

SHE votes

EXAMINING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS

MARCH 2017

 **WOMEN'S
DEMOCRACY
NETWORK**
Empowering Women to Lead



SheVotes: Examining Women's Participation in Elections

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Cover Photo: After casting the first vote in her life in Tunisia's 2014 presidential election, an unnamed Tunisian woman stands proudly.

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INTRODUCTION



IRI's more than 30 years of experience in conducting democratic development programs has evidenced that no society can prosper when it leaves half of its citizens behind. A robust democracy depends on the equal participation of women. Despite women comprising nearly half of the world's population, they continue to be drastically underrepresented in political leadership positions around the world. In fact, most have little or no access to the very decision-making tables where the policies are made that govern their lives. While progress is being achieved, the gains have been slow. Women's access to public office remains unbalanced with male counterparts, and biases and stigmas against women's political participation remain. According to the World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report, 96 percent of the 144 countries covered in its report have closed the gap in health outcomes between women and men, 95 percent in educational attainment

and 59 percent in economic participation, but only 23 percent of the political gap has been closed.¹ While this gender imbalance is concerning on its own as a human rights issue, it can lead to a decrease, or stagnation, of a country's development. It is therefore not surprising that the United Nations has included gender equality as one of its Sustainable Development Goals, acknowledging that women's representation in political decision-making processes "will fuel sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large."²

Unfortunately, there is no one-size-fits-all model when it comes to designing and implementing successful women's empowerment programs related to political participation. All too often the focus in this sphere centers on election data, such as turnout of women voters, how many women competed as candidates, and how many women obtained seats. However, the barriers to women's progress in this field are complex, and successful interventions must take into account the holistic nature of the issue. To this end, IRI built upon its decades of successful political empowerment programs to develop a methodology for assessing women's participation in elections as voters and candidates. This methodology takes into account the roles that legislative and regulatory frameworks, culture and country contexts, and the self-efficacy or empowerment of women themselves play in promoting or inhibiting women's gains in this sphere, and acknowledges that these factors are generally linked and reinforcing. When analyzed together, data gathered about these factors can provide practitioners with the information necessary to design and implement programs which can move toward a more holistic approach that empowers, motivates and incentivizes women's participation in elections. We have titled this methodology "SheVotes," because we believe passionately that when given the opportunity to exert their voices, women are positively changing our communities and our countries - one vote at a time.

1. World Economic Forum "The Global Gender Gap Report" (2016)
2. From the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (2015), Goal No. 5

THE SHEVOTES FRAMEWORK

Based on its experience conducting gender assessments of elections throughout the world, as well as a review of external research and analysis of women’s participation in elections, IRI has developed a framework for this assessment based on a three-part typology of barriers. Individual barriers impede women’s self-efficacy and empowerment. Government barriers include legislative and regulatory provisions that undermine—through omission or commission—women’s participation. Societal barriers include norms of patriarchy or misogyny that exclude women from participating fully in the public sphere. These three types of barriers can exist in isolation and have discrete effects on women’s political participation. However, they are more often mutually constitutive and reinforcing. For example, electoral rules that fail to explicitly protect women’s access to political and electoral processes often indicate deeply embedded social norms of patriarchy. Therefore, the barriers to women’s political participation in any society are often multidimensional, reflecting the complex interaction of cultural values and institutional rules. Consequently, overcoming these barriers necessitates not simply encouraging women to overcome them, or even changing laws and practices, but also transforming the gender norms that undergird them.

The SheVotes Framework

Three-Part Barrier Typology



INDIVIDUAL
Barriers to self-efficacy and empowerment



GOVERNMENTAL
Legislative and regulatory barriers



SOCIETAL
Barriers inherent to contextual/ environmental factors

INDIVIDUAL: BARRIERS TO SELF-EFFICACY AND EMPOWERMENT

Women are often deterred from political participation because they believe they lack the skills and information, or have been denied access to same, necessary for political action. Individual barriers can manifest themselves in civic and voter education levels, political party behavior, corruption, and other areas. Efforts by the government to provide civic and voter education can affect women’s participation in elections as voters and candidates. This includes providing information on women’s rights as voters, the process of registering and voting, and how to become an official candidate for office. Studies show this education often has a direct correlation to women’s self-confidence and empowerment.³ Political parties also play an important role in women’s political empowerment. As the United Nations and other organizations note, political parties often serve as gatekeepers to political party candidate lists and party funding, which can affect the number of women electoral candidates.⁴ A party’s platform, specifically planks that address issues of importance to women, can also affect women’s turnout as voters.⁵ In addition, high levels of corruption and the presence of “pay to play” politics negatively impact women candidates. Often, women do not have the financial means to pay for entrée onto party lists or to finance their campaigns. In many cases, political parties funnel resources to male candidates, who are viewed as more viable than women candidates. Other individual barriers include women’s poor performance on development indicators or a civil society that focuses its efforts away from women’s issues.

3. International Republican Institute. “Tanzania National Elections Gender Assessment,” (2015); Steven E. Finkel, “Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies,” *Journal of Politics* 64, 4 (2002): 994-1020; Anthony Kamau Wainaina and Guantai Mboroki, “Effects of Civic Education on Women’s Political Participation in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency, Murang’a County-Kenya” *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 3, 10 (2013): 221-230.

4. United Nations, “Political Participation,” in *Women and Elections: Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections* (2005)

5. United Nations, “Political Participation,” in *Women and Elections: Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections* (2005)

GOVERNMENTAL: LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY BARRIERS

Legal and institutional frameworks, whether within the country's constitution or through election administration laws, can serve as barriers to political participation and spur the gender gap in political representation.⁶ These frameworks can also be used to increase women's participation through interventions that seek to overcome identified barriers to political inclusion. These legal frameworks affect women as voters as well as candidates. As voters, legal provisions are necessary to ensure women's right to vote as well as facilitate the exercise of this right. As candidates, legal provisions can include affirmative action provisions that ensure women's inclusion during the organization of party lists during elections, or in the actual composition of the parliament. When rescinded or ignored, women's participation is negatively affected.⁷ The OSCE's 2004 handbook on election observation identifies the important role played by election monitors in helping enforce these frameworks. Election observers document whether or not election related laws and regulations are enforced on Election Day as well as how this enforcement—or lack thereof—impacts women as voters and candidates, and the overall trust of citizens in the system.⁸ Finally, proportional electoral systems are generally associated with more women parliamentarians because women candidates fare better on party lists than in winner-take-all elections.⁹

SOCIETAL: BARRIERS INHERENT TO CONTEXTUAL/ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

The social environment, including cultural attitudes, gender norms and the prevalence of violence (physical and sexual), impact women's participation in public and private life. Social, cultural, and religious beliefs often shape gender norms regarding the roles and activities that society considers appropriate for men and women. Numerous studies and reports note that these attitudes affect public perceptions of women as candidates, elected officials, leaders, and decision-makers.¹⁰ These attitudes can be exacerbated by media representation of women candidates, as well as its coverage of issues of particular importance to women, such as health and education.¹¹ Threats and the commission of violence against women, both physical and sexual, deters women from exercising their right to vote as well as participate in electoral politics and public life. An additional social barrier to women's participation is conflict. Volatile security situations in which it is unsafe for women to move freely can deter women from voting and from running as candidates.¹²



6. United Nations, "The Legal Framework," in *Women and Elections: Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections* (2005)

7. Shvedova, Nadezhda. "Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament," in *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, edited by Julie Ballington and Azza Karam. Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. (2005): 33-50.

8. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Handbook for Monitoring Women's Participation in Elections* (July 2004); United Nations, "Election Observation," in *Women and Elections: Guide to Promoting the Participation of women in Elections* (2005)

9. Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*, International IDEA (2005)

10. For example, see: Caroline Hubbard and Claire DeSoi, "Votes Without Violence: A Citizen Observer's Guide to Addressing Violence Against Women in Elections," National Democratic Institute (2016)

11. USAID, "The Success and the Barriers to Women's Representation in Southeast Asia (2014); Shvedova, Nadezhda. "Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament," in *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, edited by Julie Ballington and Azza Karam. Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. (2005): 33-50.

