MEN, POWER AND POLITICS
PROGRAM GUIDANCE

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National Democratic Institute

MEN
POWER
& POLITICS

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABOUT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

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

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

FOREWORD

For more than 35 years, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) has supported women's rights to equal and meaningful political participation. Important progress has been made in the 25 years since the adoption of the **Beijing Platform for Action**. In that time, the Institute has worked with government officials, activists and civil society partners around the world to eliminate barriers to the full realization of women's political rights.

However, the global gender gap in political participation is still unacceptably wide: at the current rate, it will take 95 years to achieve the goal of gender parity in politics globally. As the COVID-19 pandemic and rising authoritarianism around the world pose unprecedented challenges to democratic resilience, "changing the face of politics" is more urgent now than ever, and we need to accelerate the pace of change.

To do so we must acknowledge that progress has been slow because our collective and global efforts have focused too much on enhancing individual women's political capacities and encouraging reform within political institutions, and not enough on why women are marginalized in politics in the first place. We know that women are just as capable of effective leadership as men: evaluations of leadership skills conducted by the Harvard Business Review found that women tend to score higher on most of the qualities valued in leaders, including building relationships, self-development, integrity, and championing change. Data on women's political leadership also indicates that women prioritize public goods — for example, community infrastructure, education and health — and expanding political space for other women, minorities, and traditionally marginalized communities.

Yet, despite this, women are still prevented from demonstrating their abilities as leaders by the inequitable allocation of power in all our societies, and an antiquated belief that politics is "men's work." Societal norms that equate masculinity with power and femininity with subordination persist in parliaments, political parties, and other political institutions throughout the world, and affect the ways in which social movements integrate women's voices and represent women's perspectives. Such norms lead to a concentration of political power in the hands of groups of elite men who, while competitors in other spheres, join in common cause to hold on to power at the expense of women.

NDI's latest manual - *Men, Power and Politics* - provides a new approach towards transforming the gender norms that presently underpin the gap in political empowerment between women and men. It does so by giving facilitators and program implementers the tools necessary to make male activists, political leaders and civil society partners understand their own disproportionate power and privilege, and the impact this inequality has on themselves, their families and their communities. These tools will also provide these men with an opportunity to examine how they can use their power and privilege to promote gender equality and inclusive governance.

By excluding, silencing and marginalizing women - by neglecting the voices and talents of half their population - nations cannot realize their full potential. Not only democracy but national development suffers as a result. The goal of this manual is to create male agents of transformational change who will recognize this fact, and thus do not view women's political empowerment as a zero-sum game at their expense but rather an untapped national asset in the long-term health, development, security, and success of their country.

Derek Mitchell
President

November 2020

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The full and equitable participation of women in public life is essential to building and sustaining strong, vibrant democracies. Women's ability to participate equally in politics as activists, voters, members of civil society, party members or leaders, government officials and elected leaders results in tangible gains for democracy.

Women in politics face both formal and informal barriers to their participation, but one of the greatest obstacles facing women in politics is ideas about gender, and the social expectations and personal attitudes and behaviors to which these ideas give rise. In many societies, it is still the case that power – especially, political power– is associated with men and masculinity.

Norms around gender and masculinity in particular create disadvantages in the lives of women and girls, but they also create negative impacts in the lives of men and boys. The patriarchal norms that cause individuals to associate masculinity with power also establish a rigid set of expectations and expressions that men must adhere to in order to demonstrate their masculinity. An adherence to such rigid masculine norms has been linked to a variety of negative impacts to men's physical and mental health, emotional well-being, and relationships with their families and communities.

To date, many of the democracy and governance programs to increase women's political participation and leadership have focused on building the individual capacity of women, responding to their rights and stated needs and demands. Other programs have focused on targeted interventions to increase women's political participation and leadership, and to advance gender equality issues in the policies and processes of political institutions such as civil society organizations, electoral management bodies, political parties and elected bodies.

Men have long controlled the organizations that are engaged in democratic politics. This *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance is a tool to engage male political leaders as transformative agents of change for gender equality. It focuses on men, political power and gender norms in order to restructure political organizations for gender equality as part of organizational development and political strategy. This approach represents a diversion from many commonly-used democracy and governance approaches, with an intentional focus on promoting equitable social norm change as a key factor in program success.

This program guidance consists of three main sections following a standard program cycle: Preparation, Implementation, and Monitoring and Evaluation. It also includes Key Concepts and Additional Resources for the understanding and application of the approach. Critically, this program guidance is not meant to be a stand-alone program for democracy and governance practitioners. The approach presents a program that should be integrated into existing and ongoing programmatic efforts, and that should be considered when creating any new programming strategy.

INTRODUCTION

For more than three decades, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) has worked to strengthen democratic resilience through stronger, more contemporary, inclusive, relatable, responsive and open political institutions. Institutions such as civil society organizations, elections commissions, political parties, government ministries and elected bodies must be responsive to citizens' needs and create opportunities for inclusive multi-partisan and multi-ethnic consensus. A key aspect of this work is increasing women's political participation and leadership.

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

Women in politics face both formal and informal barriers to their participation, but one of the greatest obstacles facing women in politics are ideas about gender, and the social expectations and personal attitudes and behaviors to which these give rise. In many societies, it is still the case that power, and especially, political power, is associated with men and masculinity. Based on this, it seems "natural" and "normal" that men hold a majority of political posts, including a preponderance of political party leadership positions, while women are relegated to supporting roles. If women are going to increase their voice, visibility and power in political life, then current ideas about masculinity and femininity must be challenged and changed.

To date, many of the programs to increase women's political participation have focused directly on women. This is intentional, as it is essential that work to increase women's empowerment be called for by women and focused on building the individual capacity of women, responding to their rights and stated needs and demands. Other programs have focused on political institutions and identified targeted interventions to advance gender equality issues in policies and processes, and increase the presence and influence of women in civil society organizations, elections management bodies, political parties and elected bodies. However, these programs have not worked to address the full extent of barriers that perpetuate the inequality of women's political participation.

Politics and political institutions were created by and for men. Previous programs focused on increasing women's political participation did not address power and the men's attitudes and practices within political organizations that limit, deter and/or exclude women's full political participation that underlie these institutions. Now there is a growing recognition that specific work must be done with individual men to encourage and build their support for women's political empowerment and gender equality. The work must address the patriarchal gender norms that are held by political leaders, who can provide the necessary leadership to change the attitudes of their peers and the political organizations they lead. Changing political institutions requires unearthing norms held by elite, male, political leaders in order to affirm and retain those that work and change or expunge those that do not.

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1   NDI, **Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties**

GENDER AND POLITICS

The imbalance of power between men and women in politics is rooted in entrenched gender norms that impact women's access to the skills and resources needed to seek and gain leadership roles and elected office. In many societies, it is still the case that power, especially political power, is associated with men and masculinity. Based on this, it seems "natural" or "normal" that men hold 75 percent of seats in parliaments globally[2], serve as 79.5 percent of speakers of parliament[3], and represent 93.4 percent of heads of state[4]. Men hold about 90 percent of the leadership positions within political parties[5]. The majority of civil society organizations are also led by men[6]. Despite progress on women's political empowerment in recent years, it will take 95 years to achieve the goal of gender parity in global politics.

For centuries, constitutions have stated that "all men are created equal" - a blatant omission of women and even a deception about men, as this, for centuries, related only to white, land-owning men. Women did not win the right to vote in a sovereign nation until Norway in 1913. Political institutions, including parties and parliaments, were shaped by male norms and masculine codes of behavior. Political parties were established as male membership institutions and their internal workings reflect the persistence of the gendered norms and roles found in their societies. Men, and particularly privileged men, monopolize political leadership. Many aspects of organizational policy and procedure continue to deter women from joining political organizations or inhibit their progress within them. Social norms and the attitudes of male colleagues and family members pressure women leaders and members and hamper women's ability to participate fully in political work and decision-making processes.

Such norms create barriers to women's equal and active political participation, and these barriers exist at the individual, institutional and socio-cultural levels. At the individual level, women may be prevented from voting because of a lack of a birth certificate or national identification card. Women who are equally qualified as men do not seek political office because they do not have the same access as men to opportunities to gain experience or to networks of resources or power. At the institutional level, political parties are unwelcoming to female members and leaders in many aspects of their day-to-day operations, procedures and internal cultures[7]. Government ministries and elected bodies are often not family-friendly environments that run, or are structured, for the realities of women's lives. At the socio-cultural level, politics is often viewed as "men's business." Often the media coverage of women in politics focuses on what they wear, their marital status or the tone of their voices, as opposed to policy positions or competence. Moreover, as more women have emerged as activists, elected leaders, officials and voters, they have encountered increasing levels of harassment, intimidation, and psychological abuse in person and, increasingly, online. This backlash discourages women from engaging politically, creates a serious barrier to their ability to freely and safely pursue their rights to political participation, and undermines democracy[8].

2   As of June 1, 2020, per IPU, **https://data.ipu.org/women-averages?month=6&year=2020**, accessed 7/24/20
3   As of January 1, 2020 per IPU, **https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2020-03/women-in-politics-2020**, accessed 7/24/20
4   Ibid.
5   NDI, **Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties**
6   CIVICUS, **Why we need more women leaders in civil society worldwide**
7   NDI, No Party to Violence Compendium **Report**, 2019.
8   NDI, **#NotTheCost campaign**

ABOUT THE PROGRAM GUIDANCE

This *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance is a tool to engage male political leaders as transformative agents of change for gender equality. The imbalance of power between men and women in politics is rooted in entrenched gender and social norms that impact women's access to the skills and resources needed to move up the pipeline to leadership roles in political organizations and to elected office. As evidenced by research and experience, there is a limit to the degree to which individual capacity-building and external, mandated institutional reforms can change these power dynamics. Even the most robust individual and institutional reform programs cannot be successful without concerted efforts focused on shifting entrenched gender and social norms within political organizations and parties.

Men have long controlled the patriarchal and exclusionary organizations that are engaged in democratic politics, including civil society organizations, elections commissions, political parties, government ministries, and elected bodies such as councils, legislatures and parliaments. Gender transformational change within political organizations is not possible without the positive engagement and participation of men. This approach focuses on shifting men's attitudes and practices within political organizations that limit, deter, and/or exclude women's full political participation in order to restructure political organizations for gender equality as part of organizational development and political strategy. In particular, this approach emphasizes the need to build male political leaders' recognition of the impact that such norms, attitudes, and practices have on the lives of women and girls, while also deepening their awareness of the impact of these norms on their own lives.

HOW TO USE THE PROGRAM GUIDANCE

The *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance is intended for use by democracy and governance (D&G) practitioners, but is unlike most previous political training programs in that it is not meant to serve as a stand-alone initiative. This approach is designed to be integrated into pre-existing programming, serving as a primer of sorts, to ensure complete engagement and increased buy-in before attempting gender transformative democracy and governance programming.

This work is rooted in empirically-tested initiatives that have been used in other sectors and contexts to influence male attitudes and practices and to increase their support for women's rights in the home, the community, and in public life.

This program guidance consists of three main sections following a standard program cycle: Preparation, Implementation, and Monitoring and Evaluation. It also has sections that provide Key Concepts and Additional Resources for the understanding and application of the approach. Each section of the manual contains specific "Tool Boxes" that contain resources such as instructions for conducting surveys, interviews and focus groups, and sample documents, presentations and other handouts. The Tool Boxes in many sections include lists of additional resources such as websites, research, and manuals or references with useful information about the mechanics of program facilitation.

NOTE:

► The Key concepts section includes definitions of important gender ideas, guiding principles for the approach, an overview of masculinities in politics and an introduction to organizational change.

► The Preparation section includes guidance in training for change, designing a change process and planning a power and politics workshop.

► In the Monitoring and Evaluation section, direction and tools are provided to measure the changes in individual attitudes, capacities, behaviors and actions, as well as organizational changes, taken as a result of *Men, Power, and Politics* sessions.

► The Implementation section reviews the content of the workshop modules.

► Information about the approach's methodology as well as additional resources, including sample training materials and external printed materials on democracy, masculinities, organizational change and social norm change are shared throughout the document in Tool Box sections.

The goal of these tools and the associated program guidance is to change the patriarchal gender norms that are held by political leaders, and that underpin political institutions. The final desired result is a shift in the organizational structures, policies and actions of institutions such as political parties, civil society organizations, government ministries and elected bodies like local councils and parliaments towards more gender equality and increased women's full and equal political participation.

In thinking about how to use the program guidance to conduct programming, several key considerations must be taken into account. In thinking about how to plan for and implement this program, practitioners must take into account the history of and their relationship with the political organization(s) that will be included. Additionally, the history and current context of the local women's rights movement, if any, must be considered.

▶ **How the approach fits into the local, political context;**
Through the sessions, the attitudes of male political leaders will shift and their capacity to understand and address the patriarchal gender norms that serve as barriers to women's political participation will increase. Practitioners should be fully read-in on the existing local political context in order to run this program in a way that will make it safe and effective for all participants.

▶ **How it will complement other existing gender and D&G programs;**
Democracy and governance practitioners need to plan for how previous, existing and new programming can build on these changes to transform political institutions. This program should complement other programs with political organizations to create or implement policies and procedures, including codes of conduct, that allow for increased women's participation, and gender equality. It should work alongside other efforts to increase women's leadership in issue advocacy, in political parties and movements, elections administration, governance, peace processes, technological innovation and other political activities. Concrete actions must be taken by the female and male leaders within their organizations to promote and support women's equal rights and participation.

▶ **When *Men, Power and Politics* sessions will take place;**
Program planners need to take into account the local political context when planning a *Men, Power and Politics* program, so that they are placed in a way that will ensure participants can most effectively put gender equitable behavior into practice within their work. If working with political parties and parliamentarians, the local electoral cycle should be referenced and determine the best timing for any workshop. It is suggested that sessions take place outside of the campaign period when the leaders of political institutions have the time needed to participate in them and then make the necessary organizational changes. If working with civil society organizations, it is best to schedule sessions before organizations begin major initiatives- protests, awareness raising campaigns, trainings etc.- so that organizations can incorporate the strategies they create at the end of the session into their initiatives.

▶ **Who will be included in sessions.**
Finally, while the target audience for sessions is male political leaders, it is essential that this program have sessions that involve men only, men and women, and women only. Specific work must be done with men to encourage and build their support for women's political equality. However, these efforts must include and be built on the longstanding activities of women to secure their own political rights, be accountable to the ongoing women's rights agenda in each context, and must include partnerships with local women's rights organizations; masculinities work with male organizational leaders; women-only spaces where the experiences of organizational members are shared; and strategic sessions where women and men work together on next steps for organizational change and accountability.

ENSURING DO NO HARM PRINCIPLES:

As programs incorporating *Men, Power, and Politics* sessions are planned, organizers must be clear with female participants the purpose of, the rationale for, and the intended end use of the information and stories they share. Democracy and governance practitioners need to employ the principle of "Do no harm" to avoid exposing the male and female program participants to additional risks through their action. Program planners must recognize the potential negative effects of interventions and take them into consideration during the planning process[9]. During implementation, women engaged in sessions need to have a safe space created to enable them to present and discuss their lived experiences. Moreover, program planners should have information about existing basic care and support services to share with program participants.

TOOL BOX 1: INTRODUCTION AND GUIDANCE

► **NDI's Theory of Change to Gender-Transformative Programming**

► **Changing the face of politics**

► **IPU Global and regional averages of women in national parliaments**

► **Breaking the Cycle of Gender Exclusion in Political Party Development**

► **Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties**

► **Win With Women: Building Inclusive 21st Century Parties**

► **#NotTheCost campaign**

► **Incorporating the principle of "Do No Harm": How to take action without causing harm**

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9   **Incorporating the principle of "Do No Harm": How to take action without causing harm**

KEY CONCEPTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

There are a number of key concepts that potential program facilitators should be well acquainted with prior to integrating the *Men, Power and Politics* approach into their programs. These include definitions, key principles that guide the approach, the importance of understanding organizational change and the overall program theory of change, and potential challenges to achieving organizational change.

DEFINITIONS

In order to fully implement this *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance, it is important for there to be a shared understanding of words and ideas around sex, gender and masculinities. Some of these definitions will be utilized in this manual, while others are included that are used by some practitioners, but not all. For the purposes of this manual, the following definitions are used:

► **Sex** is the classification of people as male or female. At birth, infants are assigned a sex based on a combination of bodily characteristics including chromosomes, hormones, internal reproductive organs and genitalia.

► **Gender** is the socially-defined set of roles, rights, responsibilities, entitlements, and obligations of females and males in societies, as well a broad spectrum of identities that do not conform to this binary. The definition and expectations of what it means to be a woman/girl or man/boy, and sanctions for not adhering to those expectations, vary across cultures and over time, and often intersect with other factors such as ethnicity, class, age, and sexual orientation. Inequalities between men and women are one of the most persistent patterns in the distribution of power.

► **Gender identity** refers to an individual's own perception, acceptance, and expression of their gender and the social constructs therein. A person's gender identity may correspond to that of the sex that they were born with, or it may differ, or not conform to any gender construct. "Male" and "female" are the two universally accepted gender identities due to a historical, patriarchal conflation with sex. However, there is a broad spectrum of identities recognized across cultures that do not conform to this binary[10]. Social punishments related to non-conformity are rooted in the idea that everyone should conform to the gender binary, and those who do not should be punished.

► **Gender norms** are social rules and expectations that govern the attributes and behaviors that are valued and considered acceptable for males and females within a given culture or social group. Norms are learned and reinforced from birth to adulthood through observation, instruction, positive and negative sanctioning, education, the media, religion, the law, and other social institutions. At times, norms can be so pervasive that individuals mistakenly assume that they are "natural" and thus cannot be changed, even though they are "continuously negotiated, resisted and redefined in everyday interactions."[11]

► **Gender equality** refers to the goal of achieving equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for all people. Gender equality means that the different behavior, aspirations, and needs of males, females, and people of other gender identities are considered, valued, and favored equally. It does not mean that women and men are the same, but that the rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of individuals will not depend on whether they were born male or female.

► **Gender equity** is the process to overcome cumulative and persistent economic, social, and political disadvantages that prevent people of all genders from operating on a level playing field.

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10   While this manual generally operates with a binary definition of gender, programs should recognize the diversity of gender within their activities as appropriate. Recognizing that social punishments related to non-conformity are rooted in the idea that everyone should conform to the gender binary, and those who do not should be punished.

11   Lancet 2019; 393: 2550–62.

- **Masculinities** are the range of roles, behaviors and attributes that are associated with maleness and considered appropriate for boys and men in a given society. Masculinities are defined against and valued more than femininities. They are expressed personally through behavior, and propagated culturally through images and stories and institutionally through laws, policies and procedures.[12]

- **Patriarchy** is a social, political, cultural and economic system defined and ruled by men. When the gender order privileges men, the social acceptance of male domination and female subordination may be sustained by many formal and informal institutions and practices, including politics.

- **Patriarchal masculinities** are ideas and practices of masculinity that emphasize the superiority of masculinity over femininity, and the authority of men over women. The practice of patriarchal masculinities aims to maintain gender inequalities, with violence against women and girls being its most extreme expression.

PRINCIPLES

Beyond the understanding of a shared vocabulary, it is important for program implementers to understand the principles that guide work with men and boys to increase gender equality around the world.

- **Human rights:** The Universal Declaration of Human Rights reaffirms "the equal rights of men and women" in the Preamble, states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" in Article 1, and enshrines the right to participation in political organizations and democratic processes as a fundamental expression of this equality in Article 21. Work on challenging men's gender-discriminatory practices in politics starts from this commitment to equal, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making.

