summarized below in sample Terms of Reference for each position.

**Table 10: Sample Terms of Reference**

<p>TEAM LEADER</p>	<p>[DONOR/PARTNER] seeks proposals for a consultant to lead an assessment on women’s political participation and leadership (WPPL) in [COUNTRY NAME]. The position will require travel to [COUNTRY NAME] to assess the current state of WPPL and barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL in [COUNTRY NAME]. The consultant will lead a small team of researchers, using four assessment tools to develop a holistic view of WPPL dynamics in [COUNTRY NAME]: a Desk Review, a Politician Survey, Key Informant Interviews, and Focus Group Discussions. After collecting and analyzing this data, the consultant will be the lead author of an Assessment Report summarizing the findings of the research.</p> <p>Desired Qualifications: Expertise in gender and politics, as indicated by educational background, research experience, and/or programming experience, is essential. Familiarity with political dynamics in [COUNTRY NAME] is also highly desirable. The consultant should have strong writing skills, demonstrate proven ability to manage time and meet deadlines, be able to engage in both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis, and be willing to revise the final report incorporating feedback from [DONOR/PARTNER].</p>
<p>TEAM MEMBER(S)</p>	<p>[DONOR/PARTNER] requests proposals for a consultant to assist in an assessment on women’s political participation and leadership (WPPL) in [COUNTRY NAME]. Ideally, the consultant will be a national of [COUNTRY NAME]. The position will require travel to [COUNTRY NAME] to assess the current state of WPPL and barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL in [COUNTRY NAME].</p> <p>The consultant will be part of a small team of researchers, using four assessment tools to develop a holistic view of WPPL dynamics in [COUNTRY NAME]: a Desk Review, a Politician Survey, Key Informant Interviews, and Focus Group Discussions. The team member will assist in carrying out the research, for example by contributing to the desk review, collecting survey responses, conducting interviews, and facilitating focus groups. The team member will also provide content and feedback on the final Assessment Report summarizing the research findings.</p> <p>Desired Qualifications: Expertise in gender and/or politics, as indicated by educational background, research experience, and/or programming experience, is essential. Familiarity with political dynamics in [COUNTRY NAME] is also highly desirable. The consultant should have some experience in using quantitative and/or qualitative research methods.</p>

<p>LOGISTICIAN</p>	<p>[DONOR/PARTNER] requests proposals for a local consultant to assist in an assessment on women’s political participation and leadership (WPPL) in [COUNTRY NAME].</p> <p>The consultant will be in charge of logistics for a small team of researchers, using four assessment tools to develop a holistic view of WPPL dynamics in [COUNTRY NAME]: a Desk Review, a Politician Survey, Key Informant Interviews, and Focus Group Discussions. The logistician will help set up meetings, interviews, and focus group discussions. If necessary, they will also assist in distributing surveys.</p> <p>Desired Qualifications: Well-organized and willing to work with [DONOR/PARTNER] to reach politicians, political parties, and civil society groups to facilitate the WPPL Assessment in [COUNTRY NAME]. Familiarity with gender and/or politics in [COUNTRY NAME] is also highly desirable.</p>
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## **ANNEX B: FIELD WORK GUIDANCE**

Field work is a vital part of the WPPL Assessment Framework. Three of the tools – the Politician Survey, the Key Informant Interviews, and the Focus Group Discussions – require approaching and interacting with a wide range of stakeholders. The fourth tool, the Desk Review, requires careful in-depth research, using international sources of data as well as national and local sources of information. Adequate time and resources are needed to ensure the field work accomplishes its goals and leads to the submission of a Final Report that is both comprehensive, accurate, and timely. The research team is more likely to succeed in reaching these targets if the research is well-planned and well-managed.

### **PREPARING THE RESEARCH STRATEGY**

After the research team has been hired, its most urgent task is to organize a series of meetings to plan the research strategy. In addition to becoming acquainted with one another, team members should arrange a call or in-person meeting with donor/partner staff to begin developing a list of field work contacts. They should decide who will be primarily responsible for which tasks – for example, collecting sources for the Desk Review, distributing the Politician Survey, conducting the Interviews, and running the Focus Groups. They should discuss whether the tools need any revising or updating in terms of their scope or content. They should also make a plan for storing and accessing the research materials. \*In some contexts, health and security emergencies may make in-person research difficult, requiring the team to consider how they might pivot their work to take place largely online.\*

### **SEQUENCING THE RESEARCH TOOLS**

As part of these conversations, the research team should discuss the best ways of sequencing the data collection and analysis. The team should start with the Desk Review. As noted in Annex D, a well-researched Desk Review is vital to the quality of the Assessment, as it can place the country in context, facilitate data collection to ensure the most efficient use of time in the field, and aid in the interpretation of the findings. The Desk Review can also help with identifying the names of groups and individuals who are particularly active or vocal on questions of WPPL, who should be approached for Interviews as well as suggestions for further useful contacts. Questions not answered in the Desk Review should be prioritized in data collection using the other Assessment tools.

As the team develops its list of potential stakeholders, the logistician should begin searching for their contact information. In some countries, an ordinary internet search may turn up contact email addresses. Social media platforms may also provide a way to reach stakeholders via direct messages and public posts. In most cases, however, private email addresses and phone numbers may be needed in order to reach stakeholders, especially those in high-level political positions. Donor/partner staff should be able to share at least some contacts of this nature, based on their previous work in-country. Snowball techniques may also yield contact information, if stakeholders suggest other names, they may also know of the best way to contact these people.

While the Desk Review is underway, the logistician should start reaching out to potential stakeholders, adding names, times, and locations to a master schedule available to all members of the research team. At this early stage, the research team might consider prioritizing interviews with WPPL experts, including academics, government officials, journalists, and representatives of women's groups and other civil society organizations, as well as with donors and other implementing partners. These individuals will

be well-placed to brief the team on country dynamics, as well as to suggest names and contact details for other potential interviewees.

Next, the research team should distribute the Politician Survey, as well as begin arranging the Interviews and Focus Groups. Each source of data will later be analyzed both on its own and then triangulated with the other sources. For the sake of efficiency, the research team should consider the best division of labor, with perhaps one team member being in charge of one tool each – but the other team members assisting, when necessary, in their implementation. The materials collected should be stored in a secure location (see more details below).

Throughout the data collection stage, the team should meet on a regular basis, whether virtually or in-person, with one another to discuss how the research is progressing. At each of these meetings, they might find it helpful to collectively fill out the Worksheets on Mapping WPPL (Annex H), Analyzing WPPL (Annex J), and Stakeholder Analysis (Annex K), to see what answers are missing or remain unclear, setting priorities for the next round of research. The team should also meet with donor/partner staff at the outset and at the conclusion of the field work. It may also be helpful to touch base at some point midway through the project, for the team to provide an update on its progress and, if necessary, ask for further assistance in accessing stakeholders..

Once the team is comfortable that the data collection is complete, they should organize a meeting to fill out the Worksheets on Mapping WPPL (Annex H), Analyzing WPPL (Annex J), and Stakeholder Analysis (Annex K). Once they have collected together their findings, the team should schedule a meeting with donor/partner staff to share their conclusions and discuss the proposed recommendations that will appear in the fourth section of the Report. The team leader should then take the lead in drafting the Final Report, using the Template in Annex L. Once drafted, the Report should be circulated to team members as well as the donor/partner for feedback before it is finalized.

#### **KEEPING RECORDS OF MATERIALS COLLECTED**

At the outset of the research, the team should decide on a storage plan for their data. The team should discuss their options with the donor/partner in light of the best data security protocols for the country in questions. Materials that will need to be stored include background papers for the Desk Review, responses to the Politician Survey, and notes from Interview and Focus Groups. The location should be secure, backed-up, and accessible to all members of the research team.

## ANNEX C: ACCESSING KEY WPPL STAKEHOLDERS

The WPPL Assessment Tools require the research team to access a variety of key WPPL stakeholders. To make the best use of resources, the team should focus on actors who are knowledgeable about some dimension of WPPL, stemming from their work as politicians, activists, party members, election officials, and academics, among other possibilities. To ensure that the research is conducted ethically, this Annex provides procedures and sample text for gaining informed consent from stakeholders. It then provides advice on how to approach stakeholders for the Politician Survey, the Key Informant Interviews, and the Focus Group Discussions.

### A NOTE ON INFORMED CONSENT

Good research practice involves getting informed consent from stakeholders to participate in a research project. The table below includes sample text for explaining the goals of the WPPL Assessment, ensuring confidentiality of answers, and gaining explicit consent to participate in the research. Some of this text might be included in emails, letters, and phone calls requesting participation in the research. It should also be shared – in written or oral form – with stakeholders prior to filling out the Politician Survey, conducting Key Informant Interviews, and holding Focus Group Discussions.