12. The Electoral Knowledge Network, "Barriers to Women's Voter Registration," July 23, 2013. <http://aceproject.org/electoral-advice/archive/questions/replies/277728362>

THE SHEVOTES METHODOLOGY

To understand the impact of barriers to women’s electoral participation, the SheVotes Methodology includes three phases of research and analysis to identify potential barriers to women’s participation, monitor the manifestation of these barriers in a specific election, and analyze the impact of these barriers on women’s participation in those elections. The following describes each of the three stages in detail and provides some guidance on recommended data collection and analysis methods.

Phase One: Barrier Identification

This phase focuses on identifying the potential barriers to women’s participation in elections based on the individual/governmental/societal barrier typology. The following table outlines this typology in further detail, providing categories of barriers and commonly encountered examples of barriers to women’s participation in elections as both voters and candidates. The table also provides guiding questions to help organize a comprehensive inquiry into what barriers women in a particular country might face.

BARRIER IDENTIFICATION: GUIDELINES FOR INQUIRY



INDIVIDUAL

	Voters	Candidates
Framing Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do women perceive that they will make their lives better by voting in elections? Do women think voting is important? Why or why not? Is voting a priority for women? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do women believe that they can be effective political leaders and/or have a successful career in politics? What entry points to women have to seek elected office? How do political and civil society institutions empower or discourage women from seeking office?
Women’s Attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women hold patriarchal views or lack confidence to defy them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women hold patriarchal views or lack confidence to defy them
Civil Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil society does not advocate for women’s enfranchisement/access to voting processes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women with leadership skills steered into civil society positions because politics is seen as “unfeminine” Civil society is unaware, unwilling or unable to advocate for changes to the legal/regulatory/media/cultural environment to remove barriers to women’s candidacies
Women from Marginalized Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All factors disproportionately or exclusively impact women from minority communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All factors disproportionately or exclusively impact women from minority communities
Civic and Voter Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women don’t understand their rights as voters, how to register to vote, or process of voting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women don’t understand legal framework or process for becoming a candidate
Human Development Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women can’t leave home or job to vote Women more likely to be illiterate Women more likely to have disability/health problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women too poor to finance campaigns or can’t afford to leave work or family duties to run Women more likely to lack education/literacy Women more likely to have disability/health problems



INDIVIDUAL, cont'd

	Voters	Candidates
Power Position within Legislature or Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of substantive representation means that women's issues are not prioritized in government, depressing voter motivations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elected women don't hold leadership positions, which deters women from running
Party Behavior and Internal Rules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parties do not appeal to women's issues or integrate women's issues into party platform Parties do not include women's wings in their structures, or funding for women's wings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No internal gender quota Women candidates not advanced into party leadership Women put at bottom of candidate lists Women need the sponsorship of male party leaders to be placed on candidate lists Parties may charge a fee for being placed on party list Lack of internal party democracy impedes women's advancement Lack of party training for women candidates Lack of financial support from parties disproportionately affects women Marginalized role for women's wings limits mechanisms for women's advancement
Incumbency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incumbent politicians more likely to be men, do not prioritize women's issues, do not promote women's inclusion in parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incumbent politicians, who are more likely to be male, are advantaged



GOVERNMENTAL

	Voters	Candidates
Framing Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What laws or regulations may exist that support or hinder women's participation in the electoral process (to include funding/support for the operation of women's only polling centers, where applicable)? Are they known and understood by the public? How are they enforced? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What laws or regulations exist that discourage or enable women to run for office? Are they known and understood by the public? How are they enforced?
Constitutional Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's franchise not protected 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women not permitted to run for office
Election Administration and Laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of polling station rules allowing for gender sensitive voting procedures Voting literacy requirements disproportionately affect women Voter registration party implemented, not state implemented Location and hours of polling station 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender quotas absent or not enforced Women not permitted to be candidates Absence of public funding hurts women candidates who receive less funding from parties Candidate requirements (like minimum education levels) disproportionately affect women
Election Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No polling station observers, or only male observers, inhibit women voters' ability to report violations or illegal disenfranchisement Lack of reporting of gender-based violence in elections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of long-term election observers inhibits reporting of biased or unsafe campaign environment for women candidates
Electoral System Design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not Applicable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Majoritarian, single-member district systems less conducive to women candidates than PR, multi-member districts Closed lists v. open lists

	Voters	Candidates
Framing Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What broader factors, such as culture (including pop culture/media), security context, environment, etc., exist that might affect women as voters more than men? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What broader factors, such as culture (including pop culture/media), security context, environment, etc., discourage or encourage women to run for elected office? • How do these factors affect women more than, or differently from, men?
Public Attitudes and Cultural Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's political positions should reflect husband • Women's opinions seen as less valid than men's opinions • Women can't leave house without male guardian • Women can't remove veil to prove identity (registration, voting) • Parents don't give women birth certificates to prove identity (registration, voting) • Parents do not educate their daughters/higher rates of illiteracy among women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • View that politics is 'dirty' and unfeminine • Assumption that leaders of society should be men • Belief that women candidates or elected officials serve as stand-ins for male relatives or patrons • Women are considered weak leaders
Media Representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media doesn't cover issues women care about (e.g., women's health) • Media does not depict women as voters, or depicts them in stereotypical ways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media ignores women candidates or covers them less than male candidates • Media perpetuates negative gender stereotypes of women as leaders or candidates • Media requires payment for coverage
Election Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor security in polling stations makes women feel unsafe to cast their ballots • Threats of physical and sexual violence disproportionately affect women's turnout and may be present even when overall pre-election environment is calm • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threats of physical and sexual violence against women in the public eye deters/prevents women candidates from running or campaigning • Law officials who do not ensure safety of, or prosecute violence against, women candidates
Insecure/Post-Conflict Settings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volatile security situation deters/prevents women voters • Women disproportionately make up IDPs and can't vote 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volatile security situation deters/prevents women candidates
Public Discourse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coarsening of public discourse turns off women voters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coarsening of public discourse prevents women from running for office

The Barrier Identification phase can take place any time before the official start of the campaign process, but ideally should happen after legislation and/or regulations relevant to the campaign and election process are finalized or amended but before the process of registering candidates begins. The barrier typology and guiding questions can serve as a structure for inquiry, and inform data collection and analysis. Ultimately, the Barrier Identification phase should conclude with a comprehensive explanation of individual, governmental and societal barriers that threaten women's participation in the country and election in question, with an explanation of their causes, how barriers might be linked or reinforced across the three sectors, and what their potential for impact is.

Data sources for the Barrier Identification will depend on the country and election in questions, but the following are commonly used data collection methods that can provide a starting point for research.

LEGAL AND REGULATORY ANALYSIS

A logical, and fairly straightforward, first step in conducting a Barrier Identification is to review the legal and regulatory frameworks and determine what governmental barriers exist to women's participation in elections. In most cases, this review will cover a defined/finite number of publicly available documents, although be cognizant that changes to election law and voting procedures are sometimes introduced in the pre-election period.

Any barriers identified during the legal and regulatory analysis should be triangulated via expert interviews and other data collection methods to determine the extent to which identified barriers could impact women's participation in the elections, as well as whether, and how, these barriers might be linked to individual and societal barriers. There is no single way to conduct a legal and regulatory analysis, although it is recommended that the analysis be conducted by someone with expertise in the country's legal framework. During the analysis, consider whether relevant provisions inhibit or enable women's participation in the elections both as voters and candidates, noting whether these are explicit/implicit as well as *de facto/de jure*.

Documents that should be considered during the review include foundational legislation such as the constitution; legislation related to the electoral system and candidate registration; political party and campaign laws; legislation on voter eligibility and registration; legislation/regulations on Election Day administration and ballot certification; laws on media coverage of the campaign and Election Day; and other relevant legislation or regulations (laws on gender equality, anti-discrimination legislation, etc.). The review should also include international and regional agreements and treaties (be aware that these can be either binding or non-binding). Depending on the type of election or the type of governing system in a country, it may be necessary to conduct legal analysis at a subnational level as well.

National Legal Framework

Review the national legal framework as it relates to the electoral process and the administration of elections. As noted previously, cast a wide net for any relevant legislation or regulations, especially as they may be introduced during the pre-election phase. Be sure to also include all of the procedural documents created for elections: creation of election commissions, bylaws/guidance documents on the conduct of elections, how candidates should be nominated, how campaign funds should be raised and reported, etc. What provisions, if any, are there for gender equality? Please note the specific articles and provisions.