- **Accountability to women's rights movements:** The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) sets an agenda for national action to end discrimination against women. In Article 7, CEDAW specifically notes women's rights in political and public life with the right to vote, to stand for election and serve, to formulate and implement government policy and to participate in non-governmental organizations. **Work on challenging men's attitudes and practices within political organizations must connect with and build on the longstanding efforts of women to secure their own political rights.** This accountability, unlike accountability as framed as strict sanctioning or punishing, is a way to ensure that male leaders' views of the organization, their views of the treatment of women and women's experience within the organization, as well as the solutions and priorities eventually adapted to address them, are reflecting women's lived truth and their historical agendas and priorities.

> One of the key outcomes of this program should be that male political party members have the ability and desire to change their behavior and take action to create gender transformative change that is reflective of priorities already held by women's groups. The purpose is to ensure that male political party members are creating actionable change WITH women, not FOR/ON BEHALF OF women.

- **Attention to men's own experiences and positive visions of change:** Gender norms and patriarchy create disadvantages in the lives of women, girls, and other gender identities, but they also create negative impacts in the lives of men and boys as well. Traditional patriarchal power structures often serve to privilege men from a specific dominant class or identity. As such, while limiting women's participation, they often simultaneously disadvantage men who are younger or are marginalized based on their race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or other social or identity status. On an individual level, the same patriarchal norms that associate masculinity with power also establish a rigid set of expectations and expressions that men must adhere to in order to demonstrate their masculinity. While specific masculine norms vary across cultures, they generally center around values,

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12   The term 'political masculinities' is one that is sometimes utilized in academia, as well as international development work to refer to men's attitudes and practices within political organizations that limit, deter and/or exclude women's full political participation. While we are not using the specific term 'political masculinities' throughout the program guidance, practitioners may see it used synonymously with the above definition. For more information: Gender and power: six links and one big opportunity.

including the demonstration of strength, dominance, aggression, and risk-taking; the exhibition of heteronormastive sexuality; and the hiding of emotions. An adherence to such rigid masculine norms has been linked to a variety of negative impacts to men's physical and mental health, emotional well-being, and relationships with their families and communities. **Work to create greater support for gender equality amongst men in politics must therefore include 1) a recognition of the personal and political harm of masculinities to men's own lives in addition to women's; 2) a positive vision of change in terms of the benefits for men of supporting gender equality and championing women's political participation; and 3) an emphasis on the positive roles that men can play in this process.**

► **Attention to diversities among men and women:** Any discussion and understanding of how to increase support for gender equality amongst men in politics and for less rigid gender roles must take into account diverse identities that influence gender norms and its societal impacts. Class, caste, race, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, literacy, ability and age all shape expressions of what it means to be a man/boy or woman/girl and produce differing experiences of power and marginalization for different groups of people. This is known as 'intersectionality'. Working to challenge men's attitudes and practices towards gender equality must be sensitive to the ways these diversities are expressed through the informal and formal policies and processes of political institutions.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Patriarchal gender norms can make it harder to change organizations and challenge gender norms, both in society overall and in the organization[13]. The goal of this approach is to increase gender equality and women's political participation by addressing the patriarchal gender norms that are held by political leaders as individuals. Additional, complementary programs should involve the political leaders who have been exposed to the masculinities workshops, translating their individual shifts in attitudes about social norms into organizational change in political institutions such as civil society organizations, political parties, and various government entities including ministries, electoral management bodies, parliaments and councils.

In theory, organizations are rational, logical entities where stated values, goals and policies will be operationalized in all its processes for the fulfillment of some purpose or goal. However, all organizations, including political organizations, are microcosms of the social environment from which they emerge. What is more, political organizations emerge from social institutions, such as citizenship and community, in which a wide range of power imbalances and inequalities are embedded. Both the structure and the leadership of political institutions make it difficult for organizational change to occur. Within every organization, there is a "deep structure" or activities and attitudes that maintain the organization's culture[14]. These include:

► implicit personal biases that override organizational norms;

► informal patriarchal networks that wield decision-making power; and

► values and systems of reward and recognition[15].

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13   **Feminist Leadership for Social Transformation: Clearing the Conceptual Cloud**; p. 20
14   Ibid. p22
15   What kinds of behavior are valued and rewarded? The "yes" men/women vs. the troublemaker; or getting work done vs. always being at the office, including nights and weekends.

Feminist organizational development practitioners have found that deep-seated resistance to organizational change, especially towards more gender-equal and just practices, arises from this deep structure. The implicit personal biases of the male political leaders and gender norms override the stated organizational values. The less the political organization's visible structure enables open processing of its members' conflicts, aspirations, ideas, and problems, the more these are driven into the deep structure, making it a site of tension, resistance, subversion, and sabotage. The more open, transparent, and accountable an organization is, the shallower and less destructive the deep structure is[16].

Organizational change is not possible without strategic and committed leadership[17]. In order for meaningful change to occur, male political leaders must communicate clearly their desire and intention to promote gender equality by addressing the negative impact of men's attitudes and practices within their organizations and engage colleagues and members. Through the sessions, implementers will create the space where this sort of communication is possible. There are generally three sets of tools available to leaders:

► Leadership tools, that include a clear vision and role modeling that are used to inspire;

► Management tools, that include strategic planning and measurement systems, that are used to inform; and

► Power tools, that include operating procedures and disincentives, even punishments, that are used to achieve compliance.

Frequent mistakes in organizational change include the underuse of leadership tools, the failure to use management tools necessary to cement behavioral change and the overuse of power tools.

Political institutions are about power, and they are complex organizations - part business, part movement - that provide structure for political participation, serve as training grounds for future political leaders and seek to transform social interests into public policy[18]. Therefore, interventions regarding political institution organizational change must examine the incentives and disincentives for change. Research suggests that political institutions change for a combination of two reasons: advocacy and environmental factors; (1) advocacy involves the balance of power between grassroots actors such as activists, members, citizens and leadership; and (2) environmental factors include changes in voters' positions and electoral defeat.

Through the program, male political leaders will work with female members of their organization to identify concrete actions that can be taken at the individual and organizational levels to increase men's support for women's full political participation within their organizations. Male leaders in this program will come to understand how changing their attitudes about gender norms will improve their organization and help it meet its political goals.

This program guidance provides strategies to help shift the attitudes of male political leaders in order to increase their support for women's rights and women's full participation in politics. The shift begins with the male leaders personalizing gender issues and relating them to their own experiences. Next, the male leaders begin to understand the broader contexts and dynamics of gender norms and how they affect the political organizations they lead. Finally, they begin to create strategies for how to change those organizations. This theory of change is detailed more below.

It is important to be aware of the complicated organizational change process that will be needed following this shift in attitudes. This program should work alongside programs that increase women's involvement and leadership, monitor elections, improve governance, utilize new technologies and other political activities.

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16   Ibid.
17   How Do You Change An Organizational Culture?
18   Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties

THEORY OF CHANGE

The theory of change underpinning this program guidance is that democracy and governance programs must address the patriarchal gender norms held by political leaders that underpin political institutions in order to increase both gender equality and women's political participation.

This theory of change on which this approach is based is made up of three linked understandings of how gender norms can be changed. Gender norms, as a set of social expectations about male and female behavior and pressures to conform to ideas about masculinity and femininity, operate at both individual and institutional levels. We all feel, very personally, the pressures to conform to social expectations of femininity and masculinity. At the same time, these pressures and expectations are reinforced through our families, politics, laws, government policies, religious teachings, media stories and so on.

The male political leaders participating in *Men, Power and Politics* sessions need to understand that they can translate what they're coming to understand into political change; their work can promote greater women's political leadership and transform the political system.

To change gender norms in the political realm, it is important to help people 1) reflect on their personal experiences of them; 2) acknowledge the effects of gender norms in political contexts; and 3) devise specific strategies that can be used to make change within political organizations. We describe these steps as *Personalize, Politicize and Strategize*.

PERSONALIZE

Men's lives are shaped by gender norms of masculinity and femininity, but many men still associate "gender work" with work done by, with and for women. This makes it all the more important to begin work with men on changing gender norms by personalizing gender issues in two ways: (1) educating men about the impact gender inequalities and gender violence have on women, and (2) relating them to men's own experiences and how they relate to those around them. Research bears this out.

Evaluations of effective approaches to involving men in efforts to prevent gender-based violence have identified the importance of strategies that connect men emotionally and personally with issues of gender and violence and that engage men through conversations that feel relevant to their lives. Personalizing the discussion of gender norms not only helps to build male political leaders' recognition of the impact of such norms on the lives of women and girls, but also deepens their awareness of the impact of these norms on their own lives.

POLITICIZE

It is equally important to build on this personal connection by strengthening men's understanding of the broader contexts and dynamics of gender norms, as they affect the political organizations they work in, the communities they live in and the societies to which they belong. Broader political perspective is needed if gender norms, rather than individual attitudes and behaviors, are to be changed. Changing gender norms involves work for social change, and this inevitably involves politics. This political dimension is especially important for work on men's attitudes and practices within political organizations that limit, deter and/or exclude women's full political participation, in terms of being able to identify the specific issues of political will, space and capacity to make change.

STRATEGIZE

In both personalizing and politicizing issues of gender norms, as they affect political institutions, policies and processes, collective strategies for how to change them can be created. This will include strategies for personal, organizational and social change. This program guidance describes processes and tools for both the male political leaders and the female members of the organization for thinking through specific strategies and committing to specific actions for change by participants, in part based on lessons from social norms change interventions. External women's rights organizations will be engaged to inform participants about what works within the local context, and to hold the male political leaders accountable.

MANIFESTATIONS OF RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

Male political leaders *must* understand that women's participation and leadership benefits the entire community, and that women's participation increases citizens' trust in government and other political institutions. Men and women must both be involved in championing reforms. There may be many reasons, however, why men might not support this change agenda:

► **Sexism:** Men may not think women are their equals and deserve equal rights to participate fully in political life.

► **Ignorance:** Men may not recognize the sexism that excludes women from politics.

► **Privilege:** Men may understand that as more women get more involved in politics, there will be fewer positions for men.

► **Fear:** Men may fear the reactions of other men (e.g. ostracism, intimidation, and/or violence) if they choose to support women's political participation.

► **Inertia:** Men may think that changing political institutions is difficult, and championing women's political participation is unrealistic.

► **Capacity:** Men may support the idea of women's political participation and leadership, but don't know how to put this idea into practice.

► **Political moment:** Men may support the idea of women's political participation and leadership, but believe that the current moment is not right to push for this idea to be acted upon.

These potential challenges to organizational change must be addressed by the program implementers, and this program guidance includes strategies for working with male political leaders who indicate that they do not support the change agenda for one of the above reasons.

TOOL BOX 2: KEY CONCEPTS

Additional resources:

► **Gender and power: six links and one big opportunity**

► **Feminist Leadership for Social Transformation: Clearing the Conceptual Cloud**

► **How Do You Change An Organizational Culture?**

► **So, You Want To Be A Male Ally For Gender Equality? (And You Should): Results from a National Survey, and a Few Things You Should Know**

PREPARATION

This *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance uses the lessons learned about masculinities in the social and economic sectors to engage male political leaders as transformative agents of change for gender equality.

The goal of this program is to change the patriarchal gender norms held by elite male political leaders. The theory of change for the approach is that changing the norms of these political leaders will lead to a change in the attitudes of their peers and the political organizations they lead. Changing the political organizations will allow for greater women's political participation, leadership and gender equality.

Political organizations that could be targeted for this program include civil society organizations, social movements, political parties and various entities such as electoral management bodies and elected chambers, including councils, legislatures, and cabinets. This work could also be relevant for work with the leaders of progressive social movements.

As democracy and governance practitioners use the program guidance, it is important to understand how this approach is different than most political programs and how it is an essential component of a larger and longer process to increase gender equality and women's political participation. **Moreover, in order for the approach to be successful, implementing organizations must engage a local organization with experience working with men and boys to promote the rights of women and girls and increase gender equality.**

This program must include at least three distinct components:

► A workshop or series of workshops with male political leaders;

► Partnership with a local organization that has experience working with men and boys to promote the rights of women and girls; and

► Partnership with local women's rights organizations and female members of the targeted political organization(s) to understand the sociopolitical context of the approach, to hear women's experiences in political life and to hold male political leaders accountable.[19]

If the female members of the targeted political organization are also members of local women's rights organizations or movements then this last component is one group. If the female members of the targeted political organization are NOT also members of local women's rights organizations or movements then this last component is two distinct groups: 1) Members of local women's rights organizations provide the political context for sessions and help to hold male, political leaders accountable; and 2) female members of the targeted political organization(s) share their experiences in political life and in the targeted, political organizations, and work with the male leaders to create and implement strategies for change.

Following the workshop, the engaged women's rights organizations and/or coalitions can work to hold male political leaders accountable for the action steps they commit to as collective. Female members of the targeted political organization(s) can work alongside newly committed male allies to carry out advocacy and take action within their organizations.

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19   In many contexts, organizations that work with men and boys to promote the rights of women and girls are the same organizations that are local women's rights organizations. For examples of such organizations, please refer to the MenEngage Network's list of existing organizations in the Tool Box. At the time of publication, most of these organizations will not be working directly with politicians or democracy and governance programs. However, their work to engage men and boys around their attitudes and perceptions regarding gender equality will be transferable to this sector.

EMBODYING THE CHANGE: A CASE STUDY

Changing patriarchal attitudes and behaviors must start from within. Before initiating a masculinities and politics program, organizations themselves must commit to the goals and principles set out in this program guidance. The best way to do so is by organizing internal workshops within the organization before undertaking masculinities programs.

NDI has committed to undergoing the same process of change internally that it seeks to promote globally through this program guidance. The Institute's internal process started in 2019 with workshops held with senior male leadership staff members at its headquarters in Washington, DC, followed by mixed-sex sessions for junior staff members throughout the year. Sessions were also conducted with field office staff in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) before the first masculinities pilot program, and in Nigeria in preparation for its masculinities components under its Supporting the Advancement of Gender Equality (SAGE) program. All workshops encouraged staff members to examine their own gender roles, norms, and behaviors, as well as how such norms are reflected in the Institute's organizational culture in general. and in their own team and office dynamics in particular.

Internal workshops are essential to ensuring organizations are embodying the change they want to see. NDI's own internal workshops provided a platform to discuss potential gender inequitable actions within the workplace and how to mitigate them, delved into broader power dynamics present within the Institute, and complemented ongoing discussions on how to better incorporate inclusivity within the Institute's work. More importantly, workshops prompted a recognition of and commitment to change gender inequitable behaviors and actions. For example, NDI's Nigeria field office discussed sexist practices present within their office (some of which was not previously unrecognized by the male staff) in a conducive and non-accusatory way, identified solutions to make their workplace more equitable, and crafted a set of commitments the office can act upon in the future. In general, staff in all workshops reported that the workshops were beneficial to both their work as well as their personal lives.

DESIGNING FOR CHANGE PROCESS

In designing this program, it is crucial to collect and understand key information. Each of these areas will be discussed below, and it is critical that those designing the program ensure that this key information is accurate, up to date, and is corroborated by local actors and in-country practitioners. This key information must include:

1. How this program incorporates the local political and gender context, as well as the positionality of the implementing organization;

2. How this program fits within an implementing organization's larger body of democracy and governance work focusing on the targeted political organization(s), experience of women members, and potential male workshop participants;

3. Who can serve as the masculinities partner organization; and

4. Who can serve as the accountability mechanism.

1. How this program incorporates the local political and gender context, as well as understanding the positionality of the implementing organization.

▶ information about the political system (civil society, politics and government), the political calendar and recent events; and

▶ the history regarding efforts to increase gender equality and women's political participation in the country; and

▶ key women's rights organizations, networks, and activists working to increase women's political participation.

Information about the political system, the political calendar, and recent events:
Although staff of the implementing organization may be aware of the current political context in which *Men, Power and Politics* sessions will take place, it is important to have this information written down in one place so that it can be easily shared with the local masculinities organization and to ensure the workshop content is accurate and beneficial. Information might include: Electoral system; Government structures, national and local as appropriate; Political parties; Key civil society actors; and Political calendar.

Information about the local gender context, including the history regarding efforts to increase gender equality, and the women's rights organizations leading these efforts:
Although staff of the implementing organization may be aware of the current gender context in which sessions will take place, it is important to have this information in **writing** for other staff and the partner organization focused on engaging men and boys. Even if the staff are generally aware of the gender context, it is critical that they have a deep understanding of the particular barriers and treatment women face within the governing organization (party/ministry etc.) being targeted in sessions in order to ensure implementers are also able to hold participating leaders accountable to these truths. This is critical so the involved organizations can both ensure that they are acting under a Do No Harm approach and tracking progress. Women's rights organizations and/or coalitions can help gather this information that might include:

▶ How the government interacts with international gender frameworks such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), Beijing reports, and Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals;

▶ Current data on the number of elected and appointed women in politics at all levels as appropriate, the number and proportion of women registered to vote, the number of women who have run previously for elected office; and

▶ Relevant national laws regarding gender equality, elections, campaign finance, and violence against women in politics.

Positionality of the implementing organization:
The implementing organization is the organization that will coordinate the trainings and change processes with the political organizations. This program is unlike most other democracy programs. In order for it to be successful, it is important that implementing organizations themselves:

▶ Understand the approach and time needed to engage political organizations in it.

▶ Integrate this program with other work based on the electoral calendar;

▶ Model a culture of inclusion and equity and hold themselves accountable;

▶ Have staff members that convey respect for women, and are open to the approach and learning how to better support gender equality in democracy programming;

► Assign one male staff member who will support and learn the approach, and be present for all of the workshops as appropriate;

► Research local basic care and support services, including psychosocial assistance for program participants;

► Understand the political context in which this program will take place;

► Understand the history of women's rights and the current gender context in which sessions will take place;

► Secure the participation of male political leaders;

► Have the experience to help male political leaders and other stakeholders develop concrete action items to be completed following the workshop; and

► Hold male political leaders accountable to action steps committed to during the workshop in a measurable and formal way when possible. This may require giving a sub-grant to a women's rights organization, political party women's wing or expert.

It is critical that the implementing organization holds workshops for its own staff in advance of those with male leaders. This follows best practice emerging in the development space that works to ensure implementing organizations are modeling the culture of inclusion and accountability that they are striving towards in their programmatic efforts. Going through the workshop aims to ensure that program implementers themselves demonstrate increased understanding of gender inequitable norms and commitment to gender equality before engaging in activities to secure this among program beneficiaries.

In addition to positive organizational change, internal workshops provide practical benefits as well. First, it gives facilitators an opportunity to test out their session agenda before the start of a program, and make any adjustments as needed. Second, it allows program staff to familiarize themselves with the approach, which itself may not be intuitive, especially for staff with limited or no experience conducting gender programs. For example, NDI's internal workshop in the DRC was essential to promoting understanding of the pilot programs goals and aims, and how best to achieve them.

Lastly, internal workshops are necessary to build the skills, knowledge, and interest in the approach. In both pilot programs, country office staff were able to undertake facilitation responsibilities after familiarizing themselves with the Men, Power, and Politics approach (in Lebanon, this happened organically, without an internal workshop). Ensuring such broader involvement from everyone involved in the programming process will ensure organizations are able to conduct masculinities work more effectively and sustainably beyond the initial program.

2. How this program fits within an implementing organization's larger body of democracy and governance work focusing on the targeted political organization(s), experience of women members, and potential male workshop participants.

Targeted political organization(s):
Political organizations that could be targeted for this program include civil society organizations, social movements, political parties and various entities such as electoral management bodies and elected chambers, including councils, legislatures, and cabinets. It is important to have information about the political organization(s) targeted for this program in writing for implementing organization staff and the masculinities organization. Information might include:

► Organizational structure;

► Organizational leadership;

► Organizational by-laws, rules, policies;

► Specific policies and processes that harm women's political participation; and

► Previous and/or ongoing efforts within the political organizations to increase women's political participation.