**Table 11: Sample Text for Approaching Stakeholders**

INTRODUCTION	My name is [NAME]. I am [the leader/a member] of a research team hired to undertake an assessment of women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY].
PURPOSE OF ASSESSMENT	The aim of the assessment is to understand barriers and opportunities to women’s political participation and leadership. The Assessment will be used to help inform the work of the [DONOR/PARTNER] on these questions in [COUNTRY].
DESCRIPTION OF ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES	If you agree to participate in this Assessment, you will be [asked survey questions/asked interview questions/invited to be part of a focus group discussion] on women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The [survey/interview/focus group discussion] will take approximately [30/60] minutes.
CONFIDENTIALITY	Your responses [to the survey/to the interview questions/at the focus group discussion] will be kept strictly confidential. We will report all results in general terms; we will not use your name or share any information that could be used to identify you outside the research team.
RIGHT TO REFUSE	The decision to participate in this Assessment is entirely up to you. You have the right not to answer any questions, as well as the right to withdraw completely at any point during the Assessment process.
CONSENT	Do you agree to participate in the Assessment?

To access stakeholders, the team should leverage donor/partner contacts, make use of their own personal networks, and apply snowball techniques whereby stakeholders who have agreed to participate suggest others who may be willing. The team should also seek input from other donors/partners



working with stakeholders in the country. The team should also be attentive to names that surface during the Desk Review as individuals or groups who are particularly active or vocal on questions of WPPL. Such actors should be approached to participate in the Assessment, as well as for help in securing further useful contacts.

### **POLITICIAN SURVEY**

The Politician Survey should be administered to a sample of men and women political leaders to learn their views and experiences related to WPPL dynamics in the country. In consultation with donor/partner staff, the research team should decide on the appropriate politician sample, which might include current and former elected officials across electoral districts, members of parliament, local officials, and/or party leaders.

The team should aim to approach roughly equal numbers of men and women to complete the men's and women's versions of the Survey. However, the team should recognize that women may be more likely than men to participate. An oversample of women is not necessarily a problem: more responses will help increase the robustness of the findings from the women's version of the Survey. In both samples, the team should aim for diversity across respondents in terms of demographic characteristics and party affiliations.

### **KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS**

The Key Informant Interviews should engage knowledgeable insiders to gain their insights on WPPL dynamics in the country. In consultation with the donor/partner, the research team should develop a list of key informants. At a minimum, these key informants should include party leaders and the heads of party women's sections; women politicians, including political veterans and relative newcomers; civil society leaders, both in major women's organizations and in social movements without an explicit gender focus, as well as traditional leaders in countries where customary law is still applied and/or where indigenous communities may run their own elections; youth organization leaders in parties and civil society; members of the election management body and citizens serving in election observation roles; WPPL experts, including academics, journalists, and politicians active on WPPL issues; USAID and other Embassy staff; other donors and implementers of WPPL programming in the country; and, where feasible, with representatives of labor movements and professional and business organizations. In conflict and transition contexts, key informants also include men and women negotiators and transition leaders.

To make the best use of time, the team may find it helpful to start the fieldwork with interviews with WPPL experts, who will be well-placed to brief the team on country dynamics, as well as suggest names and contact details for other potential interviews. Donor/partner staff should also serve as a resource for developing the list of experts, drawing on contacts associated with their WPPL and broader DRG programming.

The team should aim to secure interviews with actors across all the categories identified above. Most of these key informants are likely to be women, given the over-representation of women in the WPPL field. To ensure a broad range of views, the team should include some men as well as aim for diversity across respondents in terms of demographic characteristics and party affiliations.

## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The Focus Group Discussions should engage non-elite actors in group discussions on WPPL dynamics in the country. In consultation with donor/partner staff, the research team should develop a list of potential focus group participants, identifying key contacts who might be able to help reach out to specific individuals. At a minimum, focus groups should be arranged with members of civil society groups, especially women’s organizations and including women human rights defenders; rank-and-file members of major political parties, including women active in party women’s sections and youth organizations; and women media workers. If possible, the team should aim to arrange at least one or two focus groups with locally elected women. They should also consider arranging one or more focus groups with men who might offer productive insights on questions of WPPL – for example, men on political transition teams, men human rights defenders, or male political journalists. Across all the categories, the team should consider organizing focus groups with youth to see whether and how their perspectives might differ.

The team should aim to arrange Focus Groups with individuals across all the categories identified above, limiting each Focus Group to a maximum of six to eight participants. Most of these Focus Group participants are likely to be women, given the over-representation of women in the WPPL field. To ensure a broad range of views, the team should arrange at least one Focus Group with men, as well as aim for diversity across respondents in terms of demographic characteristics and party affiliations.

## **ANNEX D: DESK REVIEW GUIDANCE**

A well-researched Desk Review is essential to the quality and utility of the WPPL Assessment. A thorough Desk Review can inform the research team on the country context, facilitate data collection to ensure the most efficient use of their time in the field, and aid in their interpretation of the findings. As such, the research team should devote considerable time and resources, particularly at the beginning of the Assessment, to ensure the Desk Review is as complete and accurate as possible. Following a brief note on data sources, this Desk Review Guidance lists specific resources for locating data on (1) the current state of WPPL, (2) socio-cultural factors, and (3) institutional factors. Individual factors are not included, as they will be explored in the Politician Survey, Key Informant Interviews, and Focus Group Discussions. Questions not answered in the Desk Review should be prioritized in data collection using the other instruments provided in the Assessment Framework.

### **A NOTE ON DATA SOURCES**

The availability of data varies widely across countries. To maximize success, the research team should aim to collect primary and secondary data from both international and local sources. Sample sources include academic studies, gray literature, gender equality databases, election and government data, public opinion surveys, and assessments authored by the donor/partner supporting the research and other international donors and implementing partners on topics related to gender, elections, political parties, political transitions, and human rights.

The team should begin by requesting reports from the donor/partner country office, as well as by searching for publications by other implementing partners. If the Assessment is commissioned by USAID, the team should review the USAID Country Development and Cooperation Strategy and program portfolio in the country to understand past, current, and future WPPL-related programming, searching in particular for any evaluation materials that might provide insight into achievements and challenges identified by USAID and its implementing partners. This is likely to be the most efficient way of getting a sense of the country context, as well as the extent (and success) of WPPL programming in the country. In addition, the team should request any election observation reports and/or reports on violence against women in politics (or violence against women in elections), if these exist.

If the team leader is affiliated with a university, accessing academic materials and various gender equality databases will be facilitated by access to a university library system. However, many sources of data are also available open-access via the internet. The table below summarizes some useful starting points for desk research on gender and politics in most countries around the world.

**Table 12: International Sources of Data**

Source	Link	Materials
Google Scholar	<a href="https://scholar.google.com/">https://scholar.google.com/</a>	Academic Studies (*open access PDFs listed in the right column)
iKNOW Politics	<a href="https://www.iknowpolitics.org/en">https://www.iknowpolitics.org/en</a>	Academic Studies News Stories
USAID International Data and Economic Analysis	USAID Country Portraits: <a href="https://idea.usaid.gov/drg#tab-metrics:-country-data-portraits">https://idea.usaid.gov/drg#tab-metrics:-country-data-portraits</a> Third Party Indicators: <a href="https://idea.usaid.gov/drg#tab-metrics:-third-party-indicators">https://idea.usaid.gov/drg#tab-metrics:-third-party-indicators</a>	Statistics on DRG Statistics on WPPL
WomanStats Project	<a href="https://www.womanstats.org/">https://www.womanstats.org/</a> <a href="https://www.womanstats.org/new/codebook/">https://www.womanstats.org/new/codebook/</a>	Statistics on Women Statistics on WPPL Constitutions National Laws Laws in Practice CEDAW in Practice
World Bank Gender Data Portal	<a href="https://genderdata.worldbank.org/">https://genderdata.worldbank.org/</a>	Statistics on Women Statistics on WPPL Statistics on Development
World Values Survey	<a href="https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp">https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp</a>	Public Opinion on WPPL Political Activities, by Gender

Within a given country, general statistics and data on WPPL can also often be found online. The table below summarizes some of the actors who may have data useful for the Desk Review. The research team should consult organization webpages, as well as contact sources directly for data and reports.

**Table 13: National Sources of Data**

Source	Materials
Civil Society Organizations	Candidate Data Election Results and Analyses Election Observation Reports CSO Leadership Data
Electoral Management Body	Voter Registration and Turnout Data Candidate Data Election Results EMB Policies and Structures
Government	National Cabinet Data

Source	Materials
Judiciary	Judicial Data Judge/Bar Association Data
Parliament	Parliamentary Committees Parliamentary Leadership Women’s Caucus
Political Parties <sup>86</sup>	Membership Data Candidate Data Elections Results Party Leadership Data Party Constitutions Party Platforms

**CURRENT STATE OF WPPL**

Data on women’s political participation can be found in various places. Information on women’s voter turnout is most likely to be found in national sources, although some international organizations, like International IDEA, also collect it. Large social surveys, whether global, regional, or national in focus, often collect gender-disaggregated data on voting and other forms of political activity. These include party membership, civil society activity, signing petitions, attending demonstrations, engaging in social activism, and participating in online activism.