Regarding candidates, questions to consider may include:

- a. Are *de jure* systems (quotas, etc.) in place to encourage women candidates to participate in elections? What are they?
- b. What are the requirements for candidates? This may include age, education levels, financial requirements, specific kinds of education or work. Are these requirements more difficult for women to meet compared to men? Consider comparing these requirements to gender disaggregated demographic indicators as described in the section on gender equity indicators.
- c. What is the timeline for publicly releasing legislation/regulations related to candidate registration, or any changes therein, prior to any deadlines for candidate registration? What challenges might women disproportionately face in responding to that timeline compared to men?
- d. Are the electoral guidelines in a format that is easily accessible to women? Are they written in language that most women in the country read and understand? If women's literacy levels are low in the country, are the provisions available in another format? Where and how can these legal provisions be obtained, and is that method of distribution equally accessible to men and women?

- e. Are political parties encouraged or required to promote gender equality in their party lists or in their internal party nomination procedures? If so, how? You might also expand this inquiry to internal party rules to determine what procedures exist within parties for candidate selection. Can candidates nominate themselves, or must they be nominated by someone else? Is there a financial requirement (formal or informal) for candidates to be placed on the party lists? Do parties have measures to provide training to women candidates? Do parties offer financial support to candidates, and is this offered equally to men and women?
- f. Are party lists reviewed by electoral management bodies, or some other entity, prior to elections to ensure they meet quotas or other similar requirements?
- g. Does the legal framework establish consequences for party lists or party nomination procedures that do not meet quotas or other similar requirements? Have these consequences ever been applied?

Regarding voters, consider:

- a. According to the law, can all genders vote?
- b. Are the voter registration procedures and other relevant voter registration information publically available before registration deadlines?
- c. Are the voter registration procedures and other relevant voter registration information easily accessible to women in the country before registration deadlines? Are they written in language that most women in the country read and understand? If women's literacy levels are low in the country, are the provisions available in another format? How are they distributed, and is that method of distribution equally accessible to both men and women?
- d. What are the procedures guiding polling station selection? How many polling stations are allotted per district? How far are these located from residential areas, and are they equally accessible to both men and women?
- e. If polls are gender segregated, are election officials of the same gender provided? Is special security required? Are there equal numbers of polling stations for men and women?
- f. What are the hours of polling station operation, and do these hours present any challenges for women that differ from what male voters face?
- g. Are electoral management bodies required to conduct voter or civic education that specifically targets women? What funding is available for these education campaigns? What methods have historically been used to provide voter or civic education? Who conducted them (electoral bodies, CSOs, etc.)?

As part of the national legislative review, it may also be useful to see if there have been legal challenges to these provisions in the national and/or constitutional courts. Finally, reviewing the history of how the laws were drafted can be a good indication of what was intended in the drafting, which may differ from how the law has been implemented. Court rulings, especially of supreme courts or constitutional courts, have the effect of changing how the law is implemented, so it is worth investigating if any are relevant women's participation in the elections.

International and Regional Agreements

The next step is to gather any international instruments, agreements or conventions that the country is party to, or a signatory of, that provide for gender equality in political participation and representation. When noting each instrument, please include the date the country signed onto it and the relevant article or provision. This might include the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and other statements of principles. If countries have ratified them, they are obliged to make reports to the committees that govern the conventions. Analysis should therefore include past reporting to see what, if any, warnings or recommendations have been made in those countries in relation to those articles. Searching the year following landmark elections can be a helpful starting point. This research will provide evidence of how the country in question has conducted itself in relation to these obligations.

Countries may also be signatory of, or party to, regional instruments, agreements, or conventions that provide for gender equality in political participation and representation. A similar approach to analysis can be used for these regional instruments, with due consideration given to the varying requirements and degree of enforcement. When noting each instrument, please include the date the country joined and the relevant article or provision.



PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

The beliefs, attitudes, and self-identified behaviors of men and women in a society are essential to understanding individual and societal barriers affecting women’s electoral participation. Survey data can help illuminate these barriers. Many survey organizations provide cross-national data (asking the same questions across several countries) and/or national data (asking the question in only one country) on gender issues. Survey data allow for comparison between countries, which is important for establishing a country’s standing on a particular issue. Sometimes these surveys are “longitudinal,” which means they ask the same question across several years of surveys. Longitudinal surveys are useful because they track trends in social attitudes over time. A list of publicly available public opinion surveys that include data relevant to women’s participation in elections is included in the “SheVotes Data Collection Tools” section.

Different survey organizations provide their data to the public in different formats. The most common form is tables created by the organization. This is how IRI (as well as Pew, Gallup, and many other prominent organizations) provides its polling information to the public. For example, a table will give the question asked and the answers broken down by a different attribute (gender, age, income level, etc.). This format is the easiest to access and understand but does not allow for further manipulation of the data. A second format available to users is online data analysis. Many of the “barometer” polls, such as the World Values Survey, allows a researcher to create their own tables, matching the answers with whichever variable is most interesting. The process varies depending on the website, but generally you would select the country, year of the poll, the question, and the variable by which you want the data “cross tabulated” (or broken down). This allows you to manipulate the data to investigate which question interests you most. Most

online data analysis tools also allow you to create and download your own tables as an Excel document. Finally, survey data can be provided in its “raw” form, often in Excel, CSV, or other file formats. In this form, you would need a statistical software package (like SPSS or R) or use Excel statistics functions. Use of these programs generally requires specialized training.

Regardless of which format survey data are in, this information will be valuable to your understanding of particular barriers to and catalysts for women’s political participation. They help move an argument from theoretical and suppositional to empirically-supported.

QUANTITATIVE INDICATORS OF GENDER EQUITY

Another important data source for identifying individual and societal barriers to, and catalysts for, women’s political and electoral participation is social, political, and economic indicators of gender equity. For example, if you want to argue that illiteracy is a key barrier to women voting, your first task will be to show the level of illiteracy in a country. A list of sources of quantitative indicators related to gender equity (including the UN, World Bank, and others) is included in the “SheVotes Data Collection Tools” section. Some of these indicators are directly related to women’s political participation, such as the number of women in parliament. Others will be important indicators of women’s status or condition in the country (e.g., maternal mortality, illiteracy, or unemployment). These indicators can be combined with survey data to show that beliefs, attitudes, and socioeconomic status, cumulatively, can affect women’s political participation. When measured over time, these data can show the persistence of particular trends (potentially increasing or decreasing over time).

EXPERT INTERVIEWS

As part of the Barrier Identification, you should conduct in-depth interviews with a variety of experts in election law/administration, civic engagement and advocacy, media, and politics/campaigning. These interviews will provide important qualitative data on how and why individual, societal and governmental barriers to women’s political participation exist, including the de jure and de facto impacts of the election law and regulatory framework, insights into the roles women play in the civil society, political party and governance sectors, and broader analysis of public attitudes around women in politics.

The number of interviews depends on the country context, but in general, consider including at least 2-3 individuals from the following sectors: election administration, civil society, political parties/officials, former and prospective candidates, academic/policy research. When identifying people to interview, make sure you have a strategy in place to ensure that women experts from each of the sectors are adequately represented. Ideally, the interviewees from each sector will have an equal gender split.

Interviews should be semi-structured, based on a protocol that is developed and piloted in advance (a sample protocol is included in the “SheVotes Data Collection Tools” section). Questions can be tailored to the interviewee’s particular area of expertise. Interviews should generally last 1-2 hours, depending on the number of questions, the need for translation, and the availability of the interviewee. Be mindful, however, that the length of time required can be a barrier for participation in the interview. In some cases, you may need to adjust the protocol to allow for shorter interview times.

Prior to starting an interview, the interviewer should provide an informed consent statement that outlines the purpose of the interview, information on how data (including publically identifiable information) will be used and shared, and a disclosure of any anticipated risks to participating in the interview. Keep in mind that women interviewees may incur additional risks in terms of participating in the interview, and thus may require special considerations for protecting their data (including personally identifiable information).

Interviews should follow methodological standards of objectivity and transparency. The interviewer should remain neutral but engaged throughout the interview, ensuring that questions and follow-up, as well as body language, tone, and level of attention don't bias the interviewee's responses. The interviewer should also keep sufficient documentation of the interview, either through recording the interview or taking detailed notes.