Experience of women members of the targeted political organization(s):
Staff of the implementing organization may think they are aware of the experiences of the women members of the political organization(s), however it is an important part of the sessions to engage with these women before the workshop with male leaders. It is preferable to have the local organization working with men and boys engaged in this process, but, at least, the information should be written down in one place so that the workshop content is accurate and beneficial. Information to glean from the women might include:

► Sexist dynamics they regularly experience within their organizations (being talked over in meetings, not being recognized for contributions, not paid the same or given the same resources as men, not provided leadership opportunities, expected to do menial tasks such as cleaning or getting coffee not expected of male colleagues etc).

► When they have experienced gender-based discrimination and/or violence within this political organization or more broadly in political life;

► What aspects of the political organizational culture allows for discriminatory behavior to occur;

► Recommendations for what male political leaders can do to change the organizational culture, create space for women to have more power, and decrease occurrences of discrimination and/or violence;

► Specific opportunities and entry points to talk to male political leaders about the practices and problems of their organizations; and

► Potential messaging that will help motivate and mobilize male political leaders to change the attitudes of their peers and the culture of the political organization.

Following the workshop, women members of the political organization(s) can work to hold male political leaders accountable for the action steps they commit to.

Potential male workshop partners:
Implementers should be specific during the program design and recruitment process about the male political leaders that will take part in each workshop, perhaps focusing on political party leaders, heads of government ministries or elections administrators. Then workshop session content can be adjusted to ensure that it is most relevant for the group. Even with similar current professional positions, the participants will most likely be a group of adults with diverse backgrounds and experiences.

Given the male-dominated nature of politics, the guidance here assumes that the groups will be all men. If there are supplemental sessions with both men and women, program implementers may need to adjust some of the workshop content so that it is better suited for such an audience.

It is critical that staff from the implementing organization insist on high-level, committed and consistent participation by targeted participants of the workshop, and do not allow invited participants to send an assistant. The sessions encourage participants to ask questions and share their thoughts freely, which can be challenging in settings where the discussion is not kept at a peer-to-peer level.

If the workshop participants are from political parties, the workshops are designed to take place with each political party separately.

A pre-workshop assessment with participants (which can be done during the first workshop) is useful because it can identify the participants:

a. Expectations for the workshop;

b. Levels of knowledge regarding gender norms and men's attitudes and practices;

c. Disposition for personal reflection and sharing; and

d. Existing skills for both personal and organizational change.

3. Who can serve as the masculinities partner organization.

It may be difficult to find a local organization that has worked previously in democracy and on engaging men and boys for gender equality. Talking with men about patriarchal masculinities in any context can be very difficult. Therefore, an organization with experience in gaining men's trust, and helping them feel at ease in sharing experiences, reflecting on behaviors, asking questions and expressing themselves openly is essential for good workshop facilitation.

Depending on the context, the implementation team must decide if the facilitation team will be made up of all men or a combination of men and women. In many settings, men prefer to interact with a male facilitator who can manage the sessions and, at the same time, serve as a role model. However, pairing a male and female facilitator (when appropriate) works well and provides an opportunity to demonstrate how men and women can work together with equality and respect. It is advisable to take into account the facilitation team's ethnicity, religion and age.

Political life is by definition partisan, and in many settings, highly polarized. It is important to select organizational partners and facilitators which are not overly associated or identified with a particular political party.

4. Who can serve as the accountability mechanism.

In this manual, we are focused on relationships between professional politicians in their political organizations. When we say that we want to hold someone accountable, it means we want them to take responsibility for and understand the impact of their actions, and address the harms their actions have caused to others, and commit to not repeating these actions. In particular, accountability in this program is a way to ensure that the male leaders' views of the organization, treatment of women and women's experience within the organization, as well as the solutions and priorities eventually adapted to address them, are reflecting women's lived truth and their historical agenda and priorities.

It is therefore imperative that facilitating organizations seek open dialogue, collaboration and partnership with women's rights colleagues, and that they institutionalize these practices within their approaches, tools and activities. It is our responsibility to be mindful that this initiative's efforts to promote gender equality in politics does not unintentionally reinforce underlying power inequalities between men and women. In order to do this, all programs must seek collaboration, open dialogue and constructive criticism from women's rights organizations in the context in which sessions take place. This requires engaging and establishing partnerships with women's rights groups, organizations, and/or coalitions to improve programs and initiatives on gender equality. The women's rights group will ensure accountability through:

- ► Collaboration with the facilitating organization and the in-country partner working with men and boys to provide feedback and oversight to the pilot program design to ensure it is fully informed by the efforts, priorities and needs of women's rights groups working to promote gender inclusive democracy. This should include:

  - ➔ Reviewing and providing feedback on program materials and activities

  - ➔ Providing the facilitating organization and the in-country partner working with men and boys with information and background regarding efforts to increase women's political participation in the country

  - ➔ Identifying the top priorities for addressing barriers to and increasing women's political participation in political parties within the country

- ► Providing support and acting as accountability measures for the male political leaders during the time between workshops

TRAINING FOR CHANGE

The set up:
A successful program does not come together overnight. While staff of the implementing organization may not have the capacity to directly facilitate all of the sessions, there must be one or a few key individuals overseeing and closely involved with all aspects of the program from design, to implementation to monitoring. The organization should take time at the beginning of the planning process to consider the organization's broader objectives, potential partners, logistics and timing for all program activities.

- ► **Goals:** Each of the session plans in the Implementation chapter begins with a statement of learning aims. In thinking about the broader program goal, it may be useful to consider the different ways in which people learn and change:

  - ➔ Information and knowledge (cognitive learning);

  - ➔ Emotion and feeling (emotional learning); and

  - ➔ Experiencing and practicing (experiential learning).

- ► **Materials:** This program guidance was written to provide the background, framework and content to the facilitator and democracy and governance program implementers as they plan a workshop focused on shifting men's attitudes and practices with political organizations. Each of the module sessions includes a list of recommended materials, a step-by-step guide, additional information as needed, and training tips for that session. Sessions should be contextualized according to the history, current understanding of gender relations, and political context of the country in which the program is taking place.

- ► **Evaluation and Learning:** In order to properly measure changes in patriarchal attitudes and behaviors, it is important to initiate the evaluation process at the onset of a program. As with any program design stage, an evaluation process needs to be designed and built into all program activities. Several evaluation activities can be conducted before the start of program activities as well to obtain a baseline to measure behaviour change throughout the sessions. Pre-workshop assessments can be conducted using qualitative methods such as focus groups, key informant interviews, and one-on-one interviews. In cases where this intervention is being integrated into long-standing programming with a political organization, past work or assessments can be used if they contain relevant information. See the Evaluation Guidance chapter for more information.

The sessions:
The Implementation chapter is intended for use with groups in a workshop setting. General guidelines for this approach to address men's attitudes and practices include the following:

► Gender relations are never fixed and gender norms are always in flux. The movement of people, changes in the economy, the growing influence of communications technologies, global health crises and many other factors all contribute to the experience of gender. In most societies, understandings and practices of masculinities and femininities are very different from what they were, for example, a generation ago. Staying informed about the changing dynamics of gender relations, norms and inequalities in our societies and the communities with whom we work is an important part of being an effective implementer of gender and masculinities programs. The extent of country-specific research, data and evidence on masculinities will vary, but working with local partner organizations to obtain the latest information will help the training be relevant.

► The role of the facilitator is to help participants reflect, share and learn. The facilitator creates a learning process and then guides participants through a process toward agreed-upon learning aims. The facilitator will not only introduce participants to new information and ideas, but will also provide the space and the opportunity for participants to reflect on their own attitudes and beliefs related to gender equality, masculinities and politics. Facilitators are not expected to be able to answer all questions, solve all problems and meet all expectations, but will guide discussions and activities, provide the necessary tools and ask critical questions so that participants can generate their own knowledge and understanding. A facilitator helps people be active in their own learning, rather than simply expecting them to be passive recipients of information. Rather than being the expert, a good facilitator draws out and adds to the expertise of participants, and takes care to ensure patriarchal norms are not reinforced during the session.

► While the role of facilitator(s) is to stimulate and guide the learning of participants, staff of the implementing organization must be aware of the political dynamics in the room. All of the staff must be conscious of how others may experience them, be aware of their position and how this affects others. In addition to the personal and professional backgrounds of each facilitator, it is important to consider the implementing staffs' positions in society, including their economic position, ethnicity, age, gender, and ability. These different elements will affect how the facilitators and staff are seen and experienced by participants.

The environment:
Program implementers and facilitators should strive to create a positive, respectful and energized learning environment in which participants feel comfortable sharing and learning from each other and the facilitators. It is important at the beginning of any workshop to collectively agree to a set of ground rules for all participants in order to create a safe and collaborative learning environment. The ground rules can be organized around four ideas: diversity, respect, confidentiality and collaboration. More guidance on developing a set of ground rules with workshop participants is included in the Implementation chapter.

Active listening is a basic skill that involves helping people feel that they are being heard and understood. Active listening helps people share their experiences, thoughts, and feelings openly. It is a way of showing participants that their ideas are valuable and important when it comes to solving their problems. Active listening involves:

► Using body language to show interest and understanding. In most cultures, this will include nodding your head and turning your body to face the person who is speaking.

► Showing interest and understanding towards what is being said. This may include looking directly at the person who is speaking. In some communities, such direct eye contact may not be appropriate until the people speaking and listening have established some trust.

► Listening not only to what is said, but to how it is said, by paying attention to the speaker's body language.

► Asking questions of the person who is speaking, in order to show that you want to understand.

Effective questions help identify issues, get facts clear, and draw out differing views on an issue. Effective questioning also challenges assumptions, shows that you are really listening, and demonstrates that the diverse opinions and knowledge of the participants are valuable. Effective questioning also increases participation in group discussions and encourages problem solving.

Effective questioning includes:

► Asking open-ended questions: Why? What? When? Where? Who? How?

► Asking probing questions by following up with further questions that delve deeper into the issue or problem.

► Asking clarifying questions by re-wording a previous question.

► Discovering personal points of view by asking how people feel and not just what they know.

So much of the conversation about how men in political organizations support or obstruct gender transformation and women's political participation is about expectations and use of power. Any workshop must be designed and facilitated in ways that are able to challenge patriarchal attitudes and behaviors that may get expressed in the room. Views that perpetuate inequalities and discrimination should be discussed and challenged.

A four step approach to challenging bias and discrimination allows facilitators to:

► **Detect** the influence of stereotypes and biases in what participants are saying or how they are behaving in the training setting.

► **Reflect** on the source of the stereotype and how it may affect those to whom it is applied.

► **Reject** the stereotypes and biases as being abusive and/or discriminatory.

► **Discuss** ways of speaking and behaving in the room that promote respect, equality and inclusion.

Learning takes effort. The flow of activities should be designed to sustain the energy of the group. People learn best when they are active in their own learning, so learning activities should be interactive and fun. Energizer activities can also be used if the energy level drops. Breaks are important, as people cannot concentrate for long periods of time. In general, there should be a short break every 90 to 120 minutes. In order to help maintain positive energy levels and participant engagement, pay attention to:

► Varied methods: People learn differently, so try mixing up the training activities, emphasizing both personal reflection and group participation. Research has shown that we remember 20 percent of what we hear, 40 percent of what we see, and 80 percent of what we do. Humor, games, songs, poetry—anything that will provoke participants' interest and attention - may be used.

► Flow: Activities should feel as if they are linked to one another and there should be a smooth flow of information and ideas from one session to the next. Participants will remember information better when it feels connected. At the end of the day, participants can be asked to sum up the key learning of the day, to remind everyone of the flow of the training.

► Mood: This type of training can be emotionally 'heavy', as it asks tough personal questions. Humor is therefore useful because it relaxes people. People may even tend to remember the training better if they can laugh about it. But keep in mind that humor and light-hearted activities should also be culturally sensitive, gender sensitive and appropriate.

ACHIEVING CHANGE ONLINE: A CASE STUDY

The *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance was designed for face-to-face delivery, but the tools have also been adapted for online delivery to ensure that accessibility is key. You can find the full online program guidance at:

There are similarities and differences between face-to-face and online workshops, including their respective learning environments. Similar to a face-to-face environment, an effective online learning environment should be safe, supportive, and interactive. When moving from face-to-face to online workshops, the facilitator's role changes from the content presenter (e.g., webinar) to facilitate online learning in a way that ensures participants are engaged, supported, valued, connected, and actively participating in their own learning. This can be done by commenting, reflecting, and asking questions when someone else is speaking or presenting.

The following important concepts are the same for both face-to-face and online workshops:

► Expectations and instructions must be clear recognizing that for many the online environment and platform is new.

► Lines of communication must be used regularly to catalyze active participation and learning.

► Quality interaction between participants is the sign of a successful training which can happen using whiteboard, chat, and breakout room features.

The decision to implement this program online must consider that some participants have lower digital skills and limited access to computer and internet facilities. In addition, the facilitator(s) must be familiar with the online platform so they can pivot to methods and tools that will help achieve the desired goal. Knowledge of the platform also allows the facilitator(s) to guide participants through the tools and platform.

There are logistical considerations in advance of an online workshop that need to be discussed and agreed to with the facilitator(s) and the implementing organization support staff. This includes roles and responsibilities, time management, communication (via private chat), and others. Ideally, the facilitator(s) and staff from the D&G organization will go through the agenda and sessions together to walk through who will do what when and what tools will be used.

The agenda of the workshop will be impacted if it takes place online.The length of the workshop days will have to be shortened and breaks will need to be added. Facilitators should create a rapport with participants by providing some personal information and encourage participants to do the same. Each day can begin with a quick poll to further personal interactions.

In an online workshop, it's important that the facilitator(s) continue to "read the room."

► Are participants actively engaging with the facilitator or presenter or each other in the chat? An inactive chat could be a sign that participants are disengaged or lost.

► Are there side conversations that should be discussed or ignored (i.e., the equivalent of side conversations in an in-person workshop)? If sexist or inappropriate remarks are made in the chat, the facilitator should intervene immediately in the same way as if the remark was made verbally.

► It is important that the facilitator monitors the chat and responds to questions, discussions, and comments in real time (not after "presenting") so there is active discussion rather than a lecturette. However, the facilitator(s) should be comfortable with silence. Participants need time to click on functions, type in the chat or whiteboard, and reflect. The questions, concepts, and activities in this training require deep thought and reflection. So, give participants the time they need for reflection and make full use of all the available online functions.

TOOL BOX 3: PREPARATION

► **Sample staff memo**

► **Sample country questionnaire**

► **Sample invitation letter for women's organizations**

► **Sample gender questionnaire**

► **Sample political organization questionnaire**

► **Gender and COVID Analysis**

► **Sample outreach materials for female members of these political institutions**

► **Sample contract with masculinities/facilitation organization**

► **Sample agenda outlines**

Additional resources:

► **NDI Management Tool Box**

► **NDI Training and Facilitation**

► **Men, Politics and Power: Online Program Guidance**

► **MenEngage Regional Networks**

EVALUATION GUIDANCE

This *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance provides guidance to implement a program that seeks to change the patriarchal gender norms held by elite, male, political leaders. It is informed by the theory that democracy and governance programs must address the patriarchal gender norms held by political leaders that underpin political institutions. The theory of change for the program is that changing the attitudes, norms and perceptions held by these political leaders will lead to a change in the attitudes of their peers and the practices of the political organizations they lead. Changing the political organizations will allow for greater women's political participation, leadership and gender equality.

This approach is just one part of a broader effort to promote women's meaningful political participation. Multiple components of the broader effort may contribute to norm change, therefore, evaluation activities need to identify which interventions are having the greatest impact in changing the attitudes and behaviors of male political leaders that impede women's political participation and leadership and gender equality.

To understand whether these interventions are achieving the intended outcomes, change, or lack of change, should be evaluated regularly. There are four main types of indicators that can provide important insights into changes that are happening. The data collected via these avenues measure attitude, intentions, practices, and perceptions of prevailing norms[20]. Ideally, an evaluation plan will include a combination of these indicators:

► **Attitude:** These data provide insights into how common certain views are among elite, male political leaders and how those views may be changing over the course of the intervention. An example of attitude indicators is the proportion of workshop participants who think men should have the final word about decision-making in their homes.

► **Intentions:** These data, from both men and women involved in the targeted political organization(s), can capture a middle ground between indicators of attitudes (what male leaders think) and indicators of practice (what male leaders are actually doing). Examples of this kind of indicator are the intention of a male leader to support a woman to replace him when his term is over or to back a female politician for a leadership position.

► **Practices and outcomes:** These data measure what behaviors of male political leaders are actually changing. Because changes in gender norms may be only one of the factors behind a change in a male political leader's attitudes and behaviors, program implementers should probe the reasons why changes have occurred (or not). For example, if data indicate an increase in the number of women in leadership positions, implementers should try to use a mixed methods approach - qualitative and quantitative methods - to discover if male political leaders have allowed or even encouraged this increase as a result of the workshop. Quantitative data may be hard to collect, but qualitative data, such as interviews with members of local women's organizations or female members of the targeted political organization, can provide information about sexist practices that exist, and whether they are becoming less common. A good practice is to compare what the male leaders report they believe, how the leaders actually behave, and what women report they experience.

► **Perceptions of gender norms:** These data measure changes in what male political leaders think is the right way to behave. This can be done using a variety of tools. Evaluators can learn how people perceive gender norms by asking how strongly a person agrees with a particular statement (e.g. "women are not as good politicians as men") using a Likert-style survey question (e.g., strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree). Another approach is to ask what the consequences of not complying with a particular norm might be and to monitor how that changes over time. Another approach is to use scenarios and ask respondents how they think people would or should act in particular situations.

20   Marcus, Rachel. 2015. *Changing Gender Norms: Monitoring and Evaluating Programmes and Projects.* Overseas Development Institute. United Kingdom: London. **https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9815.pdf**

OUTCOME MAPPING

Data related to these types of indicators can be evaluated using outcome mapping, a framework for measuring this program's contributions versus attributions. Outcome mapping is used when[21]:

► Social change is measured;

► Interventions occur in an open, complex, and evolving system that is continuous, non-linear, cumulative and incremental;

► Multiple actors might contribute to the desired change;

► Anticipated and unanticipated results are important for learning;

► Interventions are innovative and adaptive to changing needs and environmental factors; and

► A whole-systems view is important to capture relationships and dynamics between different elements and realities.

It is advised not to use the term "social norms" with program participants, but rather to explain norms by linking them to certain actions. For example, participants can be asked about people's beliefs or practices that are considered to be the norm.

Outcome mapping defines outcomes as changes in behavior, relationships, activities, or actions of the people, groups, and organizations with which a program works directly. It focuses on "boundary partners" who are individuals, groups, and organizations with whom a program anticipates opportunities for influence. Outcome mapping assumes that boundary partners control change that a program facilitates by providing access to new resources, ideas, or opportunities[22].

By using outcome mapping, measurement shifts from changes in state, such as a policy change, to changes in behaviors, relationships, actions, or activities. In other words, change is accomplished by and for people. Outcome mapping acknowledges that multiple actors and factors are essential to achieve sustainable, scaled, social change. This change is difficult to attribute to a single program. Outcome mapping assumes that program activities can only contribute to changes in the behavior of individuals, groups, and organizations - those that the program activities are trying to influence directly. This may eventually lead to the desired result, which these individuals, groups, and organizations or program activities do not fully control.

Outcome mapping answers the questions of who, what, how, and why. For this program:

► ***Who*** *are the program's key boundary partners?*
Male political leaders, female members of political organizations or colleagues, targeted political organizations

► ***What*** *are the tangible changes that are being sought?*
Male political leaders engage female colleagues with respect, support women's full participation in politics, and create space in their political organizations for women to hold leadership positions. Male and female political leaders take concrete actions within their organizations to promote and support women's equal rights and active participation in politics.