**Table 14: Data Sources on Women’s Political Participation**

Indicator	Source	Link
Voter Turnout, By Gender	International IDEA Voter Turnout Database	<a href="https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voter-turnout">https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voter-turnout</a>
Political Activities, By Gender	World Values Survey Afrobarometer Arab Barometer Asian Barometer Caucasus Barometer Central Asia Barometer Latinobarometer	<a href="https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp">https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp</a> <a href="https://www.afrobarometer.org/">https://www.afrobarometer.org/</a> <a href="https://www.arabbarometer.org/">https://www.arabbarometer.org/</a> <a href="http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey">http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey</a> <a href="https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/datasets/">https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/datasets/</a> <a href="https://www.ca-barometer.org/en">https://www.ca-barometer.org/en</a> <a href="https://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp">https://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp</a>

Data on women’s political leadership appears in multiple sources. International organizations like the Inter-Parliamentary Union track national, regional, and global data on women in national parliaments

<sup>86</sup> In countries with large numbers of political parties, the analysis should focus on a selection of major parties, determined by those winning the greatest shares of votes or seats in parliament, etc.

around the world. For a growing number of countries around the world, this data also includes the share of women among parliamentary candidates, historical data on women and elections, and the name and sex of the parliamentary speaker. The Council on Foreign Relations reports the proportion of women who serve as heads of state or government, in cabinets, in national legislatures, as candidates for national legislatures, and in local government bodies.

**Table 15: Data Sources on Women’s Political Leadership**

Indicator	Source	Link
Candidate Data	Inter-Parliamentary Union	<a href="https://data.ipu.org/content/parlin-e-global-data-national-parliaments">https://data.ipu.org/content/parlin-e-global-data-national-parliaments</a>
Gender Parity in Leadership	Council on Foreign Relations Women’s Power Index	<a href="https://www.cfr.org/article/women-power-index?utm_source=pressnote">https://www.cfr.org/article/women-power-index?utm_source=pressnote</a>
Women in Parliament	Inter-Parliamentary Union	<a href="https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking">https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking</a>
Women in Local Government	UN Women	<a href="https://localgov.unwomen.org/">https://localgov.unwomen.org/</a>

## SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Data on gender stereotypes, gender roles, and cultural views of women can be assembled using public opinion data and other measures of cultural attitudes towards gender equality. Other predictors of gender equality in public life include levels of national development and other indicators of women’s status, like levels of education, labor force participation, and gender discrimination.

**Table 16: Data Sources on Socio-Cultural Factors**

Indicator	Source	Link
Public Opinion on Women’s Suitability as Leaders	World Values Survey Afrobarometer Arab Barometer Asian Barometer Caucasus Barometer Central Asia Barometer Latinobarometer	<a href="https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp">https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp</a> <a href="https://www.afrobarometer.org/">https://www.afrobarometer.org/</a> <a href="https://www.arabbarometer.org/">https://www.arabbarometer.org/</a> <a href="http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey">http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey</a> <a href="https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/datasets/">https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/datasets/</a> <a href="https://www.ca-barometer.org/en">https://www.ca-barometer.org/en</a> <a href="https://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp">https://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp</a>
Cultural Attitudes Towards Gender Equality	UNDP Gender Social Norms Index ACLED Political Violence Targeting Women	<a href="http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hd_perspectives_gsni.pdf">http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hd_perspectives_gsni.pdf</a> <a href="https://acleddata.com/2021/12/08/violence-targeting-women-in-politics-on-the-rise-new-acled-data-show">https://acleddata.com/2021/12/08/violence-targeting-women-in-politics-on-the-rise-new-acled-data-show</a>

Indicator	Source	Link
National Development	World Bank World Development Indicators	<a href="http://datatopics.worldbank.org/world-development-indicators/">http://datatopics.worldbank.org/world-development-indicators/</a>
Women's Status	World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Index UN World's Women report UNDP Gender Inequality Index OECD Social Institutions and Gender Index	<a href="https://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/">https://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/</a> <a href="https://worlds-women-2020-data-undesa.hub.arcgis.com/app/27c1c1ad540347aabc70434238223919">https://worlds-women-2020-data-undesa.hub.arcgis.com/app/27c1c1ad540347aabc70434238223919</a> <a href="http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii">http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii</a> <a href="https://www.genderindex.org/">https://www.genderindex.org/</a>

**INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS**

Collecting data on institutional factors requires consulting both international and national sources. Data on electoral systems, gender quotas, and civic space can be collected using international sources, as detailed in the table below.

**Table 17: Data Sources on Institutional Factors**

Indicator	Source	Link
Electoral System	International IDEA's Electoral System Design Database	<a href="https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/electoral-system-design">https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/electoral-system-design</a>
Gender Quotas	International IDEA's Gender Quotas Database UN Women's Women in Local Government	<a href="https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas">https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas</a> <a href="https://localgov.unwomen.org/access-quota-information">https://localgov.unwomen.org/access-quota-information</a>
Political Party Funding	International IDEA Political Finance Database	<a href="https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/political-finance-database">https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/political-finance-database</a>
Laws Governing Civil Society and Openness of Civic Space	CIVICUS Tracking Civic Space Monitor V-Dem Dataset International IDEA Global Monitor of COVID-19's Impact on Democracy and Human Rights	<a href="https://monitor.civicus.org/">https://monitor.civicus.org/</a> <a href="https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data/v-dem-dataset/">https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data/v-dem-dataset/</a> <a href="https://www.idea.int/gsod-indices/#/indices/world-map?covid19=1">https://www.idea.int/gsod-indices/#/indices/world-map?covid19=1</a>

Country-level sources will be required, however, to understand the political party system and the broader political context. Information on both of these may be available in reports provided at the outset of the research by the donor/partner and other implementing partners. Other possible sources include academic studies, UN mission reports, election observer reports, human rights reports, and

news stories. The table below identifies some relevant contextual factors that should be mapped and considered in relation to their impact on WPPL.

**Table 18: Measures of Institutional Context**

Historical Context	Colonization Conflict Authoritarianism Legacy
Political Context	Political Party System Authoritarian Politics Transition Politics
Social-Political Context	Religious Fundamentalism Politically-Relevant Social Cleavages Traditional Leadership

While doing the Desk Review, the research team may find it helpful to begin filling out the Annex H: Mapping WPPL Worksheet and Annex J: Analyzing WPPL Worksheet. This exercise will highlight what data is missing and requires further investigation. In some instances, this will point to national sources that should be approached for additional information. In most cases, it will also signal the gaps that will need to be filled using the other Assessment tools.



## ANNEX E: POLITICIAN SURVEY

### PURPOSE

The purpose of the Politician Survey is to explore possible gender differences in the experiences and perceptions of political elites in the country, focusing on: (1) political career trajectories, (2) experiences and perceptions of party support, (3) perceptions about women's status in politics, including views on the need for affirmative measures, (4) experiences and perceptions regarding violence against women in politics, and (5) the perceptions regarding the power and impact of women leaders.

### SURVEY FORMAT

There are two versions of the Politician Survey, one for men politicians and one for women politicians. The questions are the same, apart from an additional section in the women's survey asking about personal experiences with violence against women in politics. The team should analyze the responses together to determine to what degree men and women have similar or different experiences and perceptions – in turn, shaping how they view the problem and solutions needed to advance WPPL. To maximize the number of responses, the research team should consider approaching political parties and parliamentary groups for help in distributing and implementing the surveys.

The research team should decide, in consultation with the donor/partner supporting the research, whether the questions should be open- or close-ended. Open-ended questions allow respondents to answer questions using their own words. An advantage to this format is that answers are not limited to a pre-set menu of options. A disadvantage is that the possibility of many different answers may complicate the task of coding the responses, especially if a large number of surveys are collected. Close-ended questions permit respondents to choose from a set list of options established by the researchers. An advantage to this format is that respondents can simply check-off answers, helping them complete the surveys faster. A disadvantage is that pre-existing options may not adequately capture the range of potential answers, undermining the accuracy of the survey. If the close-ended option is chosen, the research team should work with the donor/partner to ensure that answer options align, for example, with features of the political system (e.g., the names of political parties, types of political positions) and the country context (e.g., demographic background questions).