Finally, the interview should be conducted in a way that the interviewee feels comfortable and able to share opinions freely. This may require particular attention when the interviewee is a woman. Things to consider include the accessibility and security of the interview location, the time scheduled and allotted for the interview, and the dynamic between the interviewer, the interviewee, and others who may be present for the interview.

GROUP DISCUSSIONS

It is important also to solicit the opinions and perspectives of women themselves to understand what barriers they face and how those barriers manifest themselves. Group discussions with women voters or potential candidates can be a useful way to efficiently and inexpensively capture the opinions and perspectives of a greater number of people. Unlike individual interviews, group discussions also allow you to capture the interactions and reactions among and between groups of people. For these reasons, you may want to conduct a few group discussions with targeted groups of women during the barrier identification phase of the gender election assessment.

The specific profiles of group discussion participants will vary according to the country context, but we recommend recruiting ordinary or “everyday” women in the target country to better understand their perspectives and explore individual barriers to participation in elections, as well as how these are linked to societal and governmental barriers. The group discussions with these women should provide rich, detailed information regarding their views toward women's roles in the political and electoral processes in the country. This data will provide a useful supplement to the data collected from experts and professionals during the expert interviews.

Be creative and think carefully about all aspects of the subject when deciding which participants can provide you with the required information. Especially if you do not understand the community well enough, ask field staff or local partners for their input. Gathering the insights and thoughts of multiple local stakeholders is necessary to develop a well-rounded perspective, especially when you are studying people's attitudes and beliefs. In addition to considering the profile of the individual participants, you should also consider how the individuals might interact with each other. The group dynamics can significantly affect the willingness of participants to share their opinions and thoughts, especially in some more conservative or traditional cultures.

During the planning phase, you should determine the profile of women who would best be able to provide the kind of data you want. The ideal size for a group discussion is typically between 8-12 participants, but this can depend on the country context. There are many methods for selecting participants for group discussions but the simplest method for gender election assessments is called “purposive” or “convenience” sampling. With this sampling method, select women who are willing and able to participate in the discussion and who are most likely to share with you the kind of information you seek to gain.

In more traditional or conservative contexts, gathering a group of women to conduct the group discussion could be viewed as controversial and even dubious. Especially if someone from outside the community is conducting the group discussion, or simply present in the room, this can raise suspicions of community members. Thus, it may be necessary to notify community leaders (elders or tribal leaders) or government officials first to inform them about the research effort and gain permission to work in that community. Consider the need for these pre-meetings and build them into your data collection timeline if they are deemed necessary. Generally, meeting with community leaders and government officials one week before you plan to hold the group discussion is acceptable. Be sure to administer an informed consent statement to participants prior to the start of the interview that outlines the purpose of the research, how their data (including personally identifiable information) will be used, and any risks to participating

in the research. Also note that in some contexts, women may be unable to travel outside the home without the accompaniment of a male family member, which may or may not result in the male family members present during the interviews.

Group discussions tend to last between 1.5 and 2 hours but that depends significantly on the moderator's ability to keep the conversation moving along at a reasonable pace. It is important to be respectful of participants' time. The moderator should make every effort to conclude the discussion within the previously agreed upon timeframe. Ask for the help of field staff or local partners to select an easily accessed venue which encourages women to attend. The location should consider issues like the transportation accessibility and acceptance by the community. It is important to create a comfortable social environment for participants.

A female moderator and note-taker is essential and often necessary in conservative cultures which may restrict the gathering of women with men who are not family members. Considerations of languages are also important: even if the moderator speaks the official language of the country, in some rural or smaller areas women may prefer to converse in a local dialect. It may be impossible to recruit an experienced moderator who is fully fluent in the necessary languages or dialects. In these cases, a local liaison should be present but should only intervene to clarify the local dialect. When beginning the group discussion, this local liaison's role should be made clear to all participants. Remember: the discussion and the notetaking should be conducted only by the moderator and the note-taker.



Phase Two: Election Monitoring

This phase focuses on monitoring whether and how the barriers identified in the Barrier Identification phase affect women's participation in a specific election during the pre-election period and on Election Day. Using analysis produced during the Barrier Identification phase, determine which barriers to women's political participation (either as voters or candidates) are likely to be present in the upcoming election. The Election Monitoring phase should begin with the candidate/voter registration process, but should intensify with the start of the official campaign period. Monitoring on Election Day should focus specifically on women's access to the polls and women candidates' ability to register complaints or disputes related to voting and tabulation. The Election Monitoring phase can continue beyond Election Day by focusing on the adjudication of complaints and the certification of results.

Data sources for the Election Monitoring phase can include, but are not limited to: expert interviews; voter interviews; media monitoring; Election Day monitoring; candidate lists; voter lists; election observer reports; Election Day complaint records; and election results. The following is guidance on some of these data collection methods.



EXPERT INTERVIEWS

During the pre-election period, you should conduct in-depth interviews with a variety of experts in election law/administration, civic engagement and advocacy, media, and campaigns/politics. These interviews will provide important qualitative data on whether and how potential barriers have been manifested during the lead-up to Election Day. These interviews can help you track specific instances of barriers to participation and/or allow you to gauge whether these instances are isolated or part of a larger pattern.

The number of interviews depends on the country context, but in general, we would suggest at least 2-3 individuals with one or more of the following areas of expertise: election administration, civic engagement, politics/campaigns, academic/policy research. You should also include a cross section of women candidates from different parties. When identifying people to interview, make sure you have a strategy in place to ensure that women experts from each of the other sectors are equally represented. When possible, you may also wish to seek out experts from different regions of the country to help establish whether barriers to participation are localized or more widespread.

Interviews should be semi-structured, based on a protocol that is developed and piloted in advance. Interviews should generally last 1-2 hours, depending on the number of questions, the need for translation, and the availability of the interviewee. Be mindful, however, that the length of time required can be a barrier for participation in the interview. In some cases, you may need to adjust the protocol to allow for shorter interview times. A sample interview protocol is included in the “SheVotes Data Collection Tools” section; questions from the protocol can be tailored to the type of expert being interviewed.

Expert interviews for the Election Monitoring phase should follow the same standards of objectivity, transparency and accessibility as described for Barrier Identification expert interviews.

CITIZEN INTERVIEWS

During the pre-election period, you should conduct interviews with a robust sample of citizens/voters. These interviews will provide important qualitative data on whether and how potential barriers have affected every day citizens during the lead-up to Election Day. These interviews can help you track specific instances of barriers to participation and/or allow you to gauge whether these instances are isolated or part of a larger pattern.

The precise makeup of the sample depends on the country context, but in general, the sample should be comprised of both men and women respondents and be geographically representative. If possible, the sample should include a variety of incomes and education levels.

Because of the large number of citizen interviews that will likely be required, you can use group interviews following a similar approach to the one described under the Barrier Identification phase. However, you can also conduct individual interviews with a larger number of participants if you use a structured interview protocol. A sample interview protocol is included in the “SheVotes Data Collection Tools” section. The interview protocol also includes some open-ended questions that, time permitting, can be included. Interviews should generally last no more than 30 minutes. Be mindful that the length of time required can be a barrier for some respondents, particularly women, to participate in the interview. In some cases, you may need to adjust the protocol to allow for even shorter interview times.

Prior to starting an interview, the interviewer should provide an informed consent statement that outlines the purpose of the interview, information on how data (including publically identifiable information) will be used and shared, and a disclosure of any anticipated risks to participating in the interview. In some cases, the gender of the interviewee may require particular attention to protecting data and mitigating risks from participation in the interview.

Interviews should follow methodological standards of objectivity and transparency. The interviewer should remain

neutral but engaged throughout the interview, ensuring that questions and follow-up, as well as body language, tone, and level of attention don't bias the interviewee's responses. The interviewer should also keep sufficient documentation of the interview, either through recording the interview or taking detailed notes.

Finally, the interview should be conducted in a way that the interviewee feels comfortable and able to share opinions freely. This may require particular attention when the interviewee is a woman. Things to consider include the accessibility and security of the interview location, the time scheduled and allotted for the interview, and the dynamic between the interviewer, the interviewee, and others who may be present for the interview.

ELECTION DAY MONITORING

Election Day monitoring can provide important information on the voting process and how it affects women as voters as well as women as candidates. A comprehensive effort to monitor polling stations can capture evidence of whether voters are facing any difficulties in exercising their right to vote, and whether these difficulties disproportionately affect women voters. Election Day monitoring can also track incidents of election irregularities that might affect election results for women candidates. After Election Day, monitoring of the complaints adjudication process and certification of results can offer additional evidence as to whether women candidates participated in a free and fair voting process.