21   Earl, Sarah, Fred Carden and Terry Smutylo 2001. Outcome Mapping: Building Learning and Reflection into Development Programs. International Development Resource Center: Ottawa, Canada. **http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Resources/Publications/Pages/IDRCBookDetails.aspx?PublicationID=121**
22   Earl, Sarah, Fred Carden and Terry Smutylo 2001. Outcome Mapping: Building Learning and Reflection into Development Programs. International Development Resource Center: Ottawa, Canada. **http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Resources/Publications/Pages/IDRCBookDetails.aspx?PublicationID=121**

> ► **How** *will the program contribute to the change process among its boundary partners?*
> Through workshops with male political leaders that address and change gender norms regarding women in politics. The male political leaders will collaborate with their female colleagues in political organizations to increase women's political participation and leadership. Partnerships with local women's rights organizations will both inform the baseline of the program and hold the program participants accountable to their commitments.
>
> ► **Why** *is the program doing this work? (or, What is the vision to which the program aims to contribute?)*
> Women's ability to participate equally in politics as activists, voters, members of civil society, political party members and leaders, government officials and elected leaders results in tangible gains for democracy.

The *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance theory of change can be broken down using a modified outcome mapping framework:

ACTIONS (PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)

SPHERE OF CONTROL
► Work with elite, male poilitical leaders and women in politics / political parties.
► Partnerships with local women's rights organizations and women in politics / political parites.

CHANGES IN BEHAVIOR (OUTCOMES)

SPHERE OF INFLUENCE
► Male political leaders engage female colleagues with respect and suport their full participation in politics.
► Male and female political leaders promote and support women's active participation in their organizations.

CHANGES IN STATE

CHANGES IN STATE
► Women are more involved and lead political parties and movements, governance and peace processes, technological innovation, elections, and other political activities.

► **Increased gender equality.**
► **Increased women's political participation and leadership.**
► **Women's political rights secured.**

The 'direct actions' are the workshops with male political leaders, their female colleagues and partnerships with women's organizations (*sphere of control*). These workshops seek to influence boundary partners' (male political leaders and their female colleagues) actions (*sphere of influence*). The workshops lead to the desired changes (*sphere of interest*) in political leaders' attitudes and political organizations' policies and processes. The actions in these spheres culminate in increased women's political participation and leadership, and gender equality.

Knowledge	Attitudes	Behaviors
Men are: ► Aware of the impact of gender norms on their own lives ► Describe the dynamics of gender norms in the organizations they work, the communities they live and the societies to which they belong ► Recognize patriarchy and sexism exclude women from politics	Men: ► Support women's political equality ► Personalize gender issues ► Connect emotionally and personally with gender and violence ► Think women are their equals and deserve equal rights to participate fully in political life ► Acknowledge that with more women in politics, there will be fewer positions for men ► Do not fear reactions of other men (e.g. ostracism, intimidation, and/or violence) when they support women's political participation ► Believe this is the right moment to push for women's political participation and leadership	Men: ► Create political will, make space and change for women in politics ► Develop and implement strategies for personal, organizational and social change ► Champion women's political participation with the understanding that changing political institutions is difficult ► Support women's political participation and leadership and put it into practice ► Support and push for greater women's political participation and leadership

When using the *Men, Power and Politics* approach, implementers will want to measure the effectiveness and resultant behavior change of the workshops in the spheres of control and influence.

When developing the evaluation approach and tools for this program, it is important to determine the learning outcomes, first, so that the implementing organization knows what it is measuring. Example outcomes for the male political leaders who participate in the workshop activities include:

In the additional resources section of the Chapter Tool Box, this model is augmented by elements of the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) scale developed to measure attitudes among men toward gender-equitable norms.

THE KIRKPATRICK MODEL

Many implementing organizations evaluate training activities, but the Kirkpatrick Model goes beyond post-workshop questionnaires by providing quantitative and qualitative data on learning, attitude and behavior change, and outcomes. This model aligns with outcome mapping and the *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance by collecting data before and after the workshop to measure attitudinal and behavior change among male political leaders directly, through surveys and interviews with the men, and indirectly, from data collected from their female colleagues and women's organizations.
The Kirkpatrick Model has several advantages. First, it provides clear evaluative steps to follow. Second, it works with traditional and digital learning programs. Next, the Kirkpatrick Model provides valuable insight into training programs and their impact on outcomes. And finally, this model is a simple, flexible, adaptable approach.[23]

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23   Ibid.

Level 1: Reaction
The degeree to which participants find the training favorable, engaging and relevant to their jobs.

Level 2: Learning
The degree to which participants acquire the intended knowledge, skills, attitude, confidence and commitment in the training.

Level 3: Behavior
The degeree to which participants apply what they learned during training when they are back on the job.

Level 1: Reaction. At this level, data is collected on participants' experience of the session, and the usefulness of the workshop content through a post-workshop survey. This survey is generally completed on the last day of the training event or immediately after. Response rates are higher if the survey is done while participants are "in the room" whether face-to-face or online. The survey, with open- and closed-ended questions, captures reaction. Take precautions to avoid bias by making the survey anonymous, as workshop participants, especially male political leaders, may feel pressure to report more positively if their names are requested[24]. Level 1 data measure responses to the program activities in the sphere of control when using the outcome mapping framework described previously.

If participants do not react positively to the training, that does not mean it was ineffective; continue measuring changes in attitudes and behaviors.

Level 2: Learning. At this level, tools assess the degree to which participants acquired the intended knowledge, skills, attitudes, confidence, and commitment as a result of the workshop. For example, confidence could be demonstrated with the statement, "I believe I can successfully be an ally to women in my political organization." Commitment could be communicated with the statement, "I will support women in my political organization by using active listening and not interrupting them when they speak."

As previously stated, there are several reasons why learning from a workshop is not applied within a political organization[25]:

► Lack of clarity of what is expected in the political organization;

► Unsupportive or demoralizing colleagues;

► Organizational culture does not hold people accountable;

► Higher-level leaders who are not good role models;

► Conflicting and confusing priorities; and/or

► Lack of support and resources when difficult situations are encountered such as backlash against a male political leader as being "unmanly" when he shows support and respect to female colleagues.

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24   Smith, Derek. 2020. A Complete Guide to the Kirkpatrick Model of Training Evaluation. BizLibrary. **https://www.bizlibrary. com/blog/training-programs/kirkpatrick-model-training-evaluation/**

25   Kirkpatrick, Jim and Wendy Kayser Kirkpatrick. N.d. New World Level 2: The Importance of Learner Confidence and Commitment. Kirkpatrick Partners LLC. **http://www.kirkpatrickpartners.com/Portals/0/Storage/New%20world%20 level%202%207%2010.pdf**

Similarly, a participant can feel confident that they can apply what they learned in their political organization, but have little or no intention of doing for several reasons:[26]

► The new behavior requires more effort than doing things "the way we have always done them";

► Inadequate support from organization leaders;

► No consequences for not performing the newly learned behaviors; and

► Lack of a clear reason to apply the new knowledge.

Evaluation at Level 2 is more challenging and time-consuming than at Level 1. Some experts advocate testing after the workshop to reinforce the content. Through testing, participants recall what they learned and this leads to higher retention over time[27]. Other experts advocate hands-on assignments to evaluate how a participant might perform following a workshop. The better participants do on the post-workshop evaluation and reinforcement initiatives (testing or assignments), the more effective the workshop.

In this program guidance, commitments to action are made by workshop participants to work on a specific task, reflect on their experiences, and incorporate lessons learned into their day-to-day work. Commitments to action can be formalized during Session C3: Gender at Work Strategies. Ideally, participants in the same workshop would reconvene (with a facilitator online or face-to-face) three to four months after the initial workshop activities to share successes and challenges of implementing their commitments to action. This reconvening both holds the male political leaders accountable and furthers 'learning by doing' by allowing the men to hear the experiences of their peers. Commitments to action may be more effective if each participant has an "accountability partner" (such as another participant) to whom they can turn for questions or suggestions and who will check-in with them over the three to four month action learning period.

Level 2 data measure outcome indicators in the sphere of control when using the outcome mapping framework described previously.

Level 3: Behavior. At this level, data measures changes in attitudes and behavior as a result of the workshop by answering the question, "Are participants applying what they learned?" Some consider this the most important of the three levels, because workshops alone do not generate changes in attitudes and behaviors.[28] This level evaluates differences in the participants' behavior in their political organization after the workshop to assess if knowledge covered in the workshop is used in their political organization in the form of new attitudes and behaviors. Examples in daily activities may include standing up for women's rights, not talking over women at organizational meetings, and/or recognizing and calling out verbal attacks on women in politics

This level offers the truest evaluation of a workshop's usefulness, but is challenging to anticipate because it can take weeks or months for participants to build confidence or have the opportunity to apply their knowledge. This is especially true in a highly patriarchal and hyper-masculine context such as politics where male politicians can encounter aggressive backlash from colleagues if they appear "weak" by supporting female colleagues.[29]

26   Ibid.
27   BizLibrary. n.d. *Unpacking Kirkpatrick: Data-Driven Decision-Making in L&D*. **https://pages.bizlibrary.com/rs/230-MIF-751/ images/Unpacking-Kirkpatrick.pdf?_ga=2.229852319.282306424.1600472315-19528422.1600310274**
28   Schwartz-Weber, Megan. 2019. Instructional Design: Kirkpatrick's Evaluation Model. ELearning Industry. **https://elearningindustry.com/kirkpatricks-evaluation-model-levels**
29   BizLibrary. n.d. Unpacking Kirkpatrick: Data-Driven Decision-Making in L&D. **https://pages.bizlibrary.com/rs/230-MIF-751/ images/Unpacking-Kirkpatrick.pdf?_ga=2.229852319.282306424.1600472315-19528422.1600310274**

This measurement can be, but is not necessarily, a reflection of whether participants actually internalized the content. The lack of behavior does not necessarily mean that the workshop was ineffective. As previously laid out, there could be several contributing factors, such as political tensions, dynamic, and entrenched patriarchy in the political organization or the individual's reluctance to change for fear of losing their power and position.[30] Level 3 evaluation involves both pre- and post-workshop measurement of the learner's behavior which is crucial to evaluating learning transfer and the impact performance has on an organization.[31] Level 3 data measures outcomes in the sphere of influence when using the outcome mapping framework described previously.

IMPLEMENTING KIRKPATRICK'S MODEL[32]

The nature and dynamics of political organizations must be taken into account when implementing the Kirkpatrick Model. Civil society organizations, government entities, political parties and elected bodies tend to be patriarchal and hierarchical, which may provide obstacles for participants to effectively demonstrate behavior and attitude change. Part business, part movement, these political organizations balance advocacy efforts from citizens and members and environmental factors such as voters' positions and electoral defeat. These power dynamics should be considered when collecting and analyzing data.

Level 3 behavior analysis yields the most useful data, but is time-consuming and resource-intensive, which may not be practical for all organizations, especially without dedicated staff to analyze the data. Program managers at implementing organizations must also take into account the limited time availability and busy schedules of political leaders when creating evaluation plans.

The following sections detail how program facilitators would implement the Kirkpatrick model in real time for an in-country workshop. All of the evaluations can be found as templates in the chapter Tool Box.

Data collection tools needed for Kirkpatrick Model Levels 1, 2, and 3:[33]

LEVEL 1: REACTION	LEVEL 2: LEARNING	LEVEL 1: REACTION
► Post-workshop evaluation *(last day of workshop)* ► Verbal responses *(last day of workshop)* ► Written comments *(last day of workshop)* ► Facilitator reports *(within two weeks of workshop)*	► Pre-and-post-workshop assessments *(pre-workshop assessment 3-4 weeks prior to workshop)* ► Action learning project *(for 3-4 months after the workshop followed by a re-convening of workshop participants)*	► Interviews or focus group discussions with women in political parties (no less 6 months after the workshop) ► Peer or civil society organization observations (no less than 6 months after the workshop) ► Self-assessments by male participants (no less than 6 months after the workshop)

30   Kirkpatrick, Donald L., James D. Kirkpatrick, and Wendy K. Kirkpatrick. 2013.Measurement and Analytics: The Kirkpatrick Model. Training Industry. **https://trainingindustry.com/wiki/measurement-and-analytics/the-kirkpatrick-model/**
31   Schwartz-Weber, Megan. 2019. Instructional Design: Kirkpatrick's Evaluation Model. ELearning Industry. **https://elearningindustry.com/kirkpatricks-evaluation-model-levels**
32   MindTools Content Team. n.d. Kirkpatrick's Four-Level Training Evaluation Model Analyzing Learning Effectiveness. MindTools. **https://www.mindtools.com/pages/article/kirkpatrick.htm**
33   Kurt, Serhat. 2018. Kirkpatrick Model: Four Levels of Learning Evaluation. Educational Technology. **https://educationaltechnology.net/kirkpatrick-model-four-levels-learning-evaluation/**

Level 1: Reaction. The Post-Workshop Evaluation is administered on the last day of the workshop activities. Response rates are higher if the survey is done while participants are "in the room" whether face-to-face or online. For face-to-face activities, this can be done before the closing session and for online deliveries it can be done by providing a hyperlink. In both cases, time must be built into the agenda on the last day for participants to complete the evaluation.

To analyze results, for quantitative data (closed-ended questions), enter the responses using the numbers corresponding to each response into a spreadsheet to tally total responses and generate graphs for each question. For qualitative data (open-ended questions), evaluators can read through all responses to identify themes. The sample post-workshop evaluation form includes questions from the pre-workshop learning assessment about the workshop and the knowledge, skills and ideas acquired during workshop activities.

In addition to the post-workshop evaluation, facilitator reports can be used to complement the participants' responses in the post-workshop evaluation. The reports communicate workshop facilitators' experiences of and learning from facilitating the workshop.

Level 2: Learning. A Pre-Workshop Assessment serves two purposes. First, data provide facilitators with valuable information on the workshop participants' expectations and knowledge of gender norms and men's attitudes and practices within political organizations that limit, deter and/or exclude women's full political participation. This allows facilitators to adjust the pace of the workshop sessions accordingly and tailor the delivery to each group of participants. Second, when combined with the post-workshop evaluations, it can measure changes in participants' knowledge, attitudes, perceived confidence and commitment to take action.

A pre-workshop assessment should be deployed to all participants at least two weeks prior to the workshop. Given how busy political leaders are, it is recommended that the assessment is sent several times prior to the first day of the workshop to ensure high response rates.

Data from the pre-workshop assessment can be analyzed by entering the corresponding numbers for each response into a spreadsheet to tally total responses and generate graphs for each question. These results should be shared with workshop facilitators at least one week before the workshop so they have an understanding of participants' expectations and levels of knowledge.

After the workshop, the responses from the post-workshop evaluation can be compared to assess changes in attitudes and behaviors as a result of the workshop. The comparisons should be made at the group, not individual level. In this way, responses are fully anonymous and do not require identifiers.

Interviews with workshop participants, female members or colleagues and women's organizations can also assess progress and change, probe into some of the knowledge gaps identified in the survey, or augment the quantitative Level 2 data in other ways. Interviews within two weeks of the workshop show immediate changes, however, these qualitative approaches can be time-consuming and costly.[34]

Level 3: Behavior. Surveys and interviews seek to measure how workshop participants have applied what they acquired through workshop activities.[35] This data should be collected no less than **six months** after the workshop to allow ample time for workshop participants to apply what they learned in their political organizations through their commitments to action and their day-to-day work. Level 3 data measure behavior change by tracking behaviors over time to capture successes and challenges.[36] Interviews and observations are the best ways to measure behavior, as is tracking of the implementation of the workshop participants' commitments to action. Given the nature of men in politics, behavior change data are best captured from the male workshop participants themselves (self-assessments), their female colleagues and/or women's organizations (interviews), and by local partner masculinities organizations that can conduct political observations.

34   Kurt, Serhat. 2018. Kirkpatrick Model: Four Levels of Learning Evaluation. Educational Technology.
      https://educationaltechnology.net/kirkpatrick-model-four-levels-learning-evaluation/
35   eLogic Learning. 2020. How to Easily Implement (and Automate) The Kirkpatrick Model Using an LMS.
      https://elogiclearning.com/easily-implement-kirkpatrick-model-using-lms/
36   BizLibrary. n.d. Unpacking Kirkpatrick: Data-Driven Decision-Making in L&D. **https://pages.bizlibrary.com/rs/230-MIF-751/**
      images/Unpacking-Kirkpatrick.pdf?_ga=2.229852319.282306424.1600472315-19528422.1600310274

The self-assessment tool is meant to be deployed to male participants as a survey with select interviews to drill down on some of the details of application as an indicator of behavior change. To analyze results, for quantitative data (closed-ended questions) enter the responses using the numbers corresponding to each response into a spreadsheet to tally total responses and generate graphs for each question. For qualitative data (open-ended questions), evaluators can read through to identify themes across all responses to develop findings.

Semi-structured interviews can be conducted with female workshop participants and female colleagues of the male participants to collect information about changes in the male political leaders' behavior. These data augment the self-assessment tool. Given the sensitivity of the political environment, it is important that the individual and organization conducting the interviews are perceived by the women as safe, trustworthy, and able to maintain the women's confidentiality. To this end, it is best for women in the implementing organization or external evaluators to conduct these interviews. Use these qualitative data to validate and round out the evaluation "story" by identifying themes from the women's perspective and compare and contrast with the quantitative data and qualitative data findings from the male participants' self-assessment.

Engaging female and male politicians and civil society organizations to conduct observations can provide insights on behavior change. Observations by other male and female politicians should minimize opinion-based views of the observer, which can negatively affect data consistency and dependability. Given this, observation guidance should include specific behaviors to observe in the participant's everyday work life. It is important to remember that the evaluation plan, and the specific learning assessments outlined here, should be included within the broader democracy and governance program within which this masculinities program is included.

Observation points are needed to determine if workshop participants are internalizing the lessons learned from the masculinities program and applying them to their organization's daily activities. For example, organizers of a training on the fundamentals of civic participation can include content on gender equality in the intervention and questions about women's political participation and leadership in their assessments, to determine if participants are making the linkages between the two. Program managers, facilitators, and civil society partners of subsequent components of the intervention can and should contribute to observational assessments by, for example, noting changes in gender equitable behavior among men in politics during subsequent program activities.

HOW A *MEN, POWER AND POLITICS* INTERVENTION WAS INTEGRATED INTO A LARGER DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAM: A CASE STUDY

NDI conducted a second *Men, Power and Politics* pilot in Lebanon in June 2020, in conjunction with its Youth Activism for Lebanese Accountability (YALA!) program. The YALA program seeks to prepare Lebanese young people to more effectively hold their government accountable by providing courses on the principles of civic engagement, debate and dialogue skills, and conducting advocacy and accountability campaigns. The program followed a step down training format, whereby NDI would train a set of civil society partners, who then facilitated training modules with youth groups.

The masculinities sessions were part of a comprehensive effort to both make the program's content more inclusive as well as to ensure participants are incorporating gender considerations into their civic engagement efforts. The masculinities workshops themselves were scheduled as the first sessions with all participants. The aim was to prepare Lebanese young men and women to identify, develop and advocate for priorities in a gender sensitive way that is accountable to the women's rights agenda in Lebanon. This would be achieved by addressing conscious and unconscious attitudes and beliefs rooted in patriarchal gender norms and masculinities. NDI partnered with ABAAD (Zero tolerance to Sexual Exploitation & Abuse), a masculinities organization in Lebanon, to facilitate sessions and also to assist with gender mainstreaming the program.

Several adjustments were made to the *Men, Power and Politics* approach for this program in order to reflect the particular goals and participants. The focus of the approach needed to be adjusted to the intended audience. Rather than elite men working in political parties, as in the DRC pilot, the YALA program's participants were young civil society members. As such, sessions focused more on the patriarchal power dynamics present within society—both those that oppress women in relation to men as well as those that oppress men in relation to other men. ABAAD also contextualized the approach to Lebanon's context, including considerations regarding: specific gender inequality issues in Lebanon, intersectional barriers to political participation for young men and women, the way religion and Lebanon's sectarian identities influence gender roles, as well as how Lebanon's social movements demonstrated a need for and promise of transformational change.