A second important consideration is to decide whether or not to use enumerators. Enumerators ask and record the survey responses on behalf of the respondents. An advantage is that respondents do not need to read and respond to the questions themselves, possibly saving time for the respondent. An enumerator also makes it more likely that respondents will answer all the questions and that reading ahead to later questions does not potentially prejudice answers to earlier questions. A disadvantage is the time and cost burden on the research team. With enumerators, the team must devote 30 minutes to gathering answers from a single respondent, versus using the same amount of time to have surveys filled out individually by a larger number of respondents.

## DATA ANALYSIS

The research team should code answers to the survey, whether they use open- or close-ended questions. Coding open-ended questions requires researchers to decide on a coding scheme after reading through various answers, updating the coding scheme as necessary when coming across unanticipated categories of responses. Coding close-ended questions is more straightforward, as the coding scheme is embedded in the pre-set answers to each question. To make the Politician Survey meaningful for a specific context, the team should consult with the donor/partner supporting the research and possibly some local academics to ensure that the pre-established categories are accurate and comprehensive.

After collecting the data, the team should analyze the responses quantitatively. As the sample of respondents may vary from country to country, respondents may not represent a random sample, limiting the generalizability of the findings, as well as the ability to engage in sophisticated statistical analyses. However, for the purposes of the Assessment, simple descriptive statistics should suffice. The team should map the responses to the Man Politician Survey separately from the Woman Politician Survey to ascertain broad patterns that they then compare across the two Surveys. These basic statistics should be discussed in the Final Report, as well as included in the Political Survey Findings Annex.

## POLITICIAN SURVEY MEN'S VERSION

### INTRODUCTION

This survey seeks to gather the views of men in politics with regard to women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The survey should take less than 30 minutes to complete.

### BACKGROUND

1. What is your current political position?
2. What is your political party?
3. What is your age?

[Possible additional demographic questions, to be chosen/elaborated depending on context: What is your ethnic group? What is your tribe? What is your religion? What region are you from?]

### POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

4. How many years have you been active in politics?
5. Have you ever run as a candidate in elections?
6. Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?
7. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?
8. Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

*If so, which political offices have you contested?*

*If so, what leadership positions have you held?*

*If so, what is the nature of this support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

9. Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?

*If so, what does the party offer in the way of support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

## WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

10. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

11. Does your party have any measures in place to recruit women as candidates?

*If so, what are these measures?*

*Have these measures led to an increase in the number of women standing as candidates?*

12. Do you support such measures to increase the number of women in elected positions?

13. Do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – for example, as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?

*If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?*

14. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what types of issues are women given responsibility for?

15. Is there a women's wing in your political party?

*If so, what is the main role of the women's wing?*

*Can the women's wing give input on the party platform?*

*Can the women's wing suggest political candidates?*

16. Do women have representation in the party's executive committee?

*If so, what kinds of positions do they hold?*

## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

17. Do women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to cast their ballot?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to cast their ballots?*

18. Do women candidates face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?*

19. Do women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?*

20. Are existing laws sufficient for addressing this violence, intimidation, and harassment?

*Does your party have any policy in place to deal with this problem?*

*If so, is this policy enforced?*

21. Are other measures needed to address this problem?

*If so, who should be responsible for stopping these acts and holding perpetrators accountable?*

#### IMPACT OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

22. Do men and women have equal voice and influence in political debates in [COUNTRY]?

23. Are men and women equally effective as leaders in [COUNTRY]?

## POLITICIAN SURVEY WOMEN'S VERSION

### INTRODUCTION

This survey seeks to gather the views of women in politics with regard to women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The survey should take 30-45 minutes to complete.

### BACKGROUND

1. What is your current political position?
2. What is your political party?
3. What is your age?

[Possible additional demographic questions, to be chosen/elaborated depending on context: What is your ethnic group? What is your tribe? What is your religion?]

### POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

4. How many years have you been active in politics?
5. Have you ever run as a candidate in elections?
6. Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?
7. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?
8. Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

*If so, which political offices have you contested?*

*If so, what leadership positions have you held?*

*If so, what is the nature of this support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

9. Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?

*If so, what does the party offer in the way of support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

## WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

10. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

11. Does your party have any measures in place to recruit women as candidates?

*If so, what are these measures?*

*Have these measures led to an increase in the number of women standing as candidates?*

12. Do you support such measures to increase the number of women in elected positions?

13. Do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – for example, as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?

*If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?*

14. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what types of issues are women given responsibility for?

15. Is there a women's wing in your political party?

*If so, what is the main role of the women's wing?*

*Can the women's wing give input on the party platform?*

*Can the women's wing suggest political candidates?*

16. Do women have representation in the party's executive committee?

*If so, what kinds of positions do they hold?*

## PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

17. Have you ever experienced any of the following behaviors when trying to participate in politics?

1. Someone tried to kill you
2. Someone hit or beat you or assaulted you physically in some other way
3. Someone prevented you from leaving the house
4. Someone made threats against you and/or your family
5. Someone tried to rape you
6. Someone made unwanted sexual advances towards you
7. Someone attempted to destroy your property
8. Someone attempted to destroy your livelihood
9. Someone harassed you online
10. Someone hacked your email or social media accounts
11. Someone spread "fake news" about you that was sexual in nature

12. Someone spread “fake news” about you that was gendered in nature

*If so, who were the main perpetrators of these acts?*

*How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics?*

18. Have you ever witnessed other women being targeted for trying to participate in politics?

1. Someone tried to kill her
2. Someone hit or beat her or assaulted her physically in some other way
3. Someone prevented her from leaving the house
4. Someone made threats against her and/or her family
5. Someone tried to rape her
6. Someone made unwanted sexual advances towards her
7. Someone attempted to destroy her property
8. Someone attempted to destroy her livelihood
9. Someone harassed her online
10. Someone hacked her email or social media accounts
11. Someone spread “fake news” about her that was sexual in nature
12. Someone spread “fake news” about her that was gendered in nature

*If so, who were the main perpetrators of these acts?*

*How did experiencing these acts affect their willingness to participate in politics?*

## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

19. Do women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to cast their ballot?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women’s ability to cast their ballots?*

20. Do women candidates face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women’s ability to be elected?*

21. Do women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*



*Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?*

22. Are existing laws sufficient for addressing this violence, intimidation, and harassment?

*Does your party have any policy in place to deal with this problem?*

*If so, is this policy enforced?*

23. Are other measures needed to address this problem?

*If so, who should be responsible for stopping these acts and holding perpetrators accountable?*

#### IMPACT OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

24. Do men and women have equal voice and influence in political debates in [COUNTRY]?

25. Are men and women equally effective as leaders in [COUNTRY]?

## ANNEX F: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

### PURPOSE

The purpose of the Key Informant Interviews is to learn the views of key stakeholders regarding (1) the obstacles women face and (2) the opportunities that exist or could be cultivated for expanding women's political participation and leadership in the country.

### INTERVIEW FORMAT

There are seven versions of the Key Informant Interviews, with questions tailored to the expertise and insights of different stakeholders. The anticipated length of the interviews ranges between 30 and 60 minutes, with longer interviews proposed for women politicians and WPPL experts, including women in civil society. However, in the event of delays or time restrictions imposed by the interviewees, the interview templates also include sample priority questions, indicated in bold, should the research team need to limit the number of questions posed.

### INTERVIEWEES

The Woman Politician Guide should be used for interviews with women who have run for political office (both successfully and unsuccessfully) and/or have served as political leaders. The team should focus on approaching a diverse range of stakeholders, including women from different demographic backgrounds and political parties, as well as veteran politicians and political newcomers. To make the best use of time, the team should start with women politicians who have been especially active in promoting women's political participation and leadership, as they are likely to have the most expertise and insight into the questions being asked. Donor/partner staff can also serve as a resource for identifying women they have worked with in the course of their WPPL programming.

The Man Politician Guide should be used for interviews with men who have run for political office and/or are party members currently, whether elected or unelected. The team should focus on approaching a diverse range of stakeholders, including men from different demographic backgrounds and political parties, as well as veteran politicians and political newcomers. To make the best use of time, the team should start with men party members from the primary/leading political parties (or those who have representation in parliament). If they exist, this should include any politicians who have been especially active in promoting women's political participation and leadership, as they are likely to have expertise and insight into the questions being asked. The team should also aim to interview at least one or two vocal opponents to WPPL. In the interest of time, the team should plan to interview fewer men politicians than women politicians. Donor/partner staff can help with identifying these men politicians, based on their WPPL programming as well as general country knowledge.

The Party Leader Guide should be used for interviews with men and women party leaders. The team should focus on accessing stakeholders from all the major political parties, focusing on top leaders as well as members of party national executive committees. The team should aim for a mix of men and women respondents, ideally one of each from the major parties. Donor/partner staff should support the team in their efforts to contact party leaders, facilitating introductions wherever possible.