Election monitoring requires a significant level of preparation and expertise. Most countries require monitors to be officially credentialed as election observers, and the process for receiving credentials can be extensive. The work of election observers, including their level of access to various aspects of the voting process, is usually defined by specific legal and administrative frameworks. It is important to be familiar with any laws and regulations related to election observation before undertaking any monitoring effort. Election observers should also adhere to established ethical standards for their work; first and foremost among these is to not interfere in the election process or the ability of voters to cast their ballots. A good overview of commonly accepted standards is included in the OSCE's Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation. Keep in mind, however, that the legal and ethical standards for election observers may differ depending on whether the observer is international vs. domestic and partisan vs. non-partisan. Election observation as part of a gender analysis requires additional consideration. In some countries, some or all of the voting process may be segregated by gender. For example, men and women may have separate lines for verifying voter identity, or there may be entirely separate polling stations for women. In these cases, women monitors should be deployed to ensure full access to the voting process and to ensure the comfort and security of women voters.

If you do undertake an Election Day monitoring effort, the monitoring effort should include a sufficient sample of polling stations throughout the country. The number of stations may vary depending on a number of factors, but generally you should aim to observe at least 10-15 stations in each region or governorate of the country. To ensure that monitoring data from a large number of polling stations can be aggregated and compared, it is useful to employ a polling station checklist. A sample checklist is included in the "SheVotes Data Collection Tools" section. Note that checklists should always be adjusted to reflect specific laws and other contextual factors unique to the country and the election being observed.

Of course, if you are unable to conduct Election Day monitoring, it may be possible to receive reports or other information from organizations who are observing the elections, which often include information specific to women's participation.

Phase Three: Barrier Analysis and Recommendations

This phase focuses on synthesizing the data collected during the Barrier Identification and Election Monitoring phases and determining the impact of any barriers on women's participation in the election being assessed. This synthesis should result in findings summarizing key areas of impact, and recommendations for how barriers could be mitigated in future elections.

Findings should be based on an objective analysis of data collected during the Barrier Identification and Election Monitoring phases. There is no single, “best” method for identifying findings. However, best practices for developing findings from mixed methods research include triangulating findings across multiple data sources and providing sufficient evidence to support the finding. Although often more time intensive, combining qualitative and quantitative data analysis can produce particularly compelling findings: qualitative data can help generate hypotheses that can then be verified or further supported through quantitative data, and can add additional insights into how and why trends identified through quantitative data occur.

When conducting qualitative and quantitative data analysis, consider that the methods and expertise required can be quite different. Quantitative data analysis related to basic descriptive statistics of a limited dataset is fairly straightforward, but further statistical analysis can require more specialized skills. Qualitative analysis can also be quite straightforward, but requires a clear and deliberate approach to coding data to avoid biased or “cherry picked” conclusions. Keep in mind that while quantitative data analysis deals with inherently measurable data, qualitative data analysis (such as interviews, focus groups, or direct observation) must find patterns within data not obviously additive or comparable. In both quantitative and qualitative analysis, the important thing is a transparent and consistent approach. Those reading your findings should be able to clearly understand how you assessed the data. Findings should be backed up with supporting evidence from several different data sources. If a finding is supported by some data sources but not others, this should also be noted.

Recommendations should, in turn, be linked to findings, with particular focus on ensuring that they are specific, relevant and actionable. To develop recommendations, consider your findings, which outline the impact of specific barriers on women’s participation in elections. How might the barrier be addressed to lessen that impact, and how likely is it that this barrier can be addressed in a meaningful way? Relatedly, you should consider which stakeholders are best positioned to address that particular recommendation. How likely is it that these stakeholders have the capacity and the incentive to address this barrier? Carefully consider whether the recommendations are too broad, would not directly contribute to addressing one or more barriers, or are impossible to act upon given the country context.

The final report should include a summary of the Barrier Identification and Election Monitoring research, findings (with supporting evidence) and recommendations. It should also include a summary of the data collection and analysis methods used, including dates of data collection, data sources (all personally identifiable information should comply with informed consent statements), and methods of data documentation and analysis.





KENYA KWANZA

SHEVOTES DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The following data collection templates have been adapted from tools that IRI developed to inform gender assessments in countries throughout the world. The templates, and the associated guidance, should be tailored to the unique characteristics of the country and election being assessed, and should be carefully reviewed and piloted before being deployed.

SOURCES FOR PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY DATA ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION		
Source	Description	Link
IRI	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support? 2. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women. 	http://www.iri.org/polls
World Values Survey	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agree or Disagree: On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do. 2. Is this an essential characteristic of democracy: Women have the same rights as men. 	http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/
Pew Research (US Poll)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Is it easier for a man to be elected to high political offices? 2. Why aren't more women in top elective offices? 3. In general, women in high political offices are better than men at: 4. Do you hope the US elects a female president in your lifetime? 	http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/05/19/americans-views-of-women-as-political-leaders-differ-by-gender/
Pew Global Attitudes and Trends	<p>[Below is a sample of 31 gender-related questions]</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about men and women as political leaders?...Men generally make better political leaders than women, or Women generally make better political leaders than men, or In general, women and men make equally good political leaders? 2. Please tell me how important each of the following is in a democracy to you... Women have the same rights as men? 3. Thinking about (survey country's) future, how important is it that: h. women have the same rights as men? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? 	http://www.pewglobal.org/question-search/?keyword=women&x=20&y=11
Afrobarometer	Provides survey questions on gender equality, democracy, and political participation, among other topics focusing on Africa	http://www.afrobarometer.org/
Latinobarometro	Online data analysis for gender-related questions focusing on Latin America	http://www.latinobarometro.org/
Eurobarometer	Survey data on Europe	http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/yearFrom/1974/yearTo/2016/surveyKy/2048
Arabbarometer	Survey data on the Middle East and North Africa	http://arabbarometer.org/
Asian Barometer	Survey data on Asia	http://www.asianbarometer.org/
European Social Survey	Survey data on Europe	http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/
European Values Study	Survey data on Europe	http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/

SOURCES FOR INDICATORS RELATED TO WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION		
Source	Description	Link
IRI: Global Women's Leadership Index	1. This report includes quantitative indicators and analysis related to women's political representation in national legislative and executive bodies in Africa	http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/womens_political_index_0.pdf
Varieties of Democracy	2. This project tracks hundreds of quantitative indicators related to democratic processes and participation including some related to gender participation.	https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-6-2/
Gender Data Navigator, International Household Survey Network	3. Can search international polling for questions on "participation in national/local elections" and "other forms of political participation"	http://www.ihsn.org/gender-data-navigator
Population Reference Bureau: DataFinder	4. This hub for US and international data allows users to create tables by region, country, or US census boundaries. Additionally, browse by broad topics including education, family structure, and reproductive health to find comparative data for the United States or the world.	http://www.prb.org/DataFinder.aspx
United Nations: Statistics and Indicators on Women and Men	This site provides current statistics by country for: population, health, women and men in families, education, work, and political decision making. All tables download in Excel.	https://genderstats.un.org/#/home
UN: The World's Women Reports	These 100+ page reports, published every five years beginning in 1990, provide statistics covering a wide range of topics related to women. All reports can be downloaded as PDFs.	http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/Worldswomen/WWreports.htm
UNDP Human Development Reports: Gender Inequality Index	This global index measures gender inequalities in three areas of human development: reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market.	http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii
United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. Gender Statistics.	The UNCE Statistics Division provides statistics and reports on the intersections between population, gender, and society.	http://www.unece.org/statistics/areas-of-work/statsoc/gender-statistics.html
World Bank: Data on Gender	This is a gateway to global data on various topics affecting women and girls. Of particular note is the link to GenderStats, which provides data at the country and regional level compiled from various international organizations including the ILO and WHO.	http://data.worldbank.org/topic/gender
Woman Stats Project	This project tracks the status of women in 174 countries on over 310 indicators. As a first-time user to this project, visit the 'First Time Users' tab to create a free account and to watch tutorials on how to use and view their data.	http://www.womanstats.org/
WomenWatch: Directory of UN Resources on Gender and Women's Issues. Statistics and Indicators	Provides access to reports, databases, and archives relating to gender equality and women's issues.	http://www.un.org/womenwatch/directory/statistics_and_indicators_60.htm
Inter-Parliamentary Union: Women in Politics	Provides data about women in parliaments around the world.	http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm
EU Database: Women & Men in Decision-Making	Monitors the numbers of men and women in key decision-making positions in order to provide reliable statistics that can be used to monitor the current situation and trends through time. Covers positions of power and influence in politics, public administration, the judiciary, and various other key areas of the economy. Figures are available for decision-makers at European, national and regional level (politics only) and currently cover 34 countries -- the 28 EU Member States, 4 candidate countries (Iceland, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey) and the remaining EEA countries (Liechtenstein and Norway).	http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-decision-making/database/index_en.htm

Interviewer's Name: _____

Interview Number: _____

Interview Date: _____

Hi, I'm _____ and I'm from ORGANIZATION. We are working on a project about women's electoral participation in COUNTRY. We are interested in talking with you about your opinions and ideas related to women's electoral participation in your country, specifically as it relates to the electoral process. We are trying to get a better sense of this across the country. We will use this information to write a report that will be published on our website.