Four masculinities workshops were conducted by November 2020, with ABAAD facilitating all sessions and staff from NDI's Lebanon office providing logistical and facilitation support. All workshops were conducted online due to the COVID pandemic. This was NDI's and ABAAD's first experience conducting online masculinities sessions. The masculinities approach was adapted for use online, with an agenda developed that utilized Zoom and breakout sessions to conduct activities and foster discussion around masculinities and patriarchal gender norms. Workshops were also organized into two-part, three-hour sessions instead of full-day events as in the DRC pilot program (see the Online Program Guidance for more details). All workshops were mixed sex, with single sex sessions used for certain activities.

The first workshop with YALA program civil society partners was conducted in July 2020. Participants were very receptive to the workshop's content and readily discussed patriarchal gender roles and their effects. Three subsequent workshops were conducted with the YALA cadre groups in August 2020. All three workshops were successful in getting participants to reflect on patriarchal gender norms, though some resistance was encountered among participants from more conservative backgrounds. Two of the working groups made commitments to incorporate gender equality into their advocacy efforts.

In addition to the workshops, NDI and ABAAD ensured that the themes of the *Men, Power and Politics* approach were reflected in all aspects of the YALA civic education curriculum. This not only included the local contextualization mentioned earlier, but ensuring that all training modules promote gender equality and inclusivity. All of the program's lessons incorporated gender considerations; for example, modules on conducting effective civic debates featured discussions on how patriarchal attitudes and behaviors may marginalize women and other marginalized groups during public forums.

Lastly, evaluation points were created to gauge whether participants were applying lessons from the masculinities workshops, demonstrating changed attitudes, and/or acting on commitments made. This ensured the YALA program continues to emphasize changing patriarchal norms beyond the initial masculinities workshops.

TOOL BOX 4: EVALUATION

► **Sample post-workshop evaluation**

► **Sample pre-workshop assessment**

► **Sample self-assessment tool for male workshop participants**

► **Sample interview guide**

► **Sample indicators**

Additional resources:

► **Kirkpatrick Partners Resources**

► **Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale**

IMPLEMENTATION

This program guidance is rooted in empirically-tested initiatives that have been used in other sectors and contexts to influence male attitudes and practices and to increase their support for women's rights in the home, the community, and in public life. This chapter provides the core materials needed for the power and politics workshop(s).

There are five modules A: Opening, B: Personalize, C: Politicize, D: Strategize and E: Closing.

Within each module, there are several workshop sessions.

For each session, there are the session aims, the time and materials needed for the session, the training content, activities and tips. Each session includes a Tool Box with the necessary materials for implementation.

Implementing organizations can mix and match the modules and sessions as needed for the context. Sample agendas are included in the *Preparation* chapter.

MODULE A: OPENING

How any workshop begins and ends will affect the quality of its process and its impact on improving knowledge, changing attitudes and strengthening skills. In this section, there are two opening sessions. There are two closing sessions outlined at the end of this chapter.

SESSION A1: INTRODUCTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

The aim of this session is to foster closer working relationships among participants and to share expectations of the workshop in order to align them with the workshop goals and content.

► Time = 30 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

► In advance: Write workshop goals and agenda on flipchart paper

CONTENT: Facilitator introduces him/her/themself and then shares the objectives of this session: To build closer working relationships among us here in the room and for us to share our expectations of the workshop.

ACTIVITY: Introductions. Go around the room and have the participants say their name and one thing about them that is not on their resume.

ACTIVITY: Expectations. Have the participants divide into pairs. Have the pairs ask each other the following questions:

► What excites you about taking part in this training?

► What are your anxieties/concerns about taking part in this training?

Allow 5-7 minutes for these pair conversations, then bring everyone back together. Going around the pairs in turn, have participants introduce their partner, by saying their name, and their excitements/anxieties. As the pairs report back, write up these excitements and anxieties on separate pieces of flip-chart paper. Thank everyone for sharing what they are excited about - go through the list, looking for commonalities and differences. Remind the group about how excited you are as the facilitator(s) to be involved in this training, and share some of what excites you about the training. Emphasize the importance of a positive, creative energy which will help us, individually and collectively, to address the difficult issues we will discuss today.

CONTENT: Facilitator presents the goals for this workshop and relates these to the excitements and anxieties discussed previously. Review with participants the agenda for the day, and highlight the ways in which the planned content of the agenda relates to the issues and questions that participants are excited about discussing. Also highlight those aspects of the agenda that respond to any anxieties raised by participants.

If participants identify issues and questions that are not covered by the agenda, consider ways to change the agenda to address them. If changing the agenda is not feasible, make clear to the group that these particular issues and questions cannot be addressed in this workshop, but that they have been noted and that they may be addressed in a subsequent training.

End the session by thanking participants for being open about both their excitements and anxieties.

> **Training Tip:** If appropriate, ask a senior figure from the political organization to make some opening remarks at the beginning of the workshop. Observing protocol in this way may help to ensure the support of/organizational leadership.

TOOL BOX A1: INTRODUCTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

▶ **Session 1: Introductions and expectations**

▶ **Sample set of workshop goals**

SESSION A2: WORKING AGREEMENT, GROUND RULES

This session focuses on the behaviors which will enable the group to achieve its training goals and helps participants to identify a set of ground rules about such behaviors.

▶ Time = 30 minutes

▶ Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

▶ In advance: Write workshop goals and agenda on flipchart paper

"Collaboration", "Confidentiality", "Diversity", "Respect", and "Parking Lot".

CONTENT: Facilitator explains the importance of setting agreements collectively for how the group will work together toward the training goals. Working agreements or ground rules can help to ensure that everyone can participate constructively in the workshop.

Facilitator presents a couple of basic ground rules such as "be on time" and "turn off mobile phones" then explains that the rules to be suggested should fall into one of four categories: Collaboration, Confidentiality; Diversity and Respect.

ACTIVITY: Go around the room counting 1-2-3-4 in order to divide the group into four smaller groups. Assign each group one of the four categories, give them the appropriate piece of flipchart paper, and have them discuss and create 3-4 rules within their category. Allow 10-15 minutes for these small group discussions, then bring everyone back together. Going around the groups in turn, have a spokesperson from each group present their draft rules. Discuss the rules as a large group and agree on the final set of ground rules. Use tape to display the four pieces of flipchart paper in the training room for the duration of the workshop.

Take a few minutes to specifically discuss the use of social media in relation to the training. Discuss the need to balance the working agreement on confidentiality with the value of using social media to let others know about the training. Make an explicit agreement on what is ok and not ok to share about the training (specifically photos, names, political affiliations, organizations represented) on participants' personal social media.

CONTENT: Facilitator ends the session by presenting the use of a "Parking Lot" for keeping track of questions/issues that cannot be addressed immediately, but that will be returned to later to ensure that they have been covered. Hand the "Parking Lot" flipchart paper on the wall in the training room.

Training Tip: Talk openly about the power hierarchies that exist in the training room. Continue throughout the workshop to encourage those with less status, authority and power to speak up. Too often more senior figures can dominate discussions.

TOOL BOX A2: WORKING AGREEMENT AND GROUND RULES

► **Session A2: Working agreements**

► **Examples of working rules**

MODULE B: PERSONALIZE

Men's lives are shaped by gender norms of masculinity and femininity. But many men still associate the term "gender work" with work done by, with and for women only; many men do not see themselves as being personally affected by, or personally affecting, gender issues. This makes it all the more important to begin work with men on changing gender norms by personalizing gender issues, and relating them to men's own histories, lives and hopes and fears. Personalizing the discussion of gender norms in this way not only helps to build men's recognition of the impact of such norms on the lives of women and girls who are close to them, but also to deepen men's awareness of the impact of these norms on their own lives.

SESSION B1: GENDER AND ME

The aim of this session is to enable participants to share and reflect on important influences that shaped our understandings and experiences of masculinity and femininity growing up and to agree on a common understanding of the terms "masculinity" and "masculinities".

► Time = 60 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

► In advance: Make copies of Session B1 Handout: *The Meaning of Masculinities*

CONTENT: Facilitator presents the aims of the session and explains the importance of developing an understanding of gender from our own lives (as well as from research and theories).

ACTIVITY: Have participants work individually and distribute to each a piece of flipchart paper and marker. Each participant should draw a path/road/river on his paper - this is his gender journey - with one end labeled "birth" and the other end "now".

Each participant should identify three moments or experiences in his life which were significant for him in forming his sense of what it means to be a boy/man or girl/woman in his family, community and society. These moments should be noted on the "gender journey" and, for each moment, the participants should write or draw answers to these questions:

► In this experience, what did you learn about the meaning of being a boy/man or girl/woman? Where was the learning coming from? Who was teaching you about gender?

► What did you learn about gender differences between boys/men and girls/women (in terms of roles, responsibilities, opportunities, rights)? How did this feel at the time?

► What did you learn about gender inequalities between boys/men and girls/women (in terms of opportunities, rights, access to resources, levels of power)? How did this feel at the time?

► Looking back, what do you feel now about your gender journey and what you learned about gender growing up?

> **NOTE:** *Some participants may be reluctant to talk about their lives. They may have learned about masculinity through a traumatic experience of male violence, for example. When introducing the activity, remind participants of the importance of taking care of themselves, and suggest that they choose moments for their gender journey that they will feel comfortable discussing with another participant. It is recommended to have trauma resources and/or therapists available to participants, and make this known to all participants at the start of the session.*

When participants are done writing, ask them to find a partner with whom they are comfortable with and share with each other their gender journeys. Allow 10-12 minutes for these pair conversations, then, bring everyone back together. Invite 2-3 volunteers to present their gender journeys to the whole group.

CONTENT: Lead a general discussion on what these gender journeys tell us about what we have learned about masculinity and femininity growing up and how this gender socialization has affected our lives. Use the following questions to prompt discussion

► How have ideas about and expectations of masculinity that you learned growing up benefited you as a man?

► Have these same ideas and expectations of masculinity harmed or limited you in anyways? How?

► How have ideas about masculinity and "what it means to be a man" harmed women in your life?

► How have ideas about and expectations of femininity harmed or limited the lives of women that you know?

► How do these ideas about masculinity and femininity affect women's participation in political life?

During the discussion, remember the following points:

► <u>Gender socialization is an issue for men:</u> This activity emphasizes that gender is an issue for everyone, because everyone learns about gender differences and inequalities growing up. The session helps participants reflect on their own experiences of learning about gender (gender socialization). Personalizing the discussion of gender is especially important because men often think that gender has nothing to do with them. But men's lives are deeply affected by what they learn about masculinity and femininity growing up.

► <u>Gender socialization is complex:</u> Personalizing the discussion of gender helps to reveal the complexities of gender socialization. The ideas and expectations of masculinity and femininity that we learn growing up can vary, depending on economic circumstances, religious teachings, educational level, political conditions (such as, levels of conflict and insecurity) and so on. Because ideas about gender can vary and are changeable, it makes sense to think in terms of a range of masculinities and femininities.

► <u>Participants' stories can highlight the different ways people react to ideas of masculinity and femininity:</u> Gender socialization varies because messages about masculinity and femininity that we hear growing up can vary and because young people respond to what they learn in different ways, sometimes accepting or rejecting those messages.

► <u>Sharing personal stories can help build trust within the group:</u> Beginning the workshop with personal stories helps participants get to know each other better. Personal stories help participants see what they have in common and also the particularities of their own lived experiences.

► <u>Help participants see the value of sharing personal stories:</u> Participants who hold senior positions in the party/organization may be reluctant to share personal stories with more junior staff because they fear it may affect their authority. Remind everyone of the value of sharing of experiences in order to draw on the collective wisdom of the group to address the problems faced by political organizations.

Use key points in Session B1 Handout: The Meaning of Masculinities to sum up this discussion of gender socialization, the meanings of masculinity and femininity, and their impacts on the lives of women and men.

Facilitator ends the session by distributing Session B1 Handout: The Meaning of Masculinities and emphasizing that as gender is learned, it can be changed.

Training Tip 1: This activity focuses on making gender issues personal for men. You can help participants personalize the issues by sharing stories from your own life about how you came to learn about gender and this has affected you.

Training Tip 2: This activity focuses on gender socialization. You can help participants understand the concept of gender socialization by highlighting messages about gender that young people get from different cultural sources (proverbs, religious teachings, the media, etc.).

TOOL BOX B1: GENDER AND ME

► **Session B1: Gender and me**

► **Session B1 Handout: The Meaning of Masculinities**

SESSION B2: AGREE/DISAGREE

The aim of this session is for the participants to reflect on personal, political and societal attitudes towards gender equality and discuss the implications of these attitudes as political institutions address men's attitudes and practices and promote women's political participation.

► Time = 60 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

► In advance: Write the following titles on four pieces of flipchart paper: "Strongly Agree", "Strongly Disagree", "Agree", and "Disagree"and hang them up around the room, leaving enough space between them to allow a group of participants to stand near each one.

CONTENT: Facilitator explains that this session is designed to generate both discussion of, and reflection on, our own and each other's values and attitudes about gender equality and their political organization's work on gender issues. Remind the participants that everyone has a right to their own opinion, and no response is necessarily right or wrong.

ACTIVITY: Explain to participants that you will read aloud a series of statements and that after each one, the participants should go stand by the flipchart paper that best reflects what they think about the statement. After the participants have moved to the sign that best represents their views, have one or two participants beside each sign explain why they are standing there and why they feel this way about the statement.

After a few participants have talked about their attitudes toward the statement, ask if anyone wants to change their mind and move to stand beside another card. Then bring everyone back together and read the next statement, have everyone move to the sign that best represents their views and have one or two participants beside each sign to explain why they are standing there. Repeat these steps for each of the statements you read out.

Following the reading and reactions to each statement, lead a discussion about values and attitudes about gender equality issues within the political organizations in which the participants work. Possible discussion questions:

► Which statements, if any, did you have strong opinions and not very strong opinions about? Why do you think this is so?

► How did it feel to hear about opinions that were different from your own?

► How surprised were you about the similarity/difference of people's views on these statements?

► What does this similarity/difference suggest about the level of consensus within political organizations about whether and how to challenge men's attitudes and practices and promote women's political participation?

Training Tip 1: Remind the group that this is an exercise on listening to others, and reflecting more deeply about our own attitudes and values, rather than deciding and imposing the 'correct' attitude on others.

Training Tip 2: Emphasize that such listening and personal reflection are important steps in any process of change.

TOOL BOX B2: AGREE/DISAGREE

► **Session B2: Agree/Disagree**

► **Agree/Disagree Statements**

SESSION B3 WHY SHOULD MEN CHANGE

The aim of this session is for the participants to identify men's multiple interests in challenging the gendered political practices that exclude women and reflect on personal motivations for working to increase women's greater political participation.

► Time = 60 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

► In advance: Make copies of Session B3 Handout: *Why Should Men Change?*

CONTENT: Facilitator explains the aims of this session while emphasizing that it is important to recognize the range of reasons why men get involved in work to promote women's rights. Knowing these reasons helps us motivate a greater number of men to get involved in such work.

ACTIVITY: Brainstorm with participants some of the reasons why men in the political organization may oppose or not see the benefits of greater women's political participation. As participants call out, write their answers on the flip-chart. Answers may include:

► Sexism: Men may not think women are their equals and do not deserve equal rights to participate fully in political life.

► Ignorance: Men simply do not see the sexism that excludes women from politics.

► Privilege: Men benefit from women's exclusion; if women get more involved in politics, there will be fewer positions for men.

► Fear: Men may fear the reactions of other men if they choose to support women's political participation.

► Inertia: Political organizations are hard to change, and championing women's political participation may seem unrealistic.

► Capacity: Men may support the idea of women's political participation, but don't know how to put this idea into practice.

► Political moment: Men may support the idea of women's political participation, but believe that the current moment is not right to push for this idea to be acted upon.

CONTENT: Explain that an important first step in being able to counter these barriers to women's political participation is to talk with men about the range of reasons why men do get involved in work to challenge patriarchal masculinities and promote women's rights; and what the benefits are for political organizations that champion women's full political participation

► **Personal well-being:** In many ways, men benefit from political, economic and social systems that privilege them. On average, men earn more than women for doing the same work and globally, women spend more time than men do on paid and unpaid work combined. Yet the benefits of these patriarchal privileges also come with costs for many men and boys. Patriarchal masculinities can be bad for men's health. Around the world, on average men have higher death rates from accidents, homicides and suicides, as well as higher levels of drug and alcohol abuse. More generally, less rigidity in the norms of masculinity will allow men more options in how to live their lives and more freedom to fully express themselves emotionally, without having to put up a 'front' of invulnerability and suppress their emotions in order to stay 'in control'. This is likely to bring benefits in terms of psychological well-being and interpersonal relationships.

► **For the benefit of political institutions, democracy and governance:** There are several reasons why men's active support for women's rights and gender equality may benefit political institutions. Supporting the right of women to participate fully in political organizations and processes helps to:

    ➜ Make political institutions more representative of and relevant to the whole community, women as well as men

    ➜ Strengthen political institutions, by drawing on the talents, skills and experiences of women as well as men

    ➜ Sustain political institutions, because women represent 50% of voters and are the most active volunteers for parties, by bringing in women's energies and ideas for change, which thus far have been largely excluded.

    ➜ When women participate, political parties are more responsive to citizens' needs, there is increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines, and more sustainable peace.

    ➜ Women's participation in politics helps advance gender equality and affects both the range of policy issues considered and the types of solutions proposed.

► **For the benefit of women and girls:** Men live in communities and societies, in relationships with others. They have mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, aunts, nieces, women colleagues and women friends; and the quality of their relationships will be damaged if the women in the relationships do not receive fair treatment and respect. Men can see that their lives are damaged, too, by a system of gender inequality that damages the lives of women and girls whom they love and care about.

► **For the benefit of boys and other men:** Witnessing men's violence as a boy is a strong predictor of later perpetration of violence. But such childhood experiences have also led many men to reject patriarchal masculinities, because they want to raise their sons differently than they were raised by their own fathers, with a vision of manhood that rejects violence and domination and embraces gender equality.

► **For human rights and gender equality:** Men also get involved in the struggle for gender equality because it is the right thing to do. Women and girls have the same human rights as men and boys. As long as systematic gender inequalities persist, those who benefit from them have an ethical responsibility to do what they can to change the system. Economic development and social prosperity is hampered when half of the population is not involved. Moreover, violence, both between individuals and groups, is strongly associated with patriarchal masculinities and gender inequalities in economic and political life.

ACTIVITY: Have participants divide into pairs, finding someone they have not already worked with in the workshop today. In their pairs, have each person share a story from their own lives of a man (or boy) who has challenged some aspect of masculinities - in their family life, in the community, at school, in the workplace. In sharing the story, the participants should talk not only about what the man (or boy) did, but why they did it - what motivated them. Encourage participants to think about the different kinds of motivations that men may have for rejecting masculinities and supporting gender equality and women's empowerment.

As the pairs are talking, write on flipchart five columns with the following headings: "For their own benefit", "For the benefit of women and girls in their lives", "For the benefit of boys and other men", "For the benefit of the political institution" and "For human rights and gender equality".

Give the pairs 10-15 minutes to share their stories, and then bring everyone back together. Go around the room, asking participants to share with the whole group highlights from their stories, and particularly the motivations behind men's actions for gender change. Write the motivations in one (or more) of the five columns on the flipchart, according to where it best fits.

When everyone has shared, lead a general discussion of motivations for men to challenge masculinities, reflecting on the five kinds of motivations. Possible questions to ask:

► Thinking about the men in your own lives, which kinds of motivations have been the most significant for men to challenge masculinities?