The Electoral Official Guide should be used for interviews with members of election management bodies, as well as ordinary citizens serving as poll workers and election observers. The team should focus on accessing stakeholders involved in making election policy, as well as those tasked with focusing specifically on gender and elections. The team should aim for a mix of men and women respondents, if possible. Donor/partner staff should facilitate introductions with state election officials, as well as leverage their contacts to identify a selection of citizen poll workers and election observers.

The WPPL Expert Guide should be used for interviews with experts on women's political participation and leadership in the country. These might include academics, government officials, journalists or other media experts, and representatives of women's groups and other civil society organizations. The team should focus on approaching experts from different demographic backgrounds and political experiences. To make the best use of time, the team may find it helpful to start the fieldwork with interviews with WPPL experts, who will be well-placed to brief the team on country dynamics, as well as suggest names and contact details for other potential interviews. Donor/partner staff should serve as a resource for developing the list of experts, drawing on contacts associated with their WPPL programming.

The Donor and Implementing Partners Guide should be used for interviews with donors and partners who have funded or implemented programs to advance WPPL in the country. The USAID Staff Guide should be used with current (and possibly, past) Mission staff. The research team should consult closely with donor/partner staff to develop these lists of interviewees.

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE WOMEN POLITICIANS

### INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 60 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

### BACKGROUND

**1. What is your current political position?**

**2. What is your political party?**

3. How many years have you been active in politics?

### POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

**4. Have you ever run as a candidate in elections?**

*If so, which political offices have you contested?*

*Did anyone particularly encourage you to stand as a candidate?*

*Did anyone particularly discourage you from standing as a candidate?*

**5. Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?**

*If so, what leadership positions have you held?*

*Did you face any challenges to your leadership, based on the fact that you are a woman?*

6. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?

### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

7. Many countries around the world have introduced gender quotas for candidates. What impact have quotas had on the number of women standing as candidates in [COUNTRY]?

*Did quotas play a role in your own nomination?*

*Do you support quotas as a measure to promote women in politics?*

*What kinds of women tend to benefit from quotas in [COUNTRY]?*

8. Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

*If so, what is the nature of this support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

**9. Did you have to raise any of your own funds for your political campaign?**

*If so, how did the amount of these funds compare to what you received from your party?*

*What kinds of actors donated to your campaign?*

*Do you think, in general, it is more difficult for women than men to raise campaign funding?*

10. Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?

*If so, what does the party offer in the way of support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

11. What is the media environment like for women candidates?

*Do women candidates receive the same level of media coverage as male candidates?*

*Are women candidates treated differently than men in terms of the substance of media coverage?*

**BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS**

**12. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?**

**13. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?**

*If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?*

14. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what types of issues are women given responsibility for?

15. Are there any forms of institutional support for women after they have been elected? Examples might be training, mentorship, or staff.

*If so, are these different in any ways from the forms of institutional support available to men?*

*Are these provided through formal channels, like parliaments or political parties, or just informally?*

16. Is there a women's caucus in parliament?

*If so, what is its main role?*

*Have you been involved in its activities?*

*How effective has it been in advancing gender equality?*

**17. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?**

*How do their experiences compare to those of men?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously?*

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

**18. Have you ever experienced any of the following behaviors when trying to participate in politics?**

1. Someone tried to kill you
2. Someone hit or beat you or assaulted you physically in some other way
3. Someone prevented you from leaving the house
4. Someone made threats against you and/or your family
5. Someone tried to rape you
6. Someone made unwanted sexual advances towards you
7. Someone attempted to destroy your property
8. Someone attempted to destroy your livelihood
9. Someone harassed you online
10. Someone hacked your email or social media accounts
11. Someone spread "fake news" about you that was sexual in nature
12. Someone spread "fake news" about you that was gendered in nature

*If so, who were the main perpetrators of these acts?*

*How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics?*

**19. Have you ever witnessed other women being targeted for trying to participate in politics?**

1. Someone tried to kill her
2. Someone hit or beat her or assaulted her physically in some other way
3. Someone prevented her from leaving the house
4. Someone made threats against her and/or her family
5. Someone tried to rape her
6. Someone made unwanted sexual advances towards her
7. Someone attempted to destroy her property
8. Someone attempted to destroy her livelihood
9. Someone harassed her online

- 10. Someone hacked her email or social media accounts
- 11. Someone spread “fake news” about her that was sexual in nature
- 12. Someone spread “fake news” about her that was gendered in nature

*If so, who were the main perpetrators of these acts?*

*How did experiencing these acts affect their willingness to participate in politics?*

**20. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women’s ability to be elected?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**21. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women’s ability to exercise their political functions?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

**22. What kinds of policies or strategies do you think are needed to advance women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?** These could include actions by the government, political parties, or civil society, for example.

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE MEN POLITICIANS

### INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

### BACKGROUND

**1. What is your current political position?**

**2. What is your political party?**

3. How many years have you been active in politics?

### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

**4. Many countries around the world have introduced gender quotas for candidates. What impact have quotas had on the number of women standing as candidates in [COUNTRY]?**

*Do you support quotas as a measure to promote women in politics?*

*What kinds of women tend to benefit from quotas in [COUNTRY]?*

**5. How do candidates finance their campaigns in [COUNTRY]?**

*Does your party provide any funds to its candidates?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*Do candidates have to raise their own funds for their campaigns?*

*Do you think, in general, it is more difficult for women than men to raise campaign funding?*

6. What is the media environment like for women candidates?

*Do women candidates receive the same level of media coverage as male candidates?*

*Are women candidates treated differently than men in terms of the substance of media coverage?*

### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS

**7. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?**



**8. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?**

*If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?*

9. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what types of issues are women given responsibility for?

**10. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?**

*How do their experiences compare to those of men?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously?*

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

**11. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**12. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

**13. What kinds of policies or strategies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?** These could include actions by the government, political parties, or civil society, for example.

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS

### INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

### BACKGROUND

**1. What is your political party?**

**2. What is your current position in the party?**

### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN PARTY MEMBERS

**3. In general, there are fewer women than men who join political parties. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?**

4. Does your party have any special initiatives to attract women members?

*If so, do these differ in any way from efforts to attract male members?*

**5. Are party meetings equally accessible to women and men?**

*At what kinds of locations are party meetings held?*

*At what times of the day are party meetings usually scheduled?*

*Does the party offer childcare for members during its meetings?*

**6. Is there a women's wing in your political party?**

*If so, what is the main role of the women's wing?*

*Does the party provide any financial support or other resources to the women's wing?*

*Can the women's wing give input on the party platform?*

*Can the women's wing suggest political candidates?*

7. Do women have representation in the party's executive committee?

*If so, what kinds of positions do they hold?*

*Does the party have any policies to ensure women's participation in party leadership?*

## BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

**8. Many countries around the world have introduced gender quotas for candidates. What impact have quotas had on the number of women standing as candidates in [COUNTRY]?**

*Do you support quotas as a measure to promote women in politics?*

*What kinds of women tend to benefit from quotas in [COUNTRY]?*

**9. Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?**

*If so, what is the nature of this support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

**10. Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?**

*If so, what does the party offer in the way of support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?*

*If not, what are the determinants of party support for particular candidates?*

## BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS

**11. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?**

**12. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?**

*If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?*

**13. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what types of issues are women given responsibility for?**

**14. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?**

*How do their experiences compare to those of men?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously?*

## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

**15. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**I 6. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

## RECOMMENDATIONS

**I 6. What kinds of policies or strategies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?** These could include actions by the government, political parties, or civil society, for example.

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE ELECTORAL OFFICIALS

### INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

### BACKGROUND

#### **1. What is your role in the electoral process?**

### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN VOTERS

#### **2. Do women register to vote at the same rates as men?**

*If not, what are some of the reasons that women are less likely to register as voters?*

#### **3. Do women turn out to vote at the same rates as men?**

*If not, what are some of the reasons that women are less likely to turn out to vote?*

#### **4. Are polling places equally accessible to women and men?**

*Are polling places segregated by gender?*

*Are there measures in place to increase accessibility to women?*

#### **5. Are women able to cast their votes in a free, secret, and secure manner?**

*If not, what are some of the key challenges to women exercising their full right to vote?*

### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

#### **6. Many countries around the world have introduced gender quotas for candidates. What impact have quotas had on the number of women standing as candidates in [COUNTRY]?**

*Do political parties respect the quota requirements?*

*What does the electoral management body do, if anything, to ensure quota compliance?*

*Based on what you have observed, what kinds of women tend to benefit from quotas in [COUNTRY]?*

#### **7. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?**

### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

**8. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women voters to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**9. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**10. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women election workers to face violence, intimidation, or harassment?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to facilitate and/or observe the electoral process?*

**11. Does the electoral management body monitor and/or respond to incidents of gender-based violence during elections?**

*If so, what are the details of these interventions?*

*What is the impact, if any, of these interventions?*

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

**12. What kinds of policies or strategies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?** These could include actions by the government, political parties, the electoral management body, or civil society, for example.

**KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE  
WPPL EXPERTS, INCLUDING WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY**

## INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 60 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

## BACKGROUND

### **1. How are you involved in issues related to women’s political participation and leadership?**

2. How many years have you been active in this field?

## BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

3. Many countries around the world have introduced gender quotas for candidates. What impact have quotas had on the number of women standing as candidates in [COUNTRY]?

*Do you support quotas as a measure to promote women in politics?*

*What kinds of women tend to benefit from quotas in [COUNTRY]?*

### **4. What sort of financial support, if any, do women receive for their campaigns?**

*Do parties provide any financial support to their candidates?*

*Is this support distributed evenly among women and men?*

*Do women have to raise any of their own funds for their political campaign?*

*Do you think, in general, it is more difficult for women than men to raise campaign funding?*

5. Do parties help women candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?

*If so, what does the party offer in the way of support?*

*Is this support distributed evenly across women and men?*

6. What is the media environment like for women candidates?

*Do women candidates receive the same level of media coverage as male candidates?*

*Are women candidates treated differently than men in terms of the substance of media coverage?*

### **7. Do civil society organizations provide any resources or support to women candidates?**

*If so, what is the nature of these organizations?*

*What kinds of resources or support do they provide?*

#### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS

**8. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?**

**9. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?**

*If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?*

10. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what types of issues are women given responsibility for?

**11. Are there any forms of institutional support for women after they have been elected? Examples might be training, mentorship, or staff.**

*If so, are these different in any ways from the forms of institutional support available to men?*

*Are these provided through formal channels, like parliaments or political parties, or just informally?*

12. Is there a women's caucus in parliament?

*If so, what is its main role?*

*How effective has it been in advancing gender equality?*

**13. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?**

*How do their experiences compare to those of men?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously?*

#### BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

**14. In many countries, women are very active participants in civil society. In your view, is this also true in your country?**

*What are the key barriers to women's civil society participation?*

*Do civil society organizations engage women with diverse backgrounds?*

**15. Are there any powerful women's organizations in civil society in [COUNTRY]?**

*If so, what are their particular areas of focus?*



*Have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?*

*What kinds of barriers do they face in getting women's voices heard?*

**16. Do women serve as leaders of civil society organizations not specifically focused on gender issues?**

*If so, what types of organizations do they lead?*

*Have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?*

17. Are there any official women's organizations connected to the government?

*If so, have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?*

**18. Thinking about women in civil society more broadly, are there opportunities for women in civil society to inform government decision-making?**

*If so, are there official channels for communicating with and influencing the work of the government?*

*How effective are these channels for reflecting the voices of women in civil society?*

**19. Are there any civil society organizations that actively seek to advance women's civic and political rights?**

*If so, do these organizations mainly focus on women as voters, candidates, or leaders?*

*What types of activities do they engage in to promote WPPL?*

*What impact, if any, have these activities had on WPPL in [COUNTRY]?*

**20. Are there any civil society organizations that actively seek to repress women's civic and political rights?**

*If so, what kinds of organizations are these?*

*How vocal and effective are their efforts in restricting WPPL in [COUNTRY]?*

**VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS**

**20. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**22. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**22. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women in civil society – including women human rights defenders – to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?**

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

**23. What kinds of policies or strategies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?** These could include actions by the government, political parties, or civil society, for example.

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE DONORS AND IMPLEMENTING PARTNERS

### INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

### BACKGROUND

**1. How is your organization involved in issues related to women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?**

**2. What is your role within the organization?**

### DONOR AND PARTNER ACTIVITIES

**3. What kinds of WPPL programming has your organization supported in [COUNTRY]?**

*Why did the organization choose these particular priority areas?*

*How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?*

**4. In the course of your work on WPPL in [COUNTRY], have you ever worked directly with [DONOR/PARTNER]?**

*If so, can you provide some details on these activities?*

*How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?*

**5. If you didn’t work directly with [DONOR/PARTNER], did you ever encounter or hear about their WPPL activities?**

*If so, can you provide some details on these activities?*

*What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?*

**6. Are there any activities by other donors or implementers that you think have been effective in advancing WPPL in [COUNTRY]?**

*If so, can you provide some details on these activities?*

*What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?*

### STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

**7. In [COUNTRY], who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions interested in advancing WPPL?**

*What strategies do they favor for advancing WPPL?*

*Do they work together to advance WPPL?*

*If so, can you give some examples of joint activities?*

**8. In [COUNTRY], who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions that oppose advancing WPPL?**

*What strategies do they use to oppose advancing WPPL?*

**LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

**9. Based on your experiences, what are the major barriers to advancing WPPL in [COUNTRY]?**

*Have donors/partners focused adequately on these barriers?*

*In your view, which interventions have been most effective?*

*In your view, which interventions have been least effective?*

**10. Based on your experiences, what more could [DONOR/PARTNER] and other donors/partners do in this space?**

*In your view, what are some promising opportunities for action?*

**11. In general, what kinds of policies or strategies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?** These could include actions by the government, political parties, or civil society, for example.

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE USAID STAFF

### INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

### BACKGROUND

**1. What is your role at USAID?**

**2. How long have you been working at USAID and elsewhere on issues related to WPPL?**

### DONOR AND PARTNER ACTIVITIES

**3. What kinds of WPPL programming has USAID supported in [COUNTRY]?**

*Why did the organization choose these particular priority areas?*

*Can you provide some details on specific activities?*

*How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?*

*Does the Mission have any additional programming planned related to WPPL?*

**4. Are there any activities by other donors or implementers that you think have been effective in advancing WPPL in [COUNTRY]?**

*If so, can you provide some details on these activities?*

*What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?*

### STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

**5. In [COUNTRY], who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions interested in advancing WPPL?**

*What strategies do they favor for advancing WPPL?*

*Do they work together to advance WPPL?*

*If so, can you give some examples of joint activities?*

**6. In [COUNTRY], who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions that oppose advancing WPPL?**

*What strategies do they use to oppose advancing WPPL?*

## LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7. Based on your experiences, what are the major barriers to advancing WPPL in [COUNTRY]?

*Have donors/partners focused adequately on these barriers?*

*In your view, which interventions have been most effective?*

*In your view, which interventions have been least effective?*

**8. Based on your experiences, what more could USAID do in this space?**

*In your view, what are some promising opportunities for action?*

*Are there any partnerships that you think would be particularly fruitful?*

**9. In general, what kinds of policies or strategies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]?** These could include actions by the government, political parties, or civil society, for example.

## ANNEX G: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

### PURPOSE

The purpose of the Focus Group Discussions is to learn the views of a broader range of stakeholders regarding (1) the obstacles women face and (2) the opportunities that exist or could be cultivated for expanding women's political participation and leadership in the country. Distinct from the Politician Surveys and Key Informant Interviews, the aim of the Focus Groups is to engage rank-and-file members of civil society, political parties, and related sectors, using group discussions as a way to capture a potentially broader array of viewpoints on questions of women's political participation and leadership. In so doing, Focus Groups provide an opportunity to witness how stakeholders interact with one another, providing insights above and beyond what might be gained from a single interviewee.

### FOCUS GROUP FORMAT

There are five versions of the Focus Group Discussions, with questions tailed to the expertise and insights of different stakeholders. The anticipated length of the focus group discussion is 60 minutes. The research team should consider organizing multiple focus groups for women in civil society and women in political parties. Fewer focus groups may be necessary – and access may be slightly more difficult – for locally elected women, women media workers, and men in civil society.

For each sector, the research team should include six to eight participants in each focus group. Smaller numbers of participants might make group discussions less productive, while larger numbers of participants might not afford sufficient opportunities for all group members to speak. In both instances, the research team should take care to avoid one or two people dominating the conversation, actively finding ways of drawing more quiet members into the group conversation.

To encourage discussion, the moderator should share a set of ground rules (included in the templates below) prior to posing the first question. The research team should split participants into all-men and all-women groups, but aim to diversify the participants in terms of age, seniority, and demographic backgrounds. For men and women in political parties, the organizers should also divide groups by party affiliation, with women from the same party taking part in the same focus group.

The assistant should take written notes regardless of the format of the focus group. Ideally, the focus groups will be recorded, for the purposes of accurate note-taking, but the moderator should gain the consent of all participants before starting. If some participants do not want to be recorded, the assistant should only take written notes.

## FOCUS GROUP GUIDE WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

### INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion.

The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us.

[If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said.

Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

### FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let’s go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.

2. How active are women in civil society in [COUNTRY]?

*Do they mainly participate in women’s organizations, or are women active in organizations and movements not specifically focused on gender issues?*

*Do women serve as leaders of any major civil society organizations?*

*How representative are civil society organizations of the diversity of women in the population?*

*Where do women’s groups tend to get their funding?*

3. Do women in [COUNTRY] have the same opportunities as men to express their political opinions?

*Are there any actors that actively seek to repress women’s civic and political rights?*

*How effective are they in achieving these goals?*

4. Are there ways for women in civil society to influence government decision-making?



*Are there specific channels for communicating with and influencing government actors?*

*Does the government listen to women's groups, or does it basically ignore them?*

5. Do women in civil society – including women human rights defenders – face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

6. What policies or strategies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in civil society – and politics more generally – in [COUNTRY]?

## FOCUS GROUP GUIDE WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

### INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion.

The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone's privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us.

[If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said.

Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don't have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal "airtime" – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it's not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

### FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.

2. How active are women in political parties in [COUNTRY]?

*How important are the women's sections of political parties?*

*What is their primary purpose?*

*What type of support, if any, do they receive from the party?*

*Do the women's sections play any role in candidate selection?*

*Do the women's sections have any influence over the party platform?*

3. Are party meetings equally accessible to women and men?

*At what kinds of locations are party meetings held?*

*At what times of the day are party meetings usually scheduled?*

*Does the party offer childcare for members during its meetings?*

4. What support, if any, does your party give to women candidates?

*Do they encourage women to run for office?*

*Do they provide funding or training to women candidates?*

*Do they place women in electable districts or list positions?*

5. Do women in political parties face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

6. What policies or strategies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in political parties – and politics more generally – in [COUNTRY]?

## **FOCUS GROUP GUIDE** **LOCALLY ELECTED WOMEN** *Optional*

### NOTE FOR RESEARCH TEAM

*Organizing focus groups with locally elected women may only be possible in some countries, given prohibitive costs and travel times. The team may find that the easiest option is to bring participants to the capitol city for a day, rather than traveling out to multiple distant places.*

### INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion.

The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us.

[If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said.

Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

### FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let’s go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.

2. How active are women in local politics in [COUNTRY]?

*Why did you decide to run as a candidate in local elections?*

*Did anyone particularly encourage you to stand as a candidate?*

*Did anyone particularly discourage you from standing as a candidate?*

*How important is local politics as an entry point for women leaders, compared to men?*

3. What support, if any, does your party give to women candidates?

*Do they encourage women to run for office?*

*Do they provide funding or training to women candidates?*

*Do parties tend to support certain types of women candidates over others?*

4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as local leaders?

*How do their experiences compare to those of men?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously?*

*Do women have equal chances as men to be elected mayor?*

5. Do women in local politics face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

6. What policies or strategies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in local politics – and politics more generally – in [COUNTRY]?

## FOCUS GROUP GUIDE WOMEN MEDIA WORKERS

### INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion.

The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us.

[If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said.

Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

### FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let’s go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.

2. What is the media environment like for women candidates and leaders?

*Do women in politics receive the same level of media coverage as men in politics?*

*Are women politicians treated differently than men in terms of the substance of media coverage?*

3. To what extent is there disinformation and/or hate speech against women in politics, either in the traditional media and on social media platforms?

*If so, can you give some examples?*

*What is the impact of this hate speech and disinformation?*

4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?

*How do their experiences compare to those of men?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously?*

5. Do women in politics face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

5. Do women journalists face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political reporting?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

6. What policies or strategies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in political journalism – and politics more generally – in [COUNTRY]?

## FOCUS GROUP GUIDE MEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

### INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion.

The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone's privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us.

[If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said.

Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don't have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal "airtime" – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it's not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

### FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.

2. How active are women compared to men in civil society in [COUNTRY]?

*Do they mainly participate in women's organizations, or are women active in organizations and movements not specifically focused on gender issues?*

*Do women serve as leaders of any major civil society organizations?*

*How representative are civil society organizations of the diversity of women in the population?*

*Where do civil society groups in [COUNTRY] tend to get their funding?*

3. Do women in [COUNTRY] have the same opportunities as men to express their political opinions?

*Are there any actors that actively seek to repress women's civic and political rights?*

*How effective are they in achieving these goals?*

4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?



*How do their experiences compare to those of men?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously?*

5. Do women in civil society – including women human rights defenders – face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

*If so, what do these attacks look like?*

*Who are the main perpetrators?*

*Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?*

*Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?*

6. What policies or strategies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in civil society – and politics more generally – in [COUNTRY]?

**ANNEX H: MAPPING WPPL WORKSHEET**

Topic	Question	Data Source	Summary Answer
<b>Participation</b>			
Access	Voter Registration -Gender Gap -Diverse Women Voter Turnout -Gender Gap -Geo. Variations -Diverse Women Autonomous Women’s Org’s -Present -Diverse Women Women in CSOs -Issue Type(s) Women in Protests -Issue Type (s) Women in Parties -Women’s Share -Which Parties -Women’s Wings -Wing on NEC Women in EMB Women as Poll Workers/Election Observers	Desk Review Desk Review Desk Review Focus Groups Desk Review Desk Review Desk Review Interviews Desk Review Desk Review Interviews	

Topic	Question	Data Source	Summary Answer
Power	Vote Autonomy -Violence -Diverse Women Women’s CSOs -Strength -Resources -Effectiveness CSOs and Government -State Bureaucracy -Communication Official Women’s Organizations -Strength -Effectiveness Political Parties -Women’s Wing Resources -Influence on Party Decision-Making -Gender on Party Platform/Statutes -Gender Training EMB -Gender Policy -Gender Unit -Observation	Desk Review Interviews Focus Groups Interviews Focus Groups Interviews Focus Groups Desk Review Interviews Focus Groups Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups Desk Review Interviews	
<b>Leadership</b>			
Access	Candidates -Share Women -Share by Party -Electable Seats -Diverse Women Elected/Appointed -Legislative -Executive -Judicial -Diverse Women Civil Society Leaders -Issue Type(s)	Desk Review Interviews Desk Review Interviews Desk Review Interviews	

Topic	Question	Data Source	Summary Answer
Power	Assume Position -Violence -Diverse Women Political Work -Violence -Diverse Women Leadership -Legislative -Executive -Judicial Parliament -Committees Assigned -Committees Led Women's Caucus -Presence -Resources Cabinet -Portfolios -Issue Type(s) Civil Society -Violence -Diverse Women -Impact	Desk Review Interviews Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Desk Review Desk Review Interviews Desk Review Interviews Desk Review Interviews Desk Review Desk Review Interviews Focus Groups	

## ANNEX I: DATA ANALYSIS GUIDANCE

### INTERPRETING DATA

Interpreting the data accurately is vital to the quality of the WPPL Assessment. Although the questions in the Assessment Framework, as well as in the four Assessment tools, seek to be as clear as possible, two issues might surface when the research team attempts to interpret the findings.

One issue relates to missing or incomplete data. Differences in country contexts may make it easier or more difficult to acquire the information needed for the Assessment, based on the availability of the data. In a conflict-affected country, for example, many years of political instability may mean that certain basic statistics or public opinion data simply do not exist. In these cases, the team might find creative ways to find alternative sources of information, for example by consulting academics for unpublished studies. A related problem stems from challenges in accessing key stakeholders. In some contexts, it may be very difficult to access high-level politicians, for example, or to gain their consent to participate in the project. Leveraging donor/partner contacts may go some way towards resolving this problem. Lacking key research respondents, however, may also simply be unavoidable. In these instances, the team should take care to qualify their findings, recognizing openly where there are gaps in the research and stating explicitly that their analysis is based solely on the data that could be collected.

A second issue concerns ‘believing’ stakeholders. In political research, stakeholders have strong incentives to portray themselves and their political parties (and political organizations) in the most positive light. Politicians, in particular, are also often professional interviewees – prone to avoiding questions they do not want to answer and quick to offer soundbites that, upon closer inspection, may be largely devoid of relevant and useful content. When analyzing the data, therefore, the team should adopt a certain level of skepticism to some of the answers in the Interviews and Focus Groups – questioning, for example, whether the respondent’s own party is really without any problems, or the respondent has really faced no barriers at all in their political career. In these instances, the team should consider why the respondent may not be truthful and qualify their research findings accordingly. The team could also frame the answers as ‘perceptions’ or ‘portrayals,’ focusing on how actors talk about their realities – rather than trying to establish whether or not these are fully accurate in a strictly scientific sense. In the case of testimonies of violence, however, the research team should err on the side of generosity, aware that women are often not believed in such instances – and thus have a tendency to under-report these kinds of experiences. When they do indeed speak out, then, they are likely to be telling the truth.