We'd like to ask you some questions about your thoughts and opinions regarding women in the electoral process. Please know that there are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest thoughts and opinions. Also, if there is a question that you don't feel comfortable answering, that's ok. You do not have to answer it.

I will be taking notes to help me remember your responses. I will be asking for your name but no names will be included in the report. You will not be identified in the report. Knowing all of this, are you willing to participate in this discussion?

(Assuming the prospective interviewee says, yes): Great, thank you!

I. Representation

Thank you for that! Moving on, I'd like you to ask you some questions about women's political representation in COUNTRY.

1. What do you think motivates women in COUNTRY to vote, in general?
 - a. Do you think these are the same motives that men have? Why or why not?
 - b. In your opinion, what are some reasons that women do NOT vote?
 - c. Do you think these are the same reasons that men do NOT vote? Why or why not?
2. In your opinion, do election campaigns address issues that are important to women? Here I'm thinking about candidate messages, political party platforms, and that sort of thing.
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. Do political campaigns make specific efforts to target/turn out women voters? Why or why not?
3. Do you think that parties make specific efforts to include women in their voter outreach plans?
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. If they do, what do these efforts look like?
4. In your opinion, do political parties make adequate efforts to include women in their processes and activities? Why or why not?
 - a. What about recruiting women for meaningful positions within the party?
 - b. What about involving women in pre-election and Election Day activities/campaigns?
 - c. Do parties have active, meaningful women's wings? How are they integrated into other party efforts/activities?
5. How do political parties encourage women to run for elected positions outside of the party?
 - a. Are there differences among/between the parties? Why or why not?
 - b. What sorts of recruitment plans, if any, exist for women to be selected to run for elected positions?
 - c. Do internal party quotas exist for parties to include women on candidate lists?
 - d. How is placement on the candidate list determined (top, bottom, etc.)?
 - e. Do parties provide material support to their candidates (financial, human resources)? Do they provide it equally to men and women candidates?
6. In your opinion, what do you think motivates women in COUNTRY to run for office?
 - a. Do you think these are the same for men? Why or why not?
 - b. What are some reasons that women would NOT want to run for office?
 - c. Do you think these are the same for men? Why or why not?
7. What about women that are subjected to other types of marginalization (ethnicity, geography, disability, etc.)? How do you think their situation affects their decisions to participate, or not, in the electoral process?
 - a. As voters?
 - b. As candidates?
 - c. As members of political parties?
 - d. As part of the electoral management/implementation team?
 - e. How do you think electoral stakeholders (parties, election commission, candidates) engage women that are also subjected to other types of marginalization?

II. Society and Media

Thank for you those insights. Next, I'd like you to ask you some questions about how women's electoral participation is perceived in COUNTRY in society and the media.

1. Generally speaking, what opportunities are there for women to participate in the political process? For example, how easy is it for women to...
 - a. Vote
 - b. Volunteer for a political or advocacy campaign
 - c. Run for office
 - d. Join a political party
2. What challenges or barriers do you think women face in participating in the political process?
 - a. What sorts of challenges or barriers do they face when voting?
 - b. What sorts of challenges or barriers do they face when participating in a political or advocacy campaign?
 - c. What sorts of challenges or barriers do they face when running for elected office?
 - d. What sorts of challenges or barriers do they face when attempting to join a political party?
3. Generally, how does women's participation in electoral processes compare to men's participation?
4. In general, how does the media cover women who participate in the political process (as voters, candidates, party members, government officials)? Could you describe what you mean by that or give an example?
 - a. Does it seem to be equitable as compared to media coverage of men involved in the electoral process?
 - b. Does media coverage of one gender tend to be more negative or more positive?
5. Do you think the media adequately addresses issues of particular concern to women?
 - a. Why or why not?

III. Election Administration and Legal Framework

That's very helpful, thank you. Finally, I'd like to ask you some questions about how laws and regulations affect women's electoral participation in COUNTRY.

1. Based on your knowledge, do the constitution and/or election laws promote an inclusive electoral process? In other words, do relevant laws provide equal access for men and for women to participate in the electoral process?
 - a. Why do you say that?
2. Based on your experience, are these legal provisions understood and/or enforced by relevant stakeholders?
 - a. Does this understanding or enforcement differ by region, institution or other demographic? How so?
3. Do you know if there are laws or regulations about women's representation in the administration of elections (roles on Election Day, with the election management bodies, etc.)?
 - a. How is the composition of the election commission determined? Does this vary at the national level vs. the local levels?
 - b. What about the staffing of polling stations? How are the staff for polling stations selected?

IV. Wrap-Up

Thank you very much for those responses. Is there anything else that you'd like me to know about women's political participation in the electoral process?

BARRIER IDENTIFICATION GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Suggested informed consent statement: Thank you for participating in this group discussion. The information collected during this discussion will be used to understand the challenges and opportunities women in COUNTRY face in participating in elections. This research will be published, but all your answers to the following questions will be anonymous. Your name and contact information will not be shared outside of this room. Finally, you have no obligation to answer these questions and can refuse to answer at any point during the discussion. Please be aware that we will be audio recording the discussion so we can capture everything that you want to say. Once the discussion begins, please also keep in mind that:

“I want you to do the talking, and I would like everyone to participate.”

“There are no right or wrong answers.”

“Respect everyone’s opinion.”

“Please turn off your mobile phones. If you need to step out, that’s okay.”

“We will be record the discussion so we can capture everything that you want to say.”

Activity/Questions	Duration/ Facilitator Notes
Ice Breaker <i>(Depending on the composition of the group, this may or may not be necessary.)</i>	15 mins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce moderator(s) • Explain research objectives and confidentiality • Discuss “ground rules” • Ask participants to introduce themselves and conduct short ice breaker activity
General Opinion/Accessibility of Electoral Processes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally, what do you think about women in politics in COUNTRY? • How do you feel about your ability to participate in electoral processes in COUNTRY? This could include voting, running for office or anything else related to elections in your country. Do you feel that your ability to participate in electoral processes in COUNTRY has changed in recent years? Why or why not? 	20 mins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warm-up question • Encourage all participants to share and answer questions
Accessibility/Types of Participation	
<p>What are some ways that you have participated in electoral processes or that you have seen other women in COUNTRY participate in electoral processes? Again, this could be participation via voting, running for elected office or anything else related to the electoral system.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you provide specific examples of positive or negative experiences related to your participation in the electoral process? • What do you think caused the experience to become positive or negative? 	20 mins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that all participants understand and know the question. If not, explain briefly. • State that positive and negative experience does not have to be participants’ own. • Clarify that last follow-up question requires participants to provide detailed information.
Barriers to Participation	
<p>Thinking back to the positive or negative experiences of participation we just discussed, what could have been done differently to make the experience better? Even if it was a positive one, what would have made it even better?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you share specific examples of this? 	20 mins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlight specific experiences mentioned by participants, when asking question.
Support to Participate	
<p>In your opinion, what do the institutions and stakeholders in COUNTRY do to support and encourage women to participate in the political process?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What else could be done by these stakeholders to encourage and promote the participation of women in the electoral process? 	20 mins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarify that stakeholders could include but are not limited to government, electoral management bodies, political parties, civil society and the media.
Motivation to Participate	
<p>Why do you think women choose to participate, or not, in the electoral processes in COUNTRY?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you think those reasons different from men? Why or why not? 	20 mins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summary
Conclusion	
End Focus Group Discussion	5 mins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thank participants for their time • Reiterate research objectives and confidentiality

ELECTION DAY POLLING CHECKLIST

Please complete a one questionnaire for each Polling Station visited.