► For the men in your political organization, which motivations should you focus on?

► For the leadership of your political organization, which motivations should you focus on?

► What would you say to your male political leaders about the benefits of women's greater political participation?

Facilitator ends the session by distributing Session B3 Handout: *Why Should Men Change?* , emphasizing the multiple interests that men have in challenging masculinities in political life, and the importance of highlighting these in work with men on gender equality within political institutions and processes.

Training Tip 1: The information contained in the Session B3 Handout is useful but general. Make the information more relevant for participants by adding local information. This could include survey data and research findings relating to the harms of masculinities for the economy and society as a whole.

Training Tip 2: If you have more time, you can end this session with a role play activity, in which participants get the chance to practice talking to other men about the many benefits of challenging men's attitudes and behaviors.

TOOL BOX B3: WHY SHOULD MEN CHANGE?

► **Session B3: Why Should Men Change?**

► **Session B3 Handout: Why Should Men Change?**

SESSION B4 CHANGES IN MASCULINITIES

The aim of this session is to explore generational changes in the social expectations of men and boys and their implications for changing patriarchal masculinities.

► Time = 75 minutes

► Materials needed: None

CONTENT: Facilitator presents key concepts that will be used in this session including the social expectations of manhood. In many societies, the following three roles (the Three P's Model of Masculinity) are taken to be the most significant expressions or markers of manhood, which it is expected that men fulfill:

► Provider: the ability to materially provide for the family.

► Procreator: the ability to sexually attract women, procreate and be a father.

► Protector: the ability to protect the family and community.

Generational change shows that over time, these roles may have changed in response to changing political, economic and cultural conditions. The social expectations of manhood for our grandfathers' generation were probably different in some ways than they are for us, or for our sons. The fact that these social expectations have changed reminds us that such expectations are changeable.

There has been positive change toward ending patriarchal masculinities. Understanding how social expectations of manhood have changed in the past can help us to identify ways to change ideas about and practices of masculinity now and for the future, in order to end masculinities and promote equal and respectful gender relations.

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ACTIVITY: Divide the participants into four groups: Grandfathers, Fathers, Men Now, Sons. The tasks for each group: Create a short (5 minutes or less) role play showing

► How important were/are/will be each of the Three P's (Provider, Procreator, Protector roles) as markers of manhood for the specific members of your own families/communities and what were the pressures on men to conform to these roles?

► What happened to men who were/are unable to live up to these roles?

► What happened/happens/will happen to men who chose not to conform to these roles but instead chose to live equal and respectful lives with women?

Allow the groups up to 15 minutes to discuss and create their role plays, then bring the groups back together. Invite the Grandfathers' group and then the Fathers' group to run their role plays, and then debrief with the following questions:

► How significant were the roles of Provider, Procreator, Protector for your grandfathers' and fathers' generation?

► In what ways did these roles rely on and reinforce ideas about and practices of patriarchal masculinities?

► In what ways did your fathers and grandfathers, or the men you know from their generations, not conform to the stereotypes? How did people respond to them?

► What happened to men who were unable to live up to these roles?

► What happened to men who chose not to conform to these roles but instead chose to live equal and respectful lives with women? How common was this?

► In what ways did these roles change from your grandfathers' to your fathers' generation? Why did they change? What do these changes tell us about how to challenge and change patriarchal masculinities now?

Next, invite the Men Now group and then the Sons' group to run their role plays, and then debrief with the following questions:

► How significant are the roles of Provider, Procreator, Protector for you now and for your sons?

► In what ways do these roles rely on and reinforce ideas about and practices of patriarchal masculinities? How do these roles affect women's experiences in the political organization?

► What happens to men who are unable to live up to these roles?

► What happens to men who choose not to conform to these roles but instead choose to live equal and respectful lives with women? How common is this? How can we support you and other men like you to choose to live equal and respectful lives with women?

► In what ways, if at all, are these social expectations of manhood changing for your sons? Why are they changing? What do these changes tell us about how to challenge and change patriarchal masculinities now?

Facilitator ends the session by summarizing what has been discussed in terms of the importance of and ways to challenge and change masculinities now.

Training Tip: The activity is designed to be used with a male-only group. If you are working with a mixed-gender group of participants, the generational groups could be renamed "Grandparents", "Parents", "Men and Women Now", and "Children".

NOTE: There's often a significant gap between what men perceive to be other men's attitudes and experiences and their own, and that they usually overestimate conformity to stereotypical roles. Depending on the audience, you may want to include questions that ask men what they themselves think rather than what they think other men think.

There can be value in exploring the more diverse set of ways in which men lived their lives, including the manifestations of equitable behavior (how they supported their daughters, had a more complex emotional life, etc) so as to create more space for actual stories of divergence from stereotypical manhood. Without this second set of stories, gender equality can feel like a foreign enterprise and one that's more difficult to imagine.

TOOL BOX B4: CHANGES IN MASCULINITIES

▶ **Session B4: Changes in masculinities**

MODULE C: POLITICIZE

After personalizing the discussion of gender norms and masculinities, it is equally important to build on this personal connection by strengthening men's understanding of the broader contexts and dynamics of gender norms, as they affect the organizations they work in, the communities they live in and the societies to which they belong. The broader political perspective is needed to change social norms, and not merely individual attitudes and behaviors. Changing gender norms involves work for social change, and this inevitably involves politics. This political dimension is especially important for work on men's attitudes and practices within political organizations, in terms of being able to identify the specific issues of political will, space and capacity to make change.

SESSION C1 GENDER NORMS AND PRESSURES

The aim of this session is to understand better the impact of masculinity and femininity norms on the lives of men and women and to identify the ways in which these gender norms affect women's political participation.

► Time = 90 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

CONTENT: Facilitator explains the importance of looking more closely at the norms and pressures of masculinity and femininity in order to understand barriers to women's political participation.

ACTIVITY: Divide the large group into smaller groups of five-six people each. Options for dividing into smaller groups include: By age or level of seniority; By geographical location where staff work or live; By gender. If there are a sufficient number of women in the training, invite them to form their own small group.

Give each group four sheets of flipchart paper and a marker. Have each group draw a large box on two of its sheets of paper, marking one box "The Man Box" and the other "The Woman Box". The other two sheets of paper will be used to share how expectations of masculinity and femininity differ based on age, marital status, economic circumstances, educational level, etc.

Have each group discuss the following questions for about 30 minutes, writing down their answers inside the box except as indicated below:

For The Man Box:

► What are the messages that men get about what it means to be a man?

► What are the social expectations of masculinity that men are supposed live up to?

► In what ways are these messages and social expectations of masculinity different for different groups of men (based on age, marital status, economic circumstances, educational level and so on)? Write these on a separate piece of paper.

► How do men benefit from conforming to these messages and social expectations?

► How are men harmed by conforming to these messages and social expectations?

► How are women harmed by the expectations of manhood held by men?

► What happens to men who do not or cannot conform to these social expectations and messages? Write these outside the box.

For The Woman Box:

▶ What are the messages that women get about what it means to be a woman?

▶ What are the social expectations of femininity that women are supposed to live up to?

▶ In what ways are these messages and social expectations of femininity different for different groups of women (based on age, marital status, economic circumstances, educational level and so on)? Write these on a separate piece of paper.

▶ How do women benefit from conforming to these messages and social expectations?

▶ How are women harmed by conforming to these messages and social expectations?

▶ What happens to women who do not or cannot conform to these social expectations and messages? Write these outside the box.

After 30 minutes, or when the small groups have finished their work, bring the groups back together and ask each group to present their Gender Boxes.

CONTENT: Facilitator presents information about masculinities in practice.

▶ **Staying inside their Gender Box harms women:** Norms and expectations of men and women disempower women and girls, promote violence against them and deny them their human rights.

▶ **The Man Box limits men's lives and opportunities, and is bad for men and women:** Many of the messages/pressures associated with the Man Box emphasize the superiority of masculinity over femininity and the authority of men over women. This Gender Box imposes narrow and restrictive gender roles on men that ignore and deny their emotional, physical and spiritual needs. It socializes men into violence, hierarchy and aggressive heterosexuality and uses them as 'foot soldiers' in maintaining the patriarchal system of domination.

▶ **In many societies, there is a lot of pressure on men to conform to the norms and expectations of patriarchal masculinities:** Men can be pressured to behave in certain ways that can go against who they actually are and what they actually feel or desire. Many men feel unable to express feelings of sadness or insecurity openly because such feelings are associated with being 'like a woman'; men are supposed to be tough and confident. In many places, it is okay for men to express their feelings of anger because such feelings are seen as masculine, but other forms of emotional expression are denied to them. These emotional restrictions deny men their full humanity.

▶ **Living inside our Gender Boxes is a daily practice:** Men act in certain 'masculine' ways that are considered to be appropriate for their gender, so that they can be considered as 'real men'. Few men want to be called effeminate or weak. Every day, men and boys make choices about how they will present and practice their masculinity. For example, a man may speak softly and gently when he speaks with his young daughter, but when he is with his son or male friends he is loud and aggressive. This tells us that masculinity is a daily practice – a living and dynamic process and not set in stone: it can be changed and transformed.

▶ **Violence keeps people in their Gender Boxes:** Violence is a widespread and everyday experience in the lives of women and girls in many societies; it is usually perpetrated by men and boys. Physical, sexual and emotional violence, and the threat of such violence, against women and girls keeps them in a subordinate position; such violence maintains the subordinate femininities of the Woman Box. Violence also keeps men in their Man Box. Men who are perceived as 'weak' or 'feminine' and particularly those who desire sex with other men face humiliation, bullying, and violence in many societies. Violence is also often a feature of induction into military and law enforcement organizations. One way to define gender-based violence is as the violence that maintains the Gender Boxes.

► **Gender Boxes are evolving but still restrictive:** There are many factors and forces that define and maintain the Gender Boxes: history and custom; prevailing gender norms, laws and policies that continue to discriminate against women and girls; divisions of labor in the home and work-place based on gender; differing levels of educational opportunities and access to resources; and the socialization of boys into violence. These factors and forces are changing, and many societies have witnessed dramatic changes in the lives of men and women in recent decades; from increases in girls' school enrollment to women's growing presence in the formal workforce. This means that the messages and pressures of the Gender Boxes are also evolving. The meaning and expectations of masculinity for many young men today may differ from that of their fathers and grandfathers. But the idea persists that there is a male Gender Box to which men must conform and a female Gender Box to which women must conform.

► **Stepping outside the Gender Boxes is difficult - men need skills and support to do so:** This training focuses on helping men to challenge masculinities in politics by stepping outside of their Gender Box. Some men are already doing this in different ways, from supporting girls' education, to integrating gender into elections processes and campaigning with women for gender-based violence legislation. There may be many reasons why men and boys choose to reject masculinities and step outside of their Gender Box. But doing so can often be difficult, not least because of the social pressure to conform to social expectations. This pressure may be felt in many situations, from interpersonal relationships to organizational 'cultures', for example in political parties.

► **Men who do step outside the Gender Box may be laughed at for not being "real men":** Men who actively support the advancement of their female colleagues in elected bodies or civil society organizations may be criticized by their male colleagues for being "anti-man". Even when they see that it is the right thing to do, it can be hard for men to step outside their Gender Box. This reaffirms the importance of not only building men's confidence and capacity to challenge patriarchal masculinities, but also supporting them to sustain their commitment and deal with the resistance they may face in doing so, not only from other men but also from some women in their lives.

ACTIVITY: Discuss these issues and those brought forward during the group presentations using the following questions:

► How do these messages about and social expectations of masculinity and femininity reinforce men's power and women's subordination?

► How do these messages about and social expectations of masculinity and femininity affect the behavior of men and women in your party/organization?

► How do these messages about and social expectations of femininity limit women's lives and affect their participation in political life?

► How do these messages about and social expectations of masculinity benefit men, in terms of their personal lives and their involvement in political life?

► In what ways do these messages about and social expectations of masculinity limit or restrict men, in terms of their personal lives and their involvement in political life? What incentives do men have to reject messages about and social expectations of masculinity?

► In what ways do women refuse to conform to messages and social expectations of femininity that harm their lives? What happens to women who refuse to conform to harmful gender norms of femininity? How can men support women who refuse to conform to harmful gender norms of femininity?

► In what ways do men refuse to conform to messages and social expectations of masculinity that limit their lives? What happens to men who refuse to conform to restrictive gender norms of masculinity? How can men support other men to refuse to conform to restrictive gender norms of masculinity?

CONTENT: The Meanings of Power. Power has several different meanings; it is not always negative and not just about control and domination. At the most basic level, power is about the ability to do something or get something done; whether directly (doing it oneself) or indirectly (by influencing other persons). There are different types of power and many ways of exercising it.

► Power-over: This refers to the ability of those with more control over material, human, intellectual and financial resources to affect the lives, actions and thoughts of those with less access to and control over such resources. Power-over is the most commonly recognized form of power, and is associated with hierarchy, repression, force, coercion, discrimination, corruption, and abuse. Social hierarchies are about power-over, based on social divisions linked to gender, age, caste, class, ethnicity/race, nationality, and sexuality and reinforced by the law, the economy, the family, religion, education, and the media. At its most basic, power-over operates to privilege certain people (e.g. men) while marginalizing others (e.g. women); it means the power that one person or group uses to control another person or group.

► Power-over and patriarchal masculinities: In patriarchal societies, men are granted power over women and girls and gender inequalities are the result of this gendered power-over system. Patriarchal masculinities are about power-over, being those norms and practices of masculinity that enforce the subordination of women and less socially-dominant men, and the marginalization of gender and sexual minorities.

► Power-within: This potential for power is linked with gaining the sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness that is a precondition for action; gaining a greater sense of power within. Power-within has to do with a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge, and the capacity to imagine and have hope about exercising their rights to dignity and agency in their lives. Gender equality work is often focused on strengthening women's and girls' sense of power-within. The willingness and ability of men and boys to get involved in work challenging patriarchal masculinities often depends on their own sense of power-within, not least when it comes to challenging the norms in which they have been raised.

► Power-to: This is a very different understanding of power, as the unique potential of every person to shape his or her life and world. Education, training and leadership development for social justice are based on the belief that each individual has the power to make a difference; which can be multiplied by new skills, knowledge, awareness and confidence. Power-to is the capacity to act and to realise the potential of rights, citizenship or voice. Much of the focus of work on women's empowerment has been to strengthen women's and girls' power-to capacity.

► Power-with: This refers to the collective power which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building. Power-with has to do with finding common ground to strengthen collective action, based on mutual support, solidarity, and collaboration. Working with men to foster their power-with collaborations with women is critical for addressing gender inequalities.

Facilitator ends the session by making the following points: 1) The Man Box and the Woman Box are based on a power-over model of human relationships; and 2) In order to change this and promote women's greater political participation, we need to focus on other models of power: women's power-within and power-to, and the collective power-with of women and men working together to end patriarchal practices.

Training Tip 1: This session can be very effective in helping men understand the harmful impacts of norms of femininity on the lives of women, and the benefits men gain from conforming to norms of masculinity. You can highlight the contrast between women's and men's experiences of gender norms by placing the Woman Box and Man Box side-by-side, and look at the differences between them in terms of impacts of norms.

Training Tip 2: It is likely that you will be leading this session with an all-male group. Men may find it difficult to do the Woman Box, because they do not fully appreciate the harms that women suffer from norms of femininity. Thus, it is important to emphasize that this activity looks at men's perceptions of the impact of gender norms on women. You can enhance the discussion by sharing any information, research and personal testimonies that you have about the harmful impacts of gender norms on women, especially in relation to political organizations and processes.

TOOL BOX C1: GENDER NORMS AND PRESSURES

- ► **Session C1: Gender norms and pressures**
- ► **Patriarchal Masculinities in Practice**
- ► **The Meanings of Power**
- ► **Session C1: Notes for the Facilitator**

SESSION C2 GENDER JOURNEYS IN POLITICS

The aims of this session are to identify key moments during women's political journey when attitudes, behaviors and gender-based discrimination has harmed them and limited their participation, and to specify actions that men can take, together with women, to intervene at these key moments to increase women's political participation.

- ► Time = 75 minutes
- ► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens; sticky notes
- ► In advance: Gather women's personal testimonies and collect local research and data about the discrimination and violence women face in political life

CONTENT: Facilitator shares research and evidence that shows the extent of the sexism, gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence that women face in political life, from the moment they decide they want to get involved. Where possible, refer to research and evidence from the country/region in which the workshop is being done.

Emphasize how important it is for men to look closely at women's experiences of sexism, gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence in political life in order to better understand both the extent of the problem, and the roles they can play in challenging discrimination and violence in order to increase women's political participation.

Explain the concept of the "gender journey" - the "journey" refers to a timeline of women's experiences of being in political life or part of a political organization, from the moment they decided they wanted to be involved until now. The term "gender journey" will be used to think and talk about the ways in which women's experiences of being in politics has been affected by their gender and the discrimination and violence they have faced as a result.

ACTIVITY: Draw a road or path on flipchart paper, explaining that this will show women's "gender journey". Brainstorm with the group the different moments on this journey when women could experience gender-based discrimination and/or violence that limits their political participation. Examples of these key moments might include:

► Ideas about/attitudes towards women's participation in politics during childhood in your own family and/or school

► Decision to take place in a public political event (rally, meeting)

► Decision to join a political party

► Selection as candidate

► Promotion to leadership or more senior position

► Participation in formal and informal decision-making process

► Participation in leadership structures (executive committees, caucuses)

Refer to the available research evidence, from your country and elsewhere, to highlight the nature and extent of the discrimination and/or violence that women face at each of these moments on their gender journey in political life. If you have gathered personal testimonies from women in the political organization beforehand, share some examples of their testimonies for each of these key moments.

Divide participants into smaller groups of four-six people each. Have each small group choose one of these key moments to work on; ensure that each of the key moments has at least one small group working on it. Each small group should then spend the next 15 minutes discussing their key moment, noting their answers to the following questions on sticky notes:

► What kinds of discrimination and/or violence might a woman face at this moment?

► Which men (and other women) are involved in perpetrating this discrimination and/or violence?

► Which aspects of the political organizational culture allow this discrimination and/or violence to continue and deter women and men from taking action to stop it?

► What could other men do at this moment to challenge this discrimination and/or violence and support women?

When the small groups have completed their discussions, bring everyone back together. Invite each small group to present to the rest of the participants their answers to the four questions, by placing their sticky notes on the 'gender journey' that is drawn on flipchart paper. When all the small groups have reported back, lead a general discussion about:

► The different kinds of discrimination and/or violence that women face at different stages of their gender journey in political life. Refer to any personal testimonies from women that you have gathered beforehand to ensure that this discussion reflects the realities of women's experiences. Make the distinction between direct/personal sexism and discrimination and indirect/organizational sexism and discrimination. Ask participants to share stories from their own lives about this.

► The different kinds of men involved in perpetrating discrimination and/or violence. This may include family and community members, colleagues in the political organization, as well as political leaders in and out of the political organization.

► The different aspects of the political organizational culture which allow sexism, discrimination and/or violence to continue and which deter women and men from taking action to stop it. Make the distinction between formal aspects (e.g. a lack of policy or a failure to implement policy) and informal aspects (e.g. a culture of impunity) and stress that both need to be addressed. ***NOTE:*** *Subsequent sessions will look more closely at how to do this.*

► The different kinds of actions that men can take to challenge sexism, discrimination and/or violence and support women. Emphasize the importance of men working together with women to do this. **NOTE:** *More will be said about this in a later session.* Ask participants to share stories from their own lives of examples of men taking action with women to challenge sexism, discrimination and/or violence.

Facilitator ends the session by reminding the group of the importance of listening to women's experiences of their gender journeys in politics, and that a later session will focus on listening as the first step to take action to stop sexism, discrimination and/or violence.