### MIXING RESEARCH METHODS

Mixing quantitative and qualitative methods is considered good practice in social research. Combining quantitative and qualitative tools increases the accuracy of research findings by triangulating data, using multiple techniques to shed light on the same research question. In this Assessment, the Desk Review should use existing quantitative and qualitative data to generate a relatively detailed background picture of WPPL dynamics in a given country. The other three tools seek to create new data. The Politician Survey is quantitative in nature, using responses to two batteries of questions administered to men and women politicians to compare their perceptions and experiences related to WPPL. The Interviews and Focus Groups are qualitative in their design, using questions to gain individual- and group-level insights into dynamics of WPPL. They differ in that Interviews aim to gather the views of single respondents, in

this case key informants with specialized knowledge on WPPL in the country. The Focus Groups, in contrast, use small group discussions with various types of stakeholders to reveal diverse views and potential disagreements on key questions.

The guiding assumption behind using a mixture of methods is that these techniques will complement one another, shedding light on broad patterns (quantitative methods) and the deeper meanings behind these patterns (qualitative methods). However, it is also possible that different methods yield different insights entirely. This may be the result of how different questions are asked. For example, the Politician Survey for women politicians may suggest that violence against women in politics is a common problem, because the questions ask about a range of behaviors without calling them ‘violence.’ In contrast, the Interviews may dispute that violence is a problem, either because individual women do not experience violence or because different respondents hold different thresholds as to what they consider to be ‘violence.’ The tools seek to avoid this problem by using ‘violence’ as well as related terms like ‘abuse,’ ‘intimidation,’ and ‘harassment,’ as this will hopefully make it more likely that understandings and answers match one another. If the research team notices vast gaps in their findings across the tools, they might consider assessing why these patterns are emerging – and possibly discussing with the donor/partner how to adjust the tools to make them more accurate and meaningful in light of the local context.

**ANNEX J: ANALYZING WPPL WORKSHEET**

Topic	Factor	Data Source	Barrier	Opportunity
<b>Participation</b>				
Access	Socio-Cultural	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
	Institutional	Desk Review Interviews Focus Groups		
	Individual	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
Power	Socio-Cultural	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
	Institutional	Desk Review Interviews Focus Groups		
	Individual	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
<b>Leadership</b>				
Access	Socio-Cultural	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
	Institutional	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
	Individual	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		

Topic	Factor	Data Source	Barrier	Opportunity
Power	Socio-Cultural	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
	Institutional	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		
	Individual	Desk Review Politician Survey Interviews Focus Groups		



## ANNEX K: STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

The Stakeholder Analysis Worksheet offers a way to identify which actors (might) create barriers to – and opportunities to advance – WPPL in the country. The research team should fill out four worksheets, corresponding to the four boxes of the WPPL Matrix.

### WORKSHEET 1: ACCESS TO PARTICIPATION

**Are women politically engaged as citizens, in any of a wide range of possible political roles?**

- **Which barriers prevent women’s participation? Which actors are responsible?**
- **Which opportunities exist (or might be mobilized) to promote women’s participation? Which actors are responsible (might be mobilized)?**

Sector	Barrier	Opponent	Opportunity	Advocate
<b>State Actors</b>		[State Actor A] [State Actor B] [State Actor C]		[State Actor X] [State Actor Y] [State Actor Z]
<b>Political Parties</b>		[Political Party A] [Political Party B] [Political Party C]		[Political Party X] [Political Party Y] [Political Party Z]
<b>Civil Society</b>		[Civil Society Group A] [Civil Society Group B] [Civil Society Group C]		[Civil Society Group X] [Civil Society Group Y] [Civil Society Group Z]
<b>International Community</b>		[International Organization A] [International Organization B] [Donor A] [Donor B] [International NGO A] [International NGO B]		[International Organization Y] [International Organization Z] [Donor Y] [Donor Z] [International NGO Y] [International NGO Z]

### WORKSHEET 2: POWER IN PARTICIPATION

**Do women exercise political agency and influence as citizens?**

- **Which barriers prevent women’s voice and agency in participation? Which actors are responsible?**
- **Which opportunities exist (or might be mobilized) to promote women’s voice and agency in participation? Which actors are responsible (might be mobilized)?**

Sector	Barrier	Opponent	Opportunity	Advocate
<b>State Actors</b>		[State Actor A] [State Actor B] [State Actor C]		[State Actor X] [State Actor Y] [State Actor Z]
<b>Political Parties</b>		[Political Party A] [Political Party B] [Political Party C]		[Political Party X] [Political Party Y] [Political Party Z]
<b>Civil Society</b>		[Civil Society Group A] [Civil Society Group B] [Civil Society Group C]		[Civil Society Group X] [Civil Society Group Y] [Civil Society Group Z]
<b>International Community</b>		[International Organization A] [International Organization B] [Donor A] [Donor B] [International NGO A] [International NGO B]		[International Organization Y] [International Organization Z] [Donor Y] [Donor Z] [International NGO Y] [International NGO Z]

**WORKSHEET 3: ACCESS TO LEADERSHIP**

**Do women serve as political leaders, whether in elected or non-elected roles?**

- **Which barriers prevent women’s participation? Which actors are responsible?**
- **Which opportunities exist (or might be mobilized) to promote women’s participation? Which actors are responsible (might be mobilized)?**

Sector	Barrier	Opponent	Opportunity	Advocate
<b>State Actors</b>		[State Actor A] [State Actor B] [State Actor C]		[State Actor X] [State Actor Y] [State Actor Z]
<b>Political Parties</b>		[Political Party A] [Political Party B] [Political Party C]		[Political Party X] [Political Party Y] [Political Party Z]
<b>Civil Society</b>		[Civil Society Group A] [Civil Society Group B] [Civil Society Group C]		[Civil Society Group X] [Civil Society Group Y] [Civil Society Group Z]
<b>International Community</b>		[International Organization A] [International Organization B] [Donor A] [Donor B] [International NGO A] [International NGO B]		[International Organization Y] [International Organization Z] [Donor Y] [Donor Z] [International NGO Y] [International NGO Z]

## WORKSHEET 4: POWER IN LEADERSHIP

Do women exercise political agency and influence as political leaders?

- Which barriers prevent women’s voice and agency in leadership? Which actors are responsible?
- Which opportunities exist (or might be mobilized) to promote women’s voice and agency in leadership? Which actors are responsible (might be mobilized)?

Sector	Barrier	Opponent	Opportunity	Advocate
<b>State Actors</b>		[State Actor A] [State Actor B] [State Actor C]		[State Actor X] [State Actor Y] [State Actor Z]
<b>Political Parties</b>		[Political Party A] [Political Party B] [Political Party C]		[Political Party X] [Political Party Y] [Political Party Z]
<b>Civil Society</b>		[Civil Society Group A] [Civil Society Group B] [Civil Society Group C]		[Civil Society Group X] [Civil Society Group Y] [Civil Society Group Z]
<b>International Community</b>		[International Organization A] [International Organization B] [Donor A] [Donor B] [International NGO A] [International NGO B]		[International Organization Y] [International Organization Z] [Donor Y] [Donor Z] [International NGO Y] [International NGO Z]

## **ANNEX L: REPORT TEMPLATE**

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

**Country Background**

**Current State of WPPL**

**Barriers and Opportunities to WPPL**

**Recommendations for Action**

### **COUNTRY BACKGROUND**

**Socio-Cultural Factors**

[Desk Review, supplemented with other Assessment Tools]

**Institutional Factors**

[Desk Review, supplemented with other Assessment Tools]

**Individual Factors**

[Desk Review, supplemented with other Assessment Tools]

### **CURRENT STATE OF WPPL**

**Access to Participation**

[Answers to Questions in Part I]

**Power in Participation**

[Answers to Questions in Part I]

**Access to Leadership**

[Answers to Questions in Part I]

**Power in Leadership**

[Answers to Questions in Part I]

## **BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO WPPL**

### **Access to Participation**

[Answers to Questions in Part II]

### **Power in Participation**

[Answers to Questions in Part II]

### **Access to Leadership**

[Answers to Questions in Part II]

### **Power in Leadership**

[Answers to Questions in Part II]

## **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION**

### **Access to Participation**

[Tactic A] [Specific Actor(s) A]

[Tactic B] [Specific Actor(s) B]

### **Power in Participation**

[Tactic A] [Specific Actor(s) A]

[Tactic B] [Specific Actor(s) B]

### **Access to Leadership**

[Tactic A] [Specific Actor(s) A]

[Tactic B] [Specific Actor(s) B]

### **Power in Leadership**

[Tactic A] [Specific Actor(s) A]

[Tactic B] [Specific Actor(s) B]

## **ANNEXES**

A: Desk Review Sources

B: Desk Review Findings

C: Politician Survey Texts

D: Politician Survey Findings

E: Key Informant Interview Texts

F: Key Informant Interview Findings

G: Focus Group Discussion Texts

H: Focus Group Discussion Findings

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