Observer Name or Team Number: _____ Region/District: _____
 Constituency/County/Commune: _____ Arrival Time: _____
 Polling Station Name and/or Number: _____ Departure Time: _____

Which polling station process did you observe at this polling station? (check all that apply)
 Polling station opening Voting Polling station closing

A. VOTING PROCESS

Y

N

Please ask the polling official questions A1-A3 and fill out the rest based on your observations

A1 Did voting start on time? *If present for opening, report based on observation.*
 Did voting end on time? *If present for closing, report based on observation.*

A2 How many voters are registered at this Polling Station? _____
 How many of them are women? _____

A3 How many ballots have been cast so far in this Polling Station? _____
 How many have been by women? _____

A4 Approximately how many voters were waiting to vote and actively voting when you arrived? _____
 How many of them were women? _____
 Are there separate lines for women and men?

A5 How many election officials are present in the Polling Station? _____
 How many of these election officials are women? _____
 Is the Presiding Officer of the Polling Station a woman?

A6 Did you observe election officials giving preferential treatment to (check all that apply):

- i. Women with young children or pregnant women
 - ii. Elderly women
 - iii. Women with disabilities
 - iv. No preferential treatment was given to any of these groups
- Please describe:

A7 Did you observe any voters receiving assistance to vote?
(disabled voters are often allowed to select an individual of their choosing to assist them)
 How many voters did you observe receiving assistance total? _____
 How many of these voters receiving assistance were women? _____
 If you observed women voters being assisted, how many had women assistants? _____
 If you observed men voter being assisted, how many had women assistants? _____
 Did any assistance you observed raise any reason for suspicion of interference/influence of the women's votes?
 Please explain below:

<p>A8 Did you observe a difference in the treatment of men and women by:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Election officials 2. Security personnel 3. Domestic observers 4. Party/candidate agents 5. Other voters <p>If yes, please describe:</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>																		
<p>A9 Does this treatment appear to be influencing the voting process for women in a way that is at odds with the election law?</p> <p>If yes, please describe:</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																		
<p>A10 In addition to election officials, are any other people present in the Polling Station? (If yes, choose all that apply)</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Candidates</td> <td># Total _____</td> <td># Women _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Security officers on duty</td> <td># Total _____</td> <td># Women _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Authorized party/candidate agents</td> <td># Total _____</td> <td># Women _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Authorized domestic observers</td> <td># Total _____</td> <td># Women _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Other international observers</td> <td># Total _____</td> <td># Women _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Persons accompanying physically disabled voters</td> <td># Total _____</td> <td># Women _____</td> </tr> </table>	<input type="checkbox"/> Candidates	# Total _____	# Women _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Security officers on duty	# Total _____	# Women _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Authorized party/candidate agents	# Total _____	# Women _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Authorized domestic observers	# Total _____	# Women _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Other international observers	# Total _____	# Women _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Persons accompanying physically disabled voters	# Total _____	# Women _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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<input type="checkbox"/> Persons accompanying physically disabled voters	# Total _____	# Women _____																		
<p>A11 Did you observe any voters being turned away? If yes, how many total? _____ women? _____</p> <p>If yes, for what reasons were the voters turned away?</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>In incorrect polling station:</td> <td>Total: _____</td> <td>Women: _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Not registered to vote:</td> <td>Total: _____</td> <td>Women: _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Recorded as already having voted:</td> <td>Total: _____</td> <td>Women: _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Being disruptive in polling station:</td> <td>Total: _____</td> <td>Women: _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other (explain below):</td> <td>Total: _____</td> <td>Women: _____</td> </tr> </table>	In incorrect polling station:	Total: _____	Women: _____	Not registered to vote:	Total: _____	Women: _____	Recorded as already having voted:	Total: _____	Women: _____	Being disruptive in polling station:	Total: _____	Women: _____	Other (explain below):	Total: _____	Women: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
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Being disruptive in polling station:	Total: _____	Women: _____																		
Other (explain below):	Total: _____	Women: _____																		
<p>B. OBSERVATIONS AROUND THE POLLING STATION</p>	<p>Y</p>	<p>N</p>																		
<p>B1 How would you describe the environment around the Polling Station? (Choose one)</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Calm, no crowding</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Crowded, but peaceful</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Tense</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Violent</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Deserted</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			<input type="checkbox"/> Calm, no crowding	<input type="checkbox"/> Crowded, but peaceful	<input type="checkbox"/> Tense	<input type="checkbox"/> Violent	<input type="checkbox"/> Deserted													
<input type="checkbox"/> Calm, no crowding	<input type="checkbox"/> Crowded, but peaceful	<input type="checkbox"/> Tense																		
<input type="checkbox"/> Violent	<input type="checkbox"/> Deserted																			
<p>B2 Is the polling station in an easy to access location in the community? Does the polling station seem to be in an easy to access location for women voters? Please describe:</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>																		
<p>B3 Are security personnel present around the Polling Station?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No security personnel present</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Security personnel present, not interfering in voting process</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Security personnel present, interfering in voting process</p>																				

<p>B4 Did you witness problems (i.e. conflict, arguments, violence, voter intimidation) in the vicinity of the polling station?</p> <p>If so, were women involved mainly as:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Instigators/Perpetrators</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Witnesses (not directly involved)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Victims</p> <p>Please describe:</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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NOTES (please include, if you observed closing procedures, the names of any women candidates who won the most votes at your polling station):

C: INTERVIEWS WITH VOTERS/CITIZENS AROUND THE POLLING STATION

Please talk to at least two voters or citizens, including at least one woman. Ask them about their experience voting today and their thoughts on the electoral process so far. This should just be an informal discussion but please do write down your notes about the conversation afterward. Please be sure that the person you approach agrees to this interview and understands the purpose of the interview.

Interview 1:

Questions for voters

- a. What motivated you to come out and vote today?
- b. Was there anything about the electoral process that made it challenging for you to vote today?
- c. Did you receive any information from any source on the process for voting or that appealed to you to vote today?

Questions for women candidates/campaign workers

- a. What motivated you to run for office/work on this campaign?
- b. Was there anything about this electoral process that you feel made it challenging to participate as voters?
- c. Are you aware of (or did your campaign) any efforts to provide information to women on how to vote and why it's important?

Interview 2:

Questions for voters

- a. What motivated you to come out and vote today?
- b. Was there anything about the electoral process that made it challenging for you to vote today?
- c. Did you receive any information from any source on the process for voting or that appealed to you to vote today?

Questions for women candidates/campaign workers

- a. What motivated you to run for office/work on this campaign?
- b. Was there anything about this electoral process that you feel made it challenging to participate as voters?
- c. Are you aware of (or did your campaign) any efforts to provide information to women on how to vote and why it's important?

Hi, I'm _____ and I'm from ORGANIZATION. We are working on a project about women's political participation in COUNTRY. We are interested in talking with you about your opinions and ideas related to women's political participation in your country, specifically as it relates to the electoral process. We are trying to get a better sense of this across the country. We will use this information to write a report that will be published on our website.

We'd like to ask you some questions about your thoughts and opinions about women in the electoral process. Please know that there are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest thoughts and opinions. Also, if there is a question that you don't feel comfortable answering, that's ok. You do not have to answer it.

I will be taking notes to help me remember your responses. I will be asking for your name but no names will be included in the report. You will not be identified in the report. Knowing all of this, are you willing to participate in this discussion?

(Assuming the prospective interviewee says, yes): Great, thank you!

I. Election Administration and Legal Framework

I'd like to ask you some questions about women's access to information related to electoral processes.