TOOL BOX C2: GENDER JOURNEYS IN POLITICS

► **Session C2: Gender journeys in politics**

► **Session C2: Notes for the Facilitator**

SESSION C3 GENDER AT WORK

The aims of this session are to review the ways in which masculinities and femininities affect the culture of the political organization and to identify actions that can be taken in response to specific incidents of harmful behavior within the organization in order to change its culture.

► Time = 60 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens; sticky notes

► In advance: Adapt gender at work scenarios to the workshop context; write the titles of the scenarios on individual sticky notes; write a line on a flipchart paper with "Most realistic/relevant" on one end and "Least realistic/relevant" on the other end.

CONTENT: Facilitator presents the aims of the session and gender a work scenarios:

► **Leadership:** A recently promoted female senior leader in the political organization feels that she has to act 'like a man' in order to be taken seriously as a manager. She senses that many people in the office do not associate women with strong leadership.

► **Participation:** A recently elected female politician is becoming increasingly frustrated at her male colleagues talking over her in meetings and claiming her ideas as their own. She complains to a senior male official about this sexism, but he tells her not to be so sensitive, and that she will have to fight to be listened to just as he had to.

► **Child care:** A male politician wants to spend more time with his young baby while his wife goes back to work, but he is told that won't be possible because only women can take leave for child care responsibilities. And as one of his male colleagues says, "if you take time off for children, you will give the impression you are under the control of your wife!"

► **Child care:** Women politicians are unable to make some meetings–especially those in the early morning and late afternoon–because the organization schedules meetings when many women have family responsibilities.

► **Sexual discrimination:** A male senior politician only hires attractive women administrative staff because, he says, a pretty woman helps to make the workplace "a more pleasant environment".

► **Sexual entitlement:** A male politician reacts angrily when a female colleague rejects his sexual advances. He tells his male colleagues that he feels this woman has been leading him on by the way she was dressing and by her friendliness toward him so she has no right to turn him down now.

► **Sexual harassment:** A female staff member in the political organization complains to colleagues that she is being sexually harassed by her male manager. Some colleagues, both men and women, feel that she is making up the story in order to get attention for herself. Others blame her for the abuse because she does not dress 'modestly' like the other women in the office do.

► **Domestic violence:** A female politician returns to work after an absence, doing her best to hide the bruising on her face. Most of her colleagues, men and women, say nothing, even though they know that the woman's husband has been violent with her in the past. They feel that she should be more careful about not provoking her husband and has only herself to blame.

► **After hours socializing:** Women are left out of important discussions and decisions because they happen when men socialize after-hours over drinks in venues and at times that are not accessible to women.

ACTIVITY: Divide participants into smaller groups based on the number of scenarios that are being used; each small group should work on their own scenario. Give the smaller groups 20 minutes to discuss their respective scenarios and answering the following questions:

► How realistic do this scenario feel for your political organizational context?

► If realistic, what does it tell us about the ways in which masculinities and femininities play out in the culture of the political organization?

► If not so realistic, what would be a more relevant scenario for the theme on the card?

► What is the political organization already doing to address this type of harmful behavior?

► What should the political organization be doing to address this type of harmful behavior?

► What can you do as men to improve the response of the political organization to this type of harmful behavior?

When the small groups have completed their discussions, bring everyone back together and a representative of each to put their scenario sticky note on the appropriate place on the continuum. As they do so, ask them to share the highlights from their discussion about their scenario.

Lead a large group discussion of the scenarios, with the following questions:

► Which are the most realistic scenarios and why?

► Reflecting on these scenarios, what is the political organization already doing to make its internal culture respectful of and not harmful to women?

► Reflecting on these scenarios, what more could the political organization be doing to make its internal culture respectful of and not harmful to women?

► What can you do as men to improve the response of the political organization to the harmful behaviors presented in these scenarios?

Facilitator ends the session by reminding the group that changing the internal culture of the political organization is unlikely to be quick or easy, but it will only happen if more men step up and take a stand against harmful behaviors and the patriarchal culture which they express.

Training Tip 1: The scenarios may provoke defensive reactions from the workshop participants. They may claim that none of the scenarios are realistic. This defensiveness can itself be a learning opportunity. As the facilitator, you can use participants' defensive reactions as an opening to discuss the relative invisibility to men of the problems of everyday sexism faced by women.

Training Tip 2: This activity is a valuable opportunity to use available research, by NDI and others, which is specific to your context to inform participants about the problems of gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment and violence faced by women in political life.

TOOL BOX C3: GENDER AT WORK

► **Session C3: Gender @ Work**

► **Session C3: Gender @ Work Scenarios**

► **Gender at Work Scenarios for Internal Workshops**

SESSION C4 ALLY VERSUS PROTECTOR

The aims of this session are to clarify the difference between the "ally" and the "protector" roles as men take action to challenge gender injustice/inequalities and promote women's political full participation and to identify the reasons why men should take action as an ally and rather than acting as a protector.

► Time = 75 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

► In advance: Think about personal stories about being an ally to women and what this involved

CONTENT: Facilitator presents the aims of the session and explains that one way to explore what it means for men to ally with women in challenging masculinities is for men to recall experiences from their own lives when they have felt supported by other men.

ACTIVITY: Have participants take five minutes to recall an experience from their own lives when they were facing a problem, and another man supported them in dealing with it.

After five minutes, have participants divide into pairs with someone with whom they will feel comfortable sharing their story. Explain that each person will have four minutes to share their story with their partner, and that you will announce when it is time for participants to swap roles.

After eight minutes (when both partners in each pair have shared their stories), bring everyone back together to debrief the stories and what we can learn from them about being an ally. Use the following questions:

► What did the other person do to help you feel supported in dealing with the problem that you were facing?

► In what ways did the other person's support build your own confidence and ability to deal with the problem that you were facing?

CONTENT: What does it mean to be an ally? An ally is someone who:

► Acts in support of or in coalition with someone else

► Reinforces, rather than reduces, the power and ability of this person or group

► Reflects on their own complicity in systems of power and commits to changing themselves and the systems that grant them power[37]

An ally is typically a member of advantaged social groups who uses their social power to take a stand against injustice directed at targeted groups (e.g., white people who resist racist policies, men who challenge sexist language and behavior and the social systems that produce them). An ally works to be an agent of social change rather than an agent of oppression.

Recall the discussion of power-over relationships from the Gender Boxes activity. Explain that it is important to think about the different meanings of power in thinking about what it means to be an ally. This means that for men who want to ally with women in challenging patriarchal power-over relations, it is important that they act in ways that build power-with relations with women and that do not, explicitly or implicitly, reinforce power-over relations.

ACTIVITY: Break participants into five or six smaller groups. Have each small group discuss a scenario from their own experience, or one that could happen in their own political organization, in which a man thought he was being an ally to women's struggle for greater political participation, but was, in fact, undermining women's power-within and power-to and not building power-with relations with women. In developing their scenarios, have each group discuss the following questions:

► What did the man do and not do that helped to reinforce rather than reduce power-over relations between men and women?

► How could the man have better supported women's power-within and power-to?

► How could the man have behaved in ways which helped to strengthen power-with relations with women in their struggles for greater political participation?

Allow the small groups 15-20 minutes for their work, and then bring everyone back together. Invite the small groups to report back on their conversations, and their answers to the three questions.

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37   Ann Russo, Feminist Accountability

CONTENT: What are the characteristics of an effective male ally? Becoming a male ally is an ongoing process, and not a state of being – it is something we must always continue to do. It requires working together to learn and practice the skills necessary to intervene in patriarchal statements, behaviors, policies and structures that harm, exploit or oppress women and members of gender and sexual minorities. An effective male ally:

► Listens to and respects the perspectives and experiences of targeted group members

► Is accountable to the people with whom they are allying

► Is willing to be confronted about own behavior and attitudes and consider change

► Takes responsibility for learning about own and targeted group experience, and how gender oppression works in everyday life

► Recognizes that unlearning oppressive beliefs and actions is a life-long process, not a single event, and welcomes each learning opportunity

► Acknowledges unearned male privileges received as a result of advantaged status and works to eliminate or change privileges into rights that targeted group members also enjoy

► Is willing to take risks, try new behaviors, make mistakes and learn from them, act in spite of own fear and resistance from other advantaged group members

► Believes they can make a difference by acting and speaking out against injustice

► Acts against social injustice that targets others because it is in their self-interest to do so (as well as in the interest of targeted group members)

► Takes care of self to avoid burn-out

► Knows how to cultivate support from other allies

In most societies, the social expectations of masculinity with which boys grow up to be men emphasize that a man must be strong (emotionally as well as physically) because women are weak and in need of protection. These norms of masculinity send the message that masculinity equals strength and that femininity equals weakness. This message is a patriarchal message because it denies women their power (power-within and power-to). By insisting that power is masculine, it reinforces men's power-over relations with women.

When men take on the role of being a protector of women, they reinforce this power-over situation by acting on behalf of women (reinforcing the idea that women cannot act on their own behalf) rather than acting with women to change a harmful situation. In order to secure greater political participation, women need men to be allies rather than protectors. Being a male ally involves listening to and working with women to address the barriers to their political Involvement and progress, rather than taking on the role of protector and trying to solve the problem for women.

Facilitator ends the session by briefly reviewing the scenarios from the small group work, highlighting the ways in which men can be allies to women in each scenario by supporting women's power-within and power-to, and working to strengthen power-with relations with women in their struggles for greater political participation.

Training Tip: Training Tip: This session uses storytelling to help participants understand the meaning of "being an ally" and to relate this to their own lives. You can help participants with this by sharing your own stories about being an ally to women and what this involved. Make sure that any story you tell brings out at least some of the key points about what it means to be an effective ally.

TOOL BOX C4: ALLY VS PROTECTOR

MODULE D: STRATEGIZE

A broader political perspective is necessary if we are to change gender norms, and not merely individual attitudes and behaviors. Changing gender norms involves work for social change, and this inevitably involves politics. This political dimension is especially important for work on men's attitudes and practices within political organizations that limit, deter and/or exclude women's full political participation, in terms of being able to identify the specific issues of political will, space and capacity to make change. In both personalizing and politicizing issues of gender norms, as they affect political organizations and processes, we are then in a position to collectively strategize for how to change them.

SESSION D1 ACTIVE LISTENING

The aims of this session are to create a better understanding of the importance of men listening to women's experiences, requests and demands as a first step in taking action to increase women's political participation and to practice active listening skills.

► Time = 45 minutes

► Materials needed: None

CONTENT: Facilitator explains that listening to those most affected by a social problem is a necessary first step in strategizing to address it in order to be guided by their experiences and recommendations. To deal with problems of men's attitudes and practices on gender equality, as they show up in the political organizations and society as a whole, it is essential for men to listen to those most affected, namely women and gender and sexual minorities.

Listening is a skill; it can be practiced and improved. This session will discuss and practice the skills of "active listening". To start, it should be noted that active listening means listening with the whole body and not only the ears.

ACTIVITY: Have participants divide into pairs and sit back-to-back. Have one member of the pair speak about any subject for two to three minutes while their partner listens. Then swap the roles.

Briefly discuss how the participants felt to listen to someone when they could not see them and what it was like to be listened to by someone whom they could not see.

Have participants go back into their pairs, but this time have the two people sit facing each other. Repeat the exercise, with one person speaking and the other listening and then swap the roles for two to three minutes each.

Briefly discuss the differences between listening to each other back-to-back and listening to each other face-to-face. Discussion points:

► What did it feel like to not be able to see the person you were talking to? To what extent did you feel heard or nor heard?

► In the face-to-face part of the exercise, what did it feel like to see and be seen by the person listening to you? What did they do with their eyes, and their whole body, to show that they were listening to you?

CONTENT: Active listening is a basic skill in any process of change. It helps people feel that they are being heard and understood. Active listening helps people share their experiences,thoughts, and feelings openly. It is a way of showing others that their own ideas are valuable and important when it comes to solving their problems.

Listening well is about paying attention and respect. This is important in any human interaction, but especially in any process of organizational change where people may have different views about the issues being discussed. Mutual learning happens best in situations where people feel heard. This may be particularly important when talking with men about issues of masculinities, issues about which they may feel defensive or ashamed.

Active listening encourages a more open communication of experiences, thoughts and feelings. Active listening involves:

► Using body language to show interest and understanding. In most cultures, this will include nodding your head and turning your body to face the person who is speaking.

► Showing interest in and understanding of what is being said. This may include looking directly at the person who is speaking. In some places, such direct eye contact may not be appropriate until the people speaking and listening have established some trust.

► Listening not only to what is said, but to how it is said, by paying attention to the speaker's body language.

► Asking questions of the person who is speaking, in order to show that you want to understand.

In many cultures, men are accustomed to speaking and being listened to, especially by women. In many cultures women are expected to listen more and speak less, especially in the company of men. This sense of entitlement that men can feel to speak and be listened to is an important aspect of masculinities. By the same token, the lack of entitlement that women may feel when it comes to speaking openly about issues affecting them is an important aspect of femininities.

Think in broad terms about how 'body language' can be used to show that you are listening carefully to someone. None of these approaches to listening are culturally 'neutral'. In some cultures, making clear eye contact while listening may be interpreted as a sign of rudeness or intimacy, for example. The meaning of particular practices may be affected by the relative status of the people involved; a younger person maintaining direct eye contact with an older person while speaking may, once again, be interpreted as being disrespectful. It will be important to discuss these cultural aspects of active listening in ways that are specific and relevant to the context in which you are working.

ACTIVITY: Brainstorm with the group the main reasons why many men don't listen carefully enough to women's experiences of masculinities, both inside political organizations and in society as a whole.

Invite participants to share their own experiences of witnessing 1) a man not listening to a woman when she was speaking at a political meeting and how that affected the woman and 2) a man showing good active listening skills in listening to a woman when she was speaking at a political meeting and how that affected the woman.

Facilitator ends the session by briefly discussing with the group what men can do to challenge and support other men to listen to women, in order to be guided by their experiences and recommendations in challenging men's attitudes and practices that limit women's full political participation.

TOOL BOX D1: ACTIVE LISTENING

► **Session D1: Active Listening**

► **Session D1: Notes for the Facilitator**

SESSION D2 VISIONING CHANGE

The aims of this session are to appreciated the progress the political organization has made on increasing women's political participation, to identify the issues on which the political organization needs to do more work, and to share the participants' visions of the future for the political organization that includes women and men fully and equally involved at all levels of decision-making and leadership

► Time = 75 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

CONTENT: Facilitator explains the 5-D process for visioning change that offers a generative yet practical model for discussing organizational change:

► **Define: Specifying the focus of change** – It is important to define the overall focus of the change process. Being clear and specific about which aspect of masculinities within the political organization we want to change is an essential first step in visioning a process of change.

► **Discover: Appreciating the best of what is already being done** – The next step in visioning change is to get clear on what is already being done to address this aspect of masculinities within the political organization, in order to highlight and learn from ongoing work, and its strengths and successes.

► **Dream: Imagining 'what could be'** – The next step is to imagine new possibilities and envisage a desired future. This allows people to identify their dreams for the organization: what they want it to be like and act like in the future. In this Dream phase, we have the opportunity to think about and speak about our wishes, hopes and aspirations for the future.

► **Design: Determining 'what should be'** – Design brings together the stories from Discover with the imagination and creativity from Dream. This brings the 'best of what is' together with 'what might be' in order to outline 'what should be'. In this Design phase, we get the chance to outline specific changes we want to see made in order to challenge the aspect of masculinities within the political organization about which we are concerned.

► **Deliver: Creating 'what will be'** – The fifth stage in the 5-D process identifies how the changes specified in Design will be achieved. In this Design phase, we have the opportunity to outline the specific steps we want to see taken in order to achieve the changes specified in Design.

ACTIVITY: Divide the participants into smaller groups of six to eight people. Have each group take 30 minutes to use the 5-D Process, and create a vision of changing a specific aspect of masculinities in the political organization, based on the issues already discussed in the workshop so far. Have each group write on flipchart paper the details they discuss for each of the five phases: Define, Discover, Dream, Design, Deliver.

After 30 minutes, bring the small groups back together, and ask them to present their 5-D Process of challenging patriarchal masculinities in the party/organization. After each report back, allow a few minutes for questions from other participants.

When all the small groups have reported back, lead a general discussion on:

► Define: Which aspects of men's attitudes and practices in the political or

► ganization are the most important and urgent to address?

► Discover: What can we learn from what is already being done? What strengths and successes can we build on?

► Dream: What is our vision of gender relations in the political organization being based on relations of

power-to and power-with, rather than the power-over relations of masculinities?

▶ Design: What are the specific changes in the everyday practices of the political organization that would express these gender relations of power-to and power-with?

▶ Deliver: What specific actions can we take to achieve these changes?

> **Training Tip:** The facilitator may have a lot more trouble getting participants to talk about behaviors than formal commitments. Participants may go straight to, "we passed a quota," but have a lot more difficulty stopping on "do we actually treat women equally." Facilitators should be prepared to probe this issue with guiding questions from above.

Facilitator ends the session by thanking participants for visioning the changes they want to see.

> ## TOOL BOX D2: VISIONING CHANGE
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> ▶ **Session D2: Visioning Change**
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> ▶ **Session D2: The 5-D Process for Visioning Change**

SESSION D3 GENDER AT WORK STRATEGIES

The aims of this session are to understand the different domains of organizational change and identify actions to challenge masculinities within each domain of change.

▶ Time = 90 minutes

▶ Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

▶ In advance: Make copies of Session D3 Handout1: *Domains of Change* and Session D3 Handout2: *Strategies for Change*

CONTENT: Facilitator explains that this session will look more closely at what is involved in trying to achieve change within the political organization, in order to better increase women's political participation and progress. This session will help participants identify the range of strategies that may be required to address problems of masculinities.

Using Session D3 Handout1: *Domains of Change* explain that the Domains of Change model emphasizes that such power-over gender relations operate in two dimensions: from the individual to the institutional level and from the formal to the informal. Understanding the operations of power in these two dimensions highlights four domains in which power-over gender relations operate:

▶ Formal/Institutional: Patriarchal power-over operates through laws, policies, budgets

▶ Formal/Individual: Patriarchal power-over operates through denying or restricting access to rights and resources

▶ Informal/Individual: Patriarchal power-over operates through people's discriminatory attitudes, beliefs and practices

▶ Informal/Institutional: Patriarchal power-over operates through cultural traditions, social pressures and discriminatory norms

Using Session D3 Handout2: *Strategies for Change* explain the four domains that highlight the range of strategies that may be required to challenge and change the patriarchal power-over gender relations of masculinities:

► Formal/Institutional change strategies: Legal and policy change, and monitoring and advocacy to ensure legal/policy change implementation

► Formal/Individual change strategies: Providing and improving services to improve access to rights and resources

► Informal/Individual change strategies: Personal transformation strategies to change attitudes, beliefs and practices

► Informal/Institutional change strategies: Social norms change strategies to challenge and change cultural traditions, social pressures and discriminatory norms

ACTIVITY: Divide the participants into four groups, each group taking one of the Domains of Change. Have each group:

► Identify a specific problem of men's obstruction of women's full political participation operating in their domain.

► Discuss what is already being done to address this problem, and what can be learned from this work in terms of successes to build on and ways to improve it.

► Identify a set of strategies that could be implemented in the political organization to challenge and change this aspect of masculinities in their domain.

► Identify the support they would need from other organizations, like NDI, to help implement these strategies.

Allow 40 minutes for this group work. Use the possible strategies for change in each of the domains in Tool Box D3 to support each of the groups in their discussions of possible strategies.

When the groups have completed their tasks, bring them back together, and have each small group present the strategies they have identified and discussed.

Facilitator ends the session by summarizing what has been learned about the different Domains of Change, and what these suggest about the range of Strategies for Change that may be required to challenge and change masculinities within the political organization.

TOOL BOX D3: GENDER AT WORK STRATEGIES

► **Session D3: Gender @ Work Strategies**

► **Session D3 Handout1: Domains of Change**

► **Session D3 Handout2: Strategies for Change**

SESSION D4 CULTURE OF ACCOUNTABILITY

The aims of this session are to understand the concepts of "impunity" and "accountability", to understand why these terms are important in any discussion of challenging masculinities and to practice skills in holding men accountable in order to challenge the culture of impunity.

▶ Time = 90 minutes

▶ Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens

CONTENT: Facilitator explains that the workshop thus far has focused on what the political organization can do to challenge patriarchal attitudes and behaviors. Remind everyone that this is also a personal responsibility, especially in terms of challenging the everyday practices of masculinities. Explain that for the rest of the workshop the focus will be on what men can do in their everyday interactions with both women and men to help create an internal culture that supports women's political participation.

Brainstorm with the group some basic definitions of the words "impunity" and "accountability", and discuss why these terms are relevant to this workshop on challenging and changing masculinities.

Explain the two concepts:

▶ **Impunity** means exemption from punishment. When we say that someone is "acting with impunity", it means that they are acting in this way because they know that they will face no punishment, sanction or negative consequences for acting in this way. Many men continue to behave in patriarchal ways, and believe that they are entitled to do so, because they can - they suffer no negative consequences or sanction by behaving patriarchally towards women, other men as well as people from gender and sexual minorities. In fact, men tend to gain benefits and privileges from behaving patriarchally. In many societies, there is a culture of impunity around patriarchal masculinities.

▶ **Accountability:** being answerable for one's actions and their impacts on others. In this manual, we are focused on relationships between professional politicians in their political organizations. When we say that we want to hold someone accountable, it means we want them to take responsibility for and understand the impact of their actions, and address the harms their actions have caused to others, and commit to not repeating these actions. To end the impunity of patriarchal masculinities, we need to hold men accountable for their patriarchal behaviors and their complicity with other men's patriarchal behaviors and expect that they hold themselves and other men to high standards In particular, accountability in this program is way to ensure that the male leaders' views of the organization, treatment of women and women's experience within the organization, as well as the solutions and priorities eventually adapted to address them, are reflecting women's lived truth and their historical agenda and priorities.

Invite one or two participants to share stories from their own lives about men acting patriarchally with impunity, and one or two participants to share stories from their own lives about men holding other men accountable for their patriarchal behavior.

> **NOTE:** "A praxis of accountability supports people to take accountability for everyday harm. This includes inviting and encouraging people to take responsibility for the harm and its impact, to make efforts to repair the harm, and to commit to transforming ourselves and the situation to prevent future harm. It encourages us to lean in to our relationships with one another to address oppression and its harmful consequences." - Ann Russo, *Feminist Accountability*

ACTIVITY: Explain that this activity will look more closely at cultures of patriarchal impunity within the political organization, and what men can do to hold other men accountable, thereby challenging this culture of impunity.

Divide the participants into small groups of six to eight people each. Have each small group come up with a role play, showing a man behaving patriarchally with impunity within the political organization, and then showing an action being taken by a man/men, together with a woman/women, to hold this man accountable. **NOTE:** *If you used Session 2.3 Gender at work scenarios earlier in the workshop, then the small groups can use one of these scenarios as the basis for their role plays.*

In designing the role play, ask each group to discuss the following questions:

► What does the man/men do to notice the patriarchal attitudes and behaviors in the scenario?

► What does the man/men do to partner with women in responding to the patriarchal attitudes and behaviors in the scenario?

► What does the man/men do to help reflect back to other men the harmful impacts of patriarchal masculinities on women and men in the party/organization?

► What does the man/men do to help other men see ways in which they can change their attitudes and behaviors in order to create an internal culture that increases women's political participation?

► What can others within the political organization do to support the person harmed to articulate their needs and secure institutional action?

► What can others within the political organization do to ensure that the man/men involved take responsibility for their actions?

Give the small groups 8-10 minutes to discuss and design their role plays. When they are ready, bring the groups back together, and have each in turn present their role play. After each role play, debrief it using the questions above.

CONTENT: A four-step model for taking action to hold men accountable for masculinities is:

► **Notice the problem:** Ask women about their experiences, listen when women describe their experiences, notice what is going on in everyday interactions between men and women (both in terms of what is said, and people's body language)

► **Partner with women to respond:** There can be a danger that when men are asked to take action on patriarchal attitudes and behaviors, they see their role as being to protect women. But this protector role only reinforces the patriarchal assumption that women must depend on men. Rather than trying to protect women, men should seek to partner with them to respond to patriarchal masculinities.

► **Reflect back the harms:** Empathy can be a powerful force for change. So one important role that men can play in taking action on patriarchal attitudes and behaviors is to help other men really understand and feel the harms that such attitudes and behaviors do to women (and often to other men).

► **Identify ways to change:** A critical role for men to play is to help other men see the ways in which they can change their patriarchal attitudes and behaviors. Helping men see themselves as "part of the solution" rather than simply "part of the problem" is important. Be specific about things they can do to be part of the solution to increasing women's political participation.

ACTIVITY: Brainstorm with the participants about what might prevent men stepping up to inviting other men into accountability. Ask:

► What fears/anxieties do you have about speaking up about men's gender inequitable attitudes and practices in the political organization?

► What fears/anxieties do you have about stepping up to hold other men accountable for their patriarchal behavior in the political organization?

► What skills do you need to step up more to challenge the culture of patriarchal impunity?

► What skills do you need to support men in the organization to take responsibility for harms they have caused?

► How can we support each other to overcome these fears/anxieties and build our skills?

Facilitator ends the session by thanking participants for all their ideas and contributions and for their willingness to explore these difficult issues in depth.

Training Tip: This session builds on the discussion of men being allies to women (Session 2.4).

TOOL BOX D4: CULTURE OF ACCOUNTABILITY

► **Session D4: Culture of Accountability**

► **MenEngage Accountability Toolkit**

SESSION D5 DO MORE/DO LESS

The aim of this workshop is to discuss perceptions of progress being made on women's political participation within the organization and identify particular aspects of organizational operations that need to be addressed in order to make more progress on women's political participation.

► Time: 30 mins

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens; NDI gender Assessment data (if available)

CONTENT: Facilitator explains the activity by presenting its learning aims, emphasizing that the starting point for the workshop is to take stock of progress being made on women's political participation and identify the barriers to such participation that remain.

ACTIVITY: Briefly clarify what is meant by "political participation" by asking participants to define this term.

Depending on which kinds of organization participants are drawn from (political organizations or civil society organizations), explain that this discussion of women's political participation will focus on the roles relating to organizations (a, b, c, d) and those relating to civil society organizations (e, f).

Ask participants to pair up, and take 5-7 minutes to discuss two questions:

► What is our organization doing to promote women's political participation, and what should it do more of? If participants need prompts, you can have them think about whether or not their party does any of the following:

  → Does the party have any structures for supporting training and capacity building for women members or candidates like women's wings, mentoring programs, financial support, etc.?

  → Does the party provide any institutional support to help balance womens' work and family obligations like childcare, transportation, etc.?

  → Are there any rules or processes in the party that are particularly helpful for women, or that assist women to feel more confident/build their capacity?

► What is our organization doing to inhibit women's political participation, which it should do less of? If participants need prompts, you can have them think about whether or not their party does any of the following:

  → Are there any rules or processes in the party that make it more difficult for women to perform well, or that discourage women's access to capacity-building or leadership opportunities?

  → Does the party promote negative images of women politicians, or otherwise discourage women's participation?

Bring everyone back to the large group and ask for volunteers to share the highlights from their conversation. Write the answers up on flipchart, in two columns marked "Do more" and "Do less".

As participants share what they discussed, reflect back to them the commonalities and the differences between their answers to the two questions, using the questions below. Also, use any information you have from NDI gender assessments to help inform this discussion of progress being made on women's political participation:

► Which are the most common answers to the first question?

► What does this tell us the progress the organization is making on women's political participation and what it needs to do more of?

► What can we learn from NDI gender assessments of the organization and political situation that will help us to decide what the organization needs to do more of in order to promote women's political participation?

► Which are the most common answers to the second question?

► What does this tell us about the obstacles to women's political participation that remain and what the organization needs to do less of?

► What can we learn from NDI gender assessments of our organization and political situation that will help us to decide what the organization needs to do less of in order to promote women's political participation?

Based on the answers to these questions, highlight any issues of male behavior that are being identified by participants that relate to any progress being made on women's political participation and continuing obstacles to such participation. Let participants know that the rest of the workshop will be spent looking more closely at the work that can be done with men to sustain this progress and address these obstacles.

End the session by summarizing its main conclusions in terms of progress being made on women's political participation within the organization and particular aspects of organizational operations that need to be addressed in order to make more progress on women's political participation.

TOOL BOX D5: DO MORE/DO LESS

▶ **Session D5: Do More/Do Less**

MODULE E: CLOSING

How any workshop begins and ends will affect the quality of its process and its impact on improving knowledge, changing attitudes and strengthening skills. In this section, there are two closing sessions.

SESSION E1 COMMITMENTS TO ACTION

The aim of this session is for participants to have committed to taking specific actions to make the culture of the political organization more supportive of women's political participation.

► Time = 30 minutes

► Materials needed: Flipchart paper and pens; sticky notes

► In advance: Create three columns on a flipchart paper with the titles "Start", "Continue" and "Stop"

CONTENT: Facilitator explains that this session will focus on next steps, for each of us as individuals and for the political organization as a whole.

ACTIVITY: Have participants take a few minutes to think about commitments they can make to specific actions they can take to help change the culture of the political organization so that it is more supportive of women's political participation. Have each participant think about three action commitments they can take regarding the following:

► Start: One action they will start taking to challenge masculinities in the political organization.

► Continue: One action they will continue to do to promote women's political participation.

► Stop: One behavior they will stop doing in order to change masculinities in the political organization.

Have each participant write down their "Start", "Continue" and "Stop" action commitments on sticky notes, one commitment per card.

Divide the participants into pairs and have them spend the next five minutes sharing with each other their personal action commitments.

Invite participants to place their sticky notes on flipchart paper in one of the three columns, marked "Start", "Continue" and "Stop". Ask a few participants to volunteer to share what they wrote and talk about why they have made these commitments.

Facilitator ends the session by discussing the importance of men supporting each other to follow through on these commitments to take action to challenge masculinities. Have participants think about how they can continue to support each other once the workshop is over, and who else they might seek support from (such as friends or family members).

> **Training Tip:** Encourage participants to make realistic commitments. We cannot expect to change masculinities quickly. It is better that participants think very specifically about their own lives and relationships, and simple actions that they can take to begin to challenge patriarchal masculinities.

SESSION E2 LOOKING BACK, LOOKING FORWARDS

The aims of this session are to review the main lessons and key 'take-aways' from the workshop. And identify actions that can be taken at personal, organizational and societal levels in response to learnings from the workshop.

► Time = 30 minutes

► Materials needed: None

CONTENT: Facilitator explains that participants need to think about the following with regard to the workshop:

► One or more important ideas learned in terms of my own personal life.

► One or more important ideas learned in terms of the culture and everyday practice of the political organization.

► One or more important ideas learned in terms of problems of and responses to masculinities in society as a whole.

ACTIVITY: Divide the participants into pairs and give them six to eight minutes to share what they've learned. Then have each pair join with another pair, forming groups of four people each. Have these small groups:

► Share the highlights of important ideas discussed by each respective pair, noting similarities and differences.

► Based on the ideas about their personal life, discuss one or more actions that they commit to taking in order to challenge masculinities in their own lives.

► Based on the ideas about the organizational culture, discuss one or more actions that the political organization should take in order to challenge masculinities in the organization.

► Based on the ideas about societal problems, discuss one or more changes they would like to see in national policy that would help in challenging masculinities in society at large.

Allow 10-12 minutes for the groups of four to discuss these points, then bring everyone back together. Use the remaining time in the session for small groups to report back on key ideas and actions at personal, organizational and societal levels to challenge masculinities in their own lives, the political organization and society as a whole. Note the similarities and differences between the groups in the actions they identify.

Facilitator ends the session by discussing the importance of men supporting each other to follow through on these commitments to take action to challenge masculinities.

TOOL BOX E2: LOOKING BACK, LOOKING FORWARDS

► **Session E2: Looking Back, Looking Forwards**

CASE STUDY: NDI DC WORKSHOPS AND DRC WORKSHOPS PRIOR TO IMPLEMENTATION

Political parties in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are highly centralized and patriarchal institutions that often rely on personalized leadership rather equitable citizen participation. Despite their numerical dominance, women and youth in particular are underserved by parties that restrict their access to decision- making functions and marginalize their roles. Women who speak out are often met with ostracism and violence.

In July 2019, NDI, along with masculinities specialist Alan Greig, began a pilot program in the DRC, which aimed to engage male political party leaders from five of the country's parties in understanding patriarchal norms that enforce gender inequality within their organizations. The program was structured as a series of workshops using NDI's *Personalize, Politicize, Strategize* theory of change. The workshops also involved women in political parties as a way to foster conversations and commitments to action that would be accountable to women's calls for more equitable participation within parties. NDI partnered with local masculinities organization COMEN to co-facilitate sessions, as well as with women's organizations who ensured the program's content was accountable to the local women's right agenda and who also worked to prepare female participants for the sessions.

The program began with five single-party workshops with male leaders. The goal of this initial phase of the program was to increase participants' personal awareness and understanding of the impacts of patriarchal gender norms, as they relate to their lives, as well as their impact on their families, in communities, and society at large. While men in the first workshopmen were receptive to adopting more equitable behavior in their personal lives, they were resistant to committing to do so within their parties and were generally not receptive to the notion that women in their parties were faced discrimination.

This resistance underscored the need for supplementary activities following the workshop that would enable men to empathize with women's experiences. Therefore, NDI conducted sessions with men and women party members separately to prepare them for a mixed-sex session. Five men from each party self-selected to form men's working groups, and went through a training on active listening to be able to better understand and empathize with the experiences of their female colleagues. Women party members were simultaneously prepared to share their experiences of discrimination within the party.

In the third round of workshops, men from each working group were paired with women counterparts from their party. Women then recounted their experiences and concerns with gender inequality within the party, while the men listened. COMEN facilitated these sessions to ensure a respectful and supportive environment. This was a powerful experience for both groups, as many men in the workshops had not been aware of their female colleagues' experiences, while women had never had opportunities to recount their experiences.

In the last round of workshops, men from the working group briefed the rest of the participants from the first round of workshops. Male participants in the workshop then worked out an agenda they could commit to in order to reduce gender inequitable attitudes within their party structures. Crucially, while women who participated in the workshops were slated to attend, they declined to do so for fear of reprisal from male members in their respective parties. Instead, their experiences and talking points were read out to the male participants by NDI staff.

Overall, the pilot program was successful in engaging male political party leaders in understanding patriarchal norms. Male participants reported increases in equitable attitudes throughout the span of the pilot program. In personal accounts male participants provided after the program, many reported engaging more actively in household chores and care work, and forming more equitable relationships with their wives.

However, the personal changes reported by male participants did not transfer as readily to supporting equality within their parties. Follow-up evaluations conducted by NDI consultant Marlene Haas showed that parties still remained largely patriarchal in their operations. Women participants surveyed during the program also reported a lower level of confidence in their male counterparts' ability to be allies for women's equal participation in their parties, than the male participants' self-reporting.

The aforementioned limitations, combined with the fact that women did not want to participate in the final workshop, underscores the difficulty of such programs to get elite men to move beyond personal recognition of gender inequality to using their power and privilege to work for organizational change. The pilot program demonstrated the need for long-term sustained efforts in order to create transformational change. It also illustrated the significance of ensuring programs engaging men in politics remain accountable to women and women's organizations. The active involvement of women's groups not only ensures programs are working to support the local women's rights agenda, but also provides an important feedback mechanism to assess program effectiveness. As any democracy program moves from the masculinities workshops to other activities, it should incorporate a focus on leveraging the sessions to promote shifts in attitudes and behaviors of male leaders, while continuing to ensure women's voices are lifted up.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

As reiterated throughout the program guidance, the targeted work with male political leaders is not meant to serve as a stand-alone program. Instead, it acts as a component of a comprehensive gender-inclusive approach to all democracy assistance programming. Whether the program is aimed at supporting political organizations to be more inclusive specifically or on increasing their democratic processes and structures more generally, interventions addressing institutional, socio-cultural, or individual barriers to gender inclusion should be considered when developing the program's theory of change. The workshops outlined in this guidance are to be used as a way to address barriers to women's equal political participation rooted in social norms regarding gender. **Once the workshops are completed and the individual participants' beliefs regarding patriarchal gender norms have shifted, then the real work begins to leverage this commitment and transform the organization.** As programming continues, any lessons and tools learned in this 'primer' program should be harnessed in future democracy assistance to build on and sustain the shift towards a more inclusive politics.

Once the men in the political organization understand the need for and are committed to increasing genuine equal distribution of power within their political organization, they should be supported to take concrete steps in conjunction with the women to bring about real change. The expectation of the program is that the men will have been supported to change individually while also building bridges with women. They should be willing and able to work alongside the women to agree on the priorities of what they're going to address TOGETHER.

> **NOTE:** Remember, as noted at the start of the manual, the majority of work to increase women's participation has been done by women themselves. The goal of this program is that work to promote gender inclusive political organizations becomes the work of both men and women.

However, there may need to be additional and ongoing activities to move from norm change to action. These activities should be integrated into the life of the program-written into program proposals, theories of change, budgets, and monitoring and evaluation plans. Illustrative interventions may include:

► Supporting men to form a working group within the political organization to continue their efforts for gender equality. The goal of the workshops is to create a core group of male allies in the political organization ready to champion women's empowerment. As such, these same men can be utilized within a larger program to continue efforts alongside women to advocate for changes.

► Convening the working group for additional training in order to increase their ability to support gender equality-active bystander, active listening etc.

► Supporting the working group to come together with women in the same political organization to agree on a core set of priorities.

Depending on the organization, actions following the workshops as part of the larger program may require institutional reform, as well as capacity building, in order to ensure gender inclusive structures. The work to identify and advocate for any changes should continue to be done in partnership with women's groups and women members of the political organization. There are a significant number of existing resources and tools to guide ongoing efforts to ensure the increased leadership buy-in leads to formal organizational transformation. We have included several key resources in this chapter's Tool Box.

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Some illustrative program interventions that may be included are listed here:

► Working with leadership of an election observation coalition to update the mission and methodology of the entity to ensure efforts are gender inclusive (see the *Votes Without Violence* manual chapter on organizational change);

► Working with leadership of a political party to update political party codes and structures to ensure efforts are gender inclusive and women's participation is encouraged (see the *Win With Women* manual and Action Plans);

► Supporting internal advocacy efforts to update political party constitutions;

► Supporting cross-party and cross-sector work to champion the introduction of a gender quota.

► Supporting male and female parliamentarians to work together to implement gender sensitive parliamentary rules.

TOOL BOX: WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

► **Win With Women: Assessment and Action Plans**

► **IPU Gender Sensitive Parliaments**

► **Votes Without Violence**

► **UN Women Manual on Electoral Reforms**

► **Guidelines on Gender Considerations in International Election Observation**

CONCLUSION

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

The theory of change underpinning this program guidance is that democracy and governance programs must address the patriarchal gender norms held by political leaders that underpin political institutions in order to increase both gender equality and women's political participation.

The *Men, Power and Politics* program guidance is intended for use by democracy and governance practitioners to influence male attitudes and practices and to increase their support for women's rights in the home, the community, and in public life. This program should work alongside other democracy programs that increase women's involvement and leadership, monitor elections, improve governance, utilize new technologies and other political activities.