1. Do you think men and women have the same access to information about how to vote in the upcoming election?
 - a. Are there any challenges that women face in registering to vote, that men do not face?
 - b. Are there any challenges that women face in reviewing voter registries and correcting any errors, that men do not face?
2. Do you think men and women have the same access to information about the campaign, such as who the candidates are?
3. Do men and women have the same opportunities to learn about the candidates and their platforms? Why or why not?
4. Do you think men and women have the same access to information about how to report election law violations?
5. Are there any challenges that women might face in reporting election law violations that men do not face?
6. To the best of your knowledge, were there efforts targeted specifically to women to ensure their awareness of election-related information? This could include information related to registering to vote, the voting process and about the results of the election.
 - a. If yes, please describe them.
7. What role or roles have women played in election information campaigns (voter registration drives, etc.) or activities sponsored by the Election Commission?
8. To your knowledge, did the Election Commission make a concerted effort to recruit and train women to participate as election officials?

II. Representation

Thank you very much for those responses. Next, I'd like you to ask you some questions about women's political representation.

1. What do you think motivates women to vote this election?
 - a. Do you think these are the same motives that men have? Why or why not?
 - b. In your opinion, what are some reasons that women would NOT vote on Election Day?
 - c. Do you think these are the same reasons that men would NOT vote on Election Day? Why or why not?
2. In your opinion, have issues that are important to women been included in the major political party or candidate platforms?
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. Have political parties make specific efforts to target/turn out women voters? Why or why not?
3. Does it appear as though parties have made specific efforts to include women in their voter outreach plans?
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. If they do, what do your efforts look like?
4. Have parties provided material support to their candidates (financial, human resources)? Does it seem as though they have provided it equally to men and women candidates?
5. What about women that are subjected to other types of marginalization (ethnicity, geography, disability, etc.)? How do you think their situation affects their decisions to participate, or not, in the upcoming elections?
 - a. As voters?
 - b. As candidates?
 - c. As part of the electoral management/implementation team?
 - d. How have electoral stakeholders (parties, election commission, candidates) engaged women that are also subjected to other types of marginalization, if at all?

III. Media

Thank you very much for those responses. Now, I'd like you to ask you some questions about media coverage of the election.

1. To date, how would you describe media coverage of women as stakeholders in these elections (as candidates, voters, government officials)?
 - a. Does it seem to be equitable as compared to media coverage of men involved in the electoral process?
 - b. Does media coverage of one gender tend to be more negative?
 - c. Has there been any coverage that's been particularly noteworthy? If yes, please describe.
2. Do you think the media has allowed all candidates, including women, equal access to media coverage?
3. In your opinion, has the media adequately addressed issues of particular concern to women voters? Why or why not?
 - a. Can you list some examples of what topics were addressed and how they were covered?
4. Do you think they could have or should have done more to address issues of concern to women voters?

IV. Pre-Election Environment

Thank you very much for those responses. Now, I'd like you to tell me about your impressions of the pre-election environment.

1. How would you describe the pre-election environment in the country?
 - a. How have the candidates/campaigns and their messaging/activities contributed to this environment?
 - b. How has the pre-election environment affected women's political participation, if at all?
 - c. In your view, how have the women candidates and their campaigns contributed to this environment?
 - d. What about political parties? What role have they played in the pre-election environment?
2. How do you think the pre-election environment may affect women's participation on Election Day?
3. Did you witness or hear of any voter intimidation or harassment leading up to the elections?
 - a. Did this intimidation seem specifically focused on women?
 - b. Do you think voter intimidation will affect women's participation on Election Day?
4. Based on what you know, were candidates/party members able to implement their campaigns freely and in accordance with the election law?
 - a. What about women candidates specifically?
5. Based on what you know, did any candidates or campaigns face intimidation, harassment or violence (or calls for intimidation, harassment or violence) that you are aware of?
 - a. If yes, were any women specifically targeted?
6. Are there any formal/official redress mechanisms for reporting or tracking intimidation, harassment or violence?
 - a. If yes, were these instances reported?
 - b. Was there any response or action taken?
7. Based on what you know, have any other electoral stakeholders (election officials, etc.) faced violence, intimidation or harassment?
 - a. If yes, were any women specifically targeted?
 - b. If yes, were violations reported?
 - c. Has anything been done to address the issue?
 - d. Are there any formal/official redress mechanisms for reporting or tracking this?

V. Wrap-Up

Thank you very much for those responses. Is there anything else that you'd like me to know about women's political participation in the electoral process?

ELECTION MONITORING CITIZEN STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Hi, I'm _____ and I'm from ORGANIZATION. We are working on a project about women's political participation in COUNTRY. We are interested in talking with you about your opinions and ideas related to women's political participation in your country, specifically as it relates to the electoral process. We are trying to get a better sense of this across the country. We will use this information to write a report that will be published on our website.

We'd like to ask you some questions about your thoughts and opinions about women in the electoral process. Please know that there are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest thoughts and opinions. Also, if there is a question that you don't feel comfortable answering, that's ok. You do not have to answer it.

I will be taking notes to help me remember your responses. I will be asking for your name but no names will be included in the report. You will not be identified in the report.

Knowing all of this, are you willing to participate in this discussion?

(Assuming the prospective interviewee says, yes): Great, thank you!

I. Access to Election/Voter Information

First, I'd like to ask you some questions about access to information related to electoral processes and voting to date.

Question	Yes	No	Unsure
To date, have voters been given adequate information about the electoral system and the election processes?			
Did this differ at all for women and men? <i>(Follow-up: If yes, how so?)</i>			
In your opinion, did men and women voters have an equal opportunity to review voter registrars/ rolls and correct any errors?			
To the best of your knowledge, did women voters received targeted education and outreach encouraging them to participate in the election? This could include information related to registering to vote, the voting process and about the results of the election. <i>(Follow-up: If yes, could you please describe it?)</i>			

Notes *(provide notes on further descriptions):*

II. Pre-Election Environment

Thank you very much for those responses. Now, I'd like you to tell me about your impressions of the pre-election environment to date.

Question	Yes	No	Unsure
Based on your experience so far, do you think the pre-election environment has affected women's participation in events, such as voter education forums and political rallies, leading up to the election?			
Do you think the pre-election environment will affect women's participation on Election Day?			
Did you witness or hear of any voter intimidation leading up to the elections?			
Did you witness or hear of any hate speech or inflammatory comments specifically targeting women candidates? <i>(Follow-up: If yes or unsure, ask to describe. If yes, what happened after those comments were made? Was any action taken by authorities or other relevant stakeholders?)</i>			
Do you think that women candidates or their campaigns have played a unique or different role in the environment? <i>(Follow up: Why or why not? Please describe.)</i>			

Notes *(provide notes on further descriptions):*

III. Media			
Thank you for those responses. Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about media coverage of the election.			
Question	Yes	No	Unsure
Have you seen any media coverage of the election?			
Based on what you've seen, do you feel that media has covered men and women voters differently?			
Based on what you've seen, do you feel that media has covered men and women candidates differently? <i>(Follow-up: Why or why not?)</i>			
In your opinion, has the media allowed all candidates, including women, equal access to media coverage? <i>(Follow-up: Why do you think that is?)</i>			
Are there any examples of either positive or negative coverage of women candidates that comes to mind? <i>(Follow-up: If yes, can you please describe this coverage?)</i>			
In your opinion, has the media addressed issues of particular concern to women voters? <i>(Follow-up: If yes, can you list some examples and how they were covered?)</i>			
Do you think the media could have or should have done more to address issues of concern to women? <i>(Follow up: Why or why not?)</i>			
Notes <i>(provide notes on further descriptions):</i>			
IV. Participation			
Thank you very much for those responses. Next, I'd like to know more about how people like you are taking part in the election.			
1. How involved have citizens been in this electoral season (volunteering, participating in political activities, etc.)?			
2. What role or roles have you seen women play in the electoral process so far? Please describe.			
3. What do you think motivates women to vote on Election Day? Do you think these are the same motives that men have? Why or why not?			
4. What do you think motivates women to run for office? Do you think these are the same motives that men have? Why or why not?			
5. What are some reasons that women would NOT vote on Election Day? Do you think these are the same reasons that men would NOT vote on Election Day? Why or why not?			
6. In your opinion, what are some reasons that women would NOT want to run for office? Do you think these are the same reasons that men would NOT run for office?			
IV. Wrap-Up			
Thanks for those responses! Those are all of the questions that I have for you. Is there anything else that you'd like me to know about women's political participation in the electoral process?			
Thanks! I have just four more short questions:			
Interviewee's City/Region of Residence: _____		Interviewee's Age: _____	
Interviewee's Gender: _____		Other Demographic Data (TBD): _____	




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SUB DISTRITO BAZANTETE